

A STUDY OF KOREAN SYNTAX

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to describe the basic syntactic structure of standard Korean in formal terms. The thesis opens with an introduction, Chapter I, to the general background of the Korean language, its alphabet, the dialect chosen for analysis, followed by a discussion of the scope of analysis.

In Chapter II, Phonology, a brief summary of the Korean phonological system and a phonetic description of the Korean phonemes are given. Then there follows a discussion of the intonation system and the type of transcription employed in the thesis.

This is followed by Chapter III, Word classes, in which six main word classes and their sub-classes necessary for the subsequent syntactic description are set up by formal criteria.

Chapter IV, Verb structure, is entirely devoted to a discussion of the internal structure of the verb with special emphasis on inflection, by virtue of which the verb can function at every level in the grammatical hierarchy.

In Chapter V, Phrase, three different types of phrase are distinguished and their syntactic functions in other structures, according to which they are distinguished, are described.

This is followed by Chapter VI, Clause, where two main clause types are distinguished by syntactic and/or morphological criteria: Final clause and Non-final clause. Final clauses are further divided into six sub-types according to the type of predicate and the elements found in them. On the other hand, non-final clauses are subdivided into (a) Nominal, (b) Adjectival, and (c) Adverbial clauses on the basis of their syntactic functions.

The thesis ends with Chapter VIII, Sentence, where Major and Minor sentence types are distinguished according to the presence and absence of a final clause. The Major type sentences are classified into four sentence categories according to the mood suffixes found with the verb and/or the intonation tune employed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to record here my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. R.H. Robins, M.A., D.Lit., for his continued help, guidance and patience during the preparation of this thesis. His penetrating linguistic insight has helped me discover, or rather actually uncovered for me, not a few important points relevant to Korean syntax which I, as a native speaker, might have overlooked.

My thanks are due to my wife, Justine, too for her help as an informant as well as for her role as a patient oriental wife. Lastly but by no means in the least, I owe a lasting debt to Dr. W.E. Skillend in the Far Eastern Department and my parents in Korea for their help and encouragement.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	-	Adjunct
act.	-	active
Adj./adj.	-	Adjective/adjectival
adj.cl.	-	adjectival clause
adj.(rel.) ph.	-	adjectival (relational) phrase
Adv./adv.	-	Adverb/adverbial
adv.cl.	-	adverbial clause
adv.ph.	-	adverbial phrase
Ag.	-	Agent
C	-	(i) Consonant in Chapter II. Phonology (ii) Complement
c.	-	coordinator
caus.	-	causative
comp.	-	compound
concat.	-	concatenating
conj.	-	conjunctive
decl.	-	declarative
deic.	-	deictic
deriv.	-	derived/derivational
end.	-	ending
Exp.	-	Expansion

F.Cl./f.cl.	--	Final Clause
NF.Cl./nf.cl.	--	Non-Final Clause
fmtv.	-	formative
fut.	-	future
H	--	Head
imper.	-	imperative
inflx.	-	inflectional
Interj./interj.	--	Interjection/interjectival
interr.	-	interrogative
md.	--	mood
mdf.	-	modifying
N/n	-	Noun/nominal
N.ani.	-	Animate Noun
N.ina.	-	Inanimate Noun
N.hon.	-	Honorific Noun
N.num.	-	Numeral Noun
N.n.ind.	-	Non-independent Noun
N.pl.	-	Plain Noun
N.Cl./n.cl.	--	Nominal Clause
NP	-	Nominal Phrase
Nuc./nuc.	-	Nucleus
O	-	Object
P	--	Predicate
pasv.	-	passive
Pcl./pcl.	--	Particle

pres.	-	present
presump.	-	presumptive
progr.	-	progressive
prop.	-	propositive
qua.	-	qualitative
Rel./rel.	-	Relational
retros.	-	retrospective
S	-	Subject
Sat./sat.	-	Satellite
sfx.	-	suffix
st.	-	stem
sub.	-	subordinate
t.	-	tense
V	-	(i) Vowel in Chapter II Phonology (ii) Verb
v.	-	voice
V.aux.	-	Auxiliary Verb
V.c.	-	Copula Verb
V.d.	-	Descriptive Verb
V.p.	-	Processive Verb
V.hon.	-	Honorific Verb
V.intr.	-	Intransitive Verb
V.tr.	-	Transitive Verb
VP	-	Verbal Phrase
Z / z	-	Sentence

Other Symbols and Notations:

- / / - phonemic transcription
- [] - (i) phonetic transcription in Chapter II. Phonology
(ii) translation fill-in when surrounded by ' '
- 'cat' - English translation
- " " - Introduction of a new term, emphasis or quotation.
- () - Optional
e.g. (S)P → P or SP
- - rewrite
- X < Y - X resulting from, analysed into or derived from Y
- X > Y - X becomes Y
- = - equals
- ⊗ - hypothetical or unreal form
e.g. ⊗cta as against cat
- + - (i) Plus juncture when occurring within a transcribed passage
(ii) Addition elsewhere
- , - (i) Tentative juncture when occurring within a transcribed passage
(ii) Comma elsewhere

- (i) Terminal juncture when occurring within a transcribed passage
 - (ii) Period elsewhere

- /:/ - (i) Quantity in Chapter II Phonology and within a transcribed passage
- (ii) Colon elsewhere

- V/C - form - Post-vocalic/post-consonantal form
- a/ä - form - Form selected by vowel harmony

- v- - Verb stem
 - e.g. mag- 'to eat'

- s- - Inflectional suffix:
 - e.g. magas- < mag- + -as- 'past t.sfx.'

- e - Inflectional ending
 - e.g. magni < mag- + -ni

- ' - (i) Stress in Chapter II Phonology
- (ii) Quotation of grammatical terms or categories
 - e.g. ha- 'caus.v.fmtv.'

- Space - Word boundary

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Korean language

The Korean language is spoken today by nearly 40.000.000 Koreans, of whom about 37.000.000 live in the Korean peninsula and the remaining 3.000.000 abroad, mainly in China, Japan, U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.

There have been at least three different theories as to the origin of Korean and its affinity to other languages.¹⁾ they are (a) "Indo-Germanic" theory as held by A. Eckardt,²⁾ (b) "Dravidian" theory by H.B. Hulbert,³⁾ and (c) "Altaic" theory by G.J. Ramstedt.⁴⁾ Of these, the "Altaic" theory is more widely accepted than the other two, and the Korean language is therefore classified as a member of the "Altaic family" along with Tungus, Manchu, Mongolian and Turkish. Like other Altaic languages Korean is predominantly agglutinative in morphology. H.A. Gleason seems to recognize

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- 1) S.B. Cho, "A Phonological study of Korean"(Uppsala, 1967), p.4.
 - 2) A. Eckardt, "Grammatik der Koreanischen Sprache"(Heidelberg, 1962), Vorwort.
 - 3) H.B. Hulbert, "A Comparative Grammar of the Korean Language and the Dravidian dialects of India"(1905).
 - 4) G.J. Ramstedt, "A Korean Grammar"(Helsinki, 1939).

the Korean language as forming a separate language family when he states that Korean comprises the Korean family and is somewhat distantly related to the Japanese family.⁵⁾ Korean and Japanese, whose affinity has long been disputed, are strikingly alike in over-all grammatical and syntactic patterns⁶⁾ rather than in lexis. Recently, Samuel E. Martin produced some lexical evidence relating Korean to Japanese.⁷⁾

1.2 Writing System

The Koreans had relied mainly on the Chinese writing system until the 15th century after Christ when they came to have their own alphabet. Although it is not known exactly when the Koreans began to borrow the Chinese characters, it is now generally acknowledged to be around the 4th century A.D. or even earlier.⁸⁾ Apart from using Chinese as a foreign language, the Koreans employed the Chinese characters in two different ways. First of all, they were used to represent, or rather transcribe, Korean syllables which were phonetically similar to the characters used, i.e., as phonetic symbols. Secondly, they were employed to represent Korean morphemes or words which had translation equivalence to the original reference of the character of Chinese loan words.

5) H.A. Gleason. "An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics", p.468, 479.

6) S.E. Martin. "Lexical Evidence relating Korean to Japanese",

7) op.cit. p.185.

8) H. Pedersen. "Linguistic Science in the 19th century", p.133.

These two methods were often combined within a word, especially an inflectional word such as verb, of which the stem was represented by the semantically equivalent Chinese morpheme and the suffix(es) by the phonetically equivalent Chinese characters.

1.21 The Korean Alphabet (Hunminjongum)⁹⁾

As Korean and Chinese were very different from each other in grammatical and phonological structure as they are today, the use of the Chinese writing system as a means of transcribing Korean must have been most inadequate as well as inconvenient. Inadequate or not, however, this practice had gone on until 1446 A.D. when "Sejong", the fourth king of the Lee Dynasty, promulgated "Hunminjongum" /hunminjaŋum/, a newly created Korean alphabet of 28 letters, to the nation. The king who was a distinguished linguist himself actually completed Hunminjongum in 1443 A.D. after years of research in collaboration with a group of eight scholars but put it to trial for three years before making it public. In the preface to Hunminjongum, the king stated as the reason for devising a new alphabet the inadequacy and inconvenience of the Chinese characters

9) Min-su. Kim. "Juhe hunminjaŋum [Hunminjongum Annotated]".

to transcribe Korean. Hence the name "Hunminjongum", which means literally "The right sounds to teach the nation".

Hunminjongum was unique in many respects. First of all, it was based on the articulatory phonetic theory. That is to say, the actual shape of the basic letters were modelled on the shape of the articulatory organs in action. For instance, the letter /ㄱ/ represents the velar sound since it resembles the shape of the tongue blocking the "throat", the letter /ㄴ/ the lingual sound or dental/alveolar sound in modern terminology since it resembles the tongue touching the "upper jaw", and the letter /ㅇ/ the labial sound since it resembles the shape of the lips, etc. In this manner five basic consonant letters were established and the twelve remaining consonant letters were derived by adding to each of the five basic letters one or more additional strokes or symbols indicating other phonologically relevant phonetic features or different manners of articulation at homorganic points of articulation. The eleven vowel letters were likewise formulated on the basis of phonetic observations, of which three letters, /ㅏ/ [a or o], /ㅜ/ [u] and /ㅣ/ [i] were taken as basic and the seven remaining vowel letters were derived by different combinations of the three basic letters.

Secondly, Hunminjongum, although formulated purely on a phonetic basis, was however a phonemic alphabet in actual application. And there is sufficient evidence, e.g. the recognition of three positions, initial, medial and final, in a syllable, and the statements concerning the distribution of sounds at three positions of a syllable, etc., that the king had completed in advance some kind of phonological analysis of Korean along a phonemic principle not far removed from that of modern linguistics, even though he did not actually use the term "phoneme" as against "phone" or "sound".¹⁰⁾

The third characteristic of "Hunminjongum" is found in the spelling principle which the king decreed, according to which letters were to be combined, in accordance with the prescribed rule, into syllable blocks, and not in a linear successive order as in familiar European languages. In other words, graphemes were arranged syllabically in such a way that each syllable had a distinct geometrical shape. For instance, syllables like /mag/ 'curtain', /nun/ 'eye' would be arranged in actual writing as follows:

ma g	:	막	<	□ = m,	┆ = a,	ㄱ = g
nun n	:	눈	<	ㄴ = n,	ㅜ = u,	ㄹ = n

10) Ki-mun Lee, "A Historical Study on the Korean Writing System", Seoul, 1963.

With the three characteristics of "Hunminjongum" taken into consideration, the Korean alphabet of the 15th century may be summarised as "a phonemic alphabet based on phonetic principles and spelt syllabically".

1.22 The Present Alphabet

The present Korean alphabet of 24 graphemes is essentially the same as that of the 15th century, except that (i) four graphemes, owing to the change in the phonological system, are obsolete, (ii) the shape of some graphemes have only slightly changed, (iii) most important of all, the present spelling principle is morphemic in the sense that every word or morpheme is represented by its base form, whereas in the 15th century it was purely phonemic. The Korean alphabet of 24 graphemes as currently in use is given below with transcription symbols shown in two slant bars after each grapheme.

Vowel Graphemes(10):

ㅏ /a/, ㅑ /ja/, ㅓ /ʌ/, ㅕ /jʌ/, ㅗ /o/,
 ㅛ /jo/, ㅜ /u/, ㅠ /ju/, ㅡ /u/, ㅣ /i/.

Consonant graphemes:

ㄱ /g/, ㄴ /n/, ㄷ /d/, ㄹ /r/, ㅁ /m/,
 ㅂ /b/, ㅅ /s/, ㅇ /Zero-ŋ/, ㅈ /ʃ/,
 ㅊ /c/, ㅋ /k/, ㅌ /t/, ㅍ /p/, ㅎ /h/.

The grapheme ㅇ at the syllable-initial position is phonetically nothing and therefore phonologically redundant, but it is used nowadays as in the 15th century to mark a syllable beginning with a vowel. Syllable-finally, however, it represents /ŋ/.

The total number of Korean phonemes is 29, of which eight are vowels, two semi-vowels, and nineteen consonants(cf. 2.1). On the other hand, excluding the four vowel graphemes representing diphthongs, there are only 20 graphemes, thus giving rise to a situation in which there are nine more phonemes than there are graphemes. This discrepancy is resolved by representing the nine phonemes by digraphs or geminations:

Vowels: /e/ : ㅔ | < ㅑ /a/ + ㅣ /i/.
 /ɛ/ : ㅖ | < ㅓ /a/ + ㅣ /i/.

Consonants:

/k/ : ㄱ < ㄱ /g/ + ㆁ /g/.

/t/ : ㄷ < ㄷ /d/ + ㆁ /d/.

/p/ : ㅍ < ㅍ /b/ + ㆁ /b/.

/c/ : ㄷ < ㄷ /tʃ/ + ㆁ /tʃ/.

/s/ : ㅅ < ㅅ /s/ + ㆁ /s/.

Semi-vowels:

/j/ and /w/ are somewhat peculiar in their graphemic representation. The semi-vowel /j/ is represented by a stroke added to a pure vowel with which /j/ forms a diphthong as illustrated by the following examples and those given in 1.22. (See p.16):

/je/ : ㅟ < ㅟ /j/ + ㅟ /e/.

/jε/ : ㅟ < ㅟ /j/ + ㅟ /ε/.

The semi-vowel /w/ is represented graphemically either by ㅜ /o/ or ㅝ /u/ depending on the vowel following with which /w/ forms a diphthong:

/wa/ : ㅜ < ㅜ /o/ + ㅜ /a/.

/we/ : ㅈㅅ < ㅈ /o/ + ㅅ /ε/
 /we/ : ㅈㅅ < ㅈ /o/ + ㅅ /i/
 or
 ㅈㅅ < ㅈ /u/ + ㅅ /e/
 /wi/ : ㅈㅅ < ㅈ /u/ + ㅅ /i/
 /wΔ/ : ㅈㅅ < ㅈ /u/ + ㅅ /Δ/

1.23 The Korean alphabet and the prosodic analysis.

The current Korean alphabet, and for that matter, to an even greater extent, "Hunminjongum" of the 15th century, is not a haphazard collection of isolated letters. It is, in a sense, not only a phonetic alphabet based exclusively on detailed phonetic observations of the articulatory organs, but also a remarkably neat system composed of inter-related elements(letters). In particular, it is interesting to note the striking similarity between the way in which the Korean alphabet is systematized and the theoretical tenet of the prosodic analysis¹¹⁾ as initiated and developed by "London School", namely, a multidimensional approach characterized by the establishment of phonematic units on the one hand and abstraction and assignment of

11) J.R. Firth, "Sounds and prosodies", TPS 1948, pp.127-52.
 R.H. Robins, "Aspects of prosodic analysis", pp.1-12.
 R.H. Robins, "General Linguistics:an introductory survey", pp.157-168.
 J. Lyons, "Introduction to theoretical linguistics", pp.127-132.

prosodic features to and over the phonematic units on the other. This can be exemplified by the Korean consonant letters. Of the 19 consonant letters, the following 16 are chosen for the purpose of this discussion:

	<u>voiceless unaspirated</u>	<u>voiceless aspirated</u>	<u>voiceless glottalized</u>	<u>voiced nasal</u>
<u>(bi-labial: plosives:</u>	ㅂ /b/	ㅃ /p/	ㅍ /p̚/	ㅁ /m/
<u>(alveolar : plosives:</u>	ㄷ /d/	ㅌ /t/	ㅈ /t̚/	ㄴ /n/
<u>(velar : plosives:</u>	ㄱ /g/	ㅋ /k/	ㆁ /k̚/	
<u>(post- alveolar : affricates</u>	ㅈ /t͡ʃ/	ㅊ /t͡ʃ̚/	ㅉ /t͡ʃ̚̚/	
<u>(alveolar fricatives:</u>	ㅅ /s/		ㅆ /s̚/	

These sixteen consonant letters can be described in prosodic terms as composed of five phonematic units, each representing different place of articulation, (i) bi-labial, (ii) alveolar, (iii) velar, (iv) post-alveolar (affricate) and (v) alveolar (fricative), and four prosodic features, (i) voiceless unaspirated, (ii) voiceless aspirated, (iii) voiceless glottalized, (iv) voiced nasal. The analysis can be simplified considerably by symbolizing the phonematic units by the 'voiceless unaspirated' letters ㅂ, ㄷ, ㄱ, ㅈ, ㅅ, thereby reducing the number of prosodies from four to three

with the prosody "voiceless unaspirated" treated as an unmarked term automatically ascribable to the five phonematic units. Symbolizing, by superscripts, the three prosodies as:

h - 'aspiration prosody'
 q - 'glottal prosody'
 n - 'nasal prosody'

the sixteen consonant letters may be represented as consisting of five phonematic units and a zero or one of the three prosodies as follows:

ㅂ (/b/),	^h ㅂ (=ㅃ/p/),	^q ㅂ (=ㅃ/p/),	ⁿ ㅂ (=ㅃ/m/),
ㄷ (/d/),	^h ㄷ (=ㄸ/t/),	^q ㄷ (=ㄸ/t/),	ⁿ ㄷ (=ㄸ/n/),
ㄱ (/g/),	^h ㄱ (=ㄲ/k/),	^q ㄱ (=ㄲ/k/),	
ㅈ (/tʃ/),	^h ㅈ (=ㅉ/c/),	^q ㅈ (=ㅉ/c/),	
ㅅ (/s/),		^q ㅅ (=ㅆ/s/)	

Alternatively, to emphasize the purely graphemic inter-relationship of the consonant letters, the following notation may be more appropriate, where

+s - 'loss of stroke(s) for nasality',
 +s - 'addition of stroke(s) for aspiration',
 +g - 'gemination for glottalization'

ㅂ (/b/),	^{+s} ㅂ (=ㅍ/p/),	^{+g} ㅂ (=ㅃ/p̃/),	^{-s} ㅂ (=ㅁ/m/),
ㄷ (/d/),	^{+s} ㄷ (=ㅌ/t/),	^{+g} ㄷ (=ㄸ/t̃/),	^{-s} ㄷ (=ㄴ/n/),
ㄱ (/g/),	^{+s} ㄱ (=ㅋ/k/),	^{+g} ㄱ (=ㄲ/k̃/),	
ㅈ (/tʃ/),	^{+s} ㅈ (=ㅊ/c/),	^{+g} ㅈ (=ㅉ/c̃/),	
ㅅ (/s/),		^{+g} ㅅ (=ㅆ/s̃/).	

This type of analysis could be extended to include not only the rest of the consonant letters but also the vowel letters, although it is not attempted here.

1.3 The dialect analysed.

There are six main dialects in Korea, two in the north, three in the south and one in the central area, in the middle of which Seoul, the capital, is located. The dialect described in this thesis is the one spoken in and around Seoul by educated people, often referred to as "Standard Korean".

1.4 The scope and method of this study.

The aim of this study is to present a basic

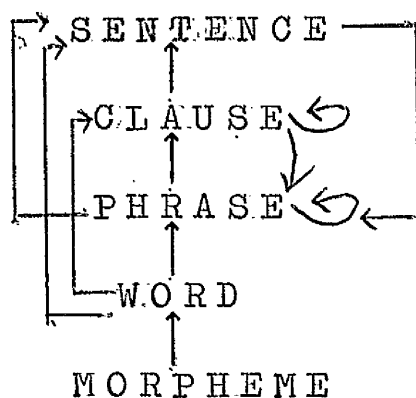
syntactic analysis of standard Korean, upon which an analysis of greater delicacy¹²⁾ could be based.

The grammatical units set up for the purpose of the syntactic description are, in descending order of rank, "Sentence", "Clause", "Phrase", "Word" and "Morpheme". These units are hierarchically related in such a way that every unit, except "Morpheme" which can not be analysed into smaller meaningful units, consists of one or more units immediately below. Thus a word consists of one or more morphemes, a phrase of one or more words, a clause of one or more phrases, and a sentence of one or more clauses. Instead of regarding such linguistic units as are given above analytically as consisting of one or more units immediately below in rank, they can be regarded and defined synthetically¹³⁾ as units functioning in more inclusive units. The unit "Sentence", however, will be excluded from such a synthetic definition since it is taken as the largest and most inclusive unit. The intermediate units, clause, phrase,

12) M.A.K. Halliday, "Categories of the Theory of Grammar" p.248

13) W. Haas, "On defining linguistic units", pp.60-8.

word, can be defined both analytically and synthetically. The hierarchical relationship existing among the units does not preclude the possibility of rank shift¹⁴⁾, upward or downward. For instance, a word may by-pass the level of phrase and occur as a clause or a constituent of a clause (upward rank shift), or a clause may be embedded in a phrase structure (downward rank shift). The total distributional relations holding among the five units may be diagrammatically set out as follows, where the arrows in the center represent the most common distributions, the arrows returning to the same unit "recursive rank shift", viz., a unit occurring as a constituent of an expanded structure of the same unit, e.g., a phrase found in a larger phrase, the arrows pointing downward "downward rank shift", and the arrows by-passing a unit "upward rank shift".



14) M.A.K. Halliday. op.cit., pp.250-54. Halliday does not recognize "upward rank shift".

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

The syntactic model on which this study is mainly drawn is the "Immediate Constituent" analysis¹⁵⁾, and the "Transformational-Generative" approach¹⁶⁾, and its notations are used occasionally where it is deemed appropriate.

15) R.S. Wells: "Immediate Constituents",

16) Noam Chomsky "Syntactic Structures".

CHAPTER II. PHONOLOGY

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2.0 In view of the nature and scope of this thesis the Korean phonological system presented here is necessarily a brief summary.

2.1 The Phoneme inventory.

The symbols here used for phonemes are those of the International Phonetic Association.¹⁾

2.1.1 The Vowels.

/i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /ʌ/, /ʊ/.

2.1.2 The Consonants.

	bi-labial	alveolar	post-alveolar	velar	glottal
Plosives	/b, p, p̰/ ²⁾	/d, t, t̰/		/g, k, k̰/	
Affricates			/ʃ, c, ç/		
Fricatives		/s, š/			/h/
Nasals	/m/	/n/		/ŋ/	
Flap/Lateral		/r/			

1) I.P.A., "The principles of the International Phonetic Association", 1949.

2) For the sake of simplicity and convenience, /b/, /p/ and /p̰/ rather than /p/, /ph/ and /pp/ are used here to represent 'unaspirated (or slightly aspirated)', 'strongly aspirated' and 'glottalized' phonemes respectively. The same principle applies to the notation of other similarly related consonant phonemes.

2.13 The Semi-Vowels

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

/je/, /jɛ/, /ja/, /jo/, /ju/, /jʌ/,
/wi/, /we/, /wɛ/, /wa/, /wʌ/.

In addition to the /j/-initial and /w/-initial diphthongs listed above, which are all rising diphthongs, there is

/wi/

which may be either rising or falling.

2.23 Suprasegmental Phonemes

Two degrees of vowel quantity, long and short, are phonologically distinctive, mainly in the first or second syllable of words. The long vowel is marked by /:/ and the short one unmarked.

e.g. /gim/ 'A surname'
 /gi:m/ 'laver, seaweed'
 /sar/ 'flesh'
 /sa:r/ 'to live'

/guŋo/ 'structure'
 /gu:ŋo/ 'rescue'
 /budon/ 'inequality'
 /budo:ŋ/ 'immobility'

In the open syllable, the long/short contrast of vowel quantity is usually not distinctive.

2.21 Vowel Quantity and Stress

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

e.g. /'sa:ram/ = ['sa:ram]
 /'wen sa:ram/ = ['wen saram]

2.3 Phonetic Description of Phonemes

2.31 Vowels

The phonetic value of the Korean vowels is described

by reference to the I.P.A. Cardinal Vowel scale.

/i:/ = [i:], /i/ = [i-]

/e:/ = [e-:], /e/ = [e-]

/ɛ:/ = [ɛ-:], /ɛ/ = [ɛ-]

/a:/ = [a+:], /a/ = [a-]

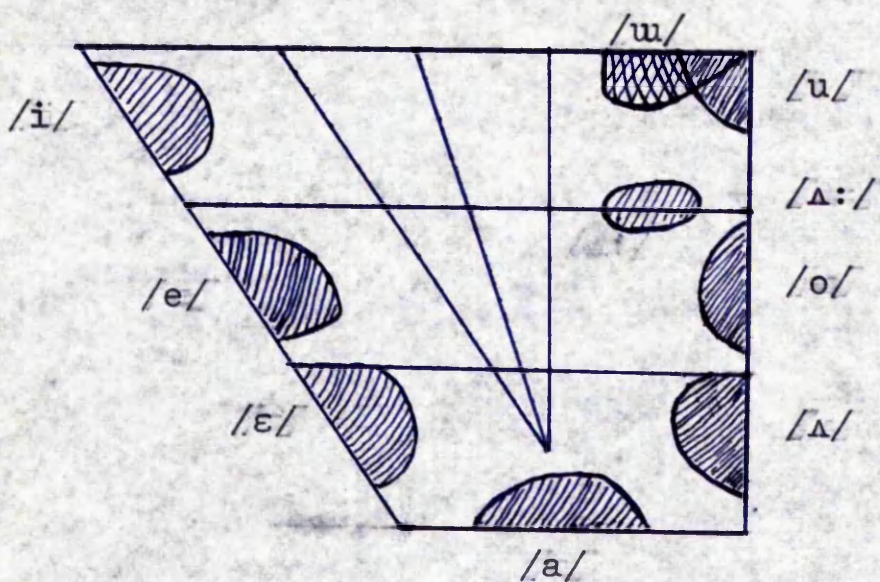
/o:/ = [o:], /o/ = [o+]

/u:/ = [u:], /u/ = [u+]

with the lips
slightly rounded.

/ʌ:/ = [ʌ+:], /ʌ/ = [ʌ+]

/ʊ:/ = [ʊ:], /ʊ/ = [ʊ+]



2.32 The Consonants

/b, d, g/ = [p', t', k'] or [b̥, d̥, g̥] after pause,
 [b, d, g] between voiced sounds,
 [p, t, k] without plosion syllable-
 finally.

/p, t, k/¹⁾ = [ph, th, kh] or strongly aspirated
 [p, t, k] syllable-initially.

/p̰, t̰, k̰/²⁾ = [p, t, k] with glottal tension
 syllable-initially.

/tʃ, c, ç/³⁾ = Post-alveolar affricates.

/tʃ/ = Voiceless and with a little or no aspiration
 syllable-initially,

Voiced between voiced sounds.

/c/ = Voiceless strongly aspirated
 syllable-initially.

/ç/ = Voiceless and with glottal tension
 syllable-initially.

1) /p̰, t̰, k̰/ are realized as /b, d, g/ syllable-finally.

2) /p̰, t̰, k̰/ are realized also as /b, d, g/ syllable-finally.

3) /tʃ, c, ç/ are realized as /d/ syllable-finally.

/s/¹⁾ = Alveolar fricative with a little or no aspiration syllable-initially,

/ṣ/¹⁾ = Alveolar fricative, unaspirated but with glottal tension syllable-initially.

/h/ = [h] after pause,
 = [ç] before /i/ or /j/,
 = [ɦ] between voiced sounds.

/m/ = [m]

/n/ = [ɲ] before /i/ or /j/, [n] elsewhere.

/ŋ/ = [ŋ]

/r/ = [ʀ] intervocalically or sometimes between a vowel and /h/,

[l] syllable-finally.

/rr/ = [ll] or [l:] at syllable junction.

2.33 The semi-vowels.

/j/ = [i̥-]

/w/ = [u̥+]

1) /s, ṣ/ are realized as /d/ syllable-finally.

The phonetic values of the second elements in the /j/-initial and /w/-initial diphthongs are the same as those given in 2.31. The diphthong /ui/ may be realized as [ui̯-], [ɥi̯] or [u:] when stressed, and [ɥi̯-] or [ɛ-] when unstressed.

2.4 The Syllable Structure

The canonical form of Korean phonological syllables may be represented by the following formula, where V stands for vowel, the nucleus and C for consonant. The elements in the brackets are optional:

$$\underline{(C_1) V (C_2)}$$

Examples:

- i) V : /i/ 'this', /ɛ/ 'child,
- ii) CV : /na/ 'I', /so/ 'cow',
- iii) VC : /ar/ 'egg', /i:r/ 'business',
- iv) CVC : /sar/ 'flesh', /ʃag/ 'enemy'.

As will be mentioned on p.34, V may be filled by a diphthong as well as a vowel as in

- v) CVC : pjam 'cheek', janwan 'eternity'.

Any consonant can fill the position C_1 in the formula, except /ŋ/ and /r/ which can occur only in non-post-pausal positions.

Examples:

/soŋaŋi/ 'calf'
 /baŋ/ 'room'
 /dari/ 'bridge'
 /ca ro/ 'by car'

Any vowel or diphthong can fill the position V, but when C_1 is present, the occurrence of some diphthongs in the V position is restricted. The following combinations are very infrequent.¹⁾

/b/	}	+	{	/jɛ/
/p/	}		{	/je/
/p̃/	}		{	/wi/
/m/	}		{	/ui/

1) Woong, Huh "Korean Phonology", p.73

/d/		
/t/		/je/
/t̥/		/jɛ/
/ɕ/	*	/ja/
/c/		/jo/
/ç/		/ju/
/s/		/jʌ/
/s̥/		

There are only seven consonants which can fill the position C_2 : /b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /r/.

Examples:

- /b/: /bab/ 'cooked rice', /buŋg/ 'kitchen',
 /d/: /god/ 'at once', /bad/ 'field',
 /g/: /gug/ 'soup', /kag̃ca/ 'Let's cut [it].',
 /m/: /ɕim/ 'burden', /ga:msa/ 'thanks',
 /n/: /san/ 'mountain', /sonɕa/ 'grandson',
 /ŋ/: /saŋ/ 'prize', /jʌŋgug/ 'England',
 /r/: /sar/ 'rice', /mirda/ 'to push',
 /saur ro/ 'to Seoul' [saul lo].

2.5 Junctures.

There are three types of junctures in Korean:

- i) Plus juncture: /+/,
- ii) Tentative juncture: /,/,
- iii) Terminal juncture: /./.

These three junctures are established by the combined criteria of the phonetic features associated with the syllable immediately preceding the junctures and pause.

The plus juncture /+/, which may or may not be accompanied by a short momentary pause, is realized as a prolongation of the immediately preceding syllable on a level pitch.

The tentative juncture /,/, which may or may not be accompanied by a pause, usually longer than that of the plus juncture, is realized as a prolongation of the immediately preceding syllable on a rising or falling pitch.

The pitch span associated with the tentative juncture is not so extensive as in the case of the terminal juncture.

The terminal juncture /./ is always accompanied by a pause, usually, but not necessarily, longer than that of the tentative juncture, and the syllable immediately preceding the terminal juncture is characterized by a more

extensive pitch contour, except when it is followed by a level intonation(cf. 2.6). The terminal juncture occurs at the end of a sentence(cf. 7.0), and the plus and tentative junctures occur usually within a sentence, marking various smaller structures than sentence. The contrasts of the three junctures may be exemplified by the following examples:

- i) /i(+).sogaJug/ 'This cow-leather'
 < i 'this' + sogaJug 'cow-leather'.
- ii) /i(+).so+gaJug./ 'The leather of this cow'
 < i 'this' + so 'cow' + gaJug 'leather'.
- iii) /i(+).so,gaJug(ur maga)./ 'This cow (is eating leather).'
 < i 'this' + so 'cow' + gaJug 'leather'
- iv) /i(+).so.gaJug(ur maga)./ 'This(You) cow! Eat the leather!'
- v) /i(+).so.ga+/,Jug(ur maga)./ 'This cow! Go and (eat [your])forage!'
 < i 'this' + so 'cow' + ga 'go and'
 + Jug 'forage'.

(Note) ga+/, = ga+ or ga,

The plus juncture often serves to distinguish a phrase

from a compound word, which does not include a juncture.

Examples:

/bori[̣]sa[̣]r/ 'clean barley' < bori 'barley'
 compound word + sa[̣]r 'rice'

/bori+sa[̣]r/ 'barley and rice' < bori 'barley'
 phrase + sa[̣]r 'rice'.

/sa[̣]ur[̣]sinmun/ 'The Seoul Daily'
 compound word < sa[̣]ur 'Seoul' + sinmun 'newspaper'.

/sa[̣]ur+sinmun/ 'Newspapers of Seoul'
 phrase

2.6. Intonation.

The intonation system employed in this thesis is the one set up by the present writer elsewhere¹⁾ for purposes not directly related to grammatical or syntactic description; the attitudinal function performed by intonation. That is to say, the following seventeen intonation tunes were originally abstracted on the basis of

1) The writer's M.A. thesis "A study of Korean intonation" presented to University of London, 1964.

the contrastive attitudinal meanings which they carry.

Falling Tunes:

- 1) Low Fall \ne 'Yes'
- 2) High Fall \ne
- 3) Full Fall \ne

Rising Tunes:

- 4) Low Rise /ne
- 5) High Rise /ne
- 6) Full Rise /ne

Falling-Rising Tunes:

- 7) Low Fall-Rise \ne
- 8) High Fall-Rise \ne

Rising-Falling Tunes:

- 9) Low Rise-Fall ^ne
- 10) High Rise-Fall ^ne

Falling-Rising-Falling Tunes:

11) Low Fall-Rise-Fall ~ ne

12) High Fall-Rise-Fall ~ ne

Rising-Falling-Rising Tunes:

13) Low Rise-Fall-Rise ~ ne

14) High Rise-Fall-Rise ~ ne

Level Tunes:

15) Low Level Tune _ ne

16) Mid Level Tune -ne

17) High level Tune -ne

Every tune may be realized on one or more syllables, and the syllable at which a tune begins, i.e., the one before which the tonetic mark is placed, is strongly stressed. In the following diagrammatic representations of intonational tunes, two parallel lines indicate the upper and lower limit of the normal voice range, [=] stands for the pitch of a stressed syllable and [-] that of an unstressed syllable.

Examples:

(a) wɛ 'Why ?' wɛjɔ 'Why ?'

(b) gasibsijo 'Please go !'

(c) ga 'Go ?' parriga 'Go quickly ?'

(d) wɛ 'Why' wɛgajo 'Why are you going ?'

(e) wɛ 'Why ?' manɟagani 'Are you going first ?'

(f) gurejo 'Is that so?'

It is at this point necessary to introduce the phonological unit 'Stress group'¹⁾ to explain the working of intonation in longer stretches of speech. The stress group is here defined as a strongly stressed syllable with or without preceding and/or following weakly stressed syllable(s), and every utterance may be analysed as consisting of one or more stress groups. Every such stress group occurs with one of the seventeen tunes, and it follows that there are as many stress groups in an utterance as there are intonational tunes.

Examples:

One stress group:

/wɛ/ 'Why?'

/wɛanhɛnni/ 'Why did you not do it?'

Two stress groups:

/ʃar ga/ 'Go safely.'

/na-rado 'harkka/ '[Do you think] I can do it?'

Three stress groups:

/o'nurun 'nari ^cubkuna/ 'It is cold today.'

1) Further details concerning the stress group and various related problems are dealt with in 3.10. of "A study of Korean intonation".

/ʃanʃɛɲi -kunnaja dora wad̪a/

'[He] returned as soon as the war
ended.'

2.61. Intonemes

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

Intoneme LF(Low Fall):

a) Low Fall

- b) Low Rise-Fall
- c) Low Fall-Rise-Fall

Intoneme HF(High Fall):

- a) High Fall
- b) Full Fall
- c) High Rise-Fall
- d) High Fall-Rise-Fall

Intoneme R(Rise):

- a) Low Rise
- b) High Rise
- c) Full Rise
- d) Low Fall-Rise
- e) High Fall-Rise
- f) Low Rise-Fall-Rise
- g) High Rise-Fall-Rise

Intoneme L(Level):

- a) Low Level
- b) High Level
- c) Mid Level

Grammatical contrasts exhibited by intonemes may be exemplified as follows:

a) Intoneme LF:

/nu ga ˈgadso/ 'Someone has gone.'

b) Intoneme HF:

/nu ga ˈgadso/ 'Who has gone?'

c) Intoneme R:

/nu ga ˈgadso/ 'Has anyone gone?'

d) Intoneme L:

/nu ga -gadso/ 'Someone has gone.' or 'Who has gone?'

e) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF:

/-cuɒ ˈʃʒadʔa/ '[It] has become cold.'

f) Intoneme LF + Intoneme LF:

/ˌcuɒ ˈʃʒadʔa/ '[He] has lost because it was cold.'

The distribution of intonemes in relation to junctures may be stated as follows: Any intoneme may occur with the terminal juncture /./ (cf. 2.5), but only Intoneme LF, Intoneme HE and Intoneme R are found with the tentative juncture /,/, and only Intoneme L with the plus juncture /+/.

Examples:

- a) /,ΔJe nu ga, ,gadšo./ 'Someone went yesterday.'
- b) /-ΔJe nu ga + `gadšo./ 'Who went yesterday?'
- c) //ΔJe nu ga, `gadšo./ 'Did anyone go yesterday?'
- d) /-ΔJe nu ga + -gadšo./ 'Someone went yesterday.'
- or 'Who went yesterday?'
- e) /-cuΔ + ,ɣjadta./ '[It] has become cold.'
- f) /,cuΔ, ,ɣjadta./ '[He] has lost because it is cold.'

2.7 Transcription

The transcription system employed in this thesis, except in Chapter II Phonology where a purely phonemic transcription is used, is morphemic in that every morpheme or word is represented by its base form. Accordingly

the transcription system adopted here is in principle identical to the present Korean orthography (cf. 1.22). The main advantage of using a morphemic, rather than phonemic, transcription is that (i) it carries such grammatical information as would be lacking in a transcription that is purely phonemic, (ii) a phonemic transcription can be derived by a set of rules from a morphemic transcription but not vice versa. However, the symbols used in the morphemic transcription are the same as those given in the phoneme inventory (cf. 2.1). To derive a phonemic transcription from a morphemic transcription, one or more of the following rules must be applied.

- 1) b/d/g/ɟ > /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/ when immediately preceded by a plosive consonant.

e.g. ibgo > /ibko/ 'to wear and'
 ʌbdɑ > /ʌbta/ 'to carry on the back'
 sa:g dar > /sa:gtar/ 'three months'
 agbo > /agpo/ 'musical note'
 doɓge > /dɔbke/ 'Help [him].'
 badʒi > /badci/ '[I will] take [it].'

2) b/d/g/ʃ/s > /p̣/, /ṭ/, /ḳ/, /ç̣/, /ṣ/ when immediately preceded by a /r/-final word.

e.g. garir bjaḡ > /garir p̣jaḡ/ 'A wall to cover'
 ja:r dar > /ja:r ṭar/ 'ten months'
 car goḡ > /car ḳoḡ/ 'A ball to kick'
 sar ʃib > /sar ç̣ib/ 'A house to buy'
 or sa:raṃ > /or ṣa:raṃ/ 'A person to come'

3) d/g/ʃ/s > /ṭ/, /ḳ/, /ç̣/, /ṣ/ when preceded by a verb stem ending in m/n or rb/rp/rt/rg/rm/bs/nʃ

e.g. gamda > /gaṃta/ 'to close [eyes]'
 name > /naṃke/ 'Stay [here].'
 simʃa > /siṃça/ 'Let's sow [seeds].'
 sinse > /siṇse/ 'Let's put on [shoes].'
 jarbda > /jarḅta/ 'to be thin' (> /jarta/ by rule 8)
 hartda > /harḍta/ 'to lick' (> /harta/ by rule 9)
 guḡʃi > /guḡ̣ç̣i/ '[Isn't he] scratching ?'
 (> /gug̣ç̣i/ by rule 6)
 ʃarmso > /ʃarṃso/ '[You are] young.'
 (> /ʃaṃso/ by rule 7)
 urpʃa > /urp̣ça/ 'Let's recite.'
 ʌ:bsda > /ʌ:ḅsta/ 'to lack' (> /ʌ:ḅta/ by rule 4)
 anʃda > /aṇʃta/ 'to sit' (> /anta/ by rule 10)

4) p/bs > /b/ in the environment _C/#

e.g. gabs > /gab/ 'price'
 gipda > /giḅda/ 'to be deep' (> /giḅta/ by rule 1)

5) t/s/ʃ/c > /d/ in the environment _C/#

e.g. gatgo > /gaḍgo/ 'is the same and' (> /gaḍko/ by rule 1)

basge > /bʌdʒe/ 'Take off [shirt].'
 (> /bʌdʒe/ by rule 1)

gas̄i > /gʌdʒi/ '[It] has gone.'
 (> /gʌdʒi/ by rule 10)

mʌd̄darado > /mʌd̄darado/ 'Even if [it] stops.'
 (> /mʌd̄darado/ by rule 1)

koc > /kʌd/ 'flower'

6) k/k/gs/rg > /g/ in the environment _C/#

e.g. buak > /buʌg/ 'kitchen'

nakda > /nʌgda/ 'catch [fish]'
 (> /nʌgda/ by rule 1)

sags > /sʌg/ 'fee, wage'

darg > /dʌg/ 'chicken'

7) rm > /m/ in the environment _C/#

e.g. sarm > /sʌm/ 'life'

ʃarmda > /ʃʌmda/ 'to be young'
 (> /ʃʌmda/ by rule 3)

8) rb/rp > /r/ or /rb/ in the environment _C/#

e.g. ɔ̄arbda > /ɔ̄arda/ or /ɔ̄arbda/ 'to be short'

(> /ɔ̄arda/ or /ɔ̄arbda/ by rule 1)

urpda > /urda/ or /urbda/ 'to recite'

(> /urda/ or /urbda/ by rule 1)

9) rt > /r/ or /rd/ in the environment C/#

e.g. hartgo > /hargo/ or /hardgo/ 'to lick and'
(> /harko/ or /hardko/ by rule 2 or 1)

10) nɹ > /n/ in the environment C/#

e.g. anɹge > /ange/ 'Sit down.' (> /anke/ by rule 3)

11) b/d/g > /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ in the environment m/n

e.g. bab mas > /bamas/ 'appetite, taste of rice
food' (> /bammad/ by rule 5)

gibne > /gimne/ '[She is] sewing.'

ga:dna > /ga:nna/ 'Are you walking?'

jaŋgug nar̄si > /jaŋgug nar̄si/ 'British weather'

12) n > /r/ in the environment r_

e.g. ja:r nara > /ja:r rara/ 'ten countries'

gar nar > /gar rar/ 'day of departure'

13) dh/t > /c/ in the environment i

e.g. dadhida > /dadida/ 'to be closed'

gati > /gaci/ 'together'

14) verb stem final (r)h + g/d/ʃ > /ʃ(r)k, (r)t, (r)c/

e.g. ʃoh- 'to be good' + -go > /ʃoko/

ʃoh- " " + -da > /ʃota/

orh- 'to be correct' + -ʃi > /orci/

15) verb stem final rh + n/s > /rn, rs/

e.g. arh- 'to be ill' + -ne > /arne/

> /arre/ (by rule 12)

arh- " " + -so > /arso/

16) verb stem final h + n/s > /dn, ds/

e.g. ʃoh- 'to be good' + -ne > /ʃodne/

ʃoh- " " + -so > /ʃodso/

The following three rules are optional:

17) verb stem final i + ʌ > /jʌ/

e.g. guri- 'to draw [a picture]' + -ara > /gurjara/

18) verb stem final o + a > /wa/

e.g. bo- 'to see, to look' + -a > /bwa/

19) verb stem final u + ʌ > /wʌ/

e.g. gu- 'to grill' + -ʌ > /gwʌ/

CHAPTER III. WORD and WORD CLASSES

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3.1 Definition of word

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

(i) Relative fixity of internal structure.

The phonological make-up of words can not be altered or the components rearranged, and in the case of words comprising more than one morpheme, the order of morphemes is also fixed. For instance, in the following examples,

bisnaganda '[It] is going astray.'

< bis- 'astray' prfx. + naga- 'to go out' Vst. + -nda inflx.sfx.

pusgwasir 'unripe fruits' < pus- 'unripe' prfx.

+ gwasir 'fruit' N.

no internal alteration or rearrangement is possible, whether phonological or morphological. Similarly no intra-morphemic interruption by other forms or junctures is possible in normal speech.

(ii) Freedom of positional mobility.

Words have the maximum freedom of positional mobility in syntactic structures. The best example of this criterion is provided by verbs, which when appropriately inflected, may function in many different syntactic positions.

e.g.

wegug e gabnida ' [He] is going abroad. '

V as a sentence predicate.

gamjan Johda 'It is good if [you] go. (lit. If [you] go it is good.)'

V as a non-final clause

ganun sa:ram 'The one who is going.'

V as an adjectival clause

gam i swibda 'Going is easy.'

V as a nominal clause

R

(iii) Independence

All words may occur alone preceded and followed by the terminal juncture, i.e., as a sentence, except

adjectives and particles (cf. 3.33 & 3.35), which rarely occur alone.

- e.g. Jib 'House' N.
 anŋe 'When ?' N.
 girda '[It] is long.' V.
 o 'Oh!' Interj.
 cancanhi 'Slowly' Adv.

3.11 Phonological criterion for the definition of word.

All words have a strong stress on one of the first two syllables when occurring as citation forms, i.e., in isolation and have potentiality of taking one when occurring in larger constructions, with the exception of particles (cf. 3.35) which usually occur weakly stressed or unstressed.

- e.g. 'ja:ngu 'research'
 'cingu 'friend'
 'saur 'Seoul'
 gu'Jo 'structure'
 tu'ŋɛŋ 'struggle'
 Ja'doŋca 'car'

'sori ga 'cam 'Johda. 'The sound is very good.'

'cingu ga 'onun 'nar. 'The day when a friend is coming.'

Ja'donca rur 'bon 'ai. 'The child who saw the car.'

However the phonological criterion of stress is not consistently applicable in the definition of word since some words may have more than one stress for emphasis and sometimes lose the stress altogether when occurring in longer stretches of speech. Therefore the stress is only supplementary to the grammatical criteria given in 3.1.

3.2 Types of Word

There are two types of word, the simple word and the compound word.

3.21 Simple Word

Every word which consists of a single free morpheme with or without one or more bound morphemes is a simple word.

e.g.

he 'sun', dar 'moon

namu 'tree', jarum 'summer'

pussaranj 'calf love' < pus- 'unripe' prfx. +
saranj 'love'

heb̄sar 'new[crop of] rice' < heb- 'new' +
sar 'rice'

isanjag 'ideal' N. + -jag 'adjective-forming sfx.'

3.22. Compound word

Every word which consists of more than one free morpheme and is uninterrupted by a juncture at inter-morphemic junctions is a compound word. One of the components of a compound word may comprise a bound morpheme. The majority of compound words are composed of two free morphemes and those comprising three or more are very rare.

Examples:

naparkoc 'morning-glory' < napar 'bugle' +
koc 'flower'

sarbab 'rice(boiled) food'
< sar 'rice' + bab '(rice)food'

heb̄sarbab 'new rice food' < heb 'new' prfx. +
sar 'rice' + bab 'food'

Jaramogaġi 'turtle-neck' < Jara 'turtle' +
mog 'neck' + aġi 'diminutive sfx.'

jaukoripur 'Veronica kiusiana' < jau 'fox' +
kori 'tail' + pur 'plant'.

hanurbabdodug 'Gryllotalpa africana' < hanur 'heaven'
+ bab 'food' + dodug 'thief'.

3.3 Word Classes

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

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

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

3.31 The Verb

Every word which includes at least a stem and an inflectional ending (cf. 4.35) is a verb class word. Between a verb stem and an inflectional ending may be found one or more stem-extending suffixes representing such grammatical categories as 'voice', 'honorific', 'tense' and 'humble' (cf. 4.3). The majority of verbs, when appropriately inflected, may occur alone as a major type sentence (cf. 7.1) but verb stems alone are bound and can never occur without an inflectional ending.

e.g. onda '[He] is coming.' < o- 'to come' V.st.
 + -n 'tense' +
 -da 'inflex.end.'

kakašni '[Did you] cut it ?' < kak- 'to cut' V.st.
 + -aš 'tense' + -ni 'inflex.end.'

bošubnida '[She] has seen [it].' < bo- 'to see'
 V.st. + -si- 'honorific' +
 -aš- 'tense' + -ubnida 'inflex.end.'

barguobnika 'Is [it] bright ?' < barg- 'to be
 bright' V.st. + -uo- 'humble' +
 -bnika 'inflex.end.'

3.32 The Noun

Every word which may occur (a) before the copula verb i- 'to be' (cf. 3.41.11), (b) before a particle (cf. 3.35), (c) before another noun, (d) after an adjective (cf. 3.33), and a noun class word. Any noun except non-independent nouns (cf. 3.42.2) may occur alone as a minor sentence (cf. 7.1 & 7.4).

e.g.

- a) sa:ram ida '[He] is a man.'
- nugu iAsubnika 'Who was it?'
- b) baða ro 'to the sea'
- Jaju ui nors 'A song of freedom'
- c) terebi banşon 'television broadcast'
- d) on sesan 'whole world'
- ha:n cegşan 'an old desk'

3.33 The Adjective

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

exhaustively listed.

- e.g. a) se ca: 'a new car'
i sūgan 'this time(hour)'
anu gas: 'which one?'
- b) anu se os: 'which new clothes?'
han ha:n moJa: 'an old cap'

3.34. The Adverb

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

- e.g. a) Jar ganda: '[He] is going well.'
cam Johda: '[It] is very good.'
- b) namu do: biśada: '[It] is far too expensive.'
marri nuun anganda: '[He] is not going far.'
- c) parri. 'Quickly!'
sarsar. 'Gently!'

3.35. The Particle

Every word which occurs (a) after a noun, (b)

independent of other elements in a sentence, is an interjectional class word.

e.g. (a) o 'Oh!'

orci 'Splendid!'

(b) aigu, Jagi onda 'Oh dear, there [he]
comes!'

anJe gasejo cam 'When are you going by
the way.'

3.4: Sub-classes of Word Classes

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

3.41 Sub-classes of Verbs

Three different sub-classifications are required of verbs since sub-classes yielded by one type of classification are more relevant and conducive to a simpler statement of certain grammatical relations than those by other type of classification and vice versa. Sub-classes yielded by each of the three different

classifications are the results of cross-classifications and not further sub-classifications.

3.41.1 Processive and Descriptive Verbs

Verbs are either processive or descriptive depending on the following morphological characteristics: the processive verbs may be inflected for the imperative and propositive moods (cf. 7.22.3 - 4) and suffixed by -n-/-nun- 'present tense sfx' (cf. 4.33) whereas the descriptive verbs are inflected for neither mood and can not be suffixed by the present tense suffix.

Processive verbs : bo- 'to see', ɟu- 'to give',
ɗanɟi- 'to throw', nor- 'to play',
swi- 'to rest', anɟ- 'to sit'
 etc.,

e.g.

hanur ur bonda '[He] is looking at the sky.'
 bonda < bo- 'to see' +
 -n- 'pres.t.sux.' + -da 'infix.
 end.'

ai ga anɟnunda 'The child is sitting [down].'
 anɟnunda < anɟ- 'to sit' + -nun-
 'pres.t.sux.' + -da 'infix.end.'

Descriptive verbs : Jarm- 'to be young', kui- 'to be big',
gir- 'to be long', barg- 'to be bright',
Joh- 'to be good', ca- 'to be cold'
 etc.

e.g. gu nun Jarmda '[She] is young.'

Jarm- 'to be young' + -da 'infix.end.'

nar i cada 'It is cold. (lit. The weather is cold.)

ca- 'to be cold' + -da 'infix.end.'

3.41.11 The Copula Verb

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

e.g. dor ida '[This] is a stone.'

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

barg- a) as V.p 'to dawn, to become bright'

b) as V.d 'to be bright'

nuJ- a) as V.p 'to become late'

b) as V.d 'to be late'

- kui- a) as V.p 'to grow'
 b) as V.d 'to be big'
- iš- a) as V.p 'to stay'
 b) as V.d 'to be, to exist'
- gesi- a) as V.p 'to stay'
 b) as V.d 'to be, to exist'

gesi- is the honorific (cf. 3.41.3) counterpart
 of iš-.

- gud- a) as V.p 'to harden'
 b) as V.d 'to be hard'

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

- e.g. nar i bargda 'The day is bright.'
 bargda < barg- V.d + -da 'influx.end.'
- nar i bargnunda 'The day is dawning.'
 bargnunda < barg- V.p + -nuun- 'pres.t.sfx.'
 + -da 'influx.end.'

3.41.2 Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

As an alternative classification,¹⁾ verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive verbs depending

1) cf. 3.41.4 for correlations between alternative sub-classifications of verbs.

on whether or not they have potentiality of taking an object (cf. 6.23). All transitive verbs may take an object but no intransitive verb can take one. The transitive/intransitive distinction of verbs is paralleled to a great extent by the distinction of passivity/non-passivity between them; transitive verbs lend themselves to passive voice formation but it is not possible with intransitive verbs.

Transitive verbs: mag- 'to eat', mir- 'to push'
nuru- 'to press', buru- 'to call'
dad- 'to shut', par- 'to sell'
 etc.

e.g. tag ur magni 'Are you eating cakes?'
 magni < mag- 'to eat' + -ni 'infix.end.'
tag i maghini 'Is cake being eaten?'
 maghini < mag- 'to eat' + -hi- 'passive
 voice suffix' + -ni 'infix.end.'

Intransitive verbs: anĵ- 'to sit', su- 'to stand',
swi- 'to rest', nop- 'to be high',
hajah- 'to be white', etc.

e.g. uiĵa e anĵnunda '[He] is sitting on a chair.'
 anĵnunda < anĵ- 'to sit' + -nun- 'pres.
 t.sfx.' + -da 'infix.end.'

andag i nopa 'The hill is high.'

nopa < nop- 'to be high' + -a 'infix.end.'

3.41.3 Full Verbs and Auxiliary Verbs

As a second alternative classification, verbs are sub-divided into 'Full' and 'Auxiliary' verbs depending on whether or not they can occur alone as a sentence (cf. 7.0). A full verb can occur by itself as a sentence but an auxiliary verb can not so occur unless it is preceded by a full verb. Both full and auxiliary verbs may be further subdivided into 'Honorific' and 'Plain' verbs. Honorific verbs are those which express in addition to the lexical meanings the speaker's respect to the subject (cf. 5.31.1). Verbs other than the honorific verbs are plain verbs.

3.41.31 Full Verbs

3.41.31.1 Honorific Full Verbs

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

Honorific verbs

Jabsusi- 'to eat'

Plain verbs

mag-

Jumusi- 'to sleep' Ja-
gesi- 'to be, to exist' is-

etc.

e.g. abaɸi ga Jabsusinda 'My father is dining.'
 doɸsaŋ i magnunda 'My brother is eating.'
 ʌ:run i gesini 'Is an adult there?'
 ai ga isni 'Is a child there?'

3.41.31.2 Plain Full Verbs

All plain verbs can be suffixed by the honorific suffix -si-/-usi- (cf. 4.32) to express the same kind of respect to the subject of a sentence as is shown by honorific verbs, but an honorific-suffixed plain verb is usually avoided if a corresponding honorific verb is available.

irg- 'to read', jar- 'to open',
Ja:g- 'to be small', jat- 'to be low',
so- 'to shoot', bari- 'to throw'
 etc.

e.g. sonjan i ceɸ ur irgnunda 'A boy is reading
 a book.'

irgnunda < irg- 'to read' V.pl. + -numɸa
 'pres.t.sfx.' + -da 'inflex.end.'

sansen i ceg ur irgusinda. 'A teacher is reading
a book.'

irgusinda < irg- 'to read' + -usi- 'hon.sfx.'

+ -n- 'pres.t.sfx.' + -da 'influx.end.'

3.41.32 Auxiliary Verbs

All auxiliary verbs are listed below under three different headings; those listed under (i) are processive, those under (ii) descriptive, and those under (iii) both processive and descriptive verbs.

(i) Processive auxiliary verbs:

- 1) bo- 'to try to'
- 2) Ju- 'to do something for someone as a favour'
- 3) duiri- 'the honorific counterpart of Ju-
- 4) dε- 'repetition'
- 5) sah- 'repetition, continuation'
- 6) bari- '[to do something]completely or thoroughly'
- 7) Ji- a) 'passive voice formative' when preceded by
a V.tr.
b) 'unintentional or independent of the will
of the subject' when preceded by a V.intr.
c) 'processive verb formative' with the meaning
'progression or to become' when preceded
by a V.d.

- 8) dwe- a) 'independent of the will or intention on the part of the subject' when preceded by a V.p
 b) 'processive verb formative' with the meaning 'to become' when preceded by a V.d.
- 9) ga- a) 'progression [toward a goal] from present to future or away from the speaker'
 b) 'near-completion'
- 10) o- a) 'progression [toward a goal] from past to present or toward the speaker'
- 11) noh- 'completion, retention'
- 12) na- 'progression, completion'
- 13) ne- 'progression, completion'
- 14) mar- 'negation'
- 15) ha- a) 'causative voice formative' when preceded by a V.p.
 b) 'causative voice and processive verb formative' when preceded by a V.d.
- 16) mandur- the same as ha-

(ii) Descriptive auxiliary verbs:

- 17) is- a) 'retention'
 b) 'progressive tense formative' when preceded by a V.p.

18) sip- 'to want to, to wish to'

(iii) Processive & Descriptive verbs:

19) aniha- 'negation' [not to do].

20) mosha- 'negation' [to be unable to].

21) mar- 'negation' in imperative and
propositive sentences.

Examples: Joṅi ga çiŋa ŋinda '[A sheet of] paper
 V.tr. V.aux. is torn.'

çiŋ- 'to tear', ŋi- 'pasv.fmtv.'

sur:ur masigo iŋda '[He] is drinking wine.'
 V.tr. V.aux.

masi- 'to drink', iŋ- 'progressive
 t.fmtv.'

na num gaŋi moshanda 'You can not go.'
 V.intr. V.aux.

ga- 'to go', mosha- 'negation'

Further details concerning the syntactic functions of auxiliary verbs and examples will be found in the discussion of verbal phrases (cf. 5.2).

Some auxiliary verbs are identical in form to full verbs but there is some difference in meaning between them.

- e.g. Ji- 'to wither or fall' as full verb.
 (Ji- 'pasv.fmtv.' as auxiliary verb.
bo- 'to see' as full verb.
 (bo- 'to try to' as auxiliary verb.
bari- 'to throw, to discard' as full verb.
 (bari- '[to do something] completely' as aux. verb.
noh- 'to place or put down' as full verb.
 (noh- 'retention' as auxiliary verb.
ga- 'to go' as full verb.
 (ga- 'progression' as auxiliary verb.

Examples:

koc i Jinda 'The flower is falling.'
 V

swe ga kakA Jinda 'The iron is broken.'
 V V.aux.

kak- 'to break' Ji- 'pasv.fmtv.'

ceg ur boara 'Look at the book.'
 V

ceg ur irga boara 'Try to read the book.'
 V V.aux.

irg- 'to read', bo- 'to try to.'

3.41.4 Correlations between alternative sub-classifications.

Correlations between the sub-classes of verbs yielded by the first two classifications (cf. 3.41.1 & 3.41.2) may be set out as follows:

(i) Processive V. \longleftrightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Transitive V.} \\ \text{Intransitive V.} \end{array} \right.$

Descriptive V. \longleftrightarrow Intransitive V.

or

(ii) Transitive V. \longleftrightarrow Processive V.

Intransitive V. \longleftrightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Processive V.} \\ \text{Descriptive V.} \end{array} \right.$

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

3.42 Sub-classes of Nouns

The Korean language totally lacks such grammatical categories as gender, number and case with noun class words. It is therefore formally impossible to sub-classify

nouns by such criteria, and any attempt, such as has been made by traditional grammarians, to employ such criteria is bound to yield sub-classes based on a number of semantic criteria which are largely irrelevant to a discussion of formal grammatical relations. The following noun sub-classes are based on various syntactic criteria.

3.42.1 Independent Nouns

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

e.g. sa:ram 'man, human being',
ai 'child', ge 'dog',
Jib 'house', hanur 'sky',
mur 'water', gicā 'train',
saran 'love', sengag 'thought, idea',
 etc.

Among the independent nouns are distinguished the following further sub-classes : i) Numerals, ii) Pronouns, iii) Interrogative Nouns & iv) Adverbial Nouns.

3.42.11 Numerals

Numerals are those independent nouns which (i) typically occur as an affirmative answer to a question such as

mjae ibnika. 'How many [are they].?',

(ii) may be immediately followed by a classifier (cf. 3.42.21).

There are two sets of numerals in Korean; 'Korean numerals' and 'Sino-Korean numerals'. For numbers from one hundred onward, only Sino-Korean numerals are now in use.

3.42.11.1 The Korean Cardinal Numerals

<u>hana</u>	'one'	<u>jar</u>	'ten'
<u>dur</u>	'two'	<u>sumur</u>	'twenty'
<u>ses</u>	'three'	<u>sarhun</u>	'thirty'
<u>nes</u>	'four'	<u>mahun</u>	'fourty'
<u>dasas</u>	'five'	<u>swihun</u>	'fifty'
<u>jasas</u>	'six'	<u>jesun</u>	'sixty'
<u>irgob</u>	'seven'	<u>irhun</u>	'seventy'
<u>jadarb</u>	'eight'	<u>jadun</u>	'eighty'
<u>ahob</u>	'nine'	<u>ahun</u>	'ninety'

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

- e.g.
- jar hana 'eleven' < jar 'ten' + hana 'one'
- jar dur 'twelve' < jar 'ten' + dur 'two'
- sumur dasas 'twenty five' < sumur 'twenty'
+ dasas 'five'
- jadun jadarb 'eighty eight' < jadun 'eighty'
+ jadarb 'eight'
- ahun ahob 'ninety nine' < ahun 'ninety'
+ ahob 'nine'

3.42.11.2 The Sino-Korean Cardinal Numerals

ir	'one'		
i	'two'		
sam	'three'	beg	'hundred'
sa	'four'	can	'thousand'
o	'five'	man	'ten thousand'
jug	'six'	ag	'one hundred million'
cir	'seven'		
par	'eight'		
gu	'nine'		
sib	'ten'		

Other Sino-Korean numerals than those given above are in the form of compound numerals.

e.g.

i sib 'twenty' < i 'two' + sib 'ten'sam sib 'thirty' < sam 'three' + sib 'ten'sa sib 'fourty' < sa 'four' + sib 'ten'sib o 'fifteen' < sib 'ten' + o 'five'i sib o 'twenty five' < i sib 'twenty' + o 'five'o beg 'five hundred' < o 'five' + beg 'hundred'jug beg cir sib sa 'six hundred and seventy four'

< jug 'six' + beg 'hundred' + cir 'seven'

+ sib 'ten' + sa 'four'

ir can gu beg jug sib par '1968'

< ir 'one' + can 'thousand' + gu 'nine'

+ beg 'hundred' + jug 'six' + sib 'ten'

+ par 'eight'

3.42.11.3 Korean and Sino-Korean Ordinal Numerals

The Korean ordinal numerals are formed by adding the ordinalizing suffix -c̣e: to the Korean cardinal numerals except 'first', which has the special ordinal form caṣc̣e:.

e.g.	<u>du(r)c̣e:</u>	'second'	<u>jarc̣e:</u>	'tenth'
	<u>seṣc̣e:</u>	'third'	<u>jar daṣaṣc̣e:</u>	'fifteenth'
	<u>neṣc̣e:</u>	'fourth'	<u>sarhun jaṣaṣc̣e:</u>	
	<u>daṣaṣc̣e:</u>	'fifth'		'thirty sixth'

The Sino-Korean ordinal numerals are formed by adding the ordinalizing prefix Je- to the Sino-Korean cardinal numerals.

e.g. Jeir 'first' Jesib o 'fifteenth'
 Jei 'second' Jepar sib 'eightieth'
 Jesib 'tenth' Jecir sib sa 'seventy fourth'

3.42.11.4 Distribution of Korean and Sino-Korean Numerals

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

e.g. dasas sa:ram 'five people(or men)' < dasas 'five'
 Kor. numeral + sa:ram 'man' Kor.N.
o in 'five persons(or people)'
 < o 'five' Sino-Kor. numeral +
 in 'person' Sino-Kor. N.
sam sib se 'thirty years of age' < se 'age' S-K.N.
 sam sib 'thirty' Sino-Kor. numeral
sarhun sar 'thirty years of age'
 < sarhun 'thirty' Kor. numeral +
 sar 'age' Kor.N.

3.42.12 Pronouns

Independent nouns which can never be preceded by a numeral or an adjective (although an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.32) or an adjectival clause (cf. 6.43) may precede them) are pronouns. Pronouns fall into three categories of person depending on whether they refer to the speaker, the addressee, or person(s)/thing(s) spoken about: (i) First person pronouns, (ii) Second person pronouns and (iii) Third person pronouns. The first and second person pronouns may be further distinguished in respect to the degree of politeness between the speaker and the addressee, paralleling to a great extent the different speech styles marked by verbal inflections (cf. 4.35.1). The forms of personal address and reference in Korean vary according to the degree of intimacy and the relative social status of speaker(s) in relation to addressee(s) and others spoken about. Accordingly personal pronouns are quite numerous. The pronouns listed below are those occurring most frequently.

(i) First Persons Pronouns

na/nε¹⁾ 'I' uri(dur)²⁾ 'We' - 'plain style'

- 1) The alternant form nε occurs before the subject particle ga (3.45.1), and na elsewhere. nε also occurs as a contraction of na + ui 'of me, my', ui being a particle.
- 2) -dur is a derivational suffix expressing 'more than one'

JA/Je ¹⁾ 'I' Jahui(duur) - 'formal style'

(ii) Second Person Pronouns

na/ne ²⁾ 'you' nahui(duur) 'you' - 'low plain style'

Jane 'you' Janeduur 'you' - 'high plain style'

dansin 'you' dansinduur 'you' - 'low formal style'

sansen(nim) ³⁾ 'you' sansen(nim)duur 'you' - 'high formal style'

(iii) Third Person Pronouns

The third person pronouns are either personal or non-personal.

(a) Personal Pronouns

idur 'these persons'

gu 'he or she'

gudur 'they'

- 1) As with na 'I' (cf. ft.1, P.80), JA has the alternant form Je occurring before the particle ga. Je also occurs as a contraction of JA + ui 'of me, my'.
- 2) ne occurs before the particle ga and na elsewhere. ne also occurs as a contraction of na + ui 'of you, your'.
- 3) -nim is a derivational suffix expressing 'respect'.

The other third person pronouns are in the form of nominal phrase consisting of one of the deictic adjectives, i 'this', gu 'that [near the addressee or absent from the scene of discourse]' or ɟa 'that [at a distance from both the speaker and the addressee]' and an appropriate noun. The status of such pronouns with regard to speech style is determined by nouns found in them.

e.g.	<u>i</u> bun	'he, she or this person'	} 'formal'
	<u>gu</u> bun	'he, she or that person'	
	<u>ɟa</u> bun	'he, she, or that person'	
	<u>i</u> i	'he, she or this person'	} 'plain'
	<u>gu</u> i	'he, she or that person'	
	<u>ɟa</u> i	'he, she or that person'	

(b) Non-personal Pronouns

<u>i</u> (gas)	'this (thing)	<u>i</u> (gas)dur	'these (things)'
<u>gu</u> gas	'that'	<u>gu</u> gasdur	'those (things)'
<u>ɟa</u> gas	'that'	<u>ɟa</u> gasdur	'those (things)'

etc.

3.42.13 Interrogative Nouns

Nouns whose meanings vary according as they occur in the interrogative and non-interrogative¹⁾ sentence are interrogative nouns. In each of the following examples the first translation meaning is associated with the interrogative and the second one with the non-interrogative sentence.

- a) nu/nugu²⁾ 'who' ; 'someone'
 b) muu(s) 'what' ; 'something'
 c) mjac 'how many' ; 'a few, several'
 d) anje 'when' ; 'sometime'

Examples:

nu ga hešni 'Who did it ?'

nu ga hešda 'Someone did it.'

mjac ur sašni 'How many did you buy ?'

mjac ur sašni '[I] bought several.'

1) By 'non-interrogative sentence' is meant declarative, imperative or propositive sentence. See 'Major sentence categories' (cf. 7.22).

2) nu occurs only before the particle ga 'subject marker' and nugu elsewhere.

3.42.14: Adverbial Nouns

Nouns which can also function as adverbs in the sentence are adverbial nouns.

onur 'today', nsir 'tomorrow',
∆Je 'yesterday' guJake 'the day before yesterday'
Jigum 'now', caum '[at] first, beginning'
jagi 'here', gagi 'there',
∆nJe¹⁾ 'when, sometime'

Examples:

onur i Jinasda 'Today has passed.'
onur as subject(N.)

na nun onur ganda 'I am going today.'
onur as adverb.

3.42.2. Non-independent Nouns

Nouns which occur always preceded by an independent noun, an adjective or an adjectival phrase or clause are non-independent nouns. Non-independent nouns are further sub-divided as follows:

1) The noun ∆nJe is a member of two different noun sub-classes; the interrogative noun and adverbial noun.

3.42.21 Classifier

Non-independent nouns which typically follow a numeral or a numeral adjective (cf. 3.43.1) are classifiers. Every classifier has reference, both syntactically and semantically, to a noun or a group of nouns, and when an independent noun and a classifier cooccur, as in a nominal phrase specifying the quantity of the referent(thing) indicated by a noun, they must agree.

<u>mari</u>	'[head(s) of] animal'
<u>Jan</u>	'[sheet(s) of] paper'
<u>gwan</u>	'[volume(s) of] book(s)'
<u>guru</u>	'[number of] tree'
<u>de</u>	'[a set of] machine'
<u>ci</u>	'[inch] length'
<u>sam</u>	'[bail of] grain'
<u>mjan</u>	'[number of] person(s)'

etc.

Examples:

	<u>mar du mari</u>	'Two horses' (lit. horse two heads)
or	<u>du mari ui mar</u>	'Two horses' (Two heads of horses)
	<u>Jonii dasas Jan</u>	'Five sheets of paper'
		(lit. Paper five sheets)

ahob mjaŋ ui gisurġa 'Nine technicians'
(lit. nine persons' technicians)

3.42.22 Post-modifier I

Non-independent nouns which may be preceded by an independent noun, an adjective, or adjectival phrase or clause are members of the sub-class 'Post-modifier I'.

gas 'thing', i 'person',
gos 'place', ġur 'ability, capacity', 'guess.'
temun 'reason', mankum/manci 'as much as'
etc. ġero 'as, like'

Example:

uri gas 'ours, our things'
< uri 'we' N. + gas
i gos 'this place, here' < i 'this' Adj. + gos
gu mankum 'that much' < gu 'that' Adj. + mankum
ceg ur irgur ġur 'how to read a book. (lit.
ability to read a book)'
ceg ur irgur 'book reading' adj.cl.

3.42.23 Post-modifier II

Non-independent nouns which are always preceded by an adjectival clause (cf. 6.43) and usually followed by

the verb ha- 'to do' are members of the sub-class 'Host-modifier II'.

jan 'pretence, looking as if'

cag ' " " '

ce ' " " '

dus ' " " '

dun ~ dun 'not doing properly, unwillingly'

dun always repeats itself in double form and the second dun is usually preceded by the verb mar- 'not to do'

Examples: bonun jan handa ' [He] pretends to see [her]. '
 Jar han cag haʔi 'Isn't he pretending that he
 has done well ?'
 Janun ce haʔa 'Let's pretend to sleep.'
 bi ga or dus hada 'It looks as if it is
 going to rain.'
 magnun dun manun dun handa 'You are not
 eating properly. (lit. You
 seem to eat and not to eat.'

3.42.3 Alternative Classification of Nouns

In addition to the sub-classification of nouns into the independent and non-independent nouns (cf. 3.42.1,

3.42.2), two alternative classifications are necessitated by syntactic relations. They are:

- (i) Animate and Inanimate Nouns
and (ii) Honorific and Plain Nouns.

3.42.31 Animate and Inanimate Nouns

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

Animate Nouns:

na 'you', ingan 'human beings',
hagsen 'pupil, student', ai 'child',
ge 'dog', so 'cow' etc.

Inanimate Nouns:

san 'mountain', haggjo 'school',
Jadonca 'car', ban 'room',
Jib 'house', Janbu 'government',

ahob 'nine', gas 'thing'
etc.

Example: ai ege 'to a child' < ai 'child' N.ani. + ege

ge ege 'to a dog' < ge 'dog' N.ani. + ege

but san e 'to a mountain' < san 'mountain' N.ina.
+ e

haggjo e 'to a school' < haggjo 'school' N.ina.
+ e

3.42.32 Honorific and Plain Nouns

Honorific nouns are those which express, in addition to lexical meanings, 'respect' to the person referred to, or associated with an object referred to, by such nouns, and plain nouns are negatively defined as those which are not honorific nouns.

Honorific Nouns:

marsum 'word, speech', Jinji 'food', 'meal',

sanham 'name', hanunim 'god',

abanim 'father', sansennim 'teacher',

amanim 'mother', harabanim 'grandfather'

etc.

Plain Nouns:

tan 'earth', mur 'water',
os 'clothes', ba:r 'bee',
mar 'horse', ai 'child', saraŋ 'love',
ja:ngu 'research', Ja 'measure' etc.

All honorific nouns are paired by the corresponding plain nouns:

<u>Honorific Nouns</u>	:	<u>Plain Nouns</u>	
marsum	:	mar	'word, speech'
Jinji	:	bab	'food, meal'
saŋham	:	irum	'name'
ogce	:	mom	'body'
abanim	:	abaŋi	'father'
amanim	:	amani	'mother'
			etc.

There is a relationship of lexical concord, although somewhat loose as it is not as binding as some grammatical concords like 'Number' or 'Person' are in many European languages, between the honorific nouns and the honorific verbs (3.41.31.1). Hence the need for recognition of the honorific/plain distinction of nouns as syntactic sub-classes

An honorific noun occurring as subject or object tends to be used with an honorific verb or, if such a verb is not available, a plain verb with the honorific suffix -si-/-usi- (cf. 4.32).

Examples:

abanim i Jumusinda. '[My] father is sleeping.'
N.hon. V.hon.

sansɛɲnim i Jinɲi rur Jabsusinda.
N.hon. N.hon. V.hon.

'The teacher is having his meal.' (lit. Teacher
food is eating.)

harabanim i Jaŋ e gasinda.
N.hon.

'[My] grandfather is going to the market.'

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

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

bi ga osinda. 'Rain is falling (lit. coming).'

bi 'rain' N.pl., osinda < o- 'to come' V.pl.
+ -si- 'hon.sfx.' + -nda.

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

Examples:

gunin i baŋ e: iŋaʒo 'A soldier is in the room.'

gunin 'soldier' N.pl., iŋ- 'to be' V.pl.

<The context of situation: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being out of earshot. >

gunin i baŋ e: gesiʒo 'A soldier is in the room.'

gesi- 'to be' V.hon.

<The context of situation: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being within sight or earshot.>

3.43 Sub-classes of Adjectives

There are four sub-classes in the adjective class:

(i) Numeral Adjectives, (ii) Deictic Adjectives, (iii)

Interrogative Adjectives and (iv) Qualitative Adjectives.

3.43.1 Numeral Adjectives

Numeral adjectives are those adjectives which are derived from the Korean numerals (cf. 3.42.11 & 3.42.11.1) and occur before a classifier (cf. 3.42.21) or an independent noun. Numeral adjectives form a small sub-class, of which the most common members are as follows:

- a) han 'one'
- b) du 'two'
- c) se/sa/sag¹⁾ 'three'
- d) ne/na/nag¹⁾ 'four'
- e) das²⁾ 'five'

1) The selection of one or the other of the three alternant forms of each of the two sets: se/sa/sag and ne/na/nag is collocational: sa and na collocate with nouns such as mar 'a unit of measure' or dwe 'a unit of measure', e.g., sa mar, sa dwe, na mar, na dwe, sag and nag with nouns such as jan 'cup' or sam 'bale', e.g., sag jan, sag sam, nag jan, nag sam. se and ne collocate with all other nouns, e.g., se ceg 'three books', ne gafi 'four kinds', etc.

2) das occurs only with such nouns as mar and dwe (cf. fn. 1), e.g., das dwe, das mar. With all other nouns is used the numeral noun dasas 'five' (cf. 3.42.11.1)

- vi) jas¹⁾ 'six'
vii) cas 'first'

Of these numeral adjectives, han 'one', du 'two', se 'three', and ne 'four' are positionally freer than the rest and can occur before another adjective or an adjectival clause (cf. 6.43) as well as before an independent noun whereas other numeral adjectives are positionally limited to pre-nominal position.

Examples:

han hagsen 'One pupil'
N

han du hagsen 'One or two pupil(s)'
N

han Jarmun hagsen 'One young(lit. who is young)
Adj.Cl. N pupil'

du se Jib 'Two new houses'
N

se nurgun i 'Three old(lit. who are old)
Adj.Cl. N people'

The numeral adjectives form 'Compound Numeral Adjectives' with compound numerals (cf. 3.42.11.1, p.77).

e.g. jar han 'eleven' < jar 'ten' N.num. +
han 'one' Adj.num.

sumur du 'twenty two' < sumur 'twenty' N.num.
+ du 'two' Adj.num.

1) jas is similar to das 'five' in collocation. See fn.2, p.93

jesun ne 'sixty four' < jesun 'sixty' N.num.
+ ne 'four' Adj.num.

3.43.2 Deictic Adjectives

Adjectives which can occur not only before a noun but also before a numeral adjective, a qualitative adjective(cf. 3.43.4) or an adjectival clause(cf. 6.43) are deictic adjectives. There are three deictic adjectives, each representing a different degree of 'Proximate/Remote' category from the others in relation to the speaker(s) and listener(s).

- (i) i 'this' [proximate to the speaker(s)]
- (ii) gu 'that' [proximate to the listener(s) or absent from the scene of discourse].
- (iii) JA 'that' [remote from both the speaker(s) and the listener(s)]

The first two deictics, i and gu can also occur as pronouns(3.42.12, p.81 & 82), and gu as a pronoun has the meaning 'he or she'

3.43.3 Interrogative Adjectives

Adjectives which occur in an interrogative

sentence(cf. 7.22.2) with one meaning and in the non-interrogative sentence with another are interrogative adjectives. There are three such adjectives as listed below, where the first translation meanings refer to those which they have in the interrogative sentence, and the second translation meanings to those which they have in the non-interrogative sentence.

- (i) anu 'which ?' ; 'some, certain'
 (ii) musun 'what ?' ; 'some, certain'
 (iii) wen 'what kind of ?' ; 'some, certain'

Examples:

anu gos e gasni 'Where(lit. which place) did [he] go ?'

anu gos e gasda '[He] went somewhere(lit. to some place).'

musun ir ur hēsni 'What(lit. what work) did you do ?'

musun ir ur hēsda 'You did something.'

3.43.4 Qualitative Adjectives

Adjectives which are not members of any of the three sub-classes, numeral, deictic and interrogative

adjectives, are qualitative adjectives. Qualitative adjectives are distributionally restricted to pre-nominal positions only.

se 'new', bon 'original'
ha:n 'old, worn-out, used', hja:n 'present',
on 'entire, whole', we 'only',
 etc.

Qualitative adjectives form a very small sub-class whose members can be exhaustively listed.

Examples:

se os 'new clothes'
 nan ha:n moʃa 'an old hat'
on sesaŋ 'the whole world'

3.44 Sub-classes of Adverbs:

According to the distributional restrictions of adverbs in relation to other words in the sentence, the following sub-classes are distinguished: (i) Processive Adverb, (ii) Descriptive Adverb, (iii) Processive-Descriptive Adverb, (iv) Interrogative Adverb, and (v) Sentence Adverb and (vi) Conjunctive Adverb.

3.44.1 Processive Adverb (Adv.p.)

Adverbs which typically occur before a processive verb only are processive adverbs:

Jar 'well, nicely', arrun 'quickly',
cancanhi 'slowly', gipi 'deeply',
sorsor 'softly, gently',
 etc.

Examples:

Jar gara 'farewell!(Go well.)'
 V.p.

arrun irga 'Read [it] quickly.'
 V.p.

baram i sorsor bunda 'The wind blows gently.'
 V.p.

3.44.2 Descriptive Adverbs

Adverbs which may occur either (i) before a descriptive verb or (ii) before a processive adverb are descriptive adverbs.

meu 'very', pag 'very, considerably',
dədanhi 'very, greatly', cam 'extremely, very',
gaJan 'most',
 etc.

Examples:

mĕu Johda ' [It] is very good. '
V.d.

ki ga ḍḍanhi kuda ' [He] is very tall. (lit.
V.d. The height very tall
is.) '

nu ga gaJan Jar hani ' Who does it best ?
Adv.p. V.p. (lit. Who most well
does it ?) '

3.44.3 Processive-Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.pd.)

Adverbs which may precede either (i) a processive verb, (ii) a descriptive verb or (iii) a processive adverb are processive-descriptive adverbs.

namu 'too [much]', gwenJanhi 'remarkably',

aJu 'quite, completely',

sanḍanhi 'considerably',

hwagsirhi 'definitely, clearly'

etc.

Examples:

namu manhda 'There are too many.'
V.d.

namu Jaḥda ' [She] slept too much. '
V.p.

namu manhi magaḥda ' [They] ate too much. '
Adv.p. V.p.

3.44.4 Interrogative Adverbs(Adv.interr.)

Adverbs whose meanings vary according as they occur in the interrogative and non-interrogative sentence(cf. 7.22) are interrogative adverbs. There are two interrogative adverbs:

we 'why?' in the interrogative sentence.

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

ake 'how?' in the interrogative sentence.

'somehow' in the non-interrogative sentence.

Examples:

we an ona 'Why doesn't [he] come?'

na do we boasfi 'You saw it as you remember.'

3.44.5 Sentence Adverbs(Adv.z)

Adverbs which typically occur either at the beginning of a sentence or after the subject if there is one, and whose class meaning is a reference to a preceding sentence, whether uttered by the same speaker or by someone else, are sentence adverbs. A sentence adverb occurring in a sentence is usually marked phonologically

by a tentative juncture(cf. 2.5).

gurana 'but, however',
to 'and, furthermore', gurana 'therefore',
daguna 'furthermore, on top of that',
hamurmja 'furthermore, in contrast to that',
ani 'by the way, why'
 etc.

Examples:

gurana, Jangun un gesog šawašda. 'But the
 general kept on fighting.'

na nun gurana, sirmaghešda 'But I was
 S disappointed.'

daguna ai nun mog i marrašda.

'On top of that, the child was thirsty.'

3.44.6 Conjunctive Adverbs(Adv.conj.)

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

by a tentative juncture. There are three conjunctive adverbs:

- (i) gurigo 'and', 'afterward',
- (ii) tonun 'or',
- (iii) god 'namely, in other words'.

Examples:

jangug gurigo burransa rur boara
N N

'See England and France!'

i gog un sa:sahi gurigo uahage burraja handa
Adv. Adv.

'This melody should be sung slowly and gracefully.'

gurigo, gu nun saur ur tanašda

'And/afterward he left Seoul.'

gamJa tonun bori ga pirjohabnida
N N

'[They] need some potatoes or barley.'

tonun, irake har su i'subnida

'Or you can do it this way.'

god, na nun undon i bu'oghada 'In other words,

[you] lack exercise.'

3.45 Sub-classes of Particles

Particles are divided into the following nine sub-classes according to their syntactic functions:

(i) Subject/Complement Particle, (ii) Object Particle, (iii) Agent Particle, (iv) Adverbial Particle, (v) Vocative Particle, (vi) Conjunctive Particle, (vii) Sentence Particle, (viii) Adjectival Particle and (ix) Modifying Particle.

3.45.1 Subject/Complement Particle

The subject/complement particle marks a noun or a nominal phrase either as subject or complement (cf. 6.2) of a clause:

ga/i V/C - form¹⁾

Examples:

namu ga nopda 'The tree is high.'
S

donsen is bs ga apuda 'My younger brother
S C
has stomachache. (lit.
My brother stomach is ill.)'

1) Here and elsewhere the notation V/C-form is to be read 'Of the two alternant forms separated by a slant bar, the first form occurs after a vowel-final form and the second form after a consonant-final form. In this case, for instance, ga form occurs after a vowel-final noun and i form after a consonant-final noun.'

There are two other particles occurring only as the subject marker:

kəsa 'honorific particle'

əsa

kəsa is an honorific particle¹⁾ which, like honorific nouns (cf. 3.42.32) and honorific verbs (cf. 3.41.31.1) expresses respects shown by the speaker to the referent of a noun to which it is related.

e.g. saʃanim kəsa osibnida 'The director is coming.'

abanim kəsa ʃumusinda '[My] father is sleeping.'
N.hon V.hon.

(cf. the first example, p.91)

əsa is sometimes used after an inanimate noun representing a group, social body or institution such as hwesa 'company' or haggjo 'school' etc.

e.g. uri haggjo əsa usuŋhešda 'Our school has won.'

1) kəsa is one of the two honorific particles, the other one ke being found in 3.45.3 and 3.45.4.

3.45.2 Object Particle

The object particle marks a noun or a nominal phrase immediately preceding as 'object' of a transitive clause(cf. 6.31):

rur/ur V/C-form

Examples:

can ur dadaŋni 'Did you shut the window ?'
 V.tr.
 gica rur mos taŋda. '[He] could not catch the
 V.tr. train.'

3.45.3 Agent Particle

The agent particle marks a noun or a nominal phrase immediately preceding as 'agent' in a passive or causative clause(cf. 6.35 and 6.36):

- (i) e after an inanimate noun,
- (ii) ege after an animate noun,
- (iii) hante after an animate noun(in the colloquial style of speech),
- (iv) ke after an animate honorific noun.

These particles occur also as 'directive particles'(cf. 3.45.4).

mun e os i garriaṣḍa '[Her] clothes were
Ag. S V.pasv. caught by/in the door.'

bjag e cir ur ibhinda '[He] is painting the
Ag. O V.caus. wall.(lit. making the
wall wear paint.)'

gojani ege maghiaṣḍa '[It] was eaten by a cat.'
Ag. V.pasv.

gojani ege magiaṣḍa '[She] made a cat eat [it].'
Ag. V.caus.

ai hante ibhinda '[She] is dressing a child.(lit.
Ag. V.caus. making a child to wear (clothes).'

Ḍ:run ke Ḍabhiaṣḍa '[He] was caught by an adult.'
Ag. V.pasv.

3.45.4 Adverbial Particle

Particles which may occur ~~after~~ a noun or a nominal phrase and with it constitute an adverbial relational phrase(cf. 5.31) are adverbial particles. Adverbial particles are further divided into (i) Directive Particles and (ii) Quotative Particles on the basis of their distribution.

3.45.41 Directive Particles

The directive particles can occur only after

a noun or a nominal phrase, except dero 'as, like' which is also a member of the noun sub-class 'Post-modifier I' (cf. 3.42.22).

- (1) e/egē/hante/ke 'to, toward' (See 3.45.3 for the distribution of these particles)

e.g. dar e 'to the moon'
 gaŋi egē 'to a beggar'
 waŋ ke 'to the king'

- (2) (e)sa 'at, from' after N.ina.

e.g. adi esa oni 'Where are you coming from ?'
 (lit. From where come ?).

- (3) egesa 'from' after N.ani.

e.g. cingu egesa pjanŋi ga waŋda 'A letter came from my friend.'

- (4) hantesa 'from' after N.ani. in colloquial style.

e.g. nugu hantesa orka 'From whom will it come ?'

- (5) ro/uuro 'to, toward' V/C-form, after N.ina.
 'as, with, by'

e.g. ŋaŋŋaŋ uuro tananda '[She] is leaving for for the station.'

namu ro manduraŋda 'They made it with wood.'

hweŋaŋ uuro poba 'Let's choose as president.'

gica ro ganda '[I] am going by train.'

- (6) egero 'to, toward' after N.ani.
 e.g. pariaga mar egero narra ganda 'A fly
 S is flying
 to a horse.'
- (7) hantero 'to, toward' after N.ani. in colloquial
 style.
 e.g. amma hantero gara 'Go to your mummy.'
- (8) uro/urosa 'as, with, by' after N.ani & ina.
 e.g. Jangwan urosa marhesda '[He] spoke as
 a minister.'
 gum urosa dwa isda 'It is made of gold.
 (lit. made with gold.)'
- (9) wa/gwa 'with' V/C-form
 e.g. ai wa nonda '[She] is playing with
 a child.'
- (10) hago 'and' in colloquial style.
 e.g. sungjan; hago ijagiharka 'Shall we have
 a word with the
 policeman.'
- (11) caram 'as, like'
 e.g. Ja i caram he boan 'Try and do as he does.'
- (12) dero 'as, like'
 e.g. Jib un Jib dero duJa 'Let us keep the
 O the house as a house.'

(13) (wa)gati/(gwa)gati 'with, as, like' V/C-form.

e.g. na gati kuda '[He] is tall as you [are].'
 nugu wagati gani 'With whom are you
 going ?'

(14) boda 'than'

e.g. i boda Jग्da '[That] is smaller than this.'
 naꞤ boda hwanhada '[It] is brighter than
 daylight.'

3.45.42 Quotative Particle

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

(a) rago after any quotation ending in a vowel except a clause or sentence ending in /a/.

e.g. i gas ur namu rago handa '[We] call
 it 'wood.'

(b) irago after any quotation ending in a consonant.

e.g. na nun canꞤsun irago habnida 'My name is
 canꞤsun(lit.

[People] call me 'Changsun')'

(c) go after a clause or sentence ending in /a/.

e.g. haggjoe e gagesda go jagsoghesda

'[He] promised that he would go to
school.'

3.45.5 Vocative Particle

A noun or a nominal phrase followed by a vocative particle is syntactically independent of other sentence elements in a sentence where it may occur. (a) initially, (b) immediately after a sentence adverb (cf. 3.44.5) if any, or (c) finally. The construction N/NP + Vocative particle, which will be named 'Vocative phrase', is often accompanied by a tentative juncture, or a terminal juncture in which case it can stand by itself as a minor sentence. Like verb inflectional endings (cf. 4.35) vocative particles distinguish speech styles, and a vocative particle occurring in a sentence agrees in speech style with the verb inflectional ending.

- (i) ja/a V/C-form, low plain style,
- (ii) Zero/i V/C-form, high plain or medium style,
- (iii) ja/ija V/C-form, formal style.

- e.g. namʃu ja. 'Namʃu !' (= a girl's name)
 bargun dar a. 'Bright moon !'
 donsu Zero. 'Tongsu !' (= a man's name)
 wanbog i. 'Wonbog !' (= a man's name)
 cingu ja. 'Dear friend !'
 guriun nim ija. 'My dear (lit. Darling I miss) !'
 bogdon a, parri wa. 'Bogdong, come quickly. ;
ani bogdon a, we an gani 'By the way, Bogdong,
 why don't you go ?'
 ani 'by the way' Adv.s.
ani we an gani bogdon a 'By the way, why don't
 you go, Bogdong ?'

3.45.6 Conjunctive Particle

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

3.45.61 Nominal Conjunctive Particles

The nominal conjunctive particles occur as the

coordinator between two or more nouns or nominal phrases.

There are three nominal conjunctive particles:

- (i) wa/gwa V/C-form 'and'
- (ii) hago 'and'
- (iii) na/ina V/C-form 'or'

e.g. sa:ram gwa donmur 'Man and animal'
 namu wa mur gwa hanur 'The tree, water and sky'
 simpan hago sansu ga datugo isda 'The referee
 and a player
 are quarreling.'
 ceg ina sinmun ur boja fusijo. 'Please show
 me a book or a
 newspaper.'

The nominal conjunctive particles, although identical in form to the directive particles wa/gwa and hago (cf. 3.45.41, Nos. 9 & 10), and the modifying particle na/ina (cf. 3.45.9) respectively, are however different from the latter in distribution as well as in meaning; the nominal conjunctive particles occurring between two or more nouns and the directive or modifying particles only after a noun and not followed by another noun.

3.45.62 Clausal Conjunctive Particles

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

- (i) man(un) 'although, but'
- (ii) sipi 'as'

Verbs that may occur in the final clause preceding the particle sipi are limited to a few processive verbs and can be inflected for the low plain declarative mood only. Furthermore, present time reference for such verbs is expressed by the neutral tense(cf. 4.33.11.11). The processive verbs most commonly found in such a clause are: ar- 'to know, to be aware of', moru- 'not to know, to be ignorant of', nuuki- 'to feel or realise', dud- 'to hear (of)', bo- 'to see', JimJagha- 'to guess' etc.

e.g. imi nuʃasubnida man(un) gabsida 'It is
already late
but let us go all the
same.'

he ga bicinda man(un) nar i cubda

'The sun is shining but it is cold. (or Although the sun is shining, it is cold.).

gu nun minuiwan i dweasubnida man(un) surpasupnida.

'Although he became an MP he was sad.'

Jane ga arda sipi na nun bapune.

'As you know, I am busy.'

dansin i boasda sipi ai ga apaso.

'As you saw, the child was ill.'

3.45.7 Sentence Particle

Particles which typically occur at the end of a sentence are sentence particles. There are two sentence particles:

- (i) gurja 'exclamator'
- (ii) jo 'speech style modulator'

The particle gurja occurs only after a major sentence (cf. 7.1 & 7.2), i.e., the one ending in a verb inflected with a final ending (cf. 4.35.1) and renders it exclamatory.

The particle jo occurs after a major sentence ending

in a verb inflected with -a/-A, Ĵi, or -gun of the medium speech style, or -ne or -de of the high plain style (cf. 4.35.13), and after any minor sentence, elevating such medium or high plain speech style to the level of low formal style.

e.g. nar i cubsbnida gurja 'What a cold day it is!
Z (lit. The day is cold !)'

Jane do nungasne gurja 'You have grown old too !'
Z

uri ga gabsida gurja 'Let us go !'
Z

nu:n i noga jo 'The snow is melting.'
Z(medium)
Z(Low Formal) noga < nog- 'to melt' +
 + -a 'medium style inflex.end.'

guman duĴi jo 'Why don't you stop it ?'
Z(medium)
Z(Low Formal) duĴi < du- 'to stop' +
 -Ĵi 'medium style inflex.end.'

nar i adubgun jo 'It is dark.'
Z(medium)
Z(Low Formal) adubgun < adub- 'to be dark'
 + -gun 'medium style inflex.end.'

janpir i a:bne jo 'There is no pencil.'
Z(medium)
Z(Low Formal) a:bne < a:b- 'not to exist'
 + -ne 'high plain style inflex.end!'

san urom gade jo '[He] was going to the
 Z(high plain) mountain, [as I remember].'
 Z(Low Formal)

gade < ga- 'to go' + -de 'retros.inflx.sfx.'

ceg jo 'Book ?'
 N

parri jo 'Quickly ?'
 Adv.

The particle jo may also occur within a sentence, after the sentence elements like subject, object, complement, etc., especially in women's speech.

e.g. Je ga jo, nsir gaji jo. 'I will go tomorrow.'

i ai nun jo, cisu rnr jo, sirha he jo.'

'This child does not like cheese.'

Jagnjan buta jo, na nun jo, nun i jo, apa jo.

'I have had this eye trouble since last year.'

3.45.8 Adjectival Particle

A noun or a nominal phrase followed by the adjectival particle is syntactically equivalent to an adjective, (occurs in the pre-nominal position). There is only one such particle:

ui 'of'

- e.g. na ui janpir 'Your pencil.(lit. pen of you)'
 ceg ui nejon 'The contents of the book.'
 se nore ui gogjo 'The melody of the new song.'

3.45.9 Modifying Particle

Particles which are not members of any of the sub-classes described in 3.45.1 - 8 are the members of the sub-class 'Modifying particle'. All modifying particles can occur immediately after a noun or a nominal phrase functioning as subject, object, or complement, and the first three particles: nun/un, man and do can also occur after an adverb, an adverbial relational phrase (cf. 5.31) or a verb inflected with a concatenating ending (cf. 4.35.3). The class meaning of modifying particles is 'modification' of, or 'addition' of certain meaning to, the meaning of the preceding element.

- (1) nun/un V/C-form - 'emphasis, contrast'

- e.g. na nun ganda 'I am going(though you are not).'
 S
 sagwa nun magnunda '[She] eats apples(though
 O not pears).'
 gu ga maum un johda 'She is kind(though she
 C may not be bright).'

mā:r ur Ḷar un handa ' [He] speaks well (though
Adv. not clearly). '

na ege nun Ḷusio ' Give [it] to me (though not
to others). '

na ege 'to me' 'adverbial relational phrase'

< na 'I' + ege 'directive particle.'

anḶgo nun sipda ' [I] want to sit down (though I
don't want to walk). '

anḶgo 'to sit' concatenating form

< anḶ- 'to sit' + -go 'concatenating end.'

(2) man 'only, solely'

e.g. na man gani 'Are you going alone (not others)?'
S.

ceg man boni 'Are you reading books only
O. (not newspapers) ?'

i gas i Ḷim man dwenda 'This becomes only
O a burden (nothing else).'

gon ur marri man canda ' [He] kicks the ball
Adv. only far (not accurately). '

dabaḶe e man gasio 'Do you go only to tea
room (not elsewhere) ?'

dabaḶe 'to tea room' 'adverbial relational

phrase' < dabaḶ 'tea room' + e

'directive particle'.

twiĴi man moshage hajasda '[I] just did not allow
him to run(though [I] approved of other things).'

twiĴi < twi- 'to run' + -Ĵi 'concat.end.'

(3) do 'also, too, as well'

e.g. ai do uni 'Is the child crying also ?'
S

iĴe cuggu do handa 'Now [he] even plays football.'
O

na nun dari do apuĴi 'Is your leg hurting
C as well?'

taĴa rur parri do cinda 'She types quickly too.'
Adv.

ap uro do ganda 'It goes forward also(lit. it
goes to the front).'

ap uro 'to front' 'adverbial relational phrase'

< ap 'front' + uro 'directive particle'

i gogi nun swibge ĉarra do Ĵinda

'This meat can also be cut easily.'

ĉarra < ĉaru- 'to cut' + -a 'concat.end.'

(4) mada 'every, each'

e.g. bĵar mada na rur bonun dius heĴda
S

'Every star seemed to gaze at me.'

(5) buta 'first, from, beginning with, to start with'

e.g. saġin buta boara 'Look at the photo first.'
O

(6) kaġi 'even, as far as'

e.g. bur kaġi nagašda 'Even the light has gone out.'
S

(7) foċa 'even, up to'

e.g. harmani nun gorċi foċa apašda 'Granny even had
O
headache.'

(8) jamarro/ijamarro V/C-form 'as for, in particular'

e.g. i jaqħwa jamarro kog boaja handa.
O

'One must see this film in particular.'

(9) rado/irado 'for lack of anything better, even though unsatisfactory'

e.g. ca rado masjara 'Have some tea (for lack of any
O
thing better at the moment).'

(10) na/ina V/C-form 'even, though unsatisfactory, as'

e.g. [much/many] as'

Jane na gage 'You go ! (though perhaps you are not
S
the one invited).'

(11) dunġi/idunġi V/C-form 'any, no matter what'

e.g. anu gas idunġi sabsida 'Let us buy anything.'

3.46 Sub-classes of Interjections

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

3.46.1 The Response Interjections

ne 'Yes' - 'formal style'

gure 'Yes' - 'plain style'

gurse 'Well, presumably, possibly' - 'plain or
medium style'

etc.

3.46.2 The Introductory Interjections

a 'Ah'

aigu: 'Oh, ouch, dear'

Ja: 'Well, Now.'

swi: 'Hush'

ja/hja: 'Hey'

etc.

CHAPTER IV. STRUCTURE OF VERB

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

4.1 The elements within the Verb

The elements that are found within the verb are (i) 'Verb Stem', (ii) 'Voice Suffix', (iii) 'Honorific Suffix', (iv) 'Tense Suffix(es)', (v) 'Humble Suffix' and (vi) 'Inflectional Ending' occurring in that order. Of these six elements, stem and inflectional ending are the obligatory elements, one never occurring without the other. All other elements found between the stem and the inflectional ending are optional elements. The elements directly relevant to syntactic structures and functions are (a) verb stem, (b) voice suffix and (c) inflectional ending. Verb stems and voice suffixes determine different types of predicate (cf. 6.1) and consequently different types of clause (cf. 6.3), and inflectional endings determine various syntactic functions of verbs with which they are found or external distributions of a clause in which such verbs occur as predicate.

In its minimal form a verb may consist of a stem and an inflectional ending, and its maximal form may comprise all six elements:

(i) Jaba 'Catch [it].'

< Jab- V.st. 'to catch' + -a 'inflx.end.'
for imperative mood.

(ii) Jabhiŋiŋsɛ̀gɛ̀ssaobnida '[He] may have been captured.'

< Jab- V.st. 'to catch' + -hi- 'pasv.v.sfx.'
+ -si- 'honorific sfx.' + -ŋsɛ̀-
'tense sfx.' + -sao- 'humble sfx.'
+ -bnida 'inflx.end.' for declara-
tive mood.

4.2 The Stem

The stem of a verb is defined as that element which is found first and is followed by any of the five elements, voice suffix, honorific suffix, tense suffix(es), humble suffix or inflectional ending.

4.21 The Structure of the Verb Stem

(b) jas- 'secretly'

e.g. jasdus- 'to overhear, to hear furtively'
 < jas- + dus- 'to hear'

(c) si- 'deep, very'

e.g. siparah- 'deep blue'
 < si- + parah- 'blue' V.d.

(d) or- 'early'

e.g. ordwe- 'to be precocious' < or- + dwe- 'to
 become'

(e) ci- 'up, upward'

e.g. cimir- 'to push up, to well up'
 < ci- + mir- 'to push'

(f) ca- 'greedily, irrationally'

e.g. camag- 'to eat greedily'
 < ca- + mag- 'to eat'

etc.

4.21.2 The Compound Stem

The compound stems consist of two verb roots:

bosarpi- 'to look after' < bo- 'to see'

+ sarpi- 'to observe'

oga- 'to come and go' < o- 'to come' + ga- 'to go'

gamburg- 'to be dark-red' < gam- 'dark' + burg- 'red'

butʃab- 'to grab' < but- 'to stick' + -ʃab- 'to catch'

etc.

4.22 The Stem Classes

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

4.22.1 The V-stems

4.22.11 The Invariable V-stems

The phonological make-up of the invariable V-stems does not vary irrespective of the suffixes or endings that

may follow.

ga- 'to go', šo- 'to shoot',
se- 'to count', gi- 'to crawl'
bo- 'to see', etc.

Examples:

Jib e gao '[He] is going home.'

gao < ga- + -o 'infx.end.'

adi gasio 'Where are you going?'

gasio < ga- 'to go', + -si- 'hon.sfx.'

+ -o 'infx.end.'

4.22.12. The Variable V-stems

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

4.22.12.1 The u-dropping stems

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

Jangu- 'to lock', tu- 'to float',
tu- 'to tear open', su- 'to use or write',

ku- 'to grow, to be big'

etc.

Examples: su- 'to use or write'

sado 'Even if [you] write [it]' < su- + -ado

sara 'Write!' < su- + -ara

cf. suo 'Please write !' < su- + -o

sugo 'to write and' < su- + -go

4.22.12.2 The u-dropping stem

The /u/-dropping stem appears in the /u/-less allomorph when followed by an /A/-initial suffix or ending. There is only one verb of this type:

pu- 'to draw (water)'

Examples: para 'Draw !' < pu- 'to draw' + -ara

pado 'Even if [you] draw [water]'

cf. pugo 'to draw and' < pu- + -go

4.22.12.3 The ru-final stems

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

iru- 'to arrive or reach'

puru- 'to be blue'

Examples:

irura 'On arriving' < iru- + -A

iruraśda '[They] have arrived [there].'

< iru- + -Aś- 'past t.sfx.' + -da

cf. gagi e. irumjan 'When [you] reach there'

< iru- + -mjan

4.22.12.4. The r-doubling stems:

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

naru- 'to carry', buru- 'to call',

jaru- 'to cut', çiru- 'to pierce',

huru- 'to flow', garu- 'to divide',

paru- 'to be fast', irru- 'to be early'

etc.

Examples:

buru- 'to call'

burrara 'Call [him].' < buru- + -ARA

burrasa 'Call him and' < buru- + -ASA

cf. burumjan 'If [you] call [me]' < buru- + -mjan

4.22.12.5 The ha-stem

The verb stem ha- 'to do, to say' and all other verb stems ending in /ha/ are different from all other /a/-final or /aC(C)/-final verb stems in that they are never followed by an /a/ or /a/-initial suffix or ending which regularly occurs after the latter (4.30.2) but by an /ja/ or /ja/-initial suffix or ending. The vowel /a/ of the stem /ha-/ and /-ja/ sometimes coalesce into /ɛ/, thus giving rise to /hɛ/ (< haja). However the full uncoalesced form /haja/ is used more often in a slow and formal style of speech as well as in written language, and the coalesced form /hɛ/ in colloquial language.

ha- 'to do, to say',

ja:nha- 'to be soft',

camha- 'to be nice or pretty'

ʃaŋha- 'to decide, to fix [a date]'

toŋha- 'to pass, to circulate'

etc.

Examples:

haja or hɛ 'Do and' < ha- + -ja

camhajaŋsda or camhɛsda '[She] was nice.'

< camha- + -jaŋs- 'past t.sfx.' + -da

Janhajado or Janhedo 'Even if [I] decide [on it]'

< Janha- 'to decide' + -jado

4.22.2 The C-stems

4.22.21 The Invariable C-stems

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

gaġ- 'to have, to own', sim- 'to sow',

mag- 'to eat', ib- 'to wear',

bas- 'to take off, to undress',

sak- 'to mix', ġag- 'to be small'

etc.

Examples:

nu ga i gas ur gaġurka 'Who will have this?'

si rur simni 'Are you sowing the seeds?'

ġib i ġaggun 'The house is small.'

4.22.22 The Variable C-stems

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

4.22.22.1 The r-dropping stems.

All /r/-final verb stems appear in /r/-less allomorphs when they are followed by a suffix or an ending which begins with /n/, /s/, /b/ or /o/ :

gar- 'to plough', nar- 'to fly'
ar- 'to know', mar- 'to roll, to stop'
gar- 'to hang' par- 'to sell'
 etc.

Examples:

ani 'Do you know?' < ar- + -ni
 asio 'Beware of [it]!' < ar- + -si- 'hon.sfx.' + -o
 abnida '[I] know.' < ar- + -ni- + -da
 ao '[I] know.' < ar- + -o
 cf. argo 'to understand and' < ar- + -go
 arado 'Even if [you] know' < ar- + -ado

4.22.22.2 The s-dropping stems

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

jis- 'to build', i:s- 'to connect',
gus- 'to draw or mark [a line]'

bus- 'to pour', ʃA:s- 'to stir',
etc.

Examples:

ʃiASA 'to build and' < ʃis- + -ASA
ʃiuura 'in order to build' < ʃis- + -ura
ʃiara 'Build [it].' < ʃi- + -ara
cf. ʃisnuuda '[He] is building [it].'
< ʃis- + -nun- 'pres.t.sfx.' + -da
ʃisʃa 'Let us build [it].' < ʃis- + -ʃa

4.22.22.3 The d-final stems:

Some /d/-final stems, which can be listed,
have /r/-final allomorphs occurring when followed by
a V-initial suffix or an ending:

dud- 'to hear', kɛdɛd- 'to understand or realize',
gɛd- 'to walk', sid- 'to load',
mud- 'to ask', etc.

Examples:

murara 'Ask.' < mud- + -ara
murumjan 'If [he] asks' < mud- + -umjan
cf. mudgo 'Ask and' < mud- + -go
mudʃa 'Let us ask.' < mud- + -ʃa
muddorog 'So that [he] asks' < mud- + -dorog

4.22.22.4 The b-final stems

Some /b/-final stems, which can be listed, have /u/-final allomorphs occurring before a V-initial suffix or ending:

nub- 'to lie down', dob- 'to help',
 gakab- 'to be near', gub- 'to grill',
 gib- 'to mend or darn'
 etc.

Examples:

doumjan 'If [you] help' < dob- + umjan

dounika 'Because [you] help [me]'
 < dob- + -unika

Notice that when the stem dob- is realized as dou- the following ending (initially C-form) is automatically replaced by the V-form since the stem is no longer a C-final stem, i.e., dob- + -umjan > dou- + -mjAm.

cf. dobgo 'to help and' < dob- + -go

dobji 'Why don't you help [him] ?'
 < dob- + -ji

dobse 'Let us help [her].'
 < dob- + -se

4.3 Verb Suffixes and Inflectional Endings

Following the description of verb stems in 4.2, verb suffixes and inflectional endings are discussed in this section.

4.30 In connection with the discussion of verb suffixes and inflectional endings in the succeeding sections and subsections the following general points may be made at the outset as these points are relevant to all suffixes and inflectional endings.

4.30.1 V/C-form

There are some suffixes and inflectional endings which have two phonologically conditioned forms or allomorphs, the one occurring after a stem or a stem plus suffix(es) ending in a vowel and the other after a stem or a stem plus suffix(es) ending in a consonant. All such two-form suffixes or inflectional endings will be represented by the notation V/C-form, which stands for 'Post-vocalic form' and 'Post-consonantal form' as in

-ni/-uni V/C-form

where -ni is the V-form and -uni the C-form:

e.g. boni 'As [you] see [it]' < bo- + -ni 'V-form'
 Jibuuni 'As [you] grab [it]' < Jib- + -uuni 'C-form'

It is to be noted that some particles also have two phonologically conditioned forms, V-form and C-form, as explained earlier (cf. 3.45.1 & fn.1).

4.30.2 a/Λ-form

Some suffixes and inflectional endings have two different forms or allomorphs, the selection of which is conditioned not by the V/C contrast of the preceding element but by the type of vowel found in the preceding syllable, i.e., by vowel harmony. The category of vowel harmony, believed to have been regularly observed in the 15th century Korean, is rather loose in modern Korean. Of the two forms of a two-form suffix or inflectional ending, designated "a/Λ"-form, a-form occurs when the preceding vowel is /a/ or /o/, and Λ-form when the preceding vowel is /Λ/, /u/, /i/, /ε/, or /u/. Exceptions to this rule are (a) the verb ha- (cf. 4.22.12.5) and all ha-final verbs which take a special form /jΛ/ and (b) the reduplicated tense suffix -aśΛś- where the second element is, contrary to the rule, Λś and not aś. (cf. 4.33. p.146).

e.g. -ara/-Λra a/Λ-form
 Jabara 'Catch [it].' < Jab- + -ara 'a-form'
 magΛra 'Eat [it].' < mag- + -Λra 'Λ-form'

-as/-as a/ʌ - form 'past t.sfx.'

šoasda ' [He] shot [it]. ' < šo- + -as- + -da

ʃuʌsda ' [He] gave [it]. ' < ʃu- + -ʌs- + -da

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

4.31. Voice Suffix

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

4.31.1 Passive Voice Suffix

The passive voice suffix is found only with a transitive verb stem and has four phonologically conditioned

allomorphs: (i) -i-, (ii) -hi-, (iii) -ri- and (iv) -gi- .

(i) -i- after stems ending /p/, /t/, /k/, /h/ & a vowel.

e.g. boi- 'to be seen' < bo- 'to see' + -i-
 śahi- 'to be piled up' < śah- 'to pile up' + -i-
 kaki- 'to be broken' < kak- 'to break' + -i-
 hurti- 'to be hackled or thrashed' < hurt- 'to
 thrash or hackle' + -i-
 dapi- 'to be covered' < dap- 'to cover' + -i-

(ii) -hi- after stems ending in /b/, /d/, /g/ & /ʒ/.

e.g. abhi- 'to be carried [on the back]'
 < ab- 'to carry [on the back]' + -hi-
 dadhi- 'to be closed' < dad- 'to close' + -hi-
 maghi- 'to be eaten' < mag- 'to eat' + -hi-
 koḥhi- 'to be inserted' < koḥ- 'to insert' + -hi-

(iii) -ri- after /r/-final stems & /r/-doubling stems (cf. 4.22.12.4)

e.g. kurri- 'to be drawn' < kur- 'to draw' + -ri-
 barri- 'to be earned' < ba:r- 'to earn' + -ri-
 burri- 'to be called' < buru- 'to call' + -ri-

(iv) -gi- after stems ending in /m/, /n/, /s/, /c/ & /nh/.

- e.g. gamgi- 'to be wound' < gam- 'to wind' + -gi-
 angi- 'to be embraced' < an- 'to embrace' + -gi-
 p̄easgi- 'to be snatched' < p̄eas̄- 'to snatch' + -gi-
 c̄ocgi- 'to be chased' < c̄oc- 'to chase' + -gi-
 kūnhgi- 'to be disconnected' < kūnh- 'to disconnect'
 + -gi-

4.31.2 Causative Voice Suffix

The causative voice suffix may be found with any type of active verb stem, processive (both transitive and intransitive) or descriptive, with the exception of the copula verb /i-/ 'to be', and has the following phonologically conditioned allomorphs: (i) -u-, (ii) -i-, (iii) -gi-, (iv) -hi-, (v) -ri- and (vi) -hi-/-hu-.

- (i) -u- after stems ending in /i/ or /ɛ/.

e.g. biu- 'to empty' < bi- 'to be empty' + -u-
 s̄s̄u- 'to keep vigil (lit. to cause dawn to break)' < s̄s̄- 'to dawn' + -u-

- (ii) -i- after stems ending in a vowel other than /i/ or /ɛ/, or after those ending in /g/.

e.g. boi- 'to show or cause [someone] to see'
 < bo- 'to see' + -i-
 cui- 'to cause ... to dance' < cu- 'to dance' + -i-

magi- 'to feed, to make to eat'

< mag- 'to eat' + -i-

(iii) -gi- after stems ending in /m/, /n/, /d/, /t/ & /s/.

e.g. namgi- 'to leave behind, to make ... to remain'

< nam- 'to remain' + -gi-

singi- 'to cause [someone] to put on [shoes]'

< sin- 'to put on' + -gi-

tudgi- 'to cause to grass or pluck'

< tud- 'to grass or pluck' + -gi-

matgi- 'to cause to undertake'

< mat- 'to undertake' + -gi-

basgi- 'to make to undress'

< bas- 'to undress or take off' + -gi-

(iv) -hi- after stems ending in /b/, /rg/ and after some /g/-final stems.

e.g. ibhi- 'to clothe' < ib- 'to wear' + -hi-

narbhi- 'to widen' < narb- 'to be wide' + -hi-

irghi- 'to make to read' < irg- 'to read

+ -hi-

śaghi- 'to cause to decay'

< śag- 'to decay' + -hi-

mughi- 'to cause ... to lie idle'

< mug- 'to stay [idle]' + -hi-

- (v) -ri- after /r/-final stems, some /d/-final stems (cf. 4.22.22.3) and some /r/-doubling stems (cf. 4.22.12.4).

e.g. narri- 'to fly [something]' < nar- 'to fly' + -ri-
 urri- 'to make: cry' < ur- 'to cry' + -ri-
 garri- 'to make: walk' < gad- 'to walk' + -ri-
 hurri- 'to make: flow or drop'
 < huru- 'to flow' + -ri-

- (vi) -hi-/-hu- after /ʃ/-final stems.

e.g. maʃhi-/maʃhu- 'to get [something] correct'
 < maʃ- 'to be correct' + -hi-/-hu-
 nuʃhi-/nuʃhu- 'to slow down'
 < nuʃ- 'to be slow' + -hi-/-hu-

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

e.g. boinda '[It] is seen.' or '[He] shows [it]'
 abhinda '[It] is carried on the back.' or '[She] makes [someone] carry [something].'

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

narrinda '[It] is flown.' or '[He] flies [it].'

In actual constructions, however, their voice status is easily distinguishable by the presence and absence of object(s), as passive verbs occur without an object and causative verbs with one or more objects (cf. 6.35 & 6.36)

e.g. dar i boinda 'The moon is seen.' - passive

saʃin ur boinda '[He] is showing a picture.'

- causative.

ʃoŋi ga narrinda 'The paper is being flown.'

- passive

ʃoŋi rur narrinda '[He] makes the paper fly.'

- causative

Not all active verb stems can be found with the passive and/or causative voice suffixes, and accordingly there are many active stems which lack the passive and/or causative counterparts formed by means of the relevant voice suffixes. All such verb stems can be listed. However those active stems lacking suffix-derived passive or causative counterparts can still have the passive/causative voice formed to some extent by auxiliary verbs

in a phrasal form (cf. 3.41.32, 5.21.12.3).

4.32: Honorific Suffix

There is only one honorific suffix:

-si-/-usi- V/C-form

which may be found with any verb stem or a verb stem plus a voice suffix; with the exception of the honorific verb stems which already have the honorific element built in them (cf. 3.41.31.1). The class meaning of the honorific suffix is the 'respect' shown by the speaker to the subject of a clause or sentence in which it occurs.

Examples:

gasinda ' [He] is going. ' < ga- 'to go' + -si-
+ -nda

dansin i Jabhisimjan 'If you are captured'
< Jab- 'to capture' + -hi- 'pasv.sfx.'
+ -si- + -mjan

uisa ga hwanja nur sarrisiasda 'The doctor
has made the patient live.'
< sar- 'to live' + -ri- 'caus.sfx.'
+ -si- + -as- 'past t.sfx.' + -da

Jibusibsio 'Please pick [it] up.'
< Jib- 'to pick up' + -usi- + -sio

4.33. Tense Suffixes

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

Basic tense suffixes:

- (i) Zero 'Neutral and Present tense'
 (ii) -n-/-nun- V/C-form 'Present tense'
 (iii) -aš-/-ʌš- a/ʌ-form 'Past tense'
 (iv) -geš- 'Future tense'

Retrospective tense suffix:

- (v) -di-/-dʌ-

The past tense suffix -aš-/-ʌš- may be reduplicated and/or combined with the future tense suffix -geš- to give further tense suffixes as follows:

- (vi) -aš¹ʌš-/-ʌšʌš- V/C-form 'Past perfect tense'
 (vii) -ašgeš-/-ʌšgeš- V/C-form 'Past presumptive tense'
 (viii) -ašʌšgeš-/-ʌšʌšgeš- V/C-form 'Past perfect presumptive'

The retrospective suffix -di-/-dʌ- may combine with any tense suffixes except the present tense suffix -n-/-nun-.

1) The a/ʌ-form (vowel harmony) restriction does not apply here (cf. 4.30.2).

Restrictions on the distribution of the tense suffixes with verb stems and other suffixes will be described in the relevant sections dealing with the tense system.

4.33.1 Tense System

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

e.g. Direct Tense:

bom i onda 'Spring #comes.'

bom i oasda 'Spring came/has come.'

bom i oni 'Is spring coming?'

Retrospective Tense:

bom i odara 'Spring came [I remember].'

bom i oasdara 'Spring had come [I recall].'

bom i odi 'Was spring coming?'

[as you recall]

Tense, direct or retrospective, is either simple or compound according to the manner in which it is formed.

The simple tense is formed with the tense suffixes and the compound tense is constructed with an auxiliary verb. In other words the Korean tense is constructed in two different ways and represented at two different levels; by suffixation at the word level and by auxiliary verb constructions at the syntactic (phrase) level. All compound tenses are constructed with the auxiliary verb is- 'progressive tense formative' and are all progressive tenses. The complete system of Korean tense is set out below to serve as a point of reference for later discussion.

Direct Tense:

Simple Tense:

- (i) Neutral tense
- (ii) Present tense
- (iii) Past tense
- (iv) Future tense
- (v) Past perfect tense
- (vi) Past presumptive tense
- (vii) Past perfect presumptive tense

Compound Tense:

- (i) Present progressive tense
- (ii) Past progressive tense
- (iii) Future progressive tense
- (iv) Past progressive presumptive tense

Retrospective Tense:

Simple Tense:

- (i) Present retrospective tense
- (ii) Past retrospective tense
- (iii) Future retrospective tense
- (iv) Past presumptive retrospective tense

Compound Tense:

- (i) Present progressive retrospective tense
- (ii) Future progressive retrospective tense
- (iii) Past progressive presumptive retrospective tense

4.33.11 The Direct Tense4.33.11.1 The simple tense4.33.11.11 Neutral Tense

The neutral tense lacks any time reference and is used exclusively in such special styles as monologue, diary, poetry etc. It is morphologically unmarked and its occurrence is restricted to processive verbs suffixed with -da 'declarative mood ending of the low plain speech style' (cf. 4.35.14).

- e.g. gada 'to go; [I] go/went.' < ga- + -da
 jar si e Jada '[I] sleep at ten o'clock.'
 Jada < Ja- 'to sleep' + -da

4.33.11.12 Present Tense

The present tense is formed in two different ways according to the type of verbs and inflectional endings involved: Firstly processive verbs occurring with -da ending form the present tense with the present tense

suffix -n-/-nun- . Secondly all descriptive verbs as well as those processive verbs occurring with an inflectional ending other than -da form the present tense with Zero. The present tense has present time reference, and with processive verbs it may have present progressive or, when accompanied by an adjunct of future time, future time reference.

- e.g. gu ga mur ur masinda ' [He] drinks water. '
 masinda < masi- 'to drink' + -n- + -da
- nar i dAbsubnida 'It is warm.'
 dAbsubnida < dab- 'to be warm' + Zero t.sfx
 + -subnida
- hanur i puruda 'The sky is blue.'
 puruda < puru- 'to be blue' + Zero t.sfx.
 + -da
- se ga unda 'The bird is singing.'
 unda < ur- 'to weep or cry, to sing'
 + -n- + -da
- sagwa rur magnunda '[She] is eating an apple.'
 magnunda < mag- 'to eat' + -nun- + -da
- nsir tanabnida 'I am leaving tomorrow.'
 tanabnida < tana- 'to leave' + Zero + -bnida
- to oji 'I will come again.' < to- 'to come'
 + Zero + -ji

4.33.11.13 Past Tense

The past tense is formed with the past tense suffix -as-/-as-, and refers either to the past, specially when accompanied by an adjunct of past time, or present perfect.

- e.g. gonwan esa norasda '[We] (have) played in
the park.'
naJJam ur Jaasni 'Did you have a nap?'
AJe i koc i burgasubnida 'Yesterday this
flower was red.'
bjag i namaJias_ubnida 'The wall has fallen over.'

4.33.11.14 Future Tense

The future tense is formed with the future tense suffix -ges, and represents (i) intentive future when the subject of a sentence in which it occurs is expressed by a first person pronoun, and (ii) presumptive present or future otherwise.

- e.g. ne ga bogeso 'I will see [to] [it].'
ne ga dwegesda 'You might succeed.'

apugešda ' [He] may be ill. '

gica ga nušgešubnika 'Is the train going
to be late ?'

4.33.11.15 Past Perfect Tense

Past perfect tense suffix:

-ašas-/-Δšas- a/Δ-form

The past ^{perfect} tense refers either to the past, in which case it is identical to the past tense except that it is somewhat more emphatic than the latter, or to a remote past, i.e., past-past.

e.g. i dari ga girašasši. 'This bridge was long.'

šagnjan kaši i gir i šobašasši jo

'This road was/had been narrow
until last year.'

gu nun migug e gaašasšda ' [She] had been
to America. '

4.33.11.16 Past Presumptive Tense

Past presumptive tense suffix:

-ašges-/-Δšges-

The past presumptive tense refers to the presumption of an action or event in the past, or to present perfect presumptive.

e.g. Jigum docaghajasgešda ' [He] may have arrived now. '

sonnim i manhasa bapasgeš*ji* jo

' [They] might have been busy as they had many guests. '

guramjan gica do tanaasgešda

' In that case the train may have left too. '

4.33.11.17 Past Perfect Presumptive Tense

Past perfect presumptive tense suffix:

-asəsgeš- / -asəsgeš-

The past perfect presumptive tense refers to the presumption of an action or event in the past, in which case it is identical to the past presumptive tense, or of that in a remote past, i.e., past-past.

e.g. haggjo e nujasəsgešda ' [You] might have been late for the school. '

ucebu ga wassgeš*ji* ' The postman might have (had) come. '

4.33.11.2 The Compound Tense:

The four compound tenses, which are all progressive tenses, are formed by two-verb verbal phrases consisting of a verb inflected with the concatenating ending -go and the auxiliary verb -is- 'progressive tense formative' (cf. 3.41.32, p.71).

The compound tense is possible only with processive verbs.

4.33.11.21 Present Progressive Tense

V.st. + -go + is- + pres.t.sfx.

e.g. acim ur maggo isda '[He] is having his
breakfast.'

isda < is- + Zero t.sfx. + -da

na do jagi sa swigo isnunda 'I am resting
here too.'

isnunda < is- + -nun- 'pres.t.sfx.'
+ -da

4.33.11.22 Past Progressive Tense

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

e.g. nu:n i oggo isasji 'It was snowing.'

isasji < is- + -as- 'past t.sfx.' + -ji

pjan̄i rur šugo išàšni 'Were you writing a letter?'

išàšni < iš- + -àš- 'past t.sfx.'
+ -ni

4.33.11.23 Future Progressive Tense

V.st. + -go + iš- + fut.t.sfx.

The future progressive tense represents: (i) intensitive future progressive when the subject of a sentence in which it occurs is expressed by a first person pronoun, and (ii) presumptive present or future progressive otherwise.

e.g. ne: ga ceg ur̄ irggo išgešda 'I will be reading
a book.'

išgešda < išg + -geš- 'fut.t.sfx.' + -da

jan̄gug uro ogo išgešda '[He] may be on his way
to England. (lit. may
be coming to England.)'

4.33.11.24 Past Progressive Presumptive Tense

V.st. + -go + iš- + past presump.t.sfx.

e.g. Janhwa rur hago išàšgešubnida '[He] might have
been ringing.'

išàšgešubnida < iš- + -àšgeš- 'past.presump.t.sfx.'
+ -ubnida

ai ga urgo isàsgešubnida 'The baby might have
been crying.'

4.33.12 The Retrospective Tense

The retrospective tense is formed by adding to verbs inflected with a direct tense suffix the retrospective tense suffix, of which there are two allomorphs: -di-/-dΛ-. -di- occurs exclusively in the declarative and interrogative mood of the high formal speech style (cf. 4.35.11) and -dΛ- in the declarative and interrogative mood of the low plain speech style (cf. 4.35.14.1 & 4.35.14.2) as well as in the adjectival and adverbial clause (cf. 4.35.22, p.183 & 4.35.23).

Besides the retrospective tense suffix -di-/-dΛ- there are two inflectional endings, -de 'declarative mood of the high plain speech style' (cf. 4.35.13.1) and -di/-de 'interrogative mood of the low plain speech style' (cf. 4.35.14.2) which, although not further analysable, represent the retrospective tense. Therefore these two inflectional endings, termed 'Retrospective endings', will be taken as forming part of the retrospective tense system along with the retrospective tense suffix proper. There are four simple and three compound retrospective tenses.

4.33.12.1 The Simple Retrospective Tense4.33.12.11 Present Retrospective Tense

The present retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Zero present tense suffix either -di-/-da- or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a past event as recollected by the speaker.

e.g. ai ga urdara 'The child cried, [I remember].'

urdara < ur- 'to cry' + Zero t.sfx. + -da-
'retros.t.sfx.' + -ra

dar i bargubda 'The moon was bright, [I
remember].'

bargubda < barg- 'to be bright' + Zero t.sfx.
+ -di- 'retros.t.sfx.' + -da

Jib i kudi 'Was the house large, [as you
remember].'

kudi < ku- 'to be large' + Zero t.sfx.
+ -di 'retros.end.'

4.33.12.12 Past Retrospective Tense

The past retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the past tense suffix the

retrospective suffix or one of the retrospective endings; refers to a past-past event as recollected by the speaker.

e.g. barsa gige ga goɬaŋi naasdara

'The machine was out of order, [I recall].'

Janɬɛŋi kutnaasde 'The war was over, [I remember].'

kutnaasde < kutna- 'to be over' + -as-
'past t.sfx.' + -de- 'retros.end.'

4.33.12.13 Future Retrospective Tense

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

e.g. bi ga ogesdara 'It looked like raining, [I remember].'

gu i do twigesubdida '[She] could run too, [I thought/remember].'

mur i cagesde 'Water might be cold, [I thought].'

cagesde < ca- 'to be cold' + -ges- 'fut.t.sfx.'
+ -de- 'retros.end.'

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

4.33.12.14 Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense

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

e.g. don i ʌ:bsʌ̀sgèsdara ' [He] might have been
short of money, [I thought]. '

ʌ:bsʌ̀sgèsdara < ʌ:bs- 'to be absent, short of'
+ -ʌ̀sgès- 'past presump.t.sfx.' + -dʌ-
+ -ra

sihab i siʃagdweʌ̀sgèsubdida

'The match might have started, [I thought]. '

siʃagdweʌ̀sgèsubdida < siʃagdwe- 'to start'

+ -ʌ̀sgès- 'past presump.t.sfx.' + -ub-

'high formal speech style' + -di- + -da

4.33.12.2 The Compound Retrospective Tense

The compound retrospective tenses are formed by adding to the direct compound tenses the retrospective suffix -di-/-dΔ- or one of the retrospective endings. There are three compound retrospective tenses.

4.33.12.21 Present Progressive Retrospective Tense

The present progressive retrospective tense, formed by addition of the retrospective suffix or an retrospective ending to the present progressive tense (cf. 4.33.11.21), refers to a past progressive event as recollected by the speaker.

e.g. Jon ur cigo isdara '[They]were ringing a bell,
[I remember].'

cigo is- 'to be ringing' 'pres. progr. t.'

ai ga twigo isubdida 'The child was jumping
around, [I remember].'

twigo is- 'to be jumping'

-ub- 'high formal speech style'

-dⁱ- 'retros. t. sfx.'

4.33.12.22 Future Progressive Retrospective

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

e.g. gonbu rur hago isgesdara '[He] might have
been studying, [I thought
or remember].'

hago isges- 'fut.progr.t.'

Ja:nhwa rur hago isgesdi 'Was [she] telephoning,
[as you remember] ?'

Hago isges- 'fut.progr.t.'

-di 'interr.retros.end.'

4.33.12.23 Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense

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

The humble suffix appears in four different allomorphs conditioned both phonologically and morphologically:

- (i) -o-/-uo- V/C-form; before inflectional endings
-bnida, -na, -mjan, -mja,
-ni, -a(jo)¹⁾
- (ii) -ob-/-uob- V/C-form; before inflectional endings
-naida, -naika, -sosa, ʒi(jo)¹⁾
-go, -darado.
- (iii) -sao- C-form: before the same inflectional endings as listed in (i).
- (iv) -saob- C-form: before inflectional endings
-naida and -naika.

Any of these forms may occur immediately after a verb stem or a stem plus a voice suffix, and -o-/-uo-, -ob-/-uob- of (i) and (ii) may be preceded by any tense suffix except -n-/-nun- 'pres.t.sfx' as well as by the honorific suffix -si-/-usi-, but -sao- and -saob- of (iii) and (iv) can not be preceded by the honorific suffix unless a tense suffix is found between them simultaneously.

1) The sentence particle jo 'speech style modulator' (cf. 3.45.7) is compulsory when the inflectional endings -a and -ʒi are preceded by the humble suffix.

e.g. nar i caobnida 'It is very cold.'

< ca- 'to be cold' + -o- +
-bnida 'infix.end. for high
formal speech style'

adi ro gasiobnaika 'Where are you going?'

< ga- 'to go' + -si- 'hon.sfx.' + -ob-
+ -naika 'infix.end. for high
formal style'

bi rur neria Jusiobsosa 'Please give us rain!'

< Ju- 'to give' + -si- 'hon.sfx.' + -ob-
+ -sosa 'infix.sfx. for high
formal style'

koc i burgsaobji jo 'Flowers are red.'

< burg- 'to be red' + -saob- +
-ji 'infix.end. for medium style'
+ jo 'sentence particle'

iJusiassaona 'Although you have forgotten'

< iJ- 'to forget' + -usi- 'hon.sfx.'
+ -as- 'past t.sfx.' + -sao-
+ -na 'non-final inflectional end.'

ceg ur darabhisassaoni 'As [you] have spoiled
this book'

< darab- 'to be dirty' + -hi- 'pasv.v.sfx.'
+ -si- 'hon.sfx.' + -as- 'past t.sfx.' + -sao-
+ -ni 'non-final infix.end.'

4.34.1 Difference between Honorific and Humble Suffix

The honorific suffix -si-/-usi- (cf. 4.32) and the humble suffix, both employed to express the speaker's respect, are different from one another in that the honorific suffix directs the speaker's respect to the subject of a sentence whereas the humble suffix directs it to the addressee. And of course the respect shown by the humble suffix is the result of degradation of the speaker's status against the addressee(s).

e.g. sansənim i osinda. 'The teacher is coming.'

< context of situation > : a child speaking
-si- 'hon.sfx.' to his friends.

ai ga oobnida. 'The child is coming.'

< context of situation > : a child speaking
-o- 'humble sfx.' to his teacher.

harmanim i osiobnida. 'The grandmother is coming.'

< context of situation > : a servant speaking
-si- 'hon.sfx.' her mistress, showing
-o- 'humble sfx.' respect to both.

The humble suffix is similar in function to the high and low speech style inflectional endings, which will be described in the next section.

4.35 Inflectional Endings

The inflectional endings which are the last elements occurring within the verb are grouped into three different categories on the basis of the syntactic functions which they enable verbs to perform. They are (i) 'Final Endings', (ii) 'Non-final Endings', and (iii) 'Concatenating Endings'. A verb inflected with a final ending can function as the predicate of a final clause, the one with a non-final ending as the predicate of a non-final clause, and the one with a concatenating ending as a concatenating form in the verbal phrase structure (cf. 5.21. & 5.21.12.1).

4.35.1 Final Endings

Five speech styles, and in each style four kinds of mood are distinguished by the final endings.

4.35.11 High Formal Style

The high formal style is the most polite form of speech whereby the speaker expresses respect toward the addressee(s). It is used on formal occasions, in conversation between strangers, by younger to elders, and by people of lower social status to those of higher

one. All inflectional endings of the high formal style: except -naida and -naka, consist of an ordered sequence of three suffixes, which are:

- (i) -b-/-ub- 'high formal style suffix'
- (ii)a) -ni- 'indicative sfx.'
- b) -si- 'volitive sfx.'
- c) -di- 'retrospective tense sfx.' (4.32.12)
- (iii)a) -da 'declarative or propositive mood sfx.'
- b) -ka 'interrogative mood sfx.'
- c) -o 'imperative mood sfx.'

4.35.11.1 Declarative Mood Endings

- (i) -bnida/- (s)ubnida V/C-form
- (ii) -naida 'an archaic form whose use is restricted to the literary style and religious service.'

e.g. bam i gibnida 'The night is long.'
 gɛ rur cɔc(s)ubnida '[They] are chasing a dog.'
 god. tʌnagesnaida '[I] will leave soon.'

4.35.11.2 Interrogative Mood Endings

- (i) -bnika/- (s)ubnika V/C-form

(ii) -naika 'an archaic form' (see 4.35.11.1, (ii))

- e.g. we an obnika 'Why is [he] not coming ?'
 gir i Job(s)ubnika 'Is the road narrow ?'
 anJe osiašnaika 'When did you come ?'

4.35.11.3 Imperative Mood Endings

-(si)bsio/- (usi)bsio V/C-form

The imperative mood ending -bsio occurs almost always preceded by the honorific suffix -si-/-usi-. All imperative mood endings of any speech style can not occur with a tense suffix except the Zero present tense (cf. 4.33).

- e.g. parri hasibsi 'Please do [it] quickly.'
 hana man Jibusibsi 'Please take one.'

4.35.11.4 Propositive Mood Endings

-bsida/-ubsida V/C-form

Like the imperative mood endings, all propositive mood endings, irrespective of speech style, can not occur with a tense suffix except the Zero present tense.

- e.g. cāncānhi bobsida 'Let us see [it] slowly.'

gati gurisibsida 'Let us draw [it] together.'

4.35.12 Low Formal Style

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

The inflectional endings of the low formal style and of all other lower styles are single morphemes representing the categories of speech style and mood simultaneously.

4.35.12.1 Declarative Mood Endings

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|---|
| (i)a) | <u>-o/-uo</u> | V/C-form |
| b) | <u>-so</u> | C-form [after stems with Zero
t.sfx.] |
| (ii) | <u>-gurja</u> | 'interjectival' [This ending
is always found preceded by
a non-Zero tense suffix when
it occurs with a processive
verb] |

e.g. na do har Jur ao 'I know how to do [it] too.'
mur i margso 'Water is clear.'

dar i tās̄gurja 'The moon has arisen!'

4.35.12.2 Interrogative Mood Endings:

- (i)a) -o/-uo V/C-form
 b) -so C-form [after stems with
 Zero t.sfx.]

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

- e.g. neir t̄anasio 'Are you leaving tomorrow?'
 Joŋi rur an Jibuo 'Are you not going to
 pick up the paper?'
 saŋ i Jagso 'Is the table small?'

4.35.12.3 Imperative Mood Endings:

- (i)a) -o/-uo V/C-form
 b) -so
 (ii) -gurja

Imperative sentences formed with one of the imperative mood endings are not always distinguishable from declarative sentences formed with one of the homophonous declarative endings. However imperative sentences, though characterised by the same type of intonation as declarative sentences are, i.e., Intoneme LF or HF, are often distinguished from the latter in actual speech by (i) a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (ii) a stronger stress associated with them.

- e.g. Juui rur hasio 'Be careful.'
 ASA duso 'Help yourself(lit. Take quickly).'
 maum dero hagurja 'Do as you please(lit. Do according to your heart).'

4.35.12.4 Propositive Mood Endings

There is no propositive mood endings for the low formal style, paralleling other mood endings already described. The high formal propositive mood ending -bsida/-ubsida, not preceded by the honorific suffix -si-/-usi-, may be treated as the exponent of the low formal propositive mood.

- e.g. sungjaŋ hante mura bobsida 'Let's ask the policeman.'

4.35.13. High Plain Style

The high plain style is lower and less polite than the low formal style, and it is used by elders to younger and by people of higher social status to those of lower one.

4.35.13.1 Declarative Mood Endings

- (i) -ne
- (ii) -mse/-umse V/C-form [promissive]
- (iii) -de [retrospective]

Verbs with the ending -mse/-umse can have as their subject the pronouns of first person only, i.e., na 'I', uri 'we' etc., and they indicate 'future promise' or 'intention' by the speaker. -mse/-umse is not found with any tense suffix except Zero. The ending -de, though not further analysable, has the retrospective tense reference.

- e.g. aŋu an boine ' [It] is totally out of sight. '
 ne ga he ŋumse 'I will do [it] for you. '
 guphi ŋari gade ' [She] went there in a hurry, [I
 remember]. '

4.35.13.2 Interrogative Mood Endings

- (i) -nunga [after V.p. only]
 (ii) -nga/-unga V/C-form [after V.d. only]
 (iii) -rka/-urka V/C-form [uncertainty]

e.g. sinmun ur boasnunga 'Did you see the news-
 paper ?'
 anu gas i Johunga 'Which one is good ?'
 i gas i jaghrka 'Will it be weak ?'
 Janmar urasurka 'Has she really cried,
 [I wonder]?'

4.35.13.3 Imperative Mood Ending

-ge

e.g. iJe swige 'Rest now.'
 narja oge 'Come down.'

4.35.13.4 Propositive Mood Ending

-se

e.g. bonɕi mase 'Let's not send [it].'
 ca han Jan hase 'Let's have a cup of tea.'
 (lit. Tea one cup Let's
 take/do.)

ne ga saa oma 'I will buy it (lit. I will buy and come).'

na do kaṣṣguna 'You have grown up too!'

< ku- 'to grow up' + -aṣ- 'past t.sfx.'
+ -guna

(See 4.22.12.1 for ku- → k- before /a/)

nar i dabguna 'It is hot!'

< dab- 'to be hot' V.d. + -guna

4.35.14.2 Interrogative Mood Endings

- (i) -ni
- (ii) -nunja after V.p.
- (iii) -nja/-unja V/C-form; after V.d.
- (iv) -di/-de 'retrospective'

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

e.g. Jani 'Are you sleeping?'

sori ga nanunja 'Is there any sound?'

< na- 'to arise' V.p. + -nunja

purunja 'Is [it] blue?'

< puru- 'to be blue' + -nja

anu gas i carbunja 'Which one is short ?'

< carb- 'to be short' V.d. + -unja

mwas ur hadi 'What did [he] do, [as you remember].'

< ha- 'to do' + -di

4.35.14.3 Imperative Mood Endings

- (i) -ara/-Ara ā/ā-form
- (ii) -gara
- (iii) -nara [found only with -o 'to come']
- (iv) -jara [found only with -ha 'to do']

The ending -ara/-Ara may be suffixed to any processive verbs but -gara only to a few verbs which can be listed, e.g. ga- 'to go', Ja- 'to sleep', sa- 'to pack', is- 'to be' etc.

- e.g. cocara 'Follow [him].'
 moJa rur basara 'Take off your hat.'
 gJohwe e gagara 'Go to the church.'
 iri onara 'Come here.'
 cwesan ur da hajara 'Do your best.'

4.35.14.4 Propositive Mood Ending

- (i) -Ja

e.g. caŋJa 'Let's find [it].'
 neir buciJa 'Let us post [it] tomorrow.'

4.35.15. Medium Style

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

All inflectional endings of the medium style can function as endings of the low formal style when they are followed by the particle jo 'speech style modulator' (cf. 3.45.7).

4.35.15.1 Declarative Mood Endings

- (i) -a/-A a/A-form
- (ii) -ŋi 'suspective'
- (iii) -gun 'interjectival'

The ending -guna, like -guna(4.35.14.1), must be preceded by a non-Zero t.sfx. when occurring with processive

verb stems, but no such restriction applies when it occurs with descriptive verb stems.

- e.g. ai ga urΔ 'The baby is crying.'
 gudu ga Jar maJa 'The shoes fit me perfectly.'
 nu ga jarasΔ jo 'Someone has opened [it].'
 < jar- 'to open' + -s- 'past t.sfx.' + -Δ
 jo 'sentence particle'
 don i manhJa '[He] has plenty of money, [I think].'
 son i gobguna '[Your] hand is pretty.'

4.35.15.2 Interrogative Mood Endings

- (i) -a/-Δ a/Δ-form
 (ii) -Ja 'suspective'

These endings, although identical in form to the declarative endings, are different from the latter intonationally (cf. 4.35.12.2).

- e.g. arum i noga 'The ice is thawing ?'
 ne ga maJasJa 'Am I not right ?'

4.35.15.3 Imperative Mood Ending

- a/-Δ a/Δ-form

This ending is usually, but not always, distinguished from the homophonous declarative ending by (i) a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (ii) a stronger stress associated with it (cf. 4.35.12.3).

e.g. ΛsΛ anʃa jo ‘[Come on] sit down. (lit. Quickly sit down).’

 < anʃ- ‘to sit’ + -a,
 jo ‘sentence particle’

 ʃar magΛ ‘Eat carefully.’

4.35.15.4 Propositive Mood Ending

-a/-Λ a/Λ-form

Verbs suffixed by this ending ^{and} is hardly distinguishable from those suffixed by the homophonous imperative mood ending since they are identical in shape as well as in intonation, both being characterised by Intoneme LF or HF. The pitch/stress feature associated with the imperative ending (4.35.15.3) is also a characteristic feature of the propositive mood ending. However, apart from the context of situation, which is usually the only cue distinguishing the imperative from the propositive mood ending, the presence of a first person pronoun uri ‘we’

serves as the marker of the propositive mood ending.

e.g. iJe gaa 'Let's go now.'
 uri do nora 'Let's play too.'

4.35.2 Non-final Endings

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

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

4.35.21 Nominal Clause Endings

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

as a noun:

- (i) -m/-um V./C-form
 (ii) -gi

There is some semantic difference between the two endings; -m/-um refers to the abstract side of the meaning of a verb to which it is added whereas -gi emphasises (a) 'actual process' in the case of a processive verb or (b) 'degree' in the case of a descriptive verb.

e.g. i pjan̄i rur šum̄i Johda

'Writing this letter is good[for some purpose].'

šu- V.p.

i pjan̄i rur šugi ga Johda

'This letter is good to write(The actual process of writing this letter is good).'

Ja:nduŋ i bargum 'The lamp being bright(That the lamp is bright).'

Ja:nduŋ i barggi '(The degree of) the lamp being bright.'

barg- V.d.

4.35.22 Adjectival Clause Endings

There are three adjectival clause endings and

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

e.g. with processive verbs:

twinun sa:ram 'The man who ran/has run.'

bon argur ida. '[It] is the face that I
saw/have seen.'

with descriptive verbs:

Jagun moʃa 'A small cap.'

gi:n gaŋ 'A long river.'

The ending -n/--un may be preceded by the retrospective tense suffix -dʌ- or the past tense suffix -aʃ-/
-ʌʃ- plus -dʌ-.

e.g. urdan anc 'The wife who cried/was crying, [as
I remember].'

urdan < ur- 'to cry' V.p. + -dʌ- 'retros.
ttsfx.' + -n

wegug e gaasdan Jangun 'The general who had
been abroad, [as I
remember].'

gaasdan < ga- 'to go' + -aʃ- 'past t.sfx.' +
-dʌ- 'retros.t.sfx' + -n

bargaşdan cañmun 'The window that had been
bright; [as I remember].'

< barg- 'to be bright' V.d. + -aş- 'past
t.sfx.' + -dan- 'retros.t.sfx.' + -n

(iii) -r/-ur may be suffixed to any verb and
refers to the future or presumptive.

e.g. Jib e or ts 'The time [when [you] come
home.'

goñ ur Jibuur ai 'The child who will
pick up the ball.'

ḵoc i burur ts 'The time when the flower
will/may be red.'

-r/-ur may be preceded by the past tense suffix
-aş-/-aş- very freely and by the future tense suffix
-geş- only rarely.

e.g. Jaraaşur adur 'The son who might have
grown up.'

< Jara- 'to grow up' + -aş- 'past t.sfx.'
+ -ur

nurgaşur amani '[Her] mother who might
have aged.'

< nurg- 'to become old' + -aş- + -ur

Juggeşur gjanu 'The situation in which you
might [feel like] die/[dying].'

< Jug- 'to die' + -geş- 'fut.t.sfx.' + -ur

4.35.23 Adverbial Clause Endings

Any verb suffixed by one of the following adverbial clause endings has the same syntactic functions as an adverb. Some adverbial clause endings, marked 'Zero t.sfx.', are not found preceded by any tense suffix while others may be preceded by a tense suffix other than -n-/-nun- 'pres.t.sfx.', which is found only with the final inflectional ending -da (cf. 4.33.11.12). The time reference of an adverbial clause ending not preceded by a tense suffix is determined by that of a final clause with which the former (the adverbial clause) occurs.

(1) -go 'and'

e.g. acim ur maggo ' [I] have my breakfast and. '

-jo 'and' after V.c. only; Zero t.sfx.

e.g. sansu ijo koci ida. ' [He] is a player and coach. '

(2) -mja/-umja V/C-form 'and; while'

e.g. se nun nors rur hešumja koc un usašda.

birds sang and flowers smiled. '

san ur bomja garašda. ' [She] walked while looking at the mountain. '

(3) -gosa 'and then, afterward' after V.p. only; Zero t.sfx.

e.g. ir ur hagosa tanaJa. ' Let's do the job and then leave. '

- (4) -mjΔ(nsa)/-umjΔ(nsa) V/C-form 'at the same time,
while'

e.g. kum:ur kumjΔ Jani

'Are you sleeping [while] dreaming?'

diurumjansa bonda. '[They] see while listening.'

- (5) -Ja 'as soon as' Zero t.sfx.

-Ja usually occurs in double form, with the
second -Ja suffixed to the verb mar- 'to stop'

e.g. keJa marJa 'As soon as [he] wakes up' (lit.

wakes up [and] stops [waking up].')

- (6) -dorog 'until, so that' Zero t.sfx.

e.g. gaJa ga gadorog gidariJa 'Let's wait until
the beggar goes.'

- (7) -ge 'until, so that' Zero t.sfx.

e.g. migug ur Jinge inJa ur caada

'[He] planned his itinerary so that he
could pass through America.'

- (7) -rsurog/-ursurog V/C-form 'the more ... the more'
Zero t.sfx.

e.g. borsurog Johda 'The more I see [it], the
better [it] is.'

- (8) -r(j)Δ/-ur(j)Δ, V/C-form; Zero t.sfx.)
-rjago/-urjago, V/C-form; Zero t.sfx.) 'in order to'
-goJa Zero t.sfx.) suffixed to
V.p. only

e.g. habgja^hgharjago gonbuhanda

'[He] works in order to pass the test.'

(9) -rpundara/-urpundara V/C-form 'not only,.. but also'

e.g. Jiba^surpundara da maga^sda

'Not only did I take it, but also ate it.'

(10) -da(ga) 'interruption, transference'

e.g. gada(ga) onda '[She] is coming [back] while
she is on her way [to school].'

(11) -gana

-duun(ji)

-na/-una V/C-form

'whether or'

These endings occur in double forms.

e.g. ogana gagana 'Whether [they] come or go'

haja^sduunji an aja^sduunji 'Whether [she] did [it]
or did not do [it].'

(12) -mjan/-umjan V/C-form

-gadun

'if, when'

e.g. carbumjan Johji '[It is good if [it] is short.'

bogadun mar ur hajara 'Talk to [him] when you
see him.'

(13) -aja/-aja a/A-firm

-raja after V.c. with
Zero t.sfx.

'only if, only when'

e.g. jag ur magaja nasji

'[You] will get well only when/if you
take some pills.'

jepun ceg iraja 'Only if [it] is a
pretty book'

- (14) -(dar)ado/-ado a/A-form)
-rjiaŋjaŋ/-urjiaŋjaŋ V/C-form } 'Even if/though'
-rjirado/-urjirado V/C-form }
-rmaŋjaŋ/-urmaŋjaŋ V/C-form }
-nduur/-unduur V/C-form }

e.g. morrasdarado 'Even if [you] did not know it'

he ga jiasurmaŋjaŋ dar i isda

'Even if the sun has set, there is the moon.'

buja induur atake he

'Even though [he] is a rich man,

what can he do?(lit. how does he do)

- (15) -jiman)
-ganman)
-anman after V.c. with } 'although ...'
Zero t.sfx. }
-na/-una¹⁾ V/C-form }

1) Although identical in shape, -na/-una of (15) occurs in single form whereas -na/-una of (11) occurs in double form.

e.g. nu:n i oʃiman cubʃi anhdɑ

'Although it is snowing it is not cold.'

sinbu nun iʃuna sinraŋ i ʌ:ɓɓuna

'The bride is there but the bridegroom
is not.'

(16) -rjanman/-urjanman V/C-form 'might/would ... but'

e.g. saʃin i manhurjanman han ʃaŋ do an boinda

'There might be many photos but I can
can not see any(lit. none is seen).'

(17) -a(sʌ)/-ʌ(sʌ) a/ʌ-form 'and then; as, since, because'

Zero t.sfx.

e.g. upjɔ rur saa(sʌ) butiara

'Buy a stamp and then stick it
to [the letter].'

nar i marga(sʌ) gipuda

'[I] am happy as the weather is fine.'

(18) -muro/-umuro V/C-form 'as, since, because'

e.g. ʃib i kumuro soʃe rur hagi ga arɓabda

'Because the house is large it is
difficult to clean it up.'

(19) -nika/-unika V/C-form 'Time: when, as'

'Cause: because, as, since'

e.g. dasi bini joṅsahasibsio

'As/because I apologize once more,
please forgive me.'

na rur bonika gipāsda

'[I] was happy to see you(lit. because I met you.)

(20) -nunde after V.p. } 'and' [topic introducer]
-nde/-unde after V.d. }

e.g. gorbu rur hanunde we tāduni

'I am working and why are you making[a noise] ?'

don i manhīi anhaśnunde saśni

'You did not have enough money and you bought it?'

ki ga kunde tuṅtuṅhaguna

'[She] is tall and plump !'

(21) -dwe 'may/might but'

e.g. pa:ti e gadwe jamānhage iśara

'You may go to the party but behave yourself.'

(lit. but stay well-mannered.)

4.35.3 Concatenating Endings

Every verb ending in one of the following four inflectional endings is a concatenating form occurring in the head structure of verbal phrase(cf. 5.21).

- (i) Concatenating Ending I: -a/-A a/A-form
(ii) Concatenating Ending II: -go
(iii) Concatenating Ending III: -ge
(iv) Concatenating Ending IV: -ji

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

- e.g. sarma Jinda '[It] is/gets boiled.'
sarma < sarm- 'to boil' V.tr. + -a
Jinda < Ji- 'pasv.v.fmtv.' + -nda
- sarmgo is`da '[She] is boiling [it].'
is`da < is- 'processive t.fmtv.' + -da
- kuge hajara 'Make it [to be] big.'
kuge < ku- 'to be big' V.d. + -ge
hajara < ha- 'caus.fmtv.' + -jara
- kuji anhda '[It] is not big.'
anhda < anh- 'negation fmtv.' + -da

CHAPTER V. PHRASE

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5.0 The phrase consists of two or more words and may be substituted by a word of similar syntactic function. There are three types of phrase in Korean: (i) Nominal Phrase, (ii) Verbal Phrase and (iii) Relational Phrase.

5.1 Nominal Phrase

The nominal phrase is an endocentric construction which consists of a noun or its syntactic equivalent as head and one or more subordinates preceding the head as expansion. A nominal phrase is syntactically identical to a single noun.

5.11 The Elements and Structure of Nominal Phrase

The elements occurring within a nominal phrase may be divided into two major constituents, 'Head' and 'Expansion'. The order of occurrence of the two constituents is fixed, head always following expansion, except in certain types of speech.¹⁾

1) In a careless and/or friendly speech, the Expansion-Head order is sometimes reversed; e.g. janpir Jagi isnun 'The pencil [which is] there', where the head noun janpir precedes the expansion Jagi isnun 'which is there', instead of the usual order Jagi isnun janpir.

Examples:

		ᵛᵛ	<u>Jib</u>	'[A] house'
		sᵛ	<u>Jib</u>	'[A] new house'
	Jᵛ	sᵛ	<u>Jib</u>	'That new house'
arumdaun	Jᵛ	sᵛ	<u>Jib</u>	'(lit. Beautiful that new house)'
anu arumdaun han		sᵛ	<u>Jib</u>	'(lit. Certain beautiful one new house)'

In the examples given above, the noun Jib 'house' is the head and the subordinate words preceding the head constitute the expansion.

5.12 Nominal Head

The exponent of the nominal head is (i) a single noun, simple or compound, (ii) two or more nouns linked with or without coordinators, or standing in apposition, (iii) a nominal group or (iv) a compound numeral.

5.12.1 Single Noun as Nominal Head

Any noun can fill the position of the nominal head, whether it is independent or dependent, simple or compound.

Examples:

i koc 'This: flower'

ʃa: ha:n gabaŋ 'That: old brief-case'

purun hanur '[The] blue: sky'

anu gas 'Which one(lit. which thing)'

gas 'N.non-ind.'

du gwan 'Two volumes'

gwan 'N.non-ind.'

anun ce 'Pretension to know.(lit. pretending to know)'

narbun saundurŋaŋ 'Wide: Seoul stadium'

saundurŋaŋ < 'N.comp.' < saur 'Seoul'
+ undŋaŋ 'stadium'

5.12.2 Two or More Nouns as: Nominal Head

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

5.12.21 Nouns linked by Coordinator(s)

Nouns may be linked by a conjunctive particle (cf. 3.45.6 & 3.45.61) such as wa/gwa 'and' and na/ina 'or' or by a conjunctive adverb(cf. 3.44.6) such as gurigo 'and' and tonun 'or' as the coordinator.

Examples:

se wa gojaŋi 'A bird and a cat'
 san gwa namu 'The mountain and tree.'
 mur (gwa) gaŋ gwa be 'Water, river and ship'
 saur ina doŋgjaŋ 'Seoul or Tokyo'
 ca na kapi 'Tea or coffee'
 bom gurigo jaŋum 'Spring and summer'
 neir tomun more 'Tomorrow or the day
 after tomorrow.'

There is no theoretical limit to the number of nouns to be linked by coordinators and functioning as the head in the nominal phrase, but in practice they rarely exceed more than three in all.

5.12.22 Nouns linked by Parataxis

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

Examples:

- (i) ,jace, ,gogi, ,seŋsan.
 'Vegetable, meat and fish'
- (ii) ,jaŋhwa, ,jaŋug, ,mujoŋ.
 'Film, play and ballet'

In the two examples given on the previous page, every noun except the last ones is accompanied by Intoneme LF or Intoneme R, each followed by the tentative juncture, which is very often used to list items.

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

e.g. jace: (wa) gogi (wa) seŋsan

'Vegetable, meat and fish'

jaŋhwa (wa) jaŋgug (gwa) mujon

'Film, play and ballet'

It is to be noted that of coordinators, na/ina 'or' and tonun 'or' can not be added between nouns linked paratactically. In other words, the coordinators that may be added between paratactically linked nouns are wa/gwa 'and' and gurigo 'and' only.

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

N¹ (c) N² (c) N³ (c) Nⁿ

5.12.23 Nouns in Apposition

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

Examples:

han gjosu 'Prof. Han' (lit. Han professor).

jun dɛtɔŋnɔŋ 'President Yun' (lit. Yun
president).

gaŋ gamcan Jangun 'General Gang Gamchan'
 N^1 N^2 (lit. Gang Gamchan General).

gaŋ gamcan < gaŋ 'family name' +
gamcan 'given name'

gim noin 'The old man, [Mr] Gim'
(lit. [Mr] Gim, the old man).

jaŋcar sanbe '[My university] senior, Yungchul'
(lit. Yungchul, my senior).

uri ui Jaraŋ baegusan 'Our pride, Mt. Baegdu'
 N^1 N^2

Nouns in apposition usually form a single stress group (cf. 2.6, p.42) and are spoken consequently with a single

intonation. However when they are realised as two stress groups, N^1 and N^2 each forming a stress group, N^1 is very often marked by Intoneme L.

e.g. ,han gjosu 'Prof. Han'
or -han ,gjosu "

,jun dɛtoŋnjan 'President Yun'
-jun ,dɛtoŋnjan "

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

e.g. $\frac{\text{Jangun}}{N^2}$ $\frac{\text{gan gamcan}}{N^1}$ 'Gen. Gang Gamcan'

$\frac{\text{sansu}}{N^2}$ $\frac{\text{ju inho}}{N^1}$ 'The player [Mr.] Yu Inho'

cf. $\frac{\text{ju inho}}{N^1}$ $\frac{\text{sansu}}{N^2}$

Nouns standing in apposition are superficially similar in construction to those linked paratactically (5.12.22) since both constructions lack coordinator(s). But in fact they are different from each other in the following respects:

- (i) Nouns in apposition are not capable of taking a coordinator between N^1 and N^2 whereas nouns linked paratactically have potentiality of taking a coordinator between every two member nouns.
- (ii) There is an intonational contrast between the two constructions. The first of the two nouns standing in apposition is usually marked by Intoneme L whereas with paratactically linked nouns, every member noun is marked by Intoneme LF/HF or Intoneme R.

5.12.3 Nominal Group as Nominal Head

The nominal group, itself an endocentric construction, has as its structure:

$$\underline{N^1 \ N^2 \ N^3 \ \dots \ N^n}$$

in which N^n or the last N in the sequence is head and all other nouns preceding N^n subordinate(s). The subordinates may be further analysed as consisting of the last noun as head and other nouns preceding it as subordinate(s) and so on.

Examples: jAħɛŋ ʒunbi ‘Preparations for journey’
 (lit. Journey preparations).
 jaŋgug sa:ram ‘Englishman’(lit. England man).
 miɟug ʒaŋbu sicɛɟ ‘American Government Policy’
 jaŋgu gehweg ʒaɟsaŋ wanrjo
 ‘The completion of the drawing of
 research plan’(lit. Research plan
 drawing completion).

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

(i) every member noun except the last one has potentiality of taking the adjectival particle(3.45.8) ui ‘of’, thereby resulting in an adjectival phrase standing in a subordinate relation to the immediately succeeding noun while nouns in apposition have no such potentiality.

e.g. jAħɛŋ (ui) ʒunbi_i ‘Preparations for journey’
 Adj.P.
 (Journey's preparations)

(ii) the order of the member nouns can not be altered while that of the nouns in apposition is in general.

reversible, and (iii) unlike nouns in apposition it does not include personal name^s as an immediate constituent.

5.12.4: Compound Numeral as Nominal Head

The compound numeral, which consists of a sequence of two or more numeral nouns (cf. 3.42.11) and denotes a certain quantity, may function as head of the nominal phrase. A compound numeral may be followed by a classifier (cf. 3.42.21) and with it constitute a 'Compound Numeral Expression', which is itself an endocentric nominal phrase with the classifier as head. The first constituent (subordinate) of a compound numeral expression must be represented by a compound numeral adjective (cf. 3.43.1, p.94) and not by a compound numeral (noun) if its last number is one, two, three or four.

Examples:

sasib o (wan) 'Fourty five (won)'

< sasib o 'fourty five' 'compound numeral (noun)' + wan 'monetary unit' 'N.classif'

sambeg jugsib cir (gwan)

'Three hundred sixty seven volumes'

< sambeg jugsib cir '367' 'compound numeral (noun)' + gwan 'volume' 'N.classif'

ahun han (mari) 'Ninety one (heads)[of sheep]'

ahun han 'ninety one' 'compound numeral
adjective' + mari 'head' 'clasif.'

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

N + Compound Numeral Expression

e.g. $\frac{c\acute{e}g}{N}$ isib. o gwan 'Twenty five volumes of books'
(lit. books: twenty five
volumes)

$\frac{J\acute{a}d\acute{o}nca}{N}$ jar jasas de 'Sixteen cars.'
(lit. cars sixteen sets)

$\frac{J\acute{o}ni}{N}$ sumur han Jan 'Twenty one sheets of
paper' (lit. paper
twenty one sheets)

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

Less frequently, as an alternative to the one described above, the following endocentric construction is also used:

Compound Numerical Expression + ui + N

- e.g. isib o gwan uii ceg 'Twenty five volumes
N of books' (lit. Twenty
five volumes' books)
- jar jasas de uii Jadonca 'Sixteen cars' (lit.
N Sixteen sets' cars)
- sumul han Jan uii Joni 'Twenty one sheets of
paper'

5.13 Nominal Expansion

The nominal expansion consists of (i) up to three adjectives, (ii) up to two adjectival clauses (cf. 6.42), (iii) one or more adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.32), or (iv) a combination of up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause.

5.13.1 Adjective(s) as Nominal Expansion

Any adjective and any combination of up to ¹⁾ three adjectives may occur as the expansion of the nominal phrase, except that the demonstric and interrogative adjectives (cf. 3.43.2 & 3.43.3) are mutually exclusive. There is no fixed order in which adjectives are to occur within the nominal expansion except that a qualitative adjective (cf. 3.43.4), if present, must come last in the series,

- 1) A sequence of two or more demonstric or interrogative adjectives is not possible.

i.e., immediately before the head.

- e.g. ʃA cɛg 'That book'; ʃA 'that' Adj.deic.
 sɛ ʃib '[A] new house'; sɛ 'new' Adj.q.
 anuu gonʃaŋ 'Which factory ?'
 anuu 'which, certain' Adj.interr.
 anuu sɛ gonʃaŋ 'Which new factory ?'
 anuu han sɛ cɛg '[A] certain new book'
 han 'one' Adj.num.

5.13.2 Adjectival Clause(s) as Nominal Expansion

Up to two adjectival clauses(cf. 6.43) may occur as the nominal expansion. When the expansion consists of two adjectival clauses, they are linked either by a coordinator such as gurigo 'and' or tonuun 'or', or by parataxis.

- e.g. ganuun sa:ram 'The man who is going'(lit. The going man)
 ʃib e: onuun ai 'The child who is coming'(lit. The home coming child)
 sagwa rur tar canja 'The girl who will pick apple(s)'(lit. The apple picking girl)

nurgun so. 'An old cow' (lit. A cow which is old)

Adjectival clauses linked by coordinator:

Jarmun gurigo ajapun sinbu 'A young and beautiful bride' (lit. A bride who is young and beautiful)
c

aje bon gurigo nsir mannar canjan
c

'The young man whom I saw yesterday and will meet tomorrow'

pargan tonun paran janpir 'A red or blue pencil' (lit. A pencil which is red or blue)
c

Adjectival clauses linked by parataxis:

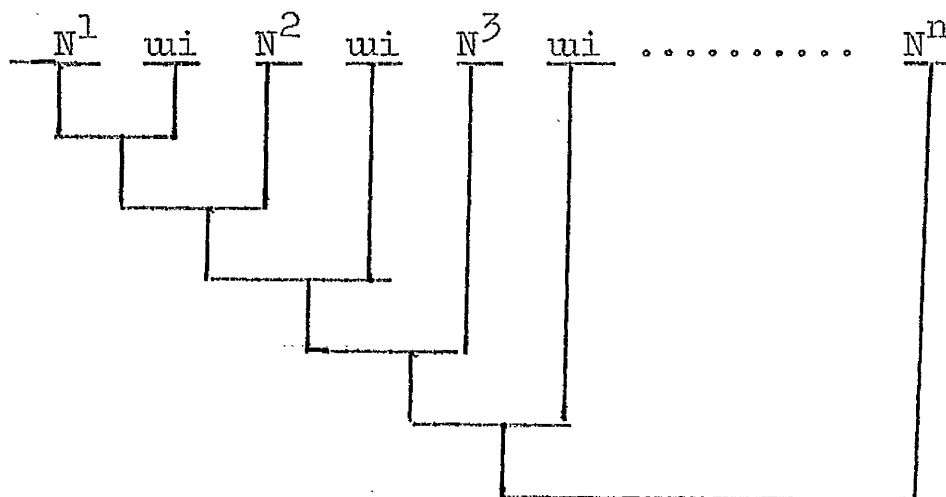
sa:ram i manhun bogjabhan gari 'The crowded (and) busy street' (lit. The street [in which] people are numerous and which is complicated)

kun jarbun Joni 'A large and thin [sheet of] paper' (lit. A [sheet of] paper which is large and thin)

5.13.3 Adjectival Relational Phrase(s) as Expansion

One or more adjectival relational phrase(cf. 5.32)

each consisting of N + ui, may occur as the nominal expansion. A nominal expansion consisting of two or more adjectival relational phrases exhibits its IC structure as follows:



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

- e.g. na ui amani 'My (lit. of me) mother'
donmu ui aʃaʃi '[My] friend's uncle' (lit. Uncle of [my] friend)
gjojug ui him 'The power of education'
amani ui abaʃi ui saʃin
 '[My] mother's father's photo' (lit. (The photo of [my] mother's father)

cingu ui aJasi ui sansen ui tar.

'[My] friend's uncle's teacher's daughter'

gjosu ui jangu ui gjargwa.

'The results of the professor's research' (lit.

The results of research of the professor)

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

cingu (ui) aJasi ui sansen (ui) tar

gjosu ui jangu (ui) gjargwa

5.13.4 Adjectives & Adjectival Clause as Expansion

Up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause, occurring in any order except for the restrictions stated in 5.13.1, may function as the nominal expansion.

e.g. han sigsighan canjan '[A] brave young man' (lit.
Adj. adj.cl.
[A] young man who is brave)

i arumdaun se ca 'This beautiful new car'
Adj. adj.cl. Adj.

gu saur esa on canjan 'That young man from
Adj. adj.cl. Seoul' (lit. That who-
came-from-Seoul young man)

Anu han Johun se Jib 'A certain nice new house'
Adj. Adj. Adj.cl. Adj. (lit. Certain one nice
new house)

5.14 NP embedded in a larger NP

A more complex nominal phrase may comprise an NP as its head, and every such NP includes two expansions, the one belonging to the embedded NP and the other to the larger NP of which the embedded NP occurs as the head, as shown by the following formula:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{NP} &\rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{H} \\ \text{H} &\rightarrow \text{NP}^1 \\ \text{NP}^1 &\rightarrow \text{Exp.}^1 + \text{H}^1 \\ \underline{\text{NP} &\rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{Exp.}^1 + \text{H}^1} \end{aligned}$$

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

e.g. ne ga bon, saur ui gari 'The streets of Seoul
Exp. Exp.¹ H¹ that I saw'
H

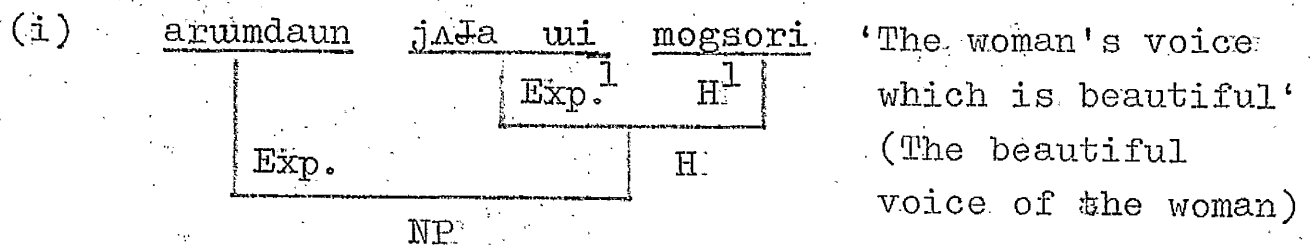
arumdaun, jaJa ui mogsori 'The beautiful woman's
 Exp. Exp.¹ H¹ voice' (lit. The woman's
 voice which is beautiful)

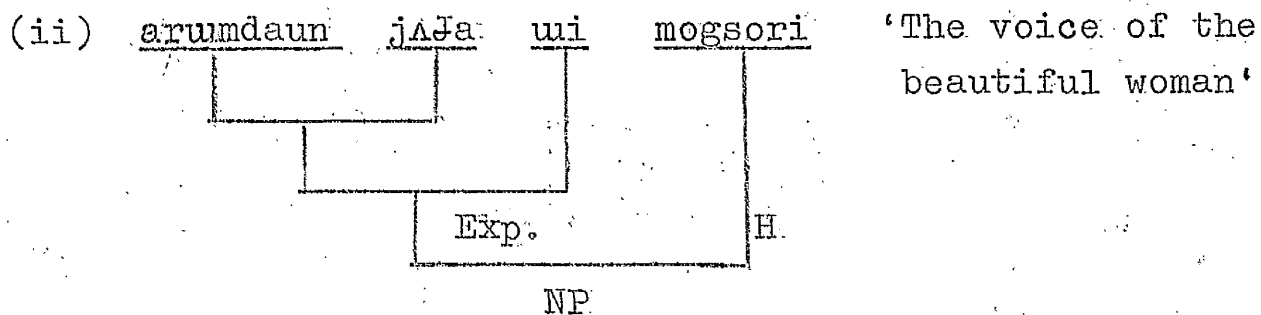
na ui, aman i ui gunsim- 'My mother's worry' (My
 Exp. Exp.¹ H¹ worry about my mother)

A nominal phrase of the structure Exp. + Exp.¹ + H may in some instances be subject to more than one structural interpretation and consequently give rise to semantic ambiguity. For instance,

arumdaun jaJa ui mogsori 'The beautiful woman's
 voice'

may be interpreted in two different ways depending on where the first IC cut is made; with the first IC cut coming between Exp. and Exp.¹, the nominal phrase translates 'The woman's voice which is beautiful', but if it is made between Exp.¹ and H, the same phrase translates 'The voice of the beautiful woman'. The two different IC cuts may be shown by following diagrams.





[arumdaun '(who/which)is beautiful' 'adj.cl.',
jaJa 'woman' N, ui 'of' 'Pol.adj.',
mogsori 'voice' N]

The IC analysis of (i) refers to the structure of an NP comprising an embedded NP¹ as its head, i.e., Exp. + Exp.¹ + H, whereas that of (ii) refers to an NP structure of Exp. + H type where Exp. is analysable into successively smaller constituents in the manner shown diagrammatically on p.207. As stated earlier, a tentative juncture is frequently found between Exp. and Exp.¹ in the nominal phrase comprising an embedded NP and this phonological feature serves to distinguish, in spoken language at least, the former from the other type.

5.2 Verbal Phrase

The verbal phrase, despite its central importance in Korean syntax and indeed in grammar as a whole, has been given an incomplete and unsystematic treatment up to now. Even when a discussion of the verbal phrase as such was attempted, which was very rare, it hardly went beyond two- or three-verb phrases,¹⁾ and was fragmentary. This chapter attempts to describe the structuring of the verbal phrase in such a way that a complete picture may be shown.

The syntactic function, and especially the external distribution,²⁾ of the verbal phrase is exclusively determined by the inflectional ending suffixed to the verb of such a phrase. For instance, a verbal phrase may function as a clause or sentence on its own when its last verb is inflected with a final ending, or as any non-final clause such as nominal, adjectival or adverbial clause when it is suffixed with a non-final ending. This, however, will be discussed at the clause level and the present section is devoted entirely to a discussion of the internal structure

1) It will suffice to quote one example. In the most comprehensive Korean grammar so far published, namely, "uri malbon" [Our(Korean) Grammar] by Prof. Hyun-bae Choi, only a few lines are written on p.383 about the multiple verb structure.

of verbal phrases

5.21 The Elements and Structure of Verbal Phrase

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

Adv./Adv. ^s Ph.	V. ¹ V. ² V. ³	V.aux. ¹ V.aux. ² V.aux. ³V.aux. ⁿ
	Nucleus	(Satellite)
(Expansion)	Head	

Where the verbal head consists of two or more full verbs, or of one or more full verbs plus one or more auxiliary verbs, every verb except the last one must be inflected in one of the four concatenating forms (cf. 4.35.3) as required by the immediately succeeding verb. Apart from a modifying particle (cf. 3.45.9), a plus juncture or less frequently a tentative juncture, no word of any class can intervene between any two elements within a verbal phrase.

Examples:(i) Nucleus only:

nama gada 'to go over'

< nama 'to cross' + gada 'to go'

Jaba gua magda 'to catch, grilla^u and eat'

(ii) Nucleus + Satellite:

gago sipda 'to want to go'
Nuc. Sat.

< gago 'to go' + sipda 'to want to'

Jiba Jida 'to be picked up'
Nuc. Sat.

< Jiba 'to pick up' + Jida 'pasv.fmtv'

twia gago sipa hago isda
Nuc. Sat.

'to be wanting to go running'

< twia 'to run' + gago 'to go' +
sipa 'to want to' + hago 'processive
verb fmtv.' + isda 'progressive t.fmtv.'

(iii) Expansion + Head:

Jar hada 'to do [something] well'
Exp. Nuc.
H

< Jar 'well' + hada 'to do'

arrun twia gada 'to go running quickly'
Exp. Nuc.
H

< arrun 'quickly' + twia gada 'go
running'

<u>aJu</u>	<u>marri</u>	<u>twia</u>	<u>gago</u>	<u>sipa</u>	<u>hago</u>	<u>isda</u>	
Exp.		Nuc.		Sat.			
		H.					

'to be wanting to go running very far'

< aJu 'very' + marri 'far' + twia gago 'to go running' + sipa hago isda 'to be wanting to'

5.21.1 Head of Verbal Phrase

In Korean, as in other 'Turanian' languages¹⁾,
 in Korean, as in other 'Turanian' languages¹⁾,

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

1) C.E. Bazell, "The Fundamental Syntactic Relations", p.11.

head and ultimately the entire verbal phrase in which the satellite occurs. Accordingly, by the criterion of syntactic functions, ^{with the Verbal Head} the satellite is subordinate to the nucleus.

5.21.11 Nucleus of Verbal Heads

One to three processive verbs (cf. 3.41.1), each inflected in the concatenating form I except the last one, may occur as the nucleus of a verbal phrase. One verb nucleus is most frequent, two-verb nucleus less frequent than the one-verb nucleus and three-verb nucleus very rare. Descriptive verbs may occur as the exponent of one-verb nucleus but no multiple-verb nucleus may include, or consist entirely of, descriptive verbs, with the exception of two-verb nuclei of which the second verb is boi- 'to be seen, to be shown, to seem', a passive verb derived from bo- 'to see' V.tr. The first position of such a nucleus may be filled by any verb, processive or descriptive.

e.g. nurga boinda '[He] looks old.'

< nurg- 'to get old' V.p.

Jarma boinda '[She] looks young.'

< Jarm- 'to be young' V.d.

Nucleus is of two different types, transitive and intransitive, according to the type of verbs included in it. The nucleus which includes one or more transitive verb(s) is a transitive type and its syntactic function is the same as that of a single transitive verb. On the other hand, the nucleus which consists only of intransitive verbs is an intransitive type and has the same syntactic function as an intransitive verb.

Examples:

(i) Nucleus of Transitive Type:

$\frac{\text{b}\Lambda:\text{m ur}}{0}$ $\frac{\text{Jaba ganda}}{\text{V.tr. V.intr.}}$ ' [They] are taking the
Nuc. tiger with them' (lit. [They]
have caught the tiger [and]
are going away)

$\frac{\text{bab ur}}{0}$ $\frac{\text{anJa magašni}}{\text{V.intr V.tr.}}$ 'Did you eat your supper
Nuc. sitting?' (lit. Supper
sitting ate?)

$\frac{\text{koc ur}}{0}$ $\frac{\text{sim}\Lambda \text{ gakuJa}}{\text{V.tr. V.tr.}}$ 'Let us plant flowers and
Nuc. look after them' (lit.
Flowers planting let's
look after)

$\frac{\text{paŋ ur}}{0}$ $\frac{\text{gua } \grave{\text{c}}\text{arra } \text{nohašda}}{\text{V.tr. V.tr. V.tr.}}$ ' [She] toasted, cut
Nuc. and served the
bread' (lit. The
toasting, cutting, served)

sur ur nuA ṭara masinda
 O V.intr V.tr. V.tr.

'[He] is drinking wine lying.' (lit. Wine lying
 pouring out is drinking)

(ii) Nucleus of Intransitive Type:

gia gaṣda '[He] went crawling.' (lit. Crawling
 V.intr.V.intr went)

ṭwia onda '[He] is coming running' (lit. Running
 V.intr. V.intr is coming)

anJa swia garka 'Shall we sit down and rest
 V.intr V.intr. V.intr. before we go?' (lit. Sitting
 resting shall we go?)

5.21.12 Satellite of Verbal Head:

The satellite which is the optional element in the structure of the verbal head consists of one or more auxiliary verbs, each inflected in the appropriate concatenating form, except the last one. The number of auxiliary verbs that may be found within a satellite is theoretically unlimited. For instance, anhē 'V.aux. for negation' may be repeated any

number of times as in the following example with multiple negations:

gago sipĴi anhĴi anhĴi anhĴi anhĴi anhda

'[I] do not not not not want to go'
(lit. Go do-not-want-to do not not not ... not)

< gago 'to go' V.intr., sipĴi 'to want' V.aux.

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

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

Every auxiliary verb in the satellite (i) determines the concatenating form in which the immediately preceding verb, whether it is a full verb in the nucleus or another auxiliary verb, is to be inflected, (ii) semantically restricts, or adds additional meaning(s) to, the preceding verbs(s), and some auxiliary verbs (iii) determine the type of the verbal head in which they occur, e.g. verbal head of processive type or of descriptive type, or (iv) supplement and extend the

morphological formations of voice and tense, e.g. passive voice formation by the auxiliary verb Ji- 'pasv. v.fmtv.' or progressive tense formation by the auxiliary verb iš- 'progr.t.fmtv.' (cf. 4.33.11.2).

In the following section auxiliary verbs will be classified into four different groups according to the concatenating form in which they require the immediately preceding verb, full or auxiliary, to be inflected, and then each auxiliary verb in each group will be discussed in turn as regards other relevant features.

5.21.12.1 Classification of Auxiliary Verbs according to Concatenating Restrictions

5.21.12.11 Auxiliary Verbs of Group I

Any auxiliary ^{verb} group of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form I.

V.st.-a/-a † V.aux. I

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (1) <u>bo-</u> | (2) <u>Ju-</u> | (3) <u>duri-</u> | (4) <u>dε-</u> | (5) <u>bari-</u> |
| (6) <u>šah-</u> | (7) <u>Ji-</u> | (8) <u>ga-</u> | (9) <u>o-</u> | (10) <u>noh-</u> |

(11) na- (12) nε-

All auxiliary verbs of group I are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type, with the exception of ji- which may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the auxiliary verbs of group I is itself a processive type and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb. See 5.21.12.3 for examples.

5.21.12.12 Auxiliary Verbs of Group II

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form II (cf. 4.35.3).

V.st.-go + V.aux. II

(1) is- (2) sip-

These auxiliary verbs are descriptive and may be preceded by a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type only. A verbal phrase whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the two auxiliary verbs of group II is itself a descriptive type and may be followed directly

by an auxiliary verb of descriptive type such as: aniha- 'negation' or mosha- 'negation, to be unable to' (cf. 5.21.12.14). However it can not be followed by an auxiliary verb of processive type unless it is first of all transformed into a processive type by taking a processive formative such as Ji-, ha-, mandur-, and dwe- (cf. 5.21.12.11 & 5.21.12.13). See 5.21.12.3 for examples.

5.21.12.13 Auxiliary Verbs of Group III

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form III (cf. 4.35.3).

V.st.-ge + V.aux. III

- (1) ha-, (2) mandur-, (3) dwe-

All auxiliary verbs of group III are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the auxiliary verbs of group III is itself a processive type and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb. See 5.21.12.3 for examples.

5.21.12.14 Auxiliary Verbs of Group IV

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form IV (cf. 4.35.3).

V.st.-Ḫi + V.aux. IV

(1) aniha-, (2) mosha-, (3) mar-

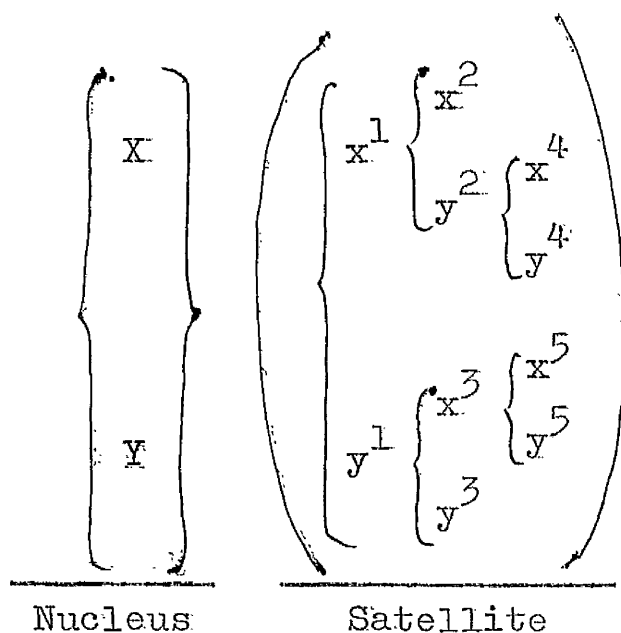
aniha- and mosha- are auxiliary verbs of both processive and descriptive type whereas mar- is a processive type. Accordingly aniha- and mosha- may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type, whereas mar- follows only that of processive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, aniha- or mosha- is either processive or descriptive type depending on whether the preceding verb(s) is processive or descriptive. If it is processive, the entire verbal head is also processive and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb, but if it is descriptive, the entire verbal head is also descriptive and may be followed by a descriptive auxiliary verb but not by a processive auxiliary verb unless it is first of all transformed into a processive type by taking a processive formative

such as Ji-, ha-, mañdu-, and dwe- (cf. 5.21.12.11 & 5.21.12.13). See 5.21.12.3 for examples.

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

The classification of auxiliary verbs into four different groups on the basis of the morphological restrictions imposed by auxiliary verbs on the immediately preceding verb (cf. 5.21.12.1) shows in which of the four concatenating forms the verb, full or auxiliary, must appear when followed by an auxiliary verb. However it does not specify in detail what type of verb may precede or follow a particular auxiliary verb, which, as auxiliary verbs are not concatenated in a disorderly manner, is vitally important for the correct understanding and generation of verbal Heads, especially of long and complex type. It is the distinction of verbs, whether full or auxiliary, into the processive and descriptive types that is directly relevant to the manner in which auxiliary verbs combine with one another and with full verbs in the nucleus. The statements on the distribution of auxiliary verbs with other verbs in the verbal head structure, as conditioned by the criterion of the processive/descriptive difference of

verbs, have already been made at relevant places in the sections dealing with the four groups of auxiliary verbs(cf. 5.21.12.1). They may be brought together here and collapsed into a single rule as follows:



The abbreviations used in the rule above are:

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

The above rule is to be read from left to right as follows:

The nucleus X or Y may be followed by x^1 or y^1 in the satellite, either of which may in its turn be followed by x^2 or y^2 , or x^3 or y^3 respectively, and so on. Thus

the following sequences are possible.

- i) X x¹ x² y
- ii) X x¹ y² y⁴
- iii) X y¹ x³ x⁵
- iv) Y y¹ y³ y⁵
- v) Y x¹ y² x⁴

etc.

The satellite structure, which is optional, is open-ended and therefore the x/y expansion may be repeated theoretically any number of times, although in practice it rarely repeats itself more than five times in all. In the application of the above rule the following restrictions must be observed:

$$(i) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Y \\ y \end{array} \right\} x \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Y \\ y \end{array} \right\} z$$

$$(ii) \quad z = \text{'Processive formative'} - \{ \text{ji-}, \text{ha-}, \text{dwe-} \text{ etc.} \}$$

$$\text{e.g. } \begin{array}{l} X y^1 x^3 \rightarrow X y^1 z \\ Y x^1 \rightarrow Y z \end{array}$$

$$(iii) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Y \\ y \end{array} \right\} yyy \dots \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Y \\ y \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mosha-} \\ \text{aniha-} \end{array} \right\} \text{aniha- aniha-} \dots$$

The application of these rules given on the previous page, in conjunction with the restrictions on the choice of an

appropriate concatenating form and any limitations which will be mentioned in the exemplification of each auxiliary verb(cf. 5.21.12.3) . will generate correct verbal heads, subject only to collocational restrictions.

5.21.12.3 Exemplification of Verbal Heads

Examples of verbal heads will be divided into two types, (i) those with simple satellite and (ii) those with compound satellite. Simple satellite consists of one auxiliary verb, and compound satellite of more than one.

5.21.12.31 Verbal Heads with Simple Satellite

5.21.12.31.1 With the Group I Auxiliary Verbs

1) bo- V.p.aux. 'to try to, to attempt to'

irga bošda '[He] has tried to read [it].'
X X

nu irga bogēšda '[I] will try and read [it].'
X X
(lit. Lying reading [I] will try.)

2) Ju- V.p.aux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

Jiba Jurka '[Shall] I pick [it] up for you ?'
X X

- 3) duuri- V.p.hon.aux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

ceg ur caJa duurige`subnida
 O X x

'I will find the book for you, [sir]'

- 4) dε- V.p.aux. 'repetition'

The collocability of this auxiliary verb is very limited compared with śah-, which may collocate with almost any verb. Verbs which collocate with dε- are: mag- 'to eat', ur- 'to cry', norri- 'to tease', kabur- 'to behave flippantly', bur- 'to blow', etc.

gugsu rur maga denda '[He] is eating noodle again
 O X x and again.'

norria dεaśni 'Did you tease [him] much ?'
 X x

- 5) śah- V.p.aux. 'repetition, continuation'

we usa śahni 'Why do you keep on laughing ?'
 X x

ar ur sarma maga śahaśda '[We] boiled eggs and
 X x ate them without end.'

- 6) bari- V.p.aux. 'to do something completely, or thoroughly'

Jaa bariaśda '[He] went to bed straight away.'
 X x

nurra bariaśji 'You pressed it completely, didn't
 X x you ?'

7) Ji- V.p.aux.

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

saJin i çiga Jinda 'The picture is taken.'
X X

çarra Jinda '[It] is broken/cut.'
X X

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

anJa Jini 'Can you sit?' (lit. Do you find
X X yourself sitting [even if you
don't intend/try to]?)

Jar gaa Jinda '[I] find [myself] going well
X X [even if I don't try to].'

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

koç i burga Jigeşda 'The flower is likely
X X to become red.'

aduA Jibnika '[Is it] getting dark?'
X X

8) ga- V.p.aux. 'progression [toward a goal] from
present to future or away from the
speaker' or 'near-completion'

aJAsi ga nurga ganda 'My uncle is getting old.'
X X

busan e docaghaja ganda '[We] are getting near
X X Pusan.'

surbjāṅ i biā gaasda 'The wine bottle was
X X getting empty.'

- 9) o- V.p.aux. 'progression [toward a goal] from
past to present or toward the speaker'

noin un itur doṅan gido rur haja oaṣda
X X

'The old man has said prayer for the past
two days.'

ir ur gati haja oaṣda '[We] have worked together.'
X X

- 10) noh- V.p.aux. 'completion, retention'

This auxiliary verb is usually preceded by
V.tr. only.

gogi rur carra nohaṣubnika 'Have you cut the meat
X X up [and left it in that
cut-up state] ?'

usan ara nohara 'Find about [it] first of all.'
X X

- 11) na- 'progression, completion' V.p.aux.

It is found with a limited number of V.intr.:

pi- 'to blossom', sos- 'to rise, soar',

Jara- 'to grow', sar- 'to live' etc.

he ga sosa nanda 'The sun is rising/coming out.'
X X

ai ga Jaraa naasda 'The child has grown up.'
X X

(12) ne- 'progression, completion' V.p.aux.

It is found with a limited number of V.tr.:

gjandi- 'to endure', ha- 'to do', igi- 'to win'

jis- 'to devise, compose or make' etc.

gjandia negešo 'Can you stand [it] ?'
X X

ai ga sugje rur haja nenda 'The boy is doing his
X X home work [and he can
finish it by himself].'

5.21.12.31.2 With the Group II Auxiliary Verbs

1) iš- V.d.aux. 'progressive tense formative'

Jib ur jisgo išda '[They] are building a house.'
X y

nu:n i ogo išasda 'It was snowing' (lit. The
X y snow was coming)

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

san ur nama gago sipso 'Do you want to go
O X y over the mountain ?'

amani nun don ur bonego sipasda
O X y

'[His] mother wished to send [some] money.'

The object of a transitive verb followed by sip- may either (i) remain unchanged as it would without sip-

or (ii) become a complement by means of the replacement of the object particle rur/ur by the complement particle ga/i. Thus the sequence V.tr. + sip- may exhibit two different syntactic patterns:

- (i) O + V.tr. + sip-
 (ii) C + V.tr. + sip-

V.tr. + sip- in (i) is syntactically equivalent to a transitive verb whereas the same verbal head in (ii) is equivalent to a descriptive verb occurring with C.

- e.g. $\begin{array}{c} \text{pa}\eta \text{ ur} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \text{ maggo sipda}$ '[I] would like to have
 some bread.'
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{pa}\eta \text{ i} \\ \text{C} \end{array} \text{ maggo sipda}$ '[I] would like to have
 some bread.'

5.21.12.31.3 With the Group III Auxiliary Verbs

- 1) ha- V.p.aux.
 a) 'causative voice formative' when preceded by a V.p.
 b) 'causative voice and processive verb formative' when preceded by a V.d.

A verbal head that includes ha- in the satellite

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

(a) When preceded by a V.p.

ai rur Jage haJa 'Let's make the baby sleep.'
 O X x

Jage 'to sleep' V.intr.

mar ur pur ur magge habsida
 O O X x

'Let's make the horse eat grass.'

magge 'to eat' V.tr.

(b) When preceded by a V.d.

sori rur Jagge hajAsda '[He] turned the volume
 O Y X down.' (lit. made the sound small)

cagsan ur nopge hani 'Are you making the table
 O Y X [to be] high?'

2) mandur- V.p.aux.

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

latter.

(a) When preceded by a V.p.

ca rur gage mandurašni 'Did you make the
O X X car go?'

nu ga na rur don ur barge mandurašni
O O X X

'Who has made it possible for you to make money ?'
(lit. Who has made you make/earn money ?)

barge 'to earn' V.tr.

(b) When preceded by a V.d.

bur ur barge mandurara 'Make the light brighter.'
O Y X

gudu rur gamge mandurado 'Even if you make [your]
O Y X shoes [to be] dark.'

(3) dwe- V.p.aux.

a) 'independent of the will or intention on the
part of the subject' when preceded by a V.p.

Jib e oge dwešda '[I] happened to come home
X X [although I did not intend to]'

harabaŋi ga bosige dwešubnida
X X

'It so happened that [my] grandfather is
going to see [that].'

- b) 'processive verb formative' with the meaning
'to become' when preceded by a V.d.

gu i ga nopge dwerka 'Will he become high ?'
Y X

hanur i margge dweṅṅi 'The sky has become
Y X clear, hasn't it ?'

5.21.12.31.4 With the Group IV Auxiliary Verbs

- 1) aniha- V.p/d.aux. 'negation'
- 2) mosha- V.p/d.aux. 'to be unable to'
- 3) mar- V.p.aux. 'negation'

Of the three auxiliary verbs listed above, aniha- and mosha- are in complimentary distribution with mar- in relation to the types of sentence; namely, aniha- and mosha- occur in declarative and interrogative sentences only whereas mar- occurs in imperative and propositive sentences only. As an exception to the complimentary distribution mentioned above, mar- may also occur in interrogative sentences if the subject noun is expressed by a first person pronoun.

- 1) aniha-

i ai num aḷig gaḍḍi anihanda 'This child does
X X not walk yet.'

con ur soḥi anihajāśda '[He] did not fire the gun.'
 X X

haggjo ga ma:rḥi anhni 'Isn't the school far ?'
 Y Y

[anh- is a shortened form of aniha-]

gipuḥi anhso 'Are you not happy ?'
 Y Y

2) mosha-

norrasa dudḥi moshajāśda 'Frightened, [she] could
 X X not hear.'

gugḥaṅ e gaḥi moshanda '[She] can not go to the
 X X theatre.'

onur un nar i ḥohi moshada 'It is not clear
 Y Y today.' (lit. It can
 not be clear today) [regret-
 tably])

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

3) mar-

sur ur saa oJi masejo 'Please do not bring wine
 X X with you.' (lit. Please
 do not buy and come.)

[See /r/-dropping stem, 4.22.22.1, for
 mar- → ma- before /s/]

nsir anaJi mabsida 'Let us not leave tomorrow.'
 X X

uri nun camsaghaJi mase 'Let us not take part
 X X in [the meeting].'

na nun gaJi marka 'Shall I not go ?'
 X X

5.21.12.32 Verbal Heads with Compound Satellite

Following the illustration of verbal heads with simple satellite (cf. 5.21.12.31), illustrative examples of those with compound satellite are given below under two separate headings, X and Y, the former representing nuclei of processive type and the latter those of descriptive type.

5.21.12.32.1 X type

(i) Verbal Heads with two auxiliary verbs:

- Xxx: maga boge hasinda ' [He] allows me to try and eat
 X x x [it]. '
- irga Jua sahnunda ' [She] is reading [it] again
 X x x and again [for you]. '
- Xxy: iba bogo sipda ' [I] would like to try and wear [it]. '
 X x y
- gurim i guria Jigo isda ' The picture is
 X x y being drawn. '
- Xyy: anJgo isji anhda ' [She] is not sitting. '
 X y y
- nubgo sipji anhda ' [He] does not want to lie down. '
 X y y
- Xyx: gago sipge hajasda ' [I] had him want to go. '
 X y x
- Jorgo isge mandurgešda ' [You] are going to make
 X y x [her] sleepy. '

(ii) Verbal Heads with three auxiliary verbs:

- Xxxx: urge mandura boa sahnunda ' [He] is trying to
 X x x x make her cry again
 and again. '
- danJja Jige: haja boJa ' Let us try to get it
 X x x to be thrown away. '
- Xxxy: guria Jia gago isda ' [The picture] is nearly
 X x x y finished. ' (lit. is being
 drawn [and almost done])

- oʃi anʒe manduʒo sipda ' [I] would like to make
 X x x y [him] not to come. '
- Xxyx: ša dūriʒo sipa ʒinda ' [I] feel like writing
 X x y x it down [for her]. ' (lit.
 [I] feel inclined to write
 [it] down [for her])
- čarra barigo sipa handa ' [She] would like to
 X x y x cut it off. '
- Xxyy: nora šanʒo sipəi anʒda ' [I] do not want to
 X x y y keep on playing. '
- kabura deʒo išʒi anhašʒi ' [You] were not behaving
 X x y y flippantly, [were you?]. '
- Xyxx: sargo sipge haʒi mara ' Do not make [him] want
 X y x x to live. '
- norgo sipa haʒe dweašda ' [He] has come to like
 X y x x playing. '
- Xyxy: twigo iʒge haʒo sipašda ' [I] wanted him to be
 X y x y running. '
- dudgo sipa haʒo išda ' [They] would like to hear
 X y x y [it]. ' (lit. are wishing
 to hear it)
- Xyyx: manʒigo iʒgo sipa handa ' [She] wants to continue
 X y y x to touch [it]. '
- ʒorgo išʒi anʒe dweašne ' [He] has managed not
 X y y x to be drowsy. '

Xyyy: manḡigo iṣgo sipḡi anḡda
 X y y y

‘[She] does not want to continue to touch [it].’

bogo sipḡi anḡi anḡṣḡa ‘[She] did not dis-
 X y y y like to see [it].’
 (lit. did not not
 want to see [it])

(iii) Verbal Heads with four auxiliary verbs:

Xxxxx: ura deḡi anḡe ḡaja boara ‘Try to stop her
 X x x x x going on crying.’
 (lit. Try to make
 her not to go on crying.)

Xxyxx: busia deḡo sipa ḡaḡi marge ‘Stop wishing to
 X x y x x destroy [it] comp-
 letely.’

Xxxyx: ḡjandia nage dweḡo sipa ḡanda ‘[He] would like
 X x x y x to find himself
 enduring [it].’

Xyyyy: nua iṣgo sipḡi anḡi anḡṣḡa ‘[He] did not
 X y y y y dislike to be
 lying down.’

(iv) Verbal Heads with five auxiliary verbs:

Xxxxxx: usa namḡja barḡa ḡiḡi anḡe ḡaja ḡuara
 X x x x x x

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

Xxxxxyx: jabhiA gaJi anhgē hājA Jūgo sipA handa
 X x x x y x

'[He] wants to make [him] not to be
 arrested-and-taken-away [for him].'

Xxyxxx: igiA nēgo sipA haJi anhgē manduraśda
 X x y x x x

'[They] made [her] not to want to
 overcome [pains].'

5.21.12.32.2 Y Type

(i) Verbal Heads with two auxiliary verbs:

Yxx: marga JjA bariśda ' [It] became completely
 Y x x clear.'

Jarmge dweA borka ' Shall I try to become
 Y x x young ?'

Yxy: burge hāgo sipni ' Do you want to make it red. ?'
 Y x y

kuge mandurgo iśda ' [He] is making it big.'
 Y x y

Yyx: girJi anihage dweśda ' [It] became not long.'
 Y y x

nopJi moshage hājara ' Don't make it long.'
 Y y x

Yyy: kuḷi mohaḷi anḥda ' [It] is not quite small.'
 Y y y (lit. It can not be not big.)

(ii) Verbal Heads with three auxiliary verbs:

Yxxx: barga ḷige haja boḷa 'Let us try to make
 Y x x x it bright.'

 hurige haja noḥi marara 'Do not cause [it] to
 Y x x x become dim [and remain
 so].'

Yxxy: ḷurgabge mandura noḥgo sipda ' [I] would like to
 Y x x y make [them] to be
 happy [and remain
 so].'

 maḷge haja ḷugo iḥda ' [He] is making it correct
 Y x x y for [her].'

Yxyx: naḷuge ḍwego sipge haḷaḥda ' [She] made [him]
 Y x y y to wish to become bad.'

 junjanḥage ḍwego sipa hani 'Do you want to
 Y x y x become famous?'

Yxyy: arja ḷigo sipḷi anḥaḥda ' [She] did not wish to
 Y x y y become young.'

 hajahge ḍwego iḥi anḥaḥda ' [It] was not getting
 Y x y y white.'

Yyxx: surpuḷi anḥge mandura nohara 'Make [her] not
 Y y x x to be sad.'

Yyxy: apuḷi anḡe dweḡo sipda ' [I] want to be not
 Y y x y ill. '

Yyyx: suḷi anḡi anḡe dweḡeḡda ' [It] is ḡoing to
 Y y y x become bitter. ' (lit.
 not not bitter)

Yyyy: ḡobḷi moḡaḷi anḡi anḡda '
 Y y y y
 ' [It] is wide. ' (lit. can not not not be narrow)

(iii) Verbal Heads with four auxiliary verbs:

Yxxxx: surpa ḡige haja bariḷi maḡa ' Let us not make
 Y x x x x [her] sad. '

Yxxxy: nuḷa ḡiḷi anḡe hago sipda ' [I] would like to
 Y x x x y make [it] not to be
 late. '

Yxxyx: ḡarba ḡige hago sipa hajaḡda ' [She] wanted it
 Y x x y x to become short. '

Yyxxx: ḡarḡabḷi anḡe haja ḡua bonka ' Shall I attempt
 Y y x x x to make [him]
 not to feel itchy. '

Yyxyx: burpjanḡaḷi anḡe dweḡo sipa ḡaḷi
 Y y x y x
 ' [She] wishes to become not uncomfortable. '

Yyxxxy: ḡarbḷi anḡe mandura noḡo iḡaḡda
 Y y x x y
 ' [She] was making it not thin. '

(iv) Verbal Head with five auxiliary verbs:

Yxxxxx: hɛŋboghage. ʃja gage hajɔ ʃuge dweɔsɔda
 Y x x x x x

‘[I] happened to make [them] to become
 happy [for them].’

Yxyxyy: nopge ɔwego sipɔ hago isʃi anɔda
 Y x y x y y

‘[He] is not hoping to become high.’

Yyxxyx: gɔmʃi anɔge hajɔ nohgo sipɔ ʃinda
 Y y x x y x

‘[I] find [myself] wishing to make [it]
 not-black [and keep it like that].’

Yyxxxy: apuʃi anɔge hajɔ noha ʃuge sipɔsɔda
 Y y x x x y

‘[The doctor] wanted to make [her] not to
 be painful [and remain so][for her].’

5.21.2 Expansion of Verbal Phrase

The expansion of a verbal phrase may consist of (i) a processive adverb, (ii) a descriptive adverb, (iii) a processive-descriptive adverb (cf. 3.44.1 - 3), (iv) a nominal phrase which has as its head the post-

modifier mankum/manci 'as ~ as' or 'to the degree that' (cf. 3.42.22), or (v) a relational phrase which consists of the noun Jando 'degree' and the particle ro 'to, towards, as, with, by' (cf. 3.45.41), or (vi) an adverbial phrase composed of any two of the elements mentioned in (i) to (v) above.

5.21.21. Processive Adverb as Verbal Expansion

A processive adverb occurs only before the nuclei whose first verb is processive.

e.g. Jar Janda '[She] is sleeping well.'

arrun twia gagara 'Run along quickly.'

cancanhi hago isda '[They] are doing
[it] slowly.'

baram i sorsor bura wasda 'The wind blew
gently.'

5.21.22 Descriptive Adverb as Verbal Expansion

A descriptive adverb may occur before the nuclei whose first verb is descriptive.

- e.g. msu Johji anhasda ' [It] was not very good. '
 ban i dadanhi Joba Jjasa 'The room has become
 very small. '
pag carbge dwegesji ' [It] may become very short. '

5.21.23 Processive-Descriptive Adverb as Verbal Expansion

A processive-descriptive adverb may occur before any nucleus, processive or descriptive.

- e.g. namu Jaji mara 'Do not sleep too much. '
 V.p.
namu Johge mandiurasda ' [She] made it too good. '
 V.d.
sandanhi swibi ' [It] is very easy. '
 V.d.
sandanhi masigo ogesji ' [He] will come [home]
 V.p. very drunk. '

5.21.24 Nominal Phrase as Verbal Expansion

A nominal phrase of the structure,

Adjective/Adjectival clause + mankum/manci

may occur before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type.

- e.g. i mankuum barge haJa 'Let's make [it]
V.d. as bright as this.'
- norrar manci ka Jjašo '[It] has grown as
V.d. big as to surprise me.'
- nun i buur mankuum Jago naasda
V.p.

'[He] has slept [so long] that his eyes
are swollen.'

5.21.25 Relational Phrase as Verbal Expansion

A relational phrase of the structure,

Adj./Adj.Cl. + Jando + ro, may occur before

a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before
one of processive type.

- e.g. gu Jando ro bisage hajado 'Even if [you]
V.d. make [it] that
expensive'

bjanwan e gar Jando ro apuge dweasji
V.d.

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

norrar Jando ro magnunda
V.p.

'[He] eats as [much] as to surprise me.'

5.21.26 Adverbial Phrase as Verbal Expansion

The adverbial phrase, an endocentric construction consisting of a processive adverb as its head and (i) a descriptive adverb, (ii) a processive-descriptive adverb, (iii) a nominal phrase (5.21.24), or (iv) a relational phrase (5.21.25) as its subordinate, may occur before nuclei of processive type.

e.g. mɛu ɟar handa '[He] does [it] very well.'
 sub ɟar
 adv.ph.

mɛu 'very' Adv.d.

sandaŋhi cancanhi ogo iʂa '[They] are coming
 sub. H
 adv.ph. rather slowly.'

sandaŋhi 'considerably, rather'
 Adv.p.d.

i mankum kekusi suge dweʌsda '[You] can manage
 sub. H
 adv.ph. to write as clean
 as this.'

i mankum 'this much' NP

usuur ɟaŋdo ro parri ɟia bariaʂda '[They]
 sub. H
 adv.ph. built [it]
 ridiculously fast.'

usuur ɟaŋdo ro 'as to make one laugh' rel.ph.

5.3 Relational Phrase

The relational phrase is an exocentric construction consisting of two immediate constituents, 'Axis' and 'Relatum' occurring in that order. The axis is most commonly filled by a noun or a nominal phrase but in some relational phrases, it may also be filled by other relational phrase or a clause. The relatum is filled by a particle.

Two types of relational phrase are distinguished on the basis of their syntactic functions, 'Adverbial Relational Phrase' and 'Adjectival Relational Phrase'.

5.31 Adverbial Relational Phrase

The adverbial relational phrase has as its relatum (i) a directive particle, (ii) a quotative particle or (iii) a clausal conjunctive particle (cf. 3.45.41, 3.45.42, 3.45.62). All adverbial relational phrases may occur either alone as minor sentences or more commonly as adjuncts in the clause structure. Some adverbial relational phrases may be followed by a modifying particle (cf. 3.45.9).

Examples:(i) Directive Particle as Relatum:

Jib e isda ' [She] is at home. '

e 'at, to, toward'

bak uro gaJa 'Let's go out' (lit. to out)

uro 'to, as, with'

namu ro mandurašda ' [They] made it with wood. '

randan sa man bor su isda ' [One] can see [it]
only in London. '

sa 'at, in', man 'only' Pcl.mdf.

gugJan e do gani 'Do you go to the theatre
as well ?'

do 'also, as well' Pcl.mdf.

(ii) Quotative Particle as Relatum:

gu do sigor e ogešda go handa 'He says that
he will come to
go Pcl.quot. the country too. '

i gas ur un irago burunda 'We call it silver. '

irago Pcl.quot.

(iii) Clausal Conjunctive Particle as Relatum:

gu ceg ur boasda man dasi bogo sipda

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

man Pcl.cl.conj. 'although, but'

nad do arda sipi sigan i a:bsda

'As you know, there is no time.'

sipi Pcl.cl.conj. 'as'

5.32 Adjectival Relational Phrase

The adjectival relational phrase has as its relatum the adjectival particle ui 'of' (cf. 3.45.8), and is syntactically identical to an adjective, i.e., occurs as a subordinate to a succeeding noun or NP. The axis of the adjectival relational phrase may be filled either by a noun or a nominal phrase or an adverbial relational phrase.

Examples:

(i) N or NP as Axis:

na ui ca 'My car' (lit. I of car)

jangug uwi gonwan 'Parks of England' (lit.
England of parks)

Jarmun nar uwi kum: 'The young days' dream'
NP
adj.rel.ph.
NP

(ii) Adverbial Relational Phrase as Axis:

The adjectival relational phrase which has as its axis an adverbial relational phrase ends in two particles since the axis itself ends in a particle.

saup esa uwi sosig 'The news of from Seoul'
adv.rel.
adj.rel. (lit. Seoul from of news)

cingu egesa uwi pjanji 'A letter of from a friend.'
adv.rel.ph.
adj.rel.ph. (lit. a friend from of
a letter)

amani ege uwi gamsa 'Thanks of to mother'
adv.rel.
adj.rel.ph. (lit. Mother to of thanks)

Jasig uro uwi dori 'Son's duty' (lit. Son
adv.rel.
adj.rel.ph. as of duty)

gjoJan gwa uwi gin dehwa 'A long talk with the
adv.rel.ph.
adj.rel.ph. principal' (lit. Princi-
pal with of a long talk)

CHAPTER VI. CLAUSE

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6.0 The clause may be defined as an endocentric construction consisting of a predicate as its head and one or more other elements preceding the head as its expansion. The predicate, which is the only obligatory element within the clause structure, consists of a full verb or a verbal phrase inflected with a final or non-final inflectional ending(cf. 4.35). As a predicate may be expressed by a single verb, the minimal form of a clause in Korean is a single verb, except where the verb is the copula i- 'to be' (cf. 3.41.11), which is always found preceded by N or NP.

6.1 Final and Non-Final Clause

The clause is of two major types, 'Final Clause' and 'Non-Final Clause', and all clauses are referable to one of the two types. Every final clause has its predicate inflected with a final inflectional ending(cf. 4.35.1) and occurs by itself as a major sentence, whereas every non-final clause has its predicate inflected with a non-final inflectional ending(cf. 4.35.2) and may occur either by itself as a minor sentence or more commonly as part of a major sentence.

Examples:Final clauses:

hanur i margda. 'The sky is clear.'
P

kum ur sibnunda. '[They] are chewing gums.'
P

gjhwe e gani. 'Are you going to the church ?'
P

ceg ur bobsida. 'Let's look at the book.'
P

Non-final clauses:

hanur i margumjan. 'If the sky is clear.'
P

kum ur sibumja. 'While chewing gums.'
P

gjhwe e ganun. '[He] who is going to
P the church.'

ceg ur bom. 'To look at the book.'
P

6.2 Elements of Clause

The elements of the clause are, (i) P (Predicate), (ii) S (Subject), (iii) O (Object), (iv) C (Complement), (v) Ag. (Agent) and (vi) A (Adjunct). Of these six

elements, only P is obligatory and the rest of them are optional.

6.21. Predicate

Any verb or VP which is inflected with a final or non-final inflectional ending may occur as the predicate of a clause. There are six different types of predicate distinguished according to the type of clause in which they occur: they are (i) 'Transitive predicate', (ii) 'Intransitive predicate', (iii) 'Descriptive predicate', (iv) 'Equational predicate', (v) 'Passive predicate', and (vi) 'Causative predicate'.

6.21.1. Transitive Predicate

The transitive predicate consists of (a) a transitive verb(3.41.2) or (b) a VP of transitive type, i.e., one which includes at least one transitive verb in the nucleus but does not include the passive voice formative Ji- (3.41.32) in the satellite. Every transitive predicate may occur with an object.

e.g. goŋ ur canda ' [He] kicks the ball.'
 P.tr.

irga noh̄i anhaśda. '[He] has not read the book
P.tr. [for tomorrow's lesson].'

irga 'to read' V.tr.

6.21.2 Intransitive Predicate

The intransitive predicate consists of (a) a processive intransitive verb (3.41.2 & 3.41.4) or (b) a VP of intransitive type, i.e., one whose nucleus is composed of intransitive verbs only and which does not include a causative voice formative (3.41.32) such as ha- or mandur-, in the satellite.

e.g. an̄aśda. '[She] sat down.'
P.intr.

norgo is̄i. '[They] are playing.'
P.intr.

nua swigo sipda. '[I] would like to lie down
P.intr. and rest.'

6.21.3 Descriptive Predicate

A predicate which consists of (a) a descriptive verb (3.41.1) or (b) a VP of descriptive type, i.e., one including a descriptive verb as nucleus and one or more auxiliary verbs other than the causative voice formative as satellite, is a descriptive predicate. Every such

predicate may occur with a complement.

e.g. gu nun maum i Johda 'He is kind.' (lit. He
 C E.d. his heart nice)

jangam i don i manh̄i anh̄s̄da
 C P.d.

'The old man was not rich.' (lit. The old man money was not plenty)

6.21.4 Equational Predicate

The equational predicate consists of either the copula verb i- 'to be' (3.41.11) or dwe- 'to become' V.p., or a VP with i- or dwe- as nucleus.

e.g. Janmi ida '[It] is a rose.' (lit. Rose is.)
 C P.

gu ga sa:ram i dweṅs̄da 'He has become a man.'
 C P.

The copula i- is always found preceded by the element C.

6.21.5 Passive Predicate

The passive predicate consists of (a) a passive verb, i.e., a transitive verb comprising the passive voice suffix (4.31.1) or (b) a verbal phrase of passive type, i.e.,

one including at least one passive verb in the nucleus but excluding the causative voice formative (3.41.32 & 5.21.12.31.3) from the satellite, or one comprising a nucleus of transitive type (5.21.11, p.217) and the passive voice formative ʒi-,

e.g. Juui ga kurrinda '[His] attention is drawn.'
P.pasv.

< kur- 'to draw' V.tr. + -ri- 'pasv.
v.sfx.' + -nda

ʒabhiʌ mukia gaasda '[He] was caught, bound
P.pasv. and taken away.'

< ʒabhiʌ 'to be caught' (< ʒab- 'to catch' V.tr.
+ -hi- 'pasv.v.sfx.' + -ʌ) + mukia 'to
be bound' (< muk- 'to bind' V.tr. + -i-
'pasv.v.sfx.' + -ʌ) + gaasda 'went' V.intr.

namu ga carra ʒinda 'The tree is cut.'
P.pasv.

< carra 'to cut' V.tr. + ʒinda 'pasv.v
fmtv.'

6.21.6 Causative Predicate

Every predicate which consists of (a) a causative verb, i.e., a verb comprising the causative voice suffix (4.31.2) or (b) a verbal phrase of causative type, i.e., one including a causative verb in the nucleus and/or a

sungjan ur twia gage mandurašda ' [They] made the
 P.caus. policeman go
 running. '

< twia 'to run' V.intr. + gage 'to go' V.intr.
 + mandurašda 'caus.v.fmtv. '

6.22 Subject

The subject is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject/complement particle ga/i, kesa or esa (cf. 3.45.1), or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (cf. 3.45.9). In spoken Korean, just a noun or a nominal phrase occurs frequently as S without being accompanied by one of the particles mentioned above.

e.g. bi ga onda 'It is raining.' (lit. Rain is coming.)
 S

san i nopso 'The mountain is high.'
 S

or sa:ram un mjac inja 'How many people are
 S due to come ?'

un 'emphasis, contrast' Pcl.mdf.

pjanŋi (ga) a:bda 'There is no letter.'
 S

i ceg (i) dukabda 'This book is thick.'
 S

6.23 Object

The object is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the object particle ruur/ur (3.45.2), or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (3.45.9). Just like the element S, O may, in spoken language, be expressed by a noun or NP alone.

e.g. ca ruur tanda ' [She] rides in a car. '
O

mwas ur magurka 'What shall [we] eat ? '
O

gaben do bonsni 'Are you sending the
O brief-case as well ?'

do 'also, well' Pcl.mdf.

sinmun (ur) bonda 'I am reading the newspaper. '
O

6.24 Complement

The complement is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject/complement particle ga/i, or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (3.45.9). Like S and O, the element C is likewise expressed frequently in spoken language by N or NP alone.

e.g. gu ga nai ga Janda 'He is young. '(lit. He
S C age is young.)

sansən un mari kaʃi apaʃi 'The teacher even
C had headaches.'

kaʃi 'even' Pcl.mdf.

caŋnjan i bə (ga) apaʃo 'The young man had stomach-
C ache.' (lit. The young man
stomach was painful.)

6.25 Agent

The agent occurs both in passive and causative clauses. The element Ag. in passive clauses is expressed by a noun or NP plus the agent particle (3.45.3) only, and the agent particle is obligatory. However, the element Ag. occurring in causative clauses may be expressed either by N/NP plus the agent particle or by N/NP plus a modifying particle (3.45.9). The causative agent may be expressed by N/NP alone.

e.g. ai ege magiʃi mara 'Don't make the child eat
Ag. P.caus. [it].'

nui do ibhirka 'Shall I make my sister wear [it]?'
Ag. P.caus. also ?'

do 'also' Pcl.mdf.

ai magiʃi mara 'Don't make the child eat ...
Ag. P.caus. [it].'

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures that the financial statements are reliable and can be audited without issue.

In addition, it is noted that the accounting system should be updated regularly to reflect any changes in the business's operations. This includes recording new assets, liabilities, and income streams as they occur.

Furthermore, the document highlights the need for transparency in financial reporting. All stakeholders, including investors and creditors, should have access to the same information. This helps in building trust and making informed decisions about the company's future.

Finally, it is stressed that the accounting process should be consistent over time. Using the same accounting methods and principles allows for meaningful comparisons between different periods and helps in identifying trends and patterns in the data.

The second part of the document provides a detailed overview of the accounting cycle. It outlines the ten steps involved in recording and summarizing financial transactions, from identifying the transaction to preparing the financial statements. Each step is explained in detail, including the necessary journal entries and the impact on the accounting equation.

Additionally, it discusses the role of the accounting department in the overall business strategy. Accountants are not just record-keepers; they are also advisors who provide valuable insights into the company's financial health and help in making strategic decisions.

(ii) Interrogative Adverb as Adjunct:

we haggjo gaĴi anhni 'Why don't you go
to school?'

atange na do parri hajĴja dweĴi

'Somehow you have to do [it].'

(iii) Adverbial Relational Phrase as Adjunct:

acim e nu ga iĴaĴo 'Who was [here] in the morning.'

nsir ĴangaĴan e gageĴo 'I will go to the station
tomorrow.'

(iv) Nominal Phrase as Adjunct:

sib ri (rur) twiaĴda '[He] ran ten ri.'

[ri=a measure of length(about
1/3 mile)]

ir Ĵuir (ur) noni 'Will you have a week off.?'

terebi rur du sigan (ur) boaĴguna

'You have watched the television for
two hours!'

acim ur mĴac sigan ur magni 'How many hours
are you eating
your breakfast?'

6.27 Interrelations among the Elements of Clause

The interrelations obtaining among the elements of the clause may be stated in two different ways. Firstly, using the criterion of binary opposition of obligatory/optional occurrence, the six elements are divided into the obligatory element P and optional elements, S, O, C, Ag. and A. And this criterion provides the basis for analysing the clause as an endocentric construction that consists of a P as head and other elements as expansion. Secondly, on the basis of the degree of cohesion with P, the five optional elements may be grouped into (i) O, C, and Ag., and (ii) S and A. The cohesion between P and O/C/Ag., whose presence or absence is potentially determined by P, is greater than that between P and S/A, which may occur in any clause irrespective of the type of P found in it.

6.3 Types of Final Clause

Six different types of clause are distinguished in Korean according to (i) the type of predicate (6.21)

functioning in them and other clause elements that occur with P. They are (i) Transitive Clause, (ii) Intransitive Clause, (iii) Descriptive Clause, (iv) Equational Clause, (v) Passive Clause, and (vi) Causative Clause.

6.31 Transitive Clause

A transitive clause includes a transitive predicate (6s21.1) as P and has potentiality of having the element O present in it. The elements and structure of an unmarked (non-emphatic) transitive clause are as follows:

(S) + (O) + P

In the discussion of the six different clause types, the element A is to be understood as positionally free except where restrictions are introduced. Most transitive clauses lend themselves to passive transformation (See passive clause, 6.35).

e.g. sonjan i gon ur canda 'The boy is kicking
S O P a ball.'

ge ga Jagi sa ai rur çocnunda 'A dog is
S A O P chasing a
child there.'

Janmar gu nuun AJe gonbu rur manhi hajaśda
 A S A O P

'Really he studied much yesterday.'

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

e.g. ne ga ceg ur irga borka 'Shall I try and
 S O P read the book?'

irga borka ne ga ceg ur '
 P S O

irga borka ceg ur ne ga
 P O S

6.31.1 Transitive Clause with 'Split Objects'

A transitive clause may take two objects which are related in such a way that the two objects, O^1 and O^2 may be freely replaceable by a unified single object composed of O^1 and O^2 in the form of a nominal phrase. It is noted that the semantic relationship of O^1 to O^2 is one of 'Whole - Part', e.g., 'man - (his) head', 'woman - (her) hand' or 'table - (its) leg' etc., or one of 'Unit - (its) Quantity', e.g., 'paper - (one) sheet',

'book - (ten) volumes' or 'soldier - (ten) persons'.

O^1 and O^2 standing in such a relation as is described above will be termed 'Split Objects'. In general, split objects are semantically more emphatic than the corresponding single object. The structure of an unmarked transitive clause with split objects is:

(S) + (O^1) + (O^2) + P

čeg.

sinsa rur bar ur barbašda ' [He] stepped on the
 O^1 O^2 P gentleman's foot. (lit. stepped [on] the gentleman [on] his foot.)

cf. sinsa bar ur barbašda
 O P

adiur ur borgi rur cjašda ' [He] spanked his
 O^1 O^2 P son [on] the
 buttocks. '

cf. adiur borgi rur cjašda
 O P

čegsaŋ ur dari rur bunġirašni ' Did you break a
 O^1 O^2 P leg of the table? '
 (lit. break the table a leg ?)

cf. čegsaŋ dari rur bunġirašni
 O P

čeg ur jar gwan ur irgašda ' [He] has read ten
 O^1 O^2 P books. ' (lit. read books ten volumes.)

cf. ceg jar gwan ur irgasda '
 O P

Less frequently occurring marked (emphatic) structures of the transitive clause with split objects are (O¹)(O²)P(S), and (S)(O²)P(O¹).

e.g. dambe rur du de rur pini 'Are you smoking two
 O¹ O² P cigarettes?' (lit.
 smoking cigarettes
 two ?)

cf. du de rur pini dambe rur
 O² P O¹

6.32 Intransitive Clause

An intransitive clause includes an intransitive predicate as P but neither O or C. The elements and structure of an unmarked intransitive clause are:

(S) P

e.g. harabaŋi ga ŋigum gipi ŋumusinda '[My] grand-
 S A P father is now
 fast asleep.'

uiŋa e. ŋojnhi anŋara 'Sit on the chair quietly.'
 A P

cancanhi mogsa nun gjhwe ro gara gaasda
A S A P

'The priest walked slowly to the church.'

The structure of the marked intransitive clause is:

P (S).

e.g. Jeparri tanasda beun num 'Hurriedly left
P S the actor.'

6.33 Descriptive Clause

A descriptive clause includes a descriptive predicate (6.21.3) as P. Two kinds of descriptive clause are distinguished according to the type of descriptive predicate used. They are 'Descriptive Clause I' and 'Descriptive Clause II'. Although the elements and structure of the descriptive clauses of both types can be uniformly set out as:

(S) + (C) + P

the relation, both structural and semantic, holding between the elements S and C is different in type I and type II. Thus the elements S and C in a descriptive clause of type I may be replaced by a new subject S¹ composed of the original S and C in the same way that the split objects O¹ and O² may combine to form a single

unified object in the transitive clause with split objects (cf. 6.31.1). Semantically the relation of S and C may be characterised as 'possession' since in most cases the referent of the noun functioning as C may be regarded as 'belonging to', 'related to' or 'part' of' the referent of the noun functioning as S. For instance, in the following clause,

<u>na</u>	<u>nun</u>	<u>mari</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>apuda</u>	'I have headache.'
S		C		P	(lit. I head is-sick.)

the elements S and C may combine into a new subject na uui mari ga 'my head', where the subject noun na 'I' and the complement noun mari 'head' constitute a nominal phrase by means of the adjectival particle uui 'of'.

On the other hand, no such relation holds between S and C within a descriptive of type II. For instance, in the following clause,

<u>na</u>	<u>nun</u>	<u>ge</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>sirhda</u>	'I dislike a dog.'
S		C		P	(lit. I a dog am-loathsome.)

the subject na 'I' and the complement noun ge 'dog' can not combine into a single nominal phrase na uui ge 'my dog' to stand ultimately as S of the same clause without destroying the original structural relation and

meaning as exhibited by the clause. In transformational-generative terms, the relation between the descriptive clauses of type I and II may be viewed as a case of surface neutralization of two different deep structures, since the descriptive clause structure $S \neq C + P$ of type I may be described as being derived from the kernel¹⁾ string $S \neq P$ of intransitive type (cf. 6.32) by a "C - inserting" transformation", and the descriptive clause structure $S \neq C + P$ of type II from the kernel string $S + O \neq P$ of transitive type (cf. 6.31) by a "Detransitive" transformation. The distinction of descriptive clauses of type I and type II is reinforced by the fact that the subject noun of the descriptive clause type II is represented by an animate noun only whereas that of type I may be represented by any noun, animate or inanimate.

6.33.1 Descriptive Clause of Type I.

The descriptive clause of type I has as the exponent of P any descriptive verb except the verbs listed in 6.33.2. Examples illustrative of the verbs

1) Noam Chomsky, "Syntactic Structures", p.45.

Emmon Bach, "An Introduction to Transformational Grammars", p.69

occurring in the descriptive clause of type I are:

manh- 'to be many, much or plenty',

ku- 'to be big, tall, large', gir- 'to be long'

apuu- 'to be ill, sick', surpuu- 'to be sad'

etc.

e.g.

mogsa nun bar i mobsi apašda 'The priest's
S C P foot was aching.'

(lit. Priest foot
was aching.)

cf. mogsa (ui) bar i mobsi apašda
S

gu ui abaji nun ki ga kašda
S C P

'His father was tall.' (lit. His father
the height was tall.)

cf. gu ui abaji (ui) ki ga kašda
S

haggjo ga undonjan un kuada
S C P

'The school playground is large.' (lit. The
school the playground is large.)

cf. haggjo (ui) undonjan un kuada
S

i toki nun han dari ga da girguna
S C P

'This rabbit has a leg longer than the others.'

cf. i toki (ui) han dari nun da girda
S P

Less common but marked (emphatic) structures of the descriptive clause type I are (S)P(C), P(S)(C), (C)P(S), and P(C)(S).

e.g.

(S)P(C):	<u>jain un</u>	<u>ḡagaśda</u>	<u>son i</u>	'The woman's hands were small.'
	S	P	C	
P(S)(C):	<u>ḡagaśda</u>	<u>jain un</u>	<u>son i</u>	
	P	S	C	
(C)P(S):	<u>son i</u>	<u>ḡagaśda</u>	<u>jain un</u>	
	C	P	S	
P(C)(S):	<u>ḡagaśda</u>	<u>son i</u>	<u>jain un</u>	
	P	C	S	

6.33.2 Descriptive Clause of Type II

The descriptive clause of type II has as the exponent of P a member of the small class of descriptive verbs which can be listed. The verbs given below are illustrative:

gurib- 'to miss or long for', sirh- 'to dislike',
 bangab- 'to be happy to [meet or hear from]',
 ḡoh- 'to be good, to like', musab- 'to be afraid of',
 saunha- 'to be sorry, sad, regrettable',
 ḡgurha- 'to be unjust, to feel robbed',
 surpu- 'to be sad', aswib- 'to miss [something]',
 gunsimsurab- 'to be worried',
 guḡgumha- 'to be anxious, concerned'

etc.

e.g. $\frac{\text{amani nun}}{S} \frac{\text{tar i}}{C} \frac{\text{guriwašda}}{P}$

'The mother missed [her] daughter.'

$\frac{\text{Jangjo nun}}{S} \frac{\text{buha ui}}{C} \frac{\text{Jugum i}}{P} \frac{\text{surpašda}}{P}$

'An officer was sad over the death of a soldier.'

$\frac{\text{ba:m i}}{C} \frac{\text{armana}}{A} \frac{\text{musabni}}{P}$

'How much are you afraid of a tiger?'

Less frequent but marked (emphatic) structures of the descriptive clause type II are (S)P(C), P(S)(C), (C)P(S) and P(C)(S).

e.g. (S)P(C): $\frac{\text{na nun}}{S} \frac{\text{gungumhešda}}{P} \frac{\text{ne sosig i}}{C}$

'I was anxious to hear from you.'

(lit. I your news was worried.)

P(S)(C): $\frac{\text{gungumhešda}}{P} \frac{\text{na nun}}{S} \frac{\text{ne sosig i}}{C}$

(C)P(S): $\frac{\text{ne sosig i}}{C} \frac{\text{gungumhešda}}{P} \frac{\text{na nun}}{S}$

P(C)(S): $\frac{\text{gungumhešda}}{P} \frac{\text{ne sosig i}}{C} \frac{\text{na nun}}{S}$

6.34 Equational Clause

An equational clause includes an equational

predicate (6.21.4) as P and the element C. The elements and structure of an unmarked equational clause are:

(S) + C + P

N or NP occurring in an equational clause as the element C is not followed by the complement particle i/ga when the element P is expounded by the copula verb i- 'to be', and no other element such as A may be interposed between C and P.

e.g. gu num sanagga ida 'He is a singer.'
 S C P

hangug un gugdon e isnun nara ida
 S C P

'Korea is a far-eastern country.' (lit. Korea is a in-the-Far East-existing country.)

mur i barsa arum i dweasguna
 S A C P

'The water has become ice already !'

kum i hjansir i dweasji
 S C P

'[Your] dream has become a reality.'

The marked (emphatic) structure of the equational clause is CP(S).

e.g. nugu inja gu i ga 'Who is he ?'
 C P S

cf. gu i ga nugu inja
 S C P

6.35 Passive Clause

A passive clause includes a passive predicate (6.21.5) as its P and may take the element Ag. There are two kinds of passive clause distinguished on the basis of the elements operating in them. They are termed 'Passive Clause Type I' and 'Passive Clause Type II'.

6.35.1 Passive Clause Type I

The passive clause type I, which is structurally related to and derivable, by a passive transformation (cf. the diagram below), from the underlying transitive clause of (S)+(O)+P type, exhibits its unmarked structure as follows:

$$\underline{(S) + (Ag.) + P}$$

where the elements S and Ag. are transformationally related to O and S, respectively, of the transitive clause, as diagrammed below.

(a) (S) + (O) + P.tr. = transitive clause

(b) (S) + (Ag.) + P.pasv. = passive clause

e.g. $\frac{gs}{S} \frac{ga}{O} \frac{gojani}{O} \frac{rur}{O} \frac{coca\grave{s}da}{P.tr.}$ 'A dog chased a cat.'

$\frac{gojani}{S} \frac{ga}{Ag.} \frac{gs}{Ag.} \frac{ege}{Ag.} \frac{c\grave{o}cgia\grave{s}da}{P.pasv.}$ 'A cat was chased by a dog.'

Examples of Passive Clause Type I:

dodug i sungjan hante Jabhiśda 'A thief was caught
 S Ag. P by a policeman.'

onur un maru ga Jar daka Jini
 A S P

'The floor cleans well today.' (lit. The floor
 is cleaned well today.)

ai ege murriśni 'Have you been bitten by the baby?'
 Ag. P

Marked structures of the passive clause type II are

(Ag.)~~S~~P, (Ag.)P~~S~~, (S)P(Ag.), P(S)(Ag.) and P(Ag.)(S).

e.g. baram e Jonī ga narrinda 'lit. By wind the paper
 Ag. S P is flown.'

baram e narrinda Jonī ga 'lit. By wind is flown
 Ag. P S the paper.'

Jonī ga narrinda baram e 'lit. The paper is flown
 S P Ag. by wind.'

narrinda Jonī ga baram e 'lit. Is flown the paper
 P S Ag. by wind.'

narrinda baram e Jonī ga 'lit. Is flown by wind
 P Ag. S the paper.'

6.35.2 Passive Clause Type II

The passive clause type II, which is structurally
related to and transformationally derivable from the

underlying transitive clause with split objects, i.e., (S)+(O¹)+(O²)+P type (cf. 6.31.1) exhibits its unmarked as follows:

(S) + (Ag.) + (C/O) + P.pasv.

Where the elements S and Ag. are transformationally related to O¹ and S, respectively, of the transitive clause, and (C/O) to O², as diagrammatically shown below:

(a). (S) + (O¹) + (O²) + P.tr. = transitive clause

(b). (S) + (Ag.) + (C/O) + P.pasv. = passive clause

e.g.

ge ga dodug ur son ur murāṣḍa 'A dog bit the
S O¹ O² P.tr. thief on the hand.'

dodug i ge hante [son i] murriāṣḍa
S Ag. [son ur] P.pasv.
C/O

'The thief was bitten on the hand by a dog.'

Examples of Passive Clause Type II:

āi ga amāni ege par ur jabhiāṣḍa 'The child's arm
S Ag. O P was held by his
mother.'

sinsa ga gaḥi ege bar i barbhigeṣḍa
S Ag. C P

'The gentleman may be trodden by a beggar
on the foot.'

dõnsen i nui ege mari rur kakiAs̄ji
 S Ag. O P

'[My] brother's hair was cut by [his] sister.'

Although the element Ag. in the passive clause is most commonly expressed by an animate noun or nominal phrase, it may also be expressed by an inanimate noun or nominal phrase unlike the transformationally related S in the underlying transitive clause, which is always expressed by an animate noun or NP except in those rare instances where an inanimate noun or NP may occur personified or animated. Consequently many passive clauses with an inanimate noun or NP as Ag. are not matched by corresponding transitive clauses. The following examples exemplify this point:

_____ S _____ Ag. _____ C _____ P.pasv.

'A labourer's foot is pricked by a knife

kar i nodonJa rur bar ur çirraS̄da
 S O¹ O² P.tr.

 S O¹ O² P.tr.

'A knife pricked a labourer's foot.'

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

e.g.

so ga sonaʔi ege paʔrinda ʔas ur
 S Ag. P O

'The cow's breast (or milk) is sucked by a calf.'
 (lit. The cow by-a-calf is-sucked a breast.)

so ga ʔas i paʔrinda sonaʔi ege
 S C P Ag.

sonaʔi ege ʔas i paʔrinda so ga
 Ag. C P S

ʔas ur sonaʔi ege paʔrinda so ga
 O Ag. P S

6.36 Causative Clause

A causative clause includes a causative predicate (cf. 6.21.6) as its P and may include up to two objects and/or a complement and/or an agent. Any of the five types of clauses so far discussed, except the equational clause with the copula verb iy 'to be' as P, may be transformed into a causative clause, and the elements and structure of a causative clause are determined by the type of the underlying clause from which the former is derived. The following five types of causative clause are distinguished according to the elements operating in the causative clause structure:

- (i) (S) (O) P
- (ii) (S) (O) (C) P

- (iii) (S) (O¹/Ag.) (O²) P
 (iv) (S) (Ag.) (O¹) (O²) P
 (v) (S) (O¹) (Ag.) (O²/C) P

Each of these five types will be discussed in turn with examples in the following sections, noting the structural relations between an underlying clause and a causative clause derived from the former.

6.36.1 Causative Clause of (S)(O)P

The causative clause of (S)(O)P type is derived from (a) intransitive, (b) descriptive or (c) passive clause of (S)P type, and the structural relation holding between the underlying clause and the corresponding causative clause is as follows:

(S) + P = underlying clause

(S) + (O) + P.caus. = causative clause

e.g. abΔi ga adur ur oge hašda 'The father made his
 S O P son come.'

deriv. from intr.cl.

adur i wašda 'The son came.'
 S P

[wašda < o- 'to come' + -ašda]

The element S in the causative clause, such as abΔji 'father' in the example on p.283, is an invented element which is not expressed in any form in the corresponding non-causative clause structure.

e.g.

(a) caus.cl. deriv. from intr.cl.:

amani nuun tar ur anJhiaśda 'A mother made her
S O P daughter sit up.'

< tar i anJhiaśda 'The daughter sat up.'
S P.intr.

nu ga na nur norrage heśni 'Who surprised you ?'
S O P (lit. Who made you to
be surprised ?)

< ne ga norraśni 'Were you
S P.intr. surprised ?'

[for na/ne 'you' see p.81]

gug ur sighiJi mara 'Don't make the soup get cold.'
O P

< gug i signunda 'The soup gets cold.'
S P

(b) caus.cl. deriv. from descr.cl.:

Jangon i bic ur barghinda 'An electrician makes
S O P the light bright.'

< bic ur bargda 'The light is bright.'
S P

i tonno rur Jobge mandurJa 'Let's make this
 O P passage narrower'

< i tonno ga Jobda 'This passage is narrow.'
 S P

(iii) caus.cl. deriv. from pasv.cl.:

nu ga Jur ur kunha Jige hśda 'Someone caused the
 S O P string to be broken.'

< Jur i kunha Jiśda 'The string was broken.'
 S P

Janṣa nun sagwa rur Jar parrige hajśda
 S O P

'The vendor caused apples to sell (lit. be sold)
 well.'

< sagwa ga Jar parrīśda 'Apples sold (lit. were
 S P sold) well.'

6.36.2 Causative Clause of (S)(O)(C)P

The causative clause of (S)(O)(C)P type is derived from an equational clause of (S)(C)P type where P has as nucleus the verb dwe- 'to become'. The structural relation between the underlying clause and the derived causative clause is as follows:

(S) + (C) + P.equ. = underlying clause

(S) + (O) + (C) + P.caus. = causative clause

e.g. sansen un JeJa rur ingan i dwege haśda
 S O C P

‘The teacher made his pupil to become a man.’

< JeJa ga ingan i dweaśda ‘The pupil became
 S C P a man.’

kum i hjanśir i dwege hajara ‘Make your dream
 S C P become a reality.’

< kum i hjanśir i dwenda ‘The dream becomes a
 S C P a reality.’

6.36.3 Causative Clause of (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P

The causative clause of (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P type is derived from a transitive clause with a single object, i.e. (S)(O)P type, and the structural relation between them is as follows:

(S) + (O) + P.tr. = underlying clause

(S) + (O¹/Ag.) + (O²) + P.caus. = causative clause

The above diagram shows that the element (S) of the underlying clause may be transformed either into the element O¹ or Ag.

e.g. ai ga ge rur mur ur maginda ‘A child makes a dog
 S O₁ O₂ P drink water.’

< ge ga mur ur magunda ‘A dog drinks water.’
 S O P

buin un gaɽi ege os: ur ibge həsda
 S Ag. O₂ P

'The woman made a beggar put on clothes.'

< gaɽi ga os: ur ibasda 'A beggar put on clothes.'
 S O P

6.36.4 Causative Clause of (S)(Ag.)(O¹)(O²)P

The causative clause of (S)(Ag.)(O¹)(O²)P type is derived from a transitive clause with split objects, i.e., (S)(O¹)(O²)P type, and their structural relation is as follows:

(S) + (O¹) + (O²) + P.tr. = underlying cl.

(S) + (Ag.) + (O¹) + (O²) + P.caus. = caus.cl.

e.g. amani nun adur ege harmani rur dari rur ɽumuruɽe handa
 S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

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

< adur i harmani rur dari rur ɽumuruɽa
 S O₁ O₂ P

'The son massages his granny on the leg.'

dumog un buha ege ɽain ur par ur ɽabge manduraɽda
 S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'The boss made his man grab a woman's arm.'

< buha ga ɽain ur par ur ɽabaɽda '[His] man
 S O₁ O₂ P grabbed a woman's
 arm.'

The split object O^1 and O^2 in the causative clause are very often combined into a single object as in the underlying transitive clause (6.31.1). In such a case, the resultant clause structure will be identical to the causative clause of $(S)(O^1/Ag.)(O^2)P$ type (6.36.3), except that the element *Ag.* can not alternate with O^1 , i.e., can not be expressed in the form of an object. Thus the examples given on p.287 may be rewritten as follows:

amani nun adur ege harmani dari rur Jumuruge handa
 S Ag. O P

'The mother makes her son massage his granny's leg.'

dumog un buha ege buin par ur Jabge manduraŝda
 S Ag. O P

6.36.5 Causative Clause of $(S)(O^1)(Ag.)(O^2/C)P$

The causative clause of $(S)(O^1)(Ag.)(O^2/C)P$ type is derived from a passive clause of $(S)(Ag.)(C/O)P$ type (6.35.2), and their structural relation is as follows:

$(S) + (Ag.) + (C/O) + P.pasv. =$ underlying cl.

$(S) + (O^1) + (Ag.) + (O^2/C) + P.caus. =$ caus.cl.

e.g.

aʃasi nun dodug ur sungjan ege son ur/i mukige hesda
 S O₁ Ag. O₂/C P

'[My] uncle made the thief's hand to be chained by a policeman.' (lit. made the thief the hand to be chained.)

< dodug i sungjan ege [son ur] mukiasda
 S Ag. [son i] P
 O/C

6.36.6 Double Causativity

Every causative clause so far discussed has been described as being derived from one or the other of the five different types of non-causative underlying clauses, i.e., intransitive, descriptive, equational, transitive and passive. However, a ~~causative~~ clause may be derived from an underlying clause which is also causative if the underlying causative clause includes a morphologically effected causative predicate. In other words, a double causative clause is formed by transforming a suffix-effected causative clause into a phrasal causative clause by means of the causative formative ha- or mandiur- (3.41.32, p.71 & 5.21.12.31.3, p.232). It is to be noted that a phrasal causative clause, i.e., one

including a causative formative, can never occur as an underlying clause for double causative formation.

e.g.

amani nuun na ege donsen ur bab ur magige handa
 S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'My mother makes me feed my brother.' (lit. My mother makes me make my brother eat his meal.)

< ne ga donsen ur bab ur maginda
 S O₁ O₂ P

'I feed my brother.' (lit. I make my brother eat his meal.)

Juin un hain ege so rur pur ur tudgige hajasda
 S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'The master asked (lit. made) his servant to graze the cow.' (lit. make the cow pick the grass.)

< hain i so rur pur ur tudgiasda
 S O₁ O₂ P

'The servant grazed the cow.'
 (lit. The servant made the cow pick the grass.)

6.4 Types of Non-Final Clause

Apart from the final/non-final difference in the predicate form, final and non-final clauses are identical in respect of the elements and structure, except for the positional restriction on the element P within the non-final clause structure (See 6.41). Thus the clause elements, S, O, C, Ag., A and P are found to operate in the non-final clause in much the same way as they are in the final clause. Accordingly, the six different clause types, i.e., transitive, intransitive, descriptive, equational, passive and causative clauses, set up on the basis of the type of predicate, can all be distinguished in non-final clauses.

Unlike the final clause, however, the non-final clause has three important syntactical functions: thus, some non-final clauses are similar syntactically to a noun, some to an adjective, and some to an adverb. In other words, the non-final clause is a rank-shifted clause, downgraded from the clause level to the word level. By this syntactic criterion, all non-final clauses, irrespective of their internal structure and which of the six different types of clause they belong to, are classified

into three syntactic classes: (i) 'Nominal Clause, (ii) 'Adjectival Clause, and (iii) Adverbial Clause.

6.41 Internal Structure of Non-Final Clause

The internal structure of the non-final clause is identical in every respect to that of the corresponding final clause, with one notable exception. That is, the element P occupies the final position in every non-final clause structure and no other elements, singly or in any combination, can ever follow P, whereas this (post-P occurrence of non-P elements) is possible in the final clause structure. Because of this positional restriction on the element P, non-final clauses are naturally outnumbered by final clauses in the variety of internal structure. For instance, a final clause like

ge ga darg ur bonda 'A dog looks at a hen.'
S O P

may be internally restructured as:

(a) ge ga bonda darg ur
S P O

(b) darg ur bonda ge ga
O P S

(c) bonda darg ur ge ga
P O S

etc.,

where P is followed by O, S or by both. On the other hand, a non-final clause like

$\frac{ge\ ga}{S}$ $\frac{darg\ ur}{O}$ $\frac{bom}{P}$ 'That a dog looks at a hen.'

may be restructured only as

$\frac{darg\ ur}{O}$ $\frac{ge\ ga}{S}$ $\frac{bom}{P}$

since neither S nor O may occur after P.

6.42 Nominal Clause

The nominal clause is a non-final clause of which the element P is suffixed with one of the nominal clause endings, -m/-um and -gi (cf. 4.35.21), and has practically the same syntactic functions as a single noun, but the range of distribution of a nominal clause is by no means parallel with that of a single noun since not every syntactic position filled by a noun can be filled by a nominal clause. That is to say, the distributional range of a nominal clause is narrower than that of a noun. The distributional parity between a nominal clause and a noun may be set out as follows:

(i) A nominal clause can not be preceded by a nominal expansion (cf. 5.13). For instance, a noun like *namu* 'tree'

can be preceded by an expansion as in

se namu 'A new tree.'
Exp. N

na: ui namu 'My tree.'
Exp. H

but a nominal clause like haggjo e gam 'Going to school' can not be preceded by an expansion:

* i haggjo e gam 'This going-to-school'
Exp. n.cl.

* na ui haggjo e gam 'My going-to-school'
Exp. n.cl.

(ii) A nominal clause is never followed immediately by the adjectival particle ui 'of', whereas a noun may be followed by ui, forming with it an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.32):

inseŋ ui gipum 'The joy of life.'
N
adj.rel.ph.

but * bab ur magum ui gipum 'The joy of eating
n.cl. dinner.'

jangu ui gjargwa 'The results of research.'
N
adj.rel.ph.

but * çocgigi ui gjargwa 'The results of being chased'
n.cl.

6.42.1 Syntactic Functions of Nominal Clause

Various syntactic functions performed by a nominal clause are illustrated below.

6.42.11 Nominal Clause as Minor Sentence

A nominal clause whose P is suffixed with the ending -m/-um occurs frequently on its own as a minor sentence in official documents, diaries and advertisements, etc.

e.g. par war e sanga rur sirsiam
A O P

'Holding the election in August.'

haggjo esa onur siam ur bom
A A O P

'Taking an exam. today at school'

i jag un dutoṅ e tughjo im
S A C P

'This medicine being specially good for headaches.'

6.42.12 Nominal Clause as S, O, C in Clause Structure

(i) As S:

ai ga urgi ga jesa ida 'It is usual that a
n.cl. C P baby cries.' (lit. A
S baby crying is a common thing.)

gu jaJa ga mari ga Johasgi ga swibda
 S C P
 n.cl.
 S P

'It is likely that she had good brains.' (lit. That she had good brains is likely.)

(ii) As O:

sonjan i haggjo e gam ur boasni
 S A P
 n.cl.
 O P

'Did you see a boy go to school?' (lit. A boy to-school going did-you-see?)

jain un gica ga tanagi rur gidarjasda
 S P
 n.cl.
 S O P

(iii) As C:

sonja nun kum i keAJim i antakawasda
 S P
 n.cl.
 S C P

'The girl was sorry that [her] dream was shattered.' (lit. The girl [her]-dream being-shattered was-sorry.)

jan i dshag e danim i burawasubnida
 S A P
 n.cl.
 C P

'[He] envied his brother attending university.' (lit. Brother to-university attending [he] was envious.)

6.42.13 Nominal Clause as Axis of Adverbial
Relational Phrase

A nominal clause may function as the axis of an adverbial relational phrase which has as its relatum a directive particle (cf. 3.45.11).

e.g. csg ur irggi ga ai rur bogi boda Johda
 S n.cl. Pcl. P
 adv.rel.ph.

'Reading a book is better than looking after
a baby

boda 'than' Pcl.

iron ur ihham e guciašo
 O P Pcl. P
 n.cl.
 adv.rel.ph.

'[She] just understood the theory (and no more).'
(lit. She stopped at understanding the theory)

6.43 Adjectival Clause

The adjectival clause is a non-final clause of which the element P is suffixed with one of the adjectival clause endings, -nun, -n/-un and -r/-rur (4.35.22). An adjectival clause has practically the same syntactic functions as an adjective, i.e., occurs as the nominal expansion (cf. 5.43.2). It is to be noted that the

majority of "Adjectives" in familiar European languages including English correspond, both syntactically and semantically, to "Adjectival Clauses" in Korean, i.e., are expressed in Korean by semantically corresponding verbs inflected in the non-final clausal form. There are only a limited number of adjectives as such in Korean, e.g., se 'new', ha:n 'old, worn out', etc., which are comparable to adjectives in European languages (cf. 3.33 & 3.43).

- e.g. arumdaun koc 'A beautiful flower.' (lit.
 adj.cl. A flower which is beautiful.)
- mari ga Johun gasu 'A clever singer.'
 C P (lit. A singer who is
 adj.cl. clever/whose
 brain is good.)
- ne ga danin haggjo 'The school I went to.'
 S P (lit. I-attended school.)
 adj.cl.
- na ui maum i Janmae pjanhar nar
 S P
 adj.cl.
- 'The day when my heart will really feel
 free.' (lit. My heart will-be-comfortable
 day.)

The Korean language has been described by grammarians, native and western, as a language without "Relative

pronouns" similar to those found in familiar European languages, such as 'who', 'whom', 'which' or 'that' in English and 'qui', 'que', etc., in French. Lack of such pronouns has often been quoted as one of the characteristic features of Korean which distinguishes the former from those having such pronouns. This is a correct statement based on the fact, but it is not sufficient just to mention that relative pronouns do not exist in Korean, thereby suggesting not infrequently that Korean is less efficient and rich in expression than those having them. It is far more relevant to note that a clause functionally similar to the one introduced by a relative pronoun in English is expressed or formed by a different grammatical device in Korean, namely, by verbal inflection. For instance, the following English clause,

(The boy) whom I saw yesterday.

may be expressed in Korean by an adjectival clause

<u>ne</u> ga	<u>aje</u>	<u>bon</u>	<u>(sonjan)</u>	‘lit. I-yesterday-saw boy.’
S	A	P	H	
<u>adj. cl.</u>				
Exp.				

which is formed with the adjectival clause ending -n added to the predicate verb bo- ‘to see’. The Korean adjectival clause is therefore alike not only the adjective

of European languages but also the modifying clause introduced by a relative pronoun. As a rule, the European adjective corresponds to the Korean adjectival clause whose P is the descriptive type (cf. 6.21.3) whereas the European modifying clause marked by a relative pronoun corresponds to the Korean adjectival clause whose P is the processive type (cf. 6.21.1 - 2).

- e.g. "good" : Johun 'which is good' =
 < Joh- 'to be good' V.d. + -un
 "which (I) bought" : san "which (I) bought"
 < sa- 'to buy' V.p. + -n

6.43.1 Syntactic Function of Adjectival Clause

The adjectival clause functions exclusively as a nominal expansion, i.e., constitutes an endocentric construction with an N or NP as its head. The structure of such a construction is normally adj.cl. # H as in

ne ga san ceg 'The book which I bought.'
 adj.cl. H

but H # adj.cl. may also occur (See p. 193, fn. 1), although rare, as in

ceg ne ga san
 H adj.cl.

Although less free than a nominal clause, an adjectival clause may occur also as a minor type sentence provided the context is clear. For instance, the adjectival clause ne ga san 'which I bought' can occur on its own as a minor sentence in reply to such a question as:

musun ceg 'What book?'

6.43.2 Relation between Adjectival Clause and its H

N or NP functioning as H of an adjectival clause may be either (i) an element of a transformationally related final clause, from which the adjectival clause may be analysed as being derived, or (ii) an extra-clausal element, which is not an element of a transformationally related final clause.

6.43.21 H which is an element of the underlying clause

H of an adjectival clause may be expounded by (i) S, (ii) O, or O^1 , (iii) $O^1/Ag.$ or O^2 , or (iv) A of a final clause from which the adjectival clause is derived.

(i) S as H:

<u>janhwa</u>	<u>rur</u>	<u>bon</u>	<u>wan</u>	'The king who saw the film.'
O	P	S		
<u>adj.cl.</u>			<u>H</u>	

kum i manhun tar 'A daughter who has many dreams.'
 $\frac{C}{S} \quad \frac{P}{H}$
 adj.cl.

(ii) O or O¹ as H:

uri ga baranuun gas 'The thing which we want.'
 $\frac{S}{P} \quad \frac{O}{H}$
 adj.cl.

ai ga maggo sipa hanun uju 'Milk which a baby
 $\frac{S}{P} \quad \frac{O}{H}$
 adj.cl. would like to drink.'

buin i bar ur barbuun sinsa 'A gentleman whose
 $\frac{S}{O_2} \quad \frac{P}{O_1}$
 adj.cl. foot a lady stepped
 on.'

(iii) O¹/Ag. or O² as H:

The underlying clause in which the elements
 O¹/Ag. and O² occur is a causative clause of
(S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P type. (cf. 6.36.3).

amani ga os ur ibhin adur 'The son whose mother
 $\frac{S}{O_2} \quad \frac{P}{O_1/Ag.}$
 adj.cl. clothed [him]. '(lit.
 whose mother made
 him wear clothes.)

< amani ga [adur ege] os ur ibhiada
 $\frac{S}{[adur ur]} \quad \frac{O_2}{O_1/Ag.}$
 P

'A mother clothed her son.' (lit. made her son
 to wear clothes.)

$$\frac{\text{gunin i}}{S} \quad \frac{\text{mur ur}}{O_2} \quad \frac{\text{magin}}{P} \quad \frac{\text{ge}}{O_1/Ag.} \quad \frac{\text{H}}{H}$$
 'The dog which a soldier made to drink water.'

$$< \frac{\text{gunin i}}{S} \quad \left[\frac{\text{ge ege}}{\text{ge rur}} \right] \frac{\text{mur ur}}{O_2} \quad \frac{\text{magi\`asda}}{P}$$

$$Q_1/Ag.$$

'A soldier made a dog to drink.'

$$\frac{\text{amani ga}}{S} \quad \left[\frac{\text{adur ege}}{\text{adur ur}} \right] \frac{\text{ibhin}}{P} \quad \frac{\text{os}}{O_2}$$

$$Ag./O_1$$
 'The clothes which a mother made her son to wear.'

$$\frac{\text{gunin i}}{S} \quad \frac{\text{ge ege}}{\text{ge rur}} \quad \frac{\text{magin}}{P} \quad \frac{\text{mur}}{O_2}$$

$$Ag./O_1$$
 'Water which a soldier made the dog to drink.'

(iv) A as H:

a) Adverbial Noun as H:

$$\frac{\text{tar i}}{S} \quad \frac{\text{juciwan e}}{A} \quad \frac{\text{ganun}}{P} \quad \frac{\text{nsir}}{A}$$

$$\frac{\text{H}}{H}$$
 'Tomorrow when [my] daughter is going to a play school.'

$$< \frac{\text{tar i}}{S} \quad \frac{\text{nsir}}{A} \quad \frac{\text{juciwan e}}{A} \quad \frac{\text{ganda}}{P}$$
 '[My] daughter is going to a play school tomorrow.'

b) N/NP of a relational phrase as H:

$$\frac{\text{tar i}}{S} \quad \frac{\text{nsir}}{A} \quad \frac{\text{ganun}}{P} \quad \frac{\text{juciwan}}{H}$$

$$\frac{\text{H}}{H}$$
 'A play school to which my daughter is going tomorrow.'

mur ur girur sem 'A well from which to
O P H
 adj.cl. draw water.'

< sem esa mur ur girurka 'Shall I draw
A O P
 water from a well?'

6.43.22 Extra-clausal Element as H:

sa:ram i moinun gas 'That people get together.'
S P H
 adj.cl. (lit. The fact that people gather.)

hangug esa JanJen i nasur te: 'The time when
A S P H
 adj.cl. the war broke
 out in Korea.'

uri ga gati nordan jesnar 'The olden days when
S A P H
 adj.cl. we played together.'

dansin i hweui e nuJnum gjanu 'The situation
S A P H
 adj.cl. in which you
 are late for
 meeting.'

6.44 Adverbial Clause

The adverbial clause is a non-final clause of which the element P is suffixed with one of the adverbial clause endings (cf. 4.35.23).

6.44.1 Syntactic Functions of Adverbial Clause

6.44.1 Syntactic Functions of Adverbial Clause

An adverbial clause may occur either (i) alone as a minor type sentence or (ii) more frequently as a subordinate to a final clause or a non-final clause. An adverbial clause is very often marked, and thus separated from a final or non-final clause to which it is subordinate, by a tentative juncture.

Examples:(i) Adverbial Clause as Minor Sentence:

$\frac{\text{j arum un g ago.}}{\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \qquad \text{P} \\ \hline \text{adv.cl.} \end{array}}$ 'The summer has gone and.'

$\frac{\text{k oc i bur ga s a do.}}{\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \qquad \text{P} \\ \hline \text{adv.cl.} \end{array}}$ 'Even though the flower
was red.'

$\frac{\text{ne ga b ja n wan esa u isa rur man nam jan.}}{\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \qquad \text{A} \qquad \text{O} \qquad \text{P} \\ \hline \end{array}}$

'When you see a doctor at the hospital.'

(ii) Adverbial Clause as Subordinate to Other Clause:

$\frac{\text{Jam sim ur man hi ma ga s da ni, be ga bu ru da.}}{\begin{array}{c} \text{O} \qquad \text{P} \qquad \text{S} \qquad \text{P} \\ \hline \text{adv.cl} \qquad \text{f.cl.} \end{array}}$

'As I overate myself, at lunch, my stomach
is full.' (lit. As I ate lunch much, my
stomach is full.)

<u>be ruur tago,</u>	<u>jahen ur hajasni.</u>
O P	O P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'Did you travel on board a ship?' (lit. Riding
[on] a ship, you did a travel?)

<u>murga ga bisasa,</u>	<u>sargi ga himdurado.</u>
S P	S P
adv.cl.	nf.cl.

'Even if life is difficult as prices are high.'
(lit. As prices are high, even if life is difficult.)

6.44.2 Types of Adverbial Clause

An adverbial clause in Korean, although similar to a subordinate clause in English both syntactically and semantically, differs sharply from the latter in construction. The Korean adverbial clause is formed inflectionally with an adverbial clause ending, whereas the English subordinate clause is formed with, or introduced by, a subordinate conjunction such as 'if', 'when', etc. Furthermore, in Korean, the coordination of a clause to another is also effected by an adverbial clause ending and not by a conjunctive word as in English. That is to say, the first of two Korean clauses standing in coordinate relation (semantically) is expressed in the form of an adverbial clause, without any conjunctive word occurring between them. Thus,

both the coordination and subordination of clauses are effected in Korean by verbal inflection, i.e., by an adverbial clause ending. In IC terms a Korean adverbial clause would be analysed into two bound constituents, the adverbial clause ending which is bound on the one hand and the rest preceding the adverbial clause ending which is also bound on the other. The following examples from Korean and English will contrast the different IC analysis as applying in the two languages:

- (a) nar i Joh=/-uni, bak e nagaJa.
adv.cl. f.cl.

'Let us go out as it is fine.' (lit. As the day is fine, let us go out.)

- (b) As/it is fine let us go out.
sub.cl. main cl.

- (c) ai nun acim ur mag=/-go, haggjo e gasda.
adv.cl. f.cl.

'The boy took his breakfast and went to school.'

- (d) The boy took his breakfast and went to school.
clause 1 clause 2

The two Korean examples (a) and (c) above show that both subordinate and coordinate constructions are formed inflectionally, and the IC boundary comes immediately before the inflectional endings, thus yielding two bound constituents,

whereas the corresponding English examples (b) and (d) show that subordination and coordination are both effected by a conjunction and the IC analysis yields two free forms. In view of the evidence presented so far it is very clear that on surface structure at least there is no formal distinction between subordinate and coordinate clauses and consequently Korean adverbial clauses can not be classified into subordinate and coordinate types as in English.

Instead, Korean adverbial clauses may be classified according to the relationship between the element S of an adverbial clause and that of another clause with which the adverbial clause is in subordinate relation. Those adverbial clauses whose S must function also as the S of a succeeding clause are termed "Concentric Adverbial Clauses" and those adverbial clauses whose S may (i) function also as the S of a succeeding clause or (ii) be different from the S of a succeeding clause are termed "Eccentric Adverbial Clauses." That is to say, a concentric adverbial clause has its subject shared with a succeeding clause to which the former is subordinate, whereas an eccentric adverbial clause is free to have either one common subject shared by both clauses or a subject of its own which is different from that of a succeeding clause.

a succeeding clause. Some eccentric adverbial clauses express different meanings depending on whether their S functions as S of a succeeding clause or is different from the latter.

6.44.21 Concentric Adverbial Clause

A concentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings:

- (1) -gosa 'and then, afterward'
- (2) -mjΔ(nsa)/-umjΔ(nsa) 'at the same time, while'
- (3) -r(j)Δ/-ur(j)Δ
-rjΔgo/-urjΔgo
-goJa } 'in order to'
- (4) -da(ga) 'interruption, transference'

e.g.

na nun janhwa rur bogosa Jib e dora ogesda.
 S O P f.cl.
 adv.cl.

'I will come home after seeing the film.' (lit. I see the film and then will come home.)

Jansa ga gamjΔ(nsa) nore rur handa.
 S P f.cl.
 adv.cl.

'While walking the vendor is singing.'

hoter e garja tegsi rur taasda
 A P f.cl.
 adv.cl.

'[She] took a taxi in order to go to a hotel.'

hagsenṅi siham e butgoṅa gonbu nur manhi handa.
 S A P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'In order to pass the exam. the pupil is working hard.'

nanun ceg ur irgda(ga) Jani.
 S O P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'Are you asleep while reading a book ?' (lit. Reading a book [without finishing it], are you asleep ?)

6.44.22 Eccentric Adverbial Clause

An eccentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings. The first two endings, namely, -mja/-umja and -asa/-asa express two different meanings depending on whether the subject of the adverbial clause formed with one of them, symbolized S^1 , functions as the subject of a succeeding clause, symbolized S^2 , or is different from S^2 .

(1) -mja/-umja 'and' when $S^1 \neq S^2$, 'while' when $S^1 = S^2$

e.g.

$S^1 \neq S^2$: ai nun usumja ge nun twindā.
 S₁ P S₂ P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'A baby is smiling and a dog is jumping.'

$S^1 = S^2$: ai nun uju rur magumja usašda.
 $\frac{S_1}{O} \quad \frac{P}{P}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'A baby smiled while having milk

cf. uju rur magumja ai nun usašda.
 $\frac{O}{O} \quad \frac{P}{P} \quad \frac{S_2}{S_2} \quad \frac{P}{P}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

As shown by the above examples, when S^1 and S^2 are identical, only one of them is represented in a sentence.

(2) $-a(sa)/-a(sa)$ 'as, since, because' when $S^1 \neq S^2$,
 'and then' when $S^1 = S^2$

e.g. $S^1 \neq S^2$:

gir i mikurawa(sa) unjan i arjabda.
 $\frac{S_1}{S_1} \quad \frac{P}{P} \quad \frac{S_2}{S_2} \quad \frac{P}{P}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'As the road is slippery, driving is difficult
 difficult.'

$S^1 = S^2$: wisa rur mannaa(sa) jegi rur hajara.
 $\frac{O}{O} \quad \frac{P}{P} \quad \frac{O}{O} \quad \frac{P}{P}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'Meet the doctor and have a word [with him].'

(3) $-go, -jo$ 'and'

e.g.

nun ur gamgo na nun gido rur hani.
 $\frac{O}{O} \quad \frac{P}{P} \quad \frac{S}{S} \quad \frac{O}{O} \quad \frac{P}{P}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'Closing your eyes, are you offering your prayer?'
 (lit. Are you closing your eyes and offering
 your prayer?)

(4) -Ja 'as soon as'

e.g. $\frac{\text{bi ga. guciJa}}{\text{S P}} \frac{\text{sihab i siJagdwe\Lambda\grave{s}da.}}{\text{S P}}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'As soon as the rain stopped, the game started.'

(5) -dorog } 'until, so that'
 -ge }

e.g. $\frac{\text{d\Lambda\grave{a}nsin un Jicidorog}}{\text{S P}} \frac{\text{ir ur hanungurja.}}{\text{O P}}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'You are overworking yourself!' (lit. Until you are exhausted, you are working!')

(6) -rsurog/-ursurog 'the more the more'

e.g. $\frac{\text{'sata\grave{n} ur \Lambda\text{dursurog}}}{\text{O P}} \frac{\text{sonja nun gip\Lambda\grave{s}da.}}{\text{S P}}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'The more sweets the girl got, the happier she became.'

(7) -rp\Lambda\grave{u}ndara/-urp\Lambda\grave{u}ndara 'not only but also'

e.g. $\frac{\text{hanur i pururp\Lambda\grave{u}ndara}}{\text{S P}} \frac{\text{juwar u\grave{i} h\epsilon\text{ ga ga\grave{n}hada.}}}{\text{S P}}$
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'Not only is the sky blue but also the sunshine of June is strong.'

- (8) -gana
 -duun(ɕi)
 -na/-una } 'whether or'

e.g. nu:n i ona bi ga ona na: nun ɕohda.
 S P S P S P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'Whether it snows or rains, I am all right.'

- (9) -mjam/-umjan
 -gaduun } 'if, when'

e.g. nar i margumjan sanjan ur harka.
 S P O P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'If the weather is clear, shall we go hunting?'

- (10) -aja/-aja
 -raja } 'only if, only when'

e.g. bumo nun ɕasig i ɕar dweaja gipunga.
 S S P P
 adv.cl.

'Are parents happy only when their sons become successful?'

In this example S and P of the final clause are discontinuous, being interrupted by the adv.cl.

- (11) -(dar)ado/-ado
 -rɕianɕan/-urɕianɕan
 -rɕirado/-urɕirado
 -rmanɕan/-urmanɕan
 -nduur/-unduur } 'Even if/though'

e.g. gu nun ki ga ɕagurɕianɕan minam ida.
 S C P C P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'Even if [he] is small, he is a handsome man.'

- (12) -ɕiman }
 -ganman } 'although ... ', '....but'
 -anman }
 -na/-una }

e.g. səngag un ɕohuna sircan i arjawaɕda.
 S P S P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'The idea was good but the practice was difficult.'

- (13) -rjanman/-urjanman 'might/would ... but'

e.g. sonnim i manhi orjanman ɕuin un təpjan ida.
 S P S P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'There would be many guests coming but the
 host is not worried.'

- (14) -muro/-umuro 'as, since, because'

e.g. harmani ga hari ga apumuro ɕigum swisinda.
 S C P A P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'As my granny has lumbago, she is resting now.'

- (15) -ni(ka)/-uni(ka) 'Time: when, as'
 'Cause: because, as, since'

e.g. ne ga keɛ boni(ka) du si iaɕda.
 S P C P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'When I woke up it was 2. a.m.'

(16) -nunde/ } 'and' [topic introducer]
 -nde/-unde }

e.g. i k̄oc i J̄ohunde wɛ an boɕi.
 S P A P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'This flower is nice and why don't you look at
 it?'

(17) -dwe 'may/might..... but'

e.g. don ur s̄udwe Josim ur hajara.
 O P O P
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'You may spend the money but be careful.'

CHAPTER VII. SENTENCE

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7.0 Definition of Sentence

The sentence is defined here phonologically as a stretch of speech which ends with one of the seventeen tunes of the Korean intonation system(cf. 2.6) and has potentiality of being immediately preceded and followed by the terminal juncture (cf. 2.5). This exclusively phonological definition of sentence is desired since it is the only criterion uniformly applicable both to the major and minor types of sentence, the two main types of sentence which will be discussed in the following sections. A Korean sentence thus defined may consists of a word, a phrase, a clause, final or non-final, or any combination of these units. A sentence including more than one final clause will be analysed as a compound sentence (cf. 6.3).

Examples:

,dar. 'The moon.' N
 ^ã. 'Ah !' Interj.
 'neir. 'Tomorrow ?' N.adv.
 'maga. 'Eat [it].' V
 se ,ca. 'A new car.' NP
 p̄arri ,gabsida. 'Let us go quickly.' VP

- 'saur ro. 'To Seoul ?' adv.rel.ph.
 -gjaur ui ,nere. 'The song of winter.' NP
 'osiŋi ^masejo. 'Please do not come.' VP=f.cl.
 'ceg ur 'irggi. 'Reading a book ?' n.cl.
 'uri do ^gaa. 'Let us go too!' f.cl.
 -ne ga hε`do, 'na nun an`hε. 'Even if you do, I
 adv.cl. f.cl. won't do [it].

7.1 Major and Minor Sentences.

There are two main types of sentence, "Major" and "Minor" types. A major sentence consists of or includes a final clause, and a minor sentence does not consist of or include a final clause. A major type sentence in its minimal form may be represented by a single verb inflected with a final ending (cf. 4.35.1) since such a single verb may also occur as a final clause (cf. 6.1).

Examples:

(i) Major Type Sentences:

(a) cubda. '[It] is cold.'

(b) hε ga anŋe tūbnika. 'When does the sun rise?'

(c) bom i omjan, tatūshagesŋi.

'It will be warm when spring comes.'

(d) janhwa rur bogo, cancanhi habsida.

'Let us do [it] slowly after seeing the film.'

(ii) Minor Type Sentences:

(a) wε. 'Why?'

(b) ne. 'Yes.'

(c) adi ro. 'Where to?'

(d) sesu rur manja hago. '[After] washing [my]
face first.'

(e) saur e bom i omjan. 'When spring comes to
Seoul.'

Intonation does not serve as a useful criterion for distinguishing sentences into the major and minor sentence types since in theory at least every and any sentence may be uttered with any of the seventeen tunes.

7.2 Major Sentence

The major sentence is the largest unit in the grammatical hierarchy by reference to which systematic statements of grammatical structures and relations may be made. This definition of sentence does not preclude the possibility of setting up a larger unit, e.g., "Paragraph" in which inter-sentential relations may

be studied, but such a unit^{is} simply outside the scope of the present thesis.

7.21 Major Sentence Structure

A major sentence may include, in addition to a final clause which is obligatory, one or more non-final adverbial clauses (cf. 6.44.1), a sentence adverb (cf. 3.44.5) and a sentence particle (cf. 3.45.7). The usual unmarked order of these elements is as follows:

(Adv.z.)+(adv.cl.ⁿ.....adv.cl.²adv.cl.¹)+ Final cl. + (Pcl.z.)

Examples:

gurana nsir i Johumjan tanabsida gurja.
Adv.z. adv.cl. f.cl. Pcl.z.

'However, if it is all right tomorrow, let's leave!'

gurana jahen ur ghago nenjan e dorawasa
Adv.z. adv.cl.³ adv.cl.²
Jugsu saab ur siJaghamjan nuJji anhgeso.
adv.cl.¹ f.cl.

'Will it not be late if I make some trips, come back
next year and start a business immediately ?'

daguna dansin un sangum ur taasuni gipugesubnida gurja.
Adv.z. adv.cl. f.cl. Pcl.z.

'Furthermore since you have got the prize money, you
must be happy!'

The less frequently occurring marked order is :

(Adv.z.)+(Final cl. +(Pcl.z.)+(adv.cl.ⁿ ...adv.cl.² adv.cl.¹)

Examples:

gurani Jamgan man iśa jo bapugèśJiman.
adv.z. f.cl. Pcl.z. adv.cl.

'Therefore, stay a while although you are busy.'

to sujan ur Jar hade gurja
Adv.z. f.cl. Pcl.z.

nurgasJiman marugo tuntuñhesa.
adv.cl. adv.cl. adv.cl.

'And [he] swam well because he was lean and strong, though old!' (lit. And [he] swam well, although he was old, because he was lean and strong.)

7.22 Major Sentence Categories

The major type sentences may be classified into four sentence categories on the basis of the inflectional mood endings(cf. 4.35.1) occurring with the element P. They are (i) "Declarative Sentence", (ii) "Interrogative Sentence", (iii) "Imperative Sentence" and "Propositive Sentence". Intonation plays an important role in distinguishing some sentence categories, since not only is the

selection of certain types of intonation fairly regularly related to a particular sentence category but it can sometimes characterize a sentence which is modally ambiguous as one or the other.

7.22.1 Declarative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the declarative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.35.1) is a declarative sentence. A declarative sentence is phonologically marked almost always by Intoneme LF/HF (cf. 2.61), except the one whose P is inflected with -ʒi 'decl.md.end. of the medium style' (cf. 4.35.15.1), which is marked by Intoneme LF only.

Examples:

bi ga obnida. 'It is raining.'

aʒaʒi nun don ur manhi baraʒubnida.

'[His] uncle has made a lot of money.'

na nun ʒib e gao. 'I am going home.'

ʒa:n i ʒibuŋe iʒne. 'A kite is on the roof.'

i koc ur ʒaaʒuna. 'You have picked this flower!'

ʒar ʒiba na do. 'I pick [it] up carefully too.'

7.22.11 Sentences: Neutral in Mood

Sentences whose P is inflected with one of the following endings are modally neutral without intonation. It is in such sentences that intonation plays its major role as a phonological marker of the grammatical mood category.

- (i) -o/-uo and -so of the low formal speech style as to the declarative, interrogative and imperative mood (cf. 4.35.12.1 - 3).
- (ii) -a/-a of the medium speech style as to the declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive mood (cf. 4.35.15.1 - 4).
- (iii) -ji of the medium speech style as to the declarative and interrogative mood (cf. 4.35.15.1 - 2).

7.22.2 Interrogative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the interrogative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.35.1) is an interrogative sentence. There are two types of interrogative sentence in Korean: (i) "Q" type interrogative sentence and "Yes/No" type

interrogative sentence. The "Q" type includes an interrogative element such as the interrogative noun, e.g., nu/nugu 'who', muas 'what', anĵe 'when', etc. (cf. 3.42.13), the interrogative adjective, e.g., anu 'which', musun 'what', etc. (cf. 3.43.3), or the interrogative adverb, e.g., we 'why' or atake 'how' (cf. 3.44.4). The "Yes/No" type does not include such an interrogative element. The "Q" type and "Yes/No" are also different in the choice of intonation tunes; The "Q" type interrogative sentence, except the one discussed in 7.22.21, is normally marked by one of the falling intonations, i.e., Intoneme LF/HF. On the other hand, the "Yes/No" type interrogative sentence is typically marked by Intoneme R.

Examples:

(i) "Q" type interrogative sentences:

[Q element is underlined.]

anĵe ʔanasibnika. 'When are you leaving?'

i gas un arma ʔibnika. 'How much is this?'

nu ga ʔosjašo. 'Who has come?'

Ĵane nun muas ur ʔhešnunga. 'What did you do?'

ceg ur mjac gwan ʔsašni. 'How many books did you buy?'

anu gas i ʔoha. 'Which is better?'

are marked by Intoneme R.

e.g. ne ga `həs̩[̣]i. 'Did you do [it] ?'

cf. ne ga 'həs̩_Δ. 'Did you do [it] ?'

7.22.3 Imperative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the imperative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.35.1) is an imperative sentence. The intonation associated with the imperative sentence is Intoneme LF/HF as in the case of the declarative sentence. However Intoneme LF/HF occurring with the imperative sentence is very often, though not always, distinguished from the same intoneme associated with the declarative sentence by (i) having a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (ii) being realised with a stronger stress, than the latter. This pitch-stress characteristic is particularly noticeable with Intoneme LF/HF accompanying the imperative sentences whose P is inflected with a modally neutral ending, e.g., -a/-Δ. Where intonation fails to distinguish the mood of a modally neutral sentence, it is ultimately the context of situation which determines it.

Examples:

iri ʒosibsio. '[Please] come here !'
 dajsin i i pjanʒi rur ʒucio. 'You post this letter.'
 Janɛ nun jagi ʒisge. 'You stay here.'
 sinmun ur ʒboara. 'Look at the newspaper.'
 ʒparri ʒwiʒi ʒmaa. 'Do not run fast!'

7.22.4 Propositive Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the propositive mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.35.1) is a propositive sentence. The propositive sentence is not intonationally distinguishable from the imperative sentence, since both are marked by Intoneme LE/HF coupled with the pitch-stress feature referred to in 7.22.3. Therefore the propositive sentence with a modally neutral ending can be distinguished from the corresponding imperative sentence only by the context of situation. It is noted that the propositive sentence with a modally neutral ending contains the pronoun uri 'we' very frequently.

Examples:

cancanhi ʒgarubsida. 'Let us walk slowly.'

neir irŋig ,tanasibsida. 'Let us leave early
tomorrow.'

onur un haŋi `mase. 'Let's not do [it] today.'

uri do siŋaŋ e ``gaa. 'Let us go to the market too.'

7.3 Simple and Compound Sentence

If a simple sentence is defined as consisting of a single final clause, and a compound sentence of more than one final clause, the majority of Korean sentences are simple sentences. Compound sentences of which the two-clause type is most common, are all coordinate sentences, and the constituent clauses are linked paratactically in quick succession. Either a plus juncture or a tentative juncture may intervene between the constituent clauses but never a terminal juncture.

Examples:

Simple sentences:

se ga urgo isaŋda. 'The bird was singing.'

koŋ i arumdabge piaŋni. 'Has the flower
blossomed beautifully?'

ne ga heja na do hageŋda. 'Only when/if you do
nf.cl. f.cl. [it], I will do [it]
too.'

Compound sentences:

ge ga t̄winda, saśda. 'The dog is running, [it] has
f.cl. f.cl. stopped [now].'

cuā, mun daḍa. 'It is cold, shut the door.'
f.cl. f.cl.

onda parri sumara. [He] is coming, hide quickly.'
f.cl. f.cl.

magara + signunda. 'Eat [it] quickly, [it] is
f.cl. f.cl. getting cold.'

As exemplified by the examples above, most compound sentences are relatively short and are characterized by "impatience", "anxiety", etc., on the part of the speaker, coupled frequently with various voice qualifiers such as "extra softness", "extra loudness", "husky voice" etc.,

7.4 Minor Sentence

The minor type sentences, which by definition, do not include a final clause, may be further divided into "Elliptical" and "Initiating" types.

7.41 Elliptical Type

Minor sentences of the elliptical type are all referable to major sentences containing the same word,

phrase or non-final clause. These often constitute responses to a previous utterance and are replaceable by a major type sentence of which they form a constituent.

Examples:

- a) sinmun. 'A newspaper.'
 [in response to mwas ur boni. 'What are you reading?']
 cf. sinmun ur bonda. 'I am reading a paper.'
- b) migug esa. 'From America.'
 [in response to adi esa osiaso. 'Where did you come from?']
 cf. migug esa waso. 'I have come from America.'
 [waso < o- 'to come' + -as- 't.sfx.' + -o]
- c) gu i ga omjan. '[What] if he comes [here]?'
 nf.cl.
 cf. gu i ga omjan atake he. 'What shall I do if he comes?'

The category of the declarative/interrogative mood is found operating in the minor sentences of the elliptical type with intonation as its exponent. As in the major type sentences, Intoneme LF/HE functions as the phonological exponent of the declarative mood, and Intoneme R as the exponent of the interrogative mood. A minor

sentence consisting of, or including, an interrogative element (cf. 7.22.2) is marked by Intoneme LF/HF just like the "Q" type interrogative sentences.

Examples:

(i) Minor sentences of declarative mood:

˘don. 'Money.'

cf. don ur caʃaʃda. '[I] have found the money.'

˘haggjo esa. 'At the school.'

cf. haggjo esa noraʃda. '[I] played at the school.'

(ii) Minor sentences of interrogative mood:

a) "Yes/No" type:

˘haggjo esa. 'At the school?'

cf. haggjo esa noraʃni. 'Did you play at the school?'

˘amma ga. 'Mummy?'

cf. amma ga da ʃoha. 'You like your mummy more?'

b) "Q" type:

˘nu ga. 'Who?'

cf. nu ga ura. 'Who is crying?'

`anʒe. 'When ?'

cf. anʒe ʒuʌʂʌ. 'When did you give it to me?'

7.42 Initiating Type

Minor sentences of the initiating type are used to initiate a discourse and are not referable to major sentences of which they may be a constituent. Minor sentences of the initiating type may be further divided into the "Exclamatory" type and "Vocative" type, the former expressed by an introductory interjection (cf. 3.46.2) and the latter by a personal name, a title, or by both with or without a vocative particle (cf. 3.45.5).

Examples:

(i) Exclamatory Type:

`a. 'Ah !'

ʒaran. 'Good gracious !'

^Ja. 'Well !'

`aiʒu. 'Oh !'

-swi. 'Hush !', 'Quiet !'

(ii) Vocative Type:

`bogdon a. 'Bogdong !' a 'vocative particle!.

,nim ija. 'My dear !' ija ' " '.

^gim Jangun. 'General Gim !'

bag `sansen. 'Mr. Bag or Teacher Bag !'

~jabo. 'Darling !' or 'Hey [there]!'

etc.

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