A
KOREAN GRAMMAR

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Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia LXXXII
Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne LXXXII

Reimpression

HELSINKI 1997
SUOMALAI-S-UGRILAINEN SEURA
Preface.

In the encyclopaedias of the European countries the Korean language is mentioned as a language of unknown origin. During my stay in Japan I therefore took some interest in this language. The first words which seemed to me to give some clue to the solution of this problem were the pronouns ِ, ِِ 'this' and ِِِ 'that', where the identity with the corresponding Mongolian and Tungus words is evident. Spurred on by this discovery, soon followed by other interesting observations, I took up seriously the study of the Korean language and in 1924—1926 employed a Korean student, Mr Ryu Cin-kel, as my teacher. I collected my material on the spoken and written language without making a journey to Korea, as I had in Tokyo opportunities enough to occupy myself with Koreans, of whom there are thousands in that town. With the help of Mr Ryu I tried to read Korean books and during my spare time from official work I studied all the available European grammars of that language. I was greatly helped by H. G. Underwood's «An Introduction to Korean Spoken Language» (Yokohama 1914), James Gale's «Korean Grammatical Forms» (Seoul 1916) and Andreas Eckardt's «Koreanische Konversations-Grammatik» (Heidelberg 1923), and found some very valuable information about different dialects in John Ross's «Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary» (Yokohama 1882) and in a small, but good dictionary in Russian (Окончанное Русско-Корейское Словарь), printed in Kazan in 1904. The last treats the language which is spoken in the neighbourhood of Vladivostok, a dialect which in the following pages is shortly and not quite correctly called North Korean. Later on, when I had already worked out my own con-
ceptions of the structure of this little studied language and especially of its verbal forms, I became acquainted with the publications of the Japanese scholars Mr. MAEMA and Professor SHIMEI OGURA. I need hardly mention some small grammatical compilations written by Koreans which offered me nothing new or valuable. The most serious works on Korean and its dialects are those of Professor Ogura.

Because I observed that my way of understanding the structure of this language, which hides itself behind the Chinese characters, in many respects differs from that of both the European grammarians and the Japanese scholars, I have dared to complete my annotations on the declension and the conjugation and compile a grammar, although my knowledge of the language is not so wide nor so profound as would be desirable. But I am sure that such readers as have some knowledge of Mongolian, Manchu or Turkish will easily find in this grammar so many interesting similarities that its appearance will be well received by them. They will agree that the Korean language is a branch of the Altaic family of languages. I have already propounded this view in some short articles: Remarks on the Korean Language (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne LVIII), The Nominal Postpositions in Korean (ibidem LXVII) and «Koreanisch kês 'Ding, Stück'» (Journal de la Soc. F.-Ougr. LXVIII, 4). I hope that the problem of the origin of the Korean language is on the right way to being finally solved and that this grammar will contribute to the better understanding of the character and construction of the language of the Koreans.

Helsinki, 1939.

G. J. Ramstedt.

Retrospective notes.

Since the early 19th century, Finnish linguistic and ethnological scholarship has placed an exceptionally strong emphasis on Northern, Central and Eastern Eurasia. Following the pioneering careers of Anders Johan Sjögren (1794–1855) and Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852), entire generations of scholars devoted themselves to the study of the languages and cultures of regions as remote and little known as Siberia, Turkestan, and Mongolia. One of the motives of these scholars was, in the spirit of National Romanticism, to locate the «origins» of the Finns, which were thought to lie somewhere in the East. However, irrespective of such popular considerations, the actual research carried out in this framework was always of the highest academic quality. During decades of intensive inquiry, a great tradition of ethnolinguistic fieldwork was created, much prior to the emergence of ethnolinguistics, or «linguistic anthropology», as an academic discipline elsewhere in the world.

The life and work of Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873–1950) fits well into this tradition. He initiated his ethnolinguistic career by collecting material from the language and oral traditions of the Finno-Ugrian Mountain Cheremis in the Volga region (1898), but from the beginning he already had wider perspectives in his mind. During a period of fifteen years of intensive travelling and field work, he studied thoroughly the Mongolic and Turkic languages and cultures of Outer Mongolia (1898–1901, 1909, 1912), the Caspian region and the Caucasus (1903, 1904), as well as Western (1903) and Eastern Turkestan (1905), thus extending
learning, he soon mastered Japanese and started to work on Korean, a language whose development and very existence under Japanese colonial rule was seriously imperilled. Because of his diplomatic duties, however, Ramstedt was unable to study Korean in its native surroundings. Instead, he relied on the help of Korean informants living in Japan.

In Korean, Ramstedt immediately identified two great challenges, connected, first, with the description and, second, with the classification of the language. For the first challenge Ramstedt was well prepared thanks to his ethnolinguistic experience with many different languages. It was, of course, both historically curious and politically diagnostic that a language with such a long record of written documents and such a large number of living speakers had not been systematically described, but this was the situation at the time when Ramstedt started his work on Korean. Here was then, again, a field open for a pioneering contribution, and Ramstedt set out to fill the extant gaps in documentation. This work culminated in his *Korean grammar* (1939), which, in spite of its modest size, was the first truly scientific treatment of Korean in any Western language.

It is possible that Ramstedt would not have put so much energy into the description of Korean, had he not been convinced from the beginning that his work would enable him to find a solution to the challenge of classification also. Very soon after first encountering Korean language material he had come to the conclusion that he was, in fact, dealing with another Altaic language, related to Turkic, Mongolic and Tungus. This conviction, anticipated in his Korean grammar, later yielded another major monograph, titled *Studies in Korean etymology* (1949), in which Ramstedt set out to analyze the sources of selected Korean lexical items. Many of the etymologies presented by him illustrate the multiple historical and prehistorical contacts that Korean has had with the neighbouring languages, including Chinese and Japanese, but the core part of the material was supposed to demonstrate the Altaic origins of the Korean language. With this etymological
study, Ramstedt laid the foundation of the conception, still widely supported today, that Korean is an Altaic language.

Unfortunately, the reception of Ramstedt's views on Altaic has not been unanimously positive. Although a considerable number of scholars both in Korea and elsewhere continue to work according to the principles formulated by him, voices have also been raised in favour of a reevaluation of what is now increasingly often termed the Altaic Hypothesis. With the accumulation of general knowledge concerning linguistic relationships and their manifestations, it has become obvious that a large part of the shared linguistic corpus in the Altaic languages is actually due to secondary areal interaction. In this new framework, the possibility of a genetic relationship between even such crucial entities as Turkic and Mongolic seems more or less unlikely. If this is so, Ramstedt's assumption concerning the genetic position of Korean loses its foundation.

Indeed, what remains today of over two centuries of comparative work on the languages of Eurasia both before and after Ramstedt is the fact of structural similarities and areal contacts over a huge transcontinental belt, which comprises not only the languages termed Altaic by Ramstedt, but also Uralic in the west and Japanese in the east. The most suitable appellation for this phenomenon is Ural-Altaic, a term whose relevance nobody can deny. The point is, however, that no single one of the major entities within Ural-Altaic is necessarily genetically related with any other entity in the belt, for the similarities can much more adequately be explained as a network of complex non-genetic interrelationships. As an object of linguistic inquiry, and as a source of material for ethnohistorical conclusions, these interrelationships are just as tantalizing and valuable as a genetic relationship would be.

We should, therefore, not say that Ramstedt worked in vain in elaborating his ideas concerning the Altaic languages. Unlike many of his present-day followers, he was a true innovator, whose factual knowledge and synthetic ability were unparalleled in his time. Most of his results are still usable today, though not necessarily in the framework he was thinking of. The same can be said of his descriptive work on the languages he studied. For some less known languages and dialects, including many Mongolic idioms, Ramstedt's descriptions retain even today their full value as the most reliable extant sources of primary material. For some other languages, notably Korean, his work has been followed by other, more comprehensive, more advanced, and better informed treatments. Even so, Ramstedt's Korean grammar compares favourably with many later descriptions of the language. Most importantly, Ramstedt was free of the dogmatic approach to synchronic language description, so characteristic of the linguistic thinking of the 20th century.

Since he had no significant predecessors in the Korean field, Ramstedt was free to experiment with fresh personal solutions, many of which reflected his own Ural-Altaic background. Especially in the sections on morphology and syntax, he clearly wished to emphasize the structural features which link Korean with its northern and western neighbours. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Korean language, as described by him, occasionally appears even more Altaic than some later descriptions would suggest. Ramstedt's background is also visible in his decision to Romanize certain aspects of Korean phonology (the vowels) according to the Finno-Ugrian transcription system (FUT), which had been created in Finland at the turn of the century for all Ural-Altaic purposes. It may be noted that, although he had no followers in this respect, the problem of Romanization still awaits its final solution in Korean studies today.

During all of his scholarly life, Ramstedt was closely associated with the Finno-Ugrian Society, an international learned body that had been founded in Helsinki in the late 19th century (1883) by Otto Donner (1835–1909). From its beginnings, the Finno-Ugrian
Society was a major initiator and sponsor of ethnolinguistic field work in various parts of the Ural-Altaic world. All of Ramstedt’s expeditions were either fully or partially financed by the Finno-Ugrian Society, and the Society’s series of publications provided the principal forum for the publication of his results for the international readership. Ramstedt, for his part, widened the sphere of the Society’s activities towards new regions, of which Korea was the most important. In recognition of his contribution, the Society elected Ramstedt among its honorary members. In the years preceding his death, Ramstedt served as President of the Society (1944–1950).

Ramstedt’s work on the Korean language has also been duly recognized in postwar Korea. For both his scientific and his symbolic contribution to the Korean nation, Ramstedt was posthumously honoured by the government of the Republic of Korea, which granted him the membership of one of the country’s highest civil orders (1982). Ramstedt’s publications on Korean, including his Korean grammar, are well known to all modern Korean linguists, and they have even been reprinted in Korea. For both Korean and Finnish scholars of language and ethnic history, Ramstedt’s pioneering work on Korean continues to be a stimulus towards new hypotheses and fresh discoveries. Among the principal questions that remain to be solved is, incidentally, the transcontinental Ural-Altaic belt, whose true implications are still insufficiently understood.

Although Ramstedt was basically a man of high learning and erudition, much of his work also had a practical side. This is very clearly true of his Korean grammar, which, during the time of its publication, fulfilled a definite need for practical language learners. In the academic circles of Europe, Ramstedt was among the first to teach Korean as a foreign language. However, under the postwar circumstances of political and economic difficulties, Finland lost this important edge to others. It is only now, at the threshold of the new millennium, that Korean studies is gradually becoming reestablished in Finland. In the new situation, the practical aspect of language learning and intercultural communication is even more important than before. With the direct contacts between Europe and East Asia becoming increasingly intensive, and with Korea emerging as one of the major industrial powers of East Asia, Finland also has to invest in developing Korean studies as an academic field. Fortunately, thanks to the contribution of Ramstedt, Finland has a unique foundation upon which these efforts can be built.


Juha Janhunen.

Works on the Korean language by G. J. Ramstedt.

Introduction.

How the Korean language is written.

As the Koreans have been under Chinese cultural and political influence for thousands of years, it is natural that, like the Japanese and the Annamese, they should have adopted the Chinese mode of writing. They write the words of their own language with Chinese characters, and these characters have thus as a rule two pronunciations, i.e. the Chinese name for the character and the word of Korean origin which has a similar sense. The Korean language lacks words for more abstract ideas, and from the oldest times many Chinese words and expressions have been borrowed. Of what the language earlier possessed much may have been lost during the passing of centuries. The Chinese influence has in many ways remodelled the Korean language, and looking now in a Korean dictionary, one finds that about ninety per cent of the word material the Koreans use is properly speaking Chinese. But nevertheless the grammatical construction and the most used words in everyday speech are of quite different origin and testify that the Korean and the Chinese are two different types of language.

Already during the Silla period (57 B.D.—929 A.D.), the Koreans, to facilitate reading, seem to have felt the need of writing in Chinese script also the endings, especially the verbal endings. The endings were written with Chinese characters in smaller size and read phonetically, i.e. according to the pronunciation in Chinese.

Later the Koreans made acquaintance with the Buddhistic literature, also in the Tibetan language, and it seems most probable that the Tibetan way of writing was the model for the Korean alphabet, invented, according to tradition, by King Sŏchong (Sŏchong...
1419—1451). This alphabet, called en-mun 'Eummun', is well suited for rendering the sounds of the language. It is not a syllabary like the Japanese kana but a system of signs where each consonant and each vowel has its own symbol. These symbols are written together in groups, each group representing a syllable, and the syllables are arranged downwards in lines, the lines following from right to left as in Chinese. The Korean alphabet is very well suited to its purpose and quite easy to write and read. But the strange thing is that this Korean writing is used by, or considered good enough only for school children and women, while the Korean men still deem it a sign of civilization to use the Chinese characters and the Korean signs only to indicate endings and sometimes also the pronunciation if this is ambiguous, i.e. if the text can be read either in the Chinese way or as good Korean. The reading of the Chinese characters has a long history in Korea, and the Korean way of pronouncing or reading the Chinese characters has the highest value for sinologues, just as has the Japanese way of reading Chinese. As it is not our intention to give an historical survey of Chinese phonetics or Chinese characters, we shall in the following avoid as much as possible Chinese words and Chinese expressions, and try to explain that part of the present day Korean language which really is Korean.

CHAPTER I

Phonetics.

The consonants.

The Korean alphabet has the following consonant signs: 1

\[ k, n, t, l (r), m, p, s, o (\eta); \]

\[ \bar{\theta}, \bar{\eta}, \bar{\kappa}, \bar{\mu}, \bar{\nu}, \bar{\lambda}, \bar{\rho}, \bar{\sigma}. \]

The Koreans names of these eight signs (and sounds) are:

kik, iin (niin), eeg (tigot), iil (riil, niil), miom, pioo, sioot (siot), ihoon. The name for \(\bar{\epsilon}\) is \(\bar{\epsilon}eaut\).

These signs are used both before and after, i.e. under, the vowels. Then there are signs for:

\[ \bar{\epsilon}, \bar{\epsilon}h, \bar{\kappa}h, \bar{\theta}h, \bar{\phi}h, \bar{\kappa} \]

\[ \bar{s}, \bar{\z}, \bar{\nu}, \bar{\psi} \]

These signs are used only before vowels. The signs for \(\bar{\epsilon}h, \bar{\kappa}h, \bar{\theta}h\)
and \(\bar{\phi}h\) are obtained by a small alteration (a line over the signs for \(\bar{\epsilon}, k, t\) and \(p\) respectively).

The language has more sounds than these signs indicate, but as there is clear regularity in the appearance of for instance \(g, d, t\), the Korean alphabet is itself quite enough for reading correctly.

The Korean language has three series of explosives: 3

\[ k, t, p \] and also \(\bar{\epsilon}\), unaspirated, weak sounds;

\(\bar{\kappa}h, \bar{\theta}h, \bar{\phi}h, \bar{\kappa}h\), strongly aspirated sounds;

\(\kappa k, \kappa t, \kappa p, \kappa \epsilon\), long and emphatically pronounced unaspirated sounds.

The sounds \(k, t\) and \(p\) and \(\bar{\epsilon}\) are in an antevocalic position one or more sounds, i.e. the explosive part of them is a slack separation of the closed parts in the mouth. There is no puff of air breaking the
occlusion, and the voice is heard immediately after or already during the separation. If a voiced sound precedes, the voice continues even during that short movement of occlusion which is necessary. This means that the voiceless sounds k, t, p, č vary with half-voiced ɡ, ɡ, ɡ, ɲ, ɲ and voiced ɡ, ɡ, ɡ, ɡ. Korean written ka-ta is thus pronounced kada, kare ke eke, to-ra ka-ta is tora gada, to-ra po-ta is tora boda, an-ča is anča, kam-ta is kama, etc.

The signs for k, t and p in post-vocalic position and after l are klusile sounds, where the implosive part (the gliding from vowel to the following occlusion) is clearly audible and the occlusion short, but the separation or explosive part of no importance or totally missing. Thus in pronouncing for instance a syllable like ap, the opening of p is not audible, contrary to what is the case in English (cf. c a p) and in most European languages. The Koreans seem to have no difficulty in distinguishing the post-vowel sounds in syllables like kak, kat, kap without letting the air audibly pass out after the checking sounds.

To indicate a post-vowel t the Koreans use the sign for s, and not that for t.

Where two explosive sounds follow one another, the first is supported by the preceding vowel and the second by the following. The transition from one clusione to another is made without letting any air pass between the two consonants. E.g. kapta, kapko, pakta, pakče, kupti, kuptik, paptik.

The affricate č is not found after a vowel as a checking consonant, but is pronounced with the following vowel.

The consonants which are here spelt kk, tt, pp, čč (= čč) and ss at the beginning of a word are used here to transcribe a kind of articulation where the occlusion (in ss the friction) is about double as long as in the weak k, t, p, č and s. These sounds are articulated emphatically and with a peculiar pressure on the respective organs of contact, together with a pressure or jerk in the throat. If pronounced distinctly, laryngeal clusise (?) is present, combined with the occlusion in the oral canal, but this laryngeal sound does not seem to be quite necessary in the articulation of these sounds. Some local variations in the pronunciation seem to exist, but there is always a certain pressure in the throat, and this causes a sharp and high pitch in the following vowel. This pitch in the following vowel is no less characteristic of these sounds than is the duration of the occlusion or friction in the consonant itself. Historically speaking, the Korean sounds of this kind, which we will call the g e m i n a t a sounds, and which the Koreans themselves call tōn (tōn) or 'thick', are often an old
contraction of two chusil sounds which have originally been kept apart by a short vowel. As far as is clear from comparison with corresponding words in cognate languages, the first chusil has in most cases been a p. This p has been articulated insufficiently and probably developed into a sound near a followed by some kind of s (an unvoiced hissing?), according to what some old writings pka-, pta- show. But very soon this reduced consonant sound has been substituted by the laryngal chusil and the present-day pronunciation is most easily rendered by kk, tt, etc. E.g. ttal 'girl', written stal, ttal, or ptal, according to the manner of the writer, cf. Goldi pata, 'girl'; ssja 'to use', written ssja, psja, cf. mōp̪semi 'impossible, bad', originally mōpsemi 'of no use'; ssi 'seed', written ssi, psi, cf. upsi, usually written upsi 'seed sown later and between the drills of the first sowing', from original u 'over' and original psi 'seed', cf. Manchu fishe 'millet'; kada, written pkada, shada, pskada 'to shell', 'to peel', cf. Manchu fahambu 'id'.

Besides this source of geminata, there are also two more ways in which the present-day language has arrived at this kind of consonant. As the kind of consonants used at the end of a syllable is limited, the articulation of some consonants has been regressively taken over by the initial consonant. There has been for instance a verb kesk- 'to break', and this is now kkekta (kkekx : kkekxin 'broken'). The other process which leads to geminata is the absorption of a preceding sound, for instance that of an ending. The name for 'a flower' was originally *koč (cf. Jap. ka), but the genitive ending (-n? -s?) which in most cases preceded this noun has helped to give the present khot 'flower', which is declined in N. Kor. with historical correctness khoč 'in the flower', but in S. Kor. khothe or khot, owing to new formations from the nominative khot.

Where we write kk, tt, pp, ōč, ss in the middle of a word, the spelling is used only to indicate the length of the consonant, just as mm, mm, ll only mean a long consonant sound, of which the first part checks the preceding vowel and the second part glides into the following vowel. Here the length of the sound is quite essential.

Of course, in kk, tt, pp, etc., nn, ll there are not two sounds but only one long one.

If a long sound in the declension or conjugation happens to stand at the end of a syllable before an ending beginning with a consonant, the long consonant is substituted by the corresponding short one.

In the same way as the post-vocalic k, t, p as final sounds are pronounced without audible explosion, all other consonants in the same position are articulated without a distinguishable opening moment. For instance an, an, am are pronounced so that the implosion or the gliding from the vowel to the respective consonants is clearly heard, but the end of the consonant is mute or remains closed.

Where the dental chusil t, which etymologically can appear in both conjugation and declension as variant of th, t, õč, ōč or s, stands at the end of a syllable and the following sound also is a consonant, this t assimilates itself with the following sound. E.g.:

patta 'to receive', pannan 'receiving', pakko 'in receiving', patēč 'let's receive', passe 'may receive'.

The stem pat is visible in padatta 'has received'.

utta 'to laugh', uaran 'laughing', ukko 'in laughing', utēč 'let's laugh', usse 'may laugh'.

The stem is us: usegta 'has laughed', usim 'laughter'.

pāutta 'to spit', pāuwan, pākkko, pāučca, pāusse. The stem pā-at-
we have in pāuattta 'spat'.

itta 'to be', 'to exist', innan, ikko, itēč, isse.

The stem is iss: isserta 'was'.

anutta 'to sit', annan, anko, antēč, anse.

The stem is ane: anjutta 'he sat'.

matta 'to fit', mānnan, mākkko, mātēč, māssse.

The stem is māe: māzatta 'fitted, agreed'.

When we take into consideration this assimilation of t at the end of a syllable, we can detect this sound as the original in many Korean words, for instance pappuda, earlier patpuda 'to hurry'
from a stem *pas- 'to press', kippuda, earlier kitpuda, original
*kispuda 'to be glad', and kikpota, original *kikpeta 'id.', etc.

Where th and t have been followed by vocalic or semivocalic
i-sound, the N. Korean has retained this unaltered, but in S. Korean
the development has given čhí and či (respectively ži). E.g.

đhen (Chin.) 'Heaven', S. Korean čhen
đho-phí (Chin.) 'sable skin', S. Kor. čho-phí
đhö (Chin.) 'body', 'form', S. Kor. čhe

tj 'that', S. Kor. čt

tjóhín 'good', S. Kor. čohín

tjön 'boundary', S. Kor. čiżeñ

tjepsí 'plate', S. Kor. čepsí (cf. Mong. t. tehsí)

In North Korean there are dialects which in this case retain the
dental sound and some which omit the i-sound; e.g. tjö, tż 'that',
tjöpsí, tįpsí 'plate', tjóhin, tįhin, tįwijn, etc. These North
Korean dialects ought to be studied, as they are very good criteria
and enable us to decide where present day South Korean čhí and či
are original and where they are obtained through palatalisation from
original thí and tí.

17 In the same North Korean dialects, the South Korean čh and č
appear in some words as ch and c, in others as ch (= tsch) and c (= ts).
Here tsch is original ch and ts original č, while čh corresponds to original
čhj and č to original čj. E.g.:
čal 'well', N.Kor. tsar
čal 'line', N.Kor. tsur
čarada 'to be sufficient', N.Kor. tsarada
čakta 'to be small', N.Kor. tsakta, i.e. čjak-
čžgün 'wet, watery', N.Kor. tsđėžín
čğložin 'young', N.Kor. čşeremon, i.e. čşerm-

18 Antevocalic s in South Korean is pronounced in North Korean
either as s or as š. Where the North Korean dialects show š (š), the
original has been sj. Before the vowel i the N.Kor. pronunciation
of a written s is always ši, e.g.

sđda 'to stay', N.Kor. sjđa, orig. *sǰ-
męjgye 'after having eaten', N.Kor. megggę, orig. *męg-gěg
sany 'reward, prize', N.Kor. sǎn
sőrįgę 'provincial mandarin', N.Kor. sůrįgę
kęsi 'the thing', N.Kor. kęși

As čhj (čhj-) is pronounced ḍh (= č) in South Korea and čj
(= ċj) does not differ from č, the spelling in present day Korean
books is not at all dependable; 'to give' is written ėjuda or ējuda,
but as the dialects in the North have tsuda, the usual spelling ējuda
is historically incorrect. This is also the case with the spellings sj
and s, which are not kept apart. 'To stand', sđda, is written sđda or
sđja; the latter is here better corresponding to North Korean šđa.
It is probable that the North Korean pronunciation with all its later
vaccillations is historically of higher value than the present day
spelling in books printed in Keijo.

In some dialects in the South, also kh and k before i and j have
been palatalized to čh and č, e.g.
kil 'road', čil (on the island Quelpart)
kim (a name), čim
čižgę 'boundary', čįžgę, etc.
kıuł, kiuri 'wheat shorts', čiuri.

This development seems to be quite local and recent, and is not
recognized as good Korean. It has not entered into literature, but
literary mistakes of this kind may be found.

When a clusil is followed by a nasal sound, it changes or, to
express the fact more correctly, has changed to the corresponding
nasal. E.g.

mekča 'to eat' but męčgęnda 'is eating', patta 'to get' but pgunakana
'gets'

nėk něk hada 'to be satisfying', pronounced nęņęg hada
pāk-ma (Chin.) 'white horse', pron. pāýma, sak-mada, pron. sān-mada
'each payment'
sip-li (> sip-mi), pron. simi 'ten miles'
miętnal, pron. mienmal 'how many days', khot-nada, pron. kkont-nada 'to bloom'
kęp 'fear', kęp-nada, pron. kempnada 'to become frightened'
kemp-(n)ida, pron. kumntida 'to move up and down'
ap-(n)i, pron. amni 'the front teeth'; pat-nada, pron. pan-nada 'each field'

This common rule concerns the nasal sounds n and m at the beginning of the following syllable. The nasal sound η is used only at the close of a syllable.

22 Dialectically the combination of η and a following g is pronounced as long ηg, beside the usual ηv sound:
kamgida 'to be rolled up', pron. kampida in some places, in others kamgida, kampida.
singida 'to plant', local pron. singida and simgida, singida.

23 There seems to have prevailed once a phonetical law which has made the pronunciation of η where it happened to stand between vowels weaker and weaker, and the result has been its total disappearance and sometimes the contraction of the two vowels to one. The same law has also annihilated a nasal sound which could be best described as a palatal ā. For this nasal, which was something like a weak nasalized j, the Korean alphabet had a special sign, a small triangle △, but the pronunciation must have been very weak and locally divergent, as is evident from the many different spellings. As a special sound this ā has disappeared long ago. E.g.
kā 'dog', written kai, earlier *kaui (cf. Gilyak kan 'dog', Turkish qanča 'bitch')
ka 'shore', earlier written kaι
și 'mother (of animals)', earlier *și (cf. Tung, gși 'mother').

24 The authors of a small but quite reliable Russian-Korean dictionary, printed in Kazan in 1904, use two signs for η, and so distinguish between a stronger pronounced η at the end of a syllable and a weaker before a following vowel, e.g.

kaŋ 'river', but kaŋi 'the river'
naraŋ 'country', but naraŋi 'the country', etc.

This weakening of η before a vowel seems to be old and explains why we have variants like S.Kor. nara, N.Kor. naraŋ 'country', mada, N.Kor. madan 'each', etc.

The sound n has maintained itself in all other cases and combinations except where a following vowel or semi-vowel i, j has immediately followed it. Here n must have very early been pronounced ŋ and has, as the *ŋ- sound in general, later disappeared. This is well proved by the present form of Chinese loan words. E.g.
nin 'human being', now in, local N.Kor. -nin, inni (Chin.) 'two', now i, N.Kor. i
njen 'year', now jen, N. Kor. njen or njen
njej (Chin.), 'woman', now jē, N.Kor. nje, nē
njej 'ancient', now jē, N.Kor. njē, nē, etc.

This law has worked only on the initial sound, and elsewhere, i.e. where, as in compounds, the word was connected with the preceding word, n remained. E.g.
i-njen 'two years', but jen 'a year'
je 'yes', o-nje 'yes'
sjē (written sjo-njē) 'I, your daughter' (literally: 'the small woman')

As earlier mentioned, the Koreans have the same sign for both l and r. The pronunciation varies according to the dialect, but the following may be given as a general rule:

1. At the beginning of a word neither l nor r are heard, the pronunciation being n; about l and j see below!
2. Between vowels, r is the short and l the corresponding long sound. Instead of l the Koreans write in.
3. After a vowel, the pronunciation is r, if the following sound is h.
4. At the end of a syllable and after a vowel, when the following sound is some other consonant than h, the S. Korean pronunciation is l, but the N. Korean r.
The Korean r is pronounced with few and rather weak tremulations. The sound l is the normal bilateral l, neither thick nor palatalised.

27 The original Korean language had neither l nor r at the beginning of a word, just like the Tungus and Mongol languages. The initial l in Chinese words was pronounced as n. Where the Chinese had li or lj, this gave ni and nj, which mostly remains in N. Korean, but has resulted in i and j in S. Korean, following the laws for initial n. E.g.

Chin. lok 'green', pronounced nok
   * lam 'blue', pron. nam
   * la-tjen 'Latin', pron. nažen, nažin
   * la-kui 'donkey', pron. nágui
   * ló-hjen 'old brother', pron. nöñhen 'you'
   * lai-il 'the coming day', pron. náil, N.K. náil 'tomorrow'
   * lam-pí, pron. námbi 'frying pan' (Jap. nabe)

Engl. lamp, Kor. nempyu (Jap. rampyu)

Chin. li 'mile', pron. i, N.K. ni
   * liñk 'six', pron. jok, N.K. njok.

In compounds the antevozical Chinese l mostly retains its pronunciation as n and causes nasalisation of a preceding clusil. E.g. *miŋ-li > mënni 'how many miles', *liñk-li > jëñmi 'six miles', sip-li > sinmi 'ten miles', *sip-liñk > sinmiñk 'sixteen', sip-liñk-
   -li > sinmiñni 'sixteen miles'.

28 There exist somewhere (I have met some individuals in a railway carriage in North Korea) local dialects with an initial sound between n, l and d, probably some kind of nasalised l with the tip of the tongue in the position of d. The word for 'four', elsewhere nê, was pronounced as *dau, *laí or dau, laí. The persons I met seemed not to be able to distinguish between l, n, d and r at the beginning of a word. They had also a palatalised l before j, e.g. (Chin. in-lju) illu 'man' mankind', the usual pronunciation being illju (or illu).

29 It seems clear that the Korean language has treated the sounds l and r as one, and has developed a scheme by which r is the short and l the corresponding long sound. Therefore r is heard between vowels and before h with a following vowel. The South Korean has now after a vowel always l if this sound is tautosyllabic, but changes into r as soon as the sound is taken over to the next syllable. In the old language the pronunciation may have been about the same as in present day North Korean, where post-

vocalic r is heard. E.g.: salgo 'in living', sàratta 'has lived', sàröj 'life', salmjen 'if living' tʃulo 'lifting', tʃereta 'has lifted', tʃerim 'the lifting', tʃimjen 'if lifting' molgo 'in driving', noratà 'has driven', norim 'the drive', molmjen 'if driving'

jelgo 'in opening', jelseta 'has opened', jelerim 'the opening', jelmjen 'if one opens', etc.

In all the above examples, the North Korean dialects have everywhere r.

When after l (N.Kor. r) a dental sound (kh, t, d, s, čh, č, ž) has followed in the same syllable or begun the next syllable, the l (r) sound seems very early to have been weakened and then lost. It has also been lost before a bilabial u, which in the verbs has been the suffix (-eu, -bu) for the passive stem and later has developed into o, u. The regular development in the verbs which have l (r) as the last sound has therefore been that this l (r) has disappeared before many endings. When now in verbs of this kind l is written and pronounced before for instance the ending -da, this depends on a late restoration, and may be purposely invented by grammarians. To take the same examples again, we have for instance:

sōda (and restored salda) 'to live', sān 'one who has lived', sānan 'living', sōži 'lives, perhaps', N.Kor. sōdi, sərdi tʃda (and restored tʃeda) 'to lift', tʃən 'lifted', tʃimjen 'lifting', tʃži 'lifts, perhaps', N.Kor. tʃži, tʃérə

məda (and molda) 'to drive', mən 'driven', mənan 'driving', məži 'drives, perhaps'
jedə (and jəlda) 'to open', jɛn 'opened', jenjen 'opening', jɛži 'may open'.
The language has thus lost by simplifying combinations of sounds like *lk, *lk, *lk, *lk and *lk. The only remaining combinations are *lk, *lk and *lk. Where *lk, *lk and *lk are followed by a consonant, in present day Korean either *k is omitted or, if the following consonant is a chusil sound, *p and *k are alternatively omitted. E.g.

pulka (pron. *pukta, dial. pulka) 'to be red', pulgin 'red'
malka (pron. *malka, dial. malkta) 'to be bright', malgin 'bright'
palpa (pron. *palpa, dial. palita) 'to trample', palbatta 'has tramped'
ngalga (pron. ngelga, dial. ngelga) 'to be broad', ngelga 'broad'

Taking into consideration these tendencies of *l to disappear, we can in many words find or try to find traces of this sound, especially in nouns where the nominative has strongly influenced the other cases. E.g.

ap 'fore', loc. aphe 'in the fore', in the earlier language alpha. Here the locative aphe has been remodelled after the nominative ap, which is regular with its omitting of *l.

altha 'to be sick', stem alth-, aphwuda 'to be sick, to be in pain' from earlier altha-, received from alth- with the ending -tha-. The disappearance of *l is regular.

phat, dial. phat, 'beans', Loc. phachte, phachte. Cf. Turk. burl-aq 'peas'.

As to *l, the pronunciation is usually *r because *h is pronounced very weakly if at all. The sound *h is united with a following chusil so that this is aspirated. In other cases *h is treated like *l, but does not disappear before dentals (see above). Thus the combination -*hka- gives -*hka-, while -*hr- gives -*r-. E.g.

otha (from *olha-ta) 'to be right', orhatha, oratta 'was right', orhina, orhina 'right', but okhne 'rightly'
kiltha (from *kitha-ta) 'to boil', kirheta, kirgna 'boiled', kylgin (from *kylgin) 'boiling', but kylkha 'in boiling'
ithatha (from *ithatha-ta) 'to pierce', itarheta, itartha 'has pierced', itarhina, itarhina 'pierced', italhuna 'is piercing'.

In Chinese loan words a post-velar *l(r) is found. It corresponds to an original *t(d) sound in the Chinese of older days, but long ago

lost. The pronunciation may have altered from *d to a spirant *d like the English *k in 'this', and this spirant was perhaps in older Chinese already some kind of *r. From this *d~*t the Japanese have got a syllable *tsu, *ti, now pronounced *tsu, *chi. E.g.

Kor. uel, N.Kor. ur, Jap. *getsu from *get, present Chin. jia, 'month, moon'

Kor. thijal, Jap. thijal, N.Kor. thiger, Jap. tetsu from *teth, present Chin. the 'iron'

Kor. il, N.Kor. ir, Jap. *kiti, *kiti from *kiti, present Chin. ni 'day'

Kor. phi, N.Kor. phir, Jap. *hitsu from *phi, present Chin. fi 'pen', 'brush for writing'

Kor. phal, N.Kor. phar, Jap. lachi from phat, present Chin. pha 'light'

Kor. sal, N.Kor. sar, Jap. *satsu from sat, present Chin. *sa 'killing, death', etc.

This final (l)r in Chinese words does not disappear before dentals as the *r sound of originally Korean words does. The only exception is perhaps the word pul, pu 'not', which follows the Korean rule. E.g. pulgil 'unlucky', pulpep 'lawlessness, illegal', but pudan 'not the same', pondek 'not virtuous', pondan 'improper, not proper'.

Cf. Korean expressions (pur 'fire') purap 'fire shovel', puso, puso 'steel as used with a flint'; puji 'needle', puji 'needlework' (tjil 'work'); hanal 'heaven', hananim 'the Lord'; simul 'twenty', simushana 'twentynone', simudu 'twenytwo', simuse 'twentythree', simulle, simune 'twentynfour'; sal 'the pine', sasara 'the tree', sonama, solamun 'the pine tree', sal 'water', eje 'a rack or hok for carrying', muje 'the rainbow'; ssal 'rice', *gen (*tien) 'shop', ssaenj 'rice store'; sal 'flesh', tij 'the back', sadu 'the back'.

Where the second or third syllable has been ro, ru, ri and the vowel has been short, a following ending beginning with a vowel has changed ro, ru, ri into II. E.g.

parada 'to be straight', pallatta 'was straight', pallada 'to straighten'
moruda 'not to know', mottatta 'did not know'
oru, orrada 'to ascend', olutta 'has ascended', olida 'to raise'
hirida 'to flow', hille 'having flowed'
nirida, S.Kor. irida 'to name', illetta 'has named'
purida 'to call', pulla 'having called', pullida 'to be called, to be named'
haro 'one day', loc. halle (besides haroe) 'on one day'
moro, malle 'the ridge of a hill', malle, mallo 'on the ridge of a hill'.

This changing of r (l) with a short vowel into l, which is somewhat similar to the Greek declension polys, pl. polloi 'the many', is especially to be kept in mind in the conjugation of many verbs of this class.

The combinations ka and al have both given ll, except in old Korean words where I had disappeared before n. E.g.
thi-e-li 'heavenly laws', pron. chelli, N.Kor. thigeli
ti-gi-li 'thousand miles', pron. gelli
pun-lan 'confusion, disorder', pron. pullan
man-li 'ten thousand miles', pron. mali
pal nada 'to start to burn', pron. pullada
so namnu 'pinetree', pron. sallamnu and sonamnu
jel namjin 'exceeding ten', pron. jellamjin
tul (n) je-in 'a lonely woman, widow', pron. tullijin
in-lju 'mankind', pron. illju

This rule of pronunciation is to be kept in mind in uniting words beginning or ending in l.

Table of consonant assimilation.

The first syllable ends in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k^1</th>
<th>t^2</th>
<th>p^3</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>l^4</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kk</td>
<td>kk</td>
<td>pk</td>
<td>nq</td>
<td>mg</td>
<td>lg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kt</td>
<td>tt</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>md</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>kc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>pc</td>
<td>nq</td>
<td>nq</td>
<td>lq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ks</td>
<td>ss</td>
<td>ps</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ms</td>
<td>ls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>lm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r,l</td>
<td>ym</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>ll</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>ll</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next syllable begins with:

- k from orig. k, kh, sk and lk
- t from orig. t, th, s, ss, c, ch
- p from orig. p, ph, ps and lp
- l or -r is assimilated and absorbed in the preceding vowel, when the following is an ending which begins with a dental; old compounds follow the same rule, but in newer compounds and in the contact of two independent words l remains.

The sound h is pronounced if the following vowel is sufficiently stressed; with loss of stress h usually disappears, at least in the South Korean pronunciation. It is mostly found in the beginning of a word, but in local dialects it is to be heard also in the second or third syllable, where the South Korean seems to have lost it long ago. In some dialects it varies with s, and historically speaking h seems in most cases to go back to an earlier s (or z?). Dialectically hij is often heard as sj, and Í.

E.g.
kaeil 'autumn', dial. kakil, kakih, kasir
kijeul 'winter', dial. keul, keur, kjeul
mahin 'forty', pron. main
kegil 'the thing' (Acc.), pron. keil, keil, giel
uota 'to laugh', usim 'laugher', dial. uhom, uhon
hij 'the tongue', variant sjeg, ej, ejeg

Cf. hana 'one' with Ainu shine 'one'; hada 'to do' with Manchu se 'to do, to say'; Jap. suru 'to do'; hiji 'to be white'; Tungus sè; hgi 'day', Tung. sian, Manchu san 'sun'.

Some verb stems have rh (lh) and nh as the last sounds, and in such verbs the h sound reappears as aspiration in the chusil where possible. In other combinations it is lost. E.g.

manna 'to be many, to be much', stem manh-, manhko 'being many', manehi 'many, perhaps', but mansho 'it is many', manhka, pron. manji 'many', manki, pron. mani adv. 'much'
kilha 'to boil', stem kilh-, kilhko 'boiling', but kilso 'boils', kilhida 'to make boil, to cook', kilhinda 'is boiling'
There are also verb stems where $h$ as the last sound stands after a vowel and remains in a following aspirated clusil, but is elsewhere difficult to distinguish. It is the Korean orthography which retains it, but the pronunciation has usually lost it. E.g.

*čolha 'to be good', N. Kor. *čoja, stem orig. *čja:-čolko 'being good',
čokko 'to be good', N. Kor. *čoja, *čojun, S. Kor. čojin, written čojin 'good'
čolha 'to put in', stem čolj:-čolko 'in putting in', N. Kor. čolj, čoljn, čoljn, written čoljčin 'laid in'
čilha 'to set free', stem čilj:-čilko 'in order to set free', notči ani hada 'not to set free', etc.

Although this $h$ remains when the ending contains a clusil, the originally aspirated clusils do not affect the endings. E.g.

*nočhin 'high', stem nočh:-nočta 'to be high', nočko 'being high',
nočeti ani hada 'not to be high'
nočhin 'paid', stem nočh:-nočta 'to pay', kapha 'has paid', kaphke hada 'to make pay'
halhatta 'has licked', stem halh:-halta 'to lick, to lap'
stem ččočč:-ččotta 'to frighten away', ččočkatta 'has frightened away',
ččokko 'in frightening', ččokke hada 'to make to frighten away'.

There is evidence that the Korean language has had spirant g and b. In North Korean dialects, which also in other ways are more antique than the southern dialects, one sometimes finds this g and b extant. As to the disappearance of b cf.

N. Kor. obun 'all' S. Kor. ān, cf. Tung. upkat 'all'
N. Kor. mugebun 'heavy' S. Kor. muggun
mugghi 'weight' muggi
N. Kor. kakkaebun 'near' S. Kor. kakkáon
kakkabi 'nearing' kakká (written kakkái)
N. Kor. həbun 'alone' S. Kor. hōn, cf. hōna 'one'

The syllables seq, seq have as a rule given a, u, and we therefore have present day hao for older hgeu; poo for poeu; io, in for older ioe. At the beginning of a word, the syllable seq has given g, at least in the interrogative stem $q$ (in gua, etc. gči) which in some northern dialects according to Ross is still pronounced as seq and goes back to an earlier *seq, *mi 'what'. As ending of the passive stem the spirantic $b$ has been used also in the verb stems with l, r, and we have now, for instance, ao 'knows', jpo 'opens', from supposed *albo, *jolbo, etc. This may depend on analogy from the verbs with vowel stems, since l (*l) had disappeared.

The spirantic $g$ (i.e. the $y$ sound) can be detected in words of the type naun, namo, namak 'tree', čoro, čarú, čarrak 'handle', where the oldest pronunciation may have been aγγaγ, aγγi, and the North Korean pronunciation is (in the determinative form, whose ending is *-i) namgi, carqi, etc. Here, evidently, the $g$ sound in most cases widened to a vowel after the preceding vowel, but remained if this was lost. Here belong substantives in o, u and probably also many words in e, e.g. N. Kor. surgi, S. Kor. sure 'cart'.

The Korean alphabet has the following signs for the vowels:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{a} & \text{g} & \text{o} & \text{u} & \text{i} & \text{q} \\
\text{ㅏ} & \text{ㅏ} & \text{ㅗ} & \text{ㅜ} & \text{ㅓ} & \text{ㅗ} \\
\end{array}
\]

As initial

In the word

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{ㅏ} & \text{ㅓ} & \text{ㅗ} & \text{ㅜ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} \\
\text{ㅏ} & \text{ㅓ} & \text{ㅗ} & \text{ㅜ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} \\
\end{array}
\]

With an extra line, the signs for ja, je, jo and ju are obtained from those for a, x, o and u. Further, by uniting the i stroke with the vowel sign, the diphthongs are obtained. We find thus:

ja je jo ju and

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{ㅏ} & \text{ㅓ} & \text{ㅗ} & \text{ㅜ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} \\
\text{ㅏ} & \text{ㅓ} & \text{ㅗ} & \text{ㅜ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} & \text{ㅐ} & \text{ㅔ} \\
\end{array}
\]

The Korean order of vowels is a, ja, e, je, o, jo, u, ju, i, i, g, and in the Korean alphabet all vowels are usually placed under the name of i (iβi) between s and y.
So much for the Korean vowel letters. — As to the pronunciation, this has advanced and changed in some respects since the Korean alphabet was invented. In the present day good pronunciation may be observed:

- the normal low-back a, long or short;
- a broad e sound articulated well back in the mouth, which gives it a shade of back ə; the lips are not round, and the sound is mid-mixed or mid-back, resembling the English vowel in bird, world, urn; it is used both as long and short;
- o the normal low-back (low mid-back) rounded o;
- u the high-back rounded u sound; it seems to have two shades, or we have two u sounds, the one being more back, the other pronounced against the middle of the palate;
- i the high-mixed vowel, or an i sound taken strongly back and high in the mouth, somewhat like Russian ы or Turkish ç;
- i the high-front vowel, as in other languages;
- a is some kind of back vowel, short or long, and has been pronounced probably as the English vowel in words like blood, club.

All other vowels have probably remained unchanged, but the sign for a, called by the Koreans 'the short a', now causes the Koreans themselves much confusion. The fact of the matter is that most dialects, and especially that of the capital, have lost this special vowel because it has developed too or in some cases to j, more seldom to e. This causes many different spellings, the most usual being that of real or 'long' ə for the sign a in older documents and books. E.g. hada 'to do', hana 'doing', now usually spelt hada, hanan, hanin (sometimes hanen).

Historically speaking, this 'short' a is, like the English vowel in blood, cae, a late development of an earlier back vowel (a, o, u), which has not been pronounced clearly enough because of shortness; the long a may have appeared as its pendant later. E.g. mgl 'horse', N.Kor. mar, dial. mar, cf. Mongol. marin, Tung. marin, Turk. (Urganchhai) mar 'horse'; phat, determ. phatki, 'the beans', dial. -phot, photki.,

cf. Turk. burq-eq 'pea'. Whenever we meet in Korean dialects a variation of a with o or a with u, we may suspect this earlier a as the sound which was or is meant with the spelling a. Before s, l and r and after h, a was earlier written also in cases where some front vowel seems to be historically most probable, and this may indicate that a was once the pronunciation before s and r (as from earlier i and es, or from earlier ir) and also after h (hada from supposed *hada).

The vowels can appear preceded by a semi-vowel j, which gives, as we spell it here, j, and we have ja, je, jo, ju with a weak j sound. As shown above, the Koreans themselves consider these combinations as special vowels. In many words the combined vowel je is now pronounced e; e.g. pjeđa, peda 'to lean down'; pjege, pege, pegi, 'a pillow'. In clear pronunciation, nevertheless, je is the more correct. The combinations ji, ji and je seem to have already eliminated when the Korean letters were taken into use. If they ever existed, their loss must have been due to the disappearance of j either in the preceding consonant or in a vowel i. In the present day language ja, je, jo, ju have lost the j sound after s, c, ch and j, or in other words, sja and sa are pronounced in the same way as sa, čja and ča as ča, etc. But in some northern dialects the pronunciation is ša for written sja, ča for written čja and ča for written čja, while tsa is the pronunciation for written and original ša, tse for če, tse for če, etc.; vide §10—19. Eckardt says in his grammar that after s, j, č, ch the vowels ja, je, jo, ju are pronounced a in most without j, but that the vowel is mostly long, for instance saŋ, 'a table', but sjaŋ, pron. saŋ with longer vowel, 'over'.

The vowels are, or have been, preceded also by a semi-vowel u sound. The combinations wa and we, which are spelt in Korean letters as ca and ce, still remain. If we suppose a possible earlier combination wo and wu, they must have given o and u and earlier wj probably u, but we has given i and we has given o. Combinations of a vowel with a following w appear as long vowels in the South Korean dialects; cf. above ču, N.Kor. obun, 'all', hōn, N.Kor. habun, orig. habun, 'alone' (to hōn, hōna 'one').
Diphthongs in i or combinations of a vowel with a following semi-vowel á are very frequent, and we have the spellings ai, gi, oi, ii, qi and also jai, gji, joi, jui as well as wai and wei. The present day pronunciation is:

ai, pron. á, the low-front broad á, broader than the vowel in English man;
gi, pron. e, the mid-front e, almost like the vowel in English day;
oi, the most frequent pronunciation is ó like German ó in schön;
but in many dialects the result has been ee with weak e sound and perhaps some rounding of e;
ui, pron. as û in French rue or in many dialects as we, corresponding to pronunciation of written oi as we;
jï, pron. as diphthong or very often as i with the on-glide a little more back; the genitive ending jï is broader and sounds often like a short e;
aï, pron. ã (see above e as equivalent to present day o), in other words a broad e, but also as ãi (see above e as i);
e.g. e-jai 'where', pron. edâ, edê, edëi, edëi, edëi.

The above shows that the Korean language since the Korean letters came into use has gradually assimilated the diphthongs into simple vowels and so obtained the new vowels ä, e, õ and å. In some dialects there are now two e sounds, the narrower e (ê) from earlier êi and the broader e (ë) from gi.

The triphthongs jai, gji, joi, jui and wai, wei may be dealt with shortly since we have already treated the present day pronunciation of both the antevocalic semivowel and the postvocalic i. We need perhaps only say that joi is usually jœ and jui usually jœ, or õ and å respectively.

E.g. pai, pgi 'ship', pron. pâ
nalgai 'wing', pron. nalgâ
liai 'bamboo', pron. tû
lige 'raft', pron. te
bigi 'cookie rack', pron. êige

či-či 'cymbals', pron. čejim
thjei 'body, shape', pron. čhe
či 'ashes', pron. čâ, ĉe
ka-ka 'may go', pron. kage (the ending has been -kai and -kei; in this case the variant -kei has been generalized)
old spelling saramgi 'of the man', pron. saramji (the ending has been gi and āi; the latter has been preferred)
toïda 'to become', pron. tôda, or tseoda
kni 'ear', pron. kû or kji (also kû is heard)
toijë 'having become', pron. tôjë, tôjë
kni-gi 'in the ear', pron. kûê, kûje, kûje
pui 'a broom', pron. pi, seldom pû or pûi
pûida 'to be vacant', pron. pûda
muïpta 'to be disagreeable', pron. müpta
pîhida 'to bloom', pron. pîhida

The diphthongs ai and ji are after labial consonants as a rule pronounced as i, and the spelling is changing accordingly.

There are many variations and local differences in the pronunciation of the diphthongs and triphthongs. So, for instance, is ja pronounced as a, je as e or somewhere else as i, je as o or û, ju as a, oi as ee, wi, a, i, etc. In his publications Professor Shimpei Obara has given many details about the present-day vowels in the southern parts of Korea. Without going into details or too deeply into dialectology, we have in the rendering of Korean speech tried to keep to the dialect of Seoul or Keijo. This means that our transcription is rough and approximate.

The quantity of the vowels.

All Korean vowels are either short or long, the length being clearly heard when the word is pronounced with stress. If a word with a short vowel is stressed, the length appears on the consonant following the vowel. E.g.
the consonant, has created long vowels. E.g. kōm 'a bear' (cf. Jap. kuma); sjōn 'an island' (cf. Jap. shima); píla, pīlda 'to beg, to pray' (cf. Mongol. kūr'ūg 'prayer', Manchu fīra- 'to invoke the gods'); āda, alda 'to know' (cf. Tung. alaga- 'to teach'); pāl 'an arm's length', probably orig. prār (cf. Mongol. barīn 'an arm's length'); māl 'word', probably orig. *maara (cf. Mongol. in Ordos malgaa 'a mute').

Very early some vacillations and shortenings must have been usual in the Korean language, and two syllables shortened to one can also have given as a result a short vowel; e.g. nāt 'sickle' (cf. Jap. nata); kot, stem kasa- 'hat' (cf. Jap. kasa); kikot, earlier koel- 'flower' (cf. Jap. kasa).

The difference in the quantity of a vowel has earlier prevailed also in regard to endings. For instance the ending of the genitive is originally -qi, -ji with short vowel, but the ending of the locative -ā, -e, originally -ai, -e or -ai, -ji with long vowel. The ending of the declarative now -ta, originally -ta ~ -te, has had long a, e, while the ending of the regressive, now -te, has been -ta ~ -te with short vowel. In many cases it is difficult to say anything definite about the original quantity of the vowel because shortenings and reductions have occurred early and probably again and again at different times, and on the other hand a systematization of the endings is going on through the whole inflection.

The vowel harmony.

In the Korean, as in all cognate languages, traces survive of a very ancient tendency towards the grouping of the different vowels. The vowels have early grouped themselves in back vowels and front vowels. If we dare suppose that the Turkish vowel system is ancient enough, the Korean system seems to have been almost similar, in other words, as follows:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>back</th>
<th>front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

55 The difference in the quantity of the first syllable vowel seems to be most important, and the difference in the following syllables, if the word is a Korean word, is not so distinct. But if the words are Chinese and used in compounds, each Chinese word, i.e. syllable, is pronounced distinctly short or long as the case may be. This is necessary to keep Chinese homophone words apart.

56 But the first syllable vowels in Korean words do not always remain long. Thus the negation an, an 'no', 'not' is pronounced with either long or short a. Usually the length is shortened in derivations and compounds; e.g. sjāda (first a long) 'to live', but sjālda 'to let live'; ālda 'to know' (first a long), but allīda (and alīnda) 'to let know', arīda, avrīda 'to inform', 'to tell', etc.

57 The long vowels in Korean words are mostly received through contraction of two vowels. E.g. kīm 'weeds', dial. kīm, kīm; mām 'mind', māam, maam, dial. maajum. Besides this contraction the disappearance of an earlier vowel in the second syllable, i.e. after
The Korean development has been similar to the Mongolian in relation to ɬ, in that this back vowel has given ɨ. As in Tungus dialects, the Manchu language included, the front vowel ə, corresponding to the back vowel ɬ, has been pronounced more back and given the present ɬ; in endings we therefore still find a and ɬ as equivalents. The front rounded ɨ has also been taken more back, has lost its rounding and is now ɨ. The back vowel u sounded somewhat like ə, and old u and ɬ have therefore coincided.

The vowel ɨ has, in moving backwards and retaining the rounding of the lips, resulted in the present-day ɬ, which in dialects is often heard as the Swedish u. In many words early dialectical pronunciation has not kept original ɨ and ɬ apart, as is shown by variants as pul, pɨl 'fire' (*pɨr cf. Turk. őr-tü- 'to burn', Jap. *pi > hi 'fire'), mul, mɨl 'water' (*mɨr 'river' cf. Mongol. mōren 'river', Tung. mu 'water', Jap. mi 'water'). The original variation in the endings between u and ɬ has resulted in present-day variation o ~ u and in the dialects one constantly meets variations like pâhoda, póhuda 'to learn', kanêhoda, kanêhuda 'to hide', čâkkko, čâkku 'often', nûo, nũu 'tree', etc. The ending of conversum presentis is in South Korea -ko, in North Korea -ku, the augmentative particle is to, but in N.Kor. tu; etc.

After all these changes in the pronunciation of the vowels, the Korean language, when it appeared written with Korean letters, had arrived at a state where the vowels had arranged themselves as follows:

orig. front ɬ ɨ ɬ ɨ
orig. back o ɬ ɝ

We have here the seven vowels, for which the Korean signs are the symbols. This state of affairs may still remain in some dialects which more than the present day idiom of the capital correspond to the language of the first written consonant documents. We have already mentioned the disappearance of the vowel ɬ through fusion with a and ɨ.

The vowel ɬ seems to go back to short or reduced back vowels a, o or u and has also served as a substitute or nearest sound for a reduced back sound in Chinese: ɬo, now pronounced as 'four' (Chin. d vote, Jap. sō). When ɬ was the back vowel variant in endings, the corresponding front variant was ɨ; and in old writings we find this regularly this variation in endings, for instance: genitive -ɨɬ, ɨɬ, accusative -ɬɨr, ɬɨm, instrum. -ɬro, -ɬɬo (-ɬro), pres. part. -nɬu, -nɬɨn, in secondary verb stems the ending -ɬɨn-, -ɬɨn-; etc.

The vowel ɬ had at some time, before labial consonants, changed to (or remained as) o, and in this position its front vowel variant was not ɨ but ɬ. We have still kōpta 'to be done' for earlier kōpota and in old writings we can find hom for later ḫom, now ḫom 'the deed, doing'. Corresponding to this we have from the verb čâktu 'to die' the noun čâgum 'the death', besides later and now regular čâgum. It is probable that the noun saram 'human being', originally meaning 'the living' from the verb sūd 'to live', once was sârôm, later sârôm, now saram, N.Kor. sarım.

With the disappearance of ɬ, the variation in the endings ɬ ~ ɨ was abolished and ɨ usually generalized. This greater frequency of ɨ in other than first syllables seems to have been extended also to ɬ, which thus changed to ɬ. For older isida 'to be', isim 'been', isimîn 'if being', the language obtained ita, isîn (or isîn) and isîmîn (or isîmîn). Nowadays the language has the vowel ɨ as general 'binding vowel' or 'reduced vowel', i.e. that vowel sound which is used when a consonant ending is united to a consonant stem. E.g.

-ɬ; pom 'the seeing', 'sight'
-ɬ; kan 'gone'
-ɬ; kōpta 'to be done'
-ɬ; nol 'me'
-ɬ; soro 'with the ox'
-ɬ; *hîs 'whitish' (pron. hîs, thu s)

If we say in the grammatical part later on that an ending is, for instance, -k or -n or -m, it means that this -k, -n or -m is the ending
after vowels and -ik, -in and -im respectively are the same ending after consonants.

To sum up what has been said about vowel harmony, the vowels vary, in endings with variable vowels, as follows:

1. a varies with ə
2. a, pron. ə, » ə, pron. e
3. o » u

In Korean words where the stem vowel is a or o, the ending contains a, ə, o and in words where the stem vowel is some other vowel, the endings have e, e, u. But after a palatal consonant (čh, č, ţ, j) and after a diphthong in i the palatalization affects also the ending; e.g.

anatta 'to sit', anžatta or anžetta 'has sat'
hađa 'to do', kajatta or kajetta 'has done'
kamčoda or kamčuda 'to hide'
toijeta or toijeta, now pron. taijeta, dial. tewjetta 'has become'

I hiatus.

Where in one and the same word a vowel follows another and the vowels form two different syllables, the passage between them is treated in two different ways.

Two similar vowels are usually contracted to one, which in most cases then becomes long. E.g.

kiiμ 'weeds' (dial. kiiμ, kisim), pron. kim
kada 'to go', kaa, 'having gone', pron. kā
șeđa 'to stand', sige 'having stood', pron. sę, N.Kor. şe
neđida 'to gnaw', pron. neđda, N.Kor. neđda, nęda etc.

Where the two vowels are different, the narrower or higher one creates a consonant glide, which sometimes has the value of a well-pronounced consonant, but in good pronunciation is quite weak. Thus we have variations like:

oa > owa: poatta, povatta 'having seen'
we > weq: čuqta, čuqetta 'to have given'
ija > ija: (written ni-ja-gi) iagi, iagja 'story, tale'
iq > iqq: ( » i-iq) iqeta, iqetta 'has been'

A short consonant element can also be heard in:

ào > óje: (written pai-a) pâe, pāje 'on the ship'
ái > āji: » lai-il nājil, nājil 'tomorrow'
ao > awo: aolla, awolla 'uniting'
gu > gua: leq, lewak 'the more'

Here it is to be remarked that a and e after labial sounds are usually pronounced a and e, e.g.

kippuda 'to be glad', *kippug, pron. kippa
aphuda 'to be sick', *aphwa, pron. apsha

After other consonants u with a following a or e is often consonantie. E.g.

pahuda 'to learn', pahwatta 'has learnt'
toluquda 'to make to turn round', tolwatta 'has made to circle'

Parallel with this is that ia, i e, when the i vowel has been short, has acquired the character of a consonant (j), and this j, after palatal sounds and in South Korean also after s, disappears or has disappeared. E.g.

čida 'to beat', written čijetta, pron. čjeta 'has beaten', orig. či-
čiđa 'to become', written čijetta, pron. čjeta 'has become', orig. ti-

Because, as earlier explained, the sound h in the middle of a word is usually pronounced quite weakly or totally omitted, in the South Korean dialect new hiatus cases have developed and given the same results. E.g.

pwhida, pron. pwhida 'to cut', dial. pejida; pwhjutta, pejutta, pwheta, 'has cut',
pwhuda, pwhoda, written pwhuda 'to learn'; pwhwatta, pwhwatta 'has learnt'.
In the different dialects the treatment of two neighbouring vowels is often different from that of the idiom of the capital, and mostly one finds that the more stressed vowel has assimilated the other. E.g.

sju'un 'quicksilver', N.Kor. su-un
nā-il 'tomorrow', N.Kor. nā-al
lāro 'backwards', N. Kor. lārun
trueil 'two pieces', tuul, tāl, N.Kor. tuur.

Accent.

As the quantity or duration of a vowel is independent of the accent, we have under the name of accent to give some hints about the stress, i.e. the force of expiration and emphasis of the articulation, and the pitch, i.e. the musical differences of the vowels and syllables.

As in other languages, with a stronger stress goes a higher pitch and vice versa. The musical side of the language seems to depend on the expirative. This is the common rule. But among the consonants we have above the initial sounds kk, ll, pp, čč and ss which are pronounced emphatically and with a special high tone on the following vowel. If a word begins with any of these sounds, the vowel is highpitched and the intonation falls at the end of the syllable. In all other cases the first syllable of a word has a low accent, i.e. it starts low and rises musically higher. We thus have two different tone scales on the first syllable: a high and falling tone and a low rising tone.

In Korean words the second syllable is as a rule lower than the first, but the falling of the pitch is not specially remarkable. In Chinese compounds the second syllable or word is very often musically higher but can be less emphatic nevertheless. E.g. čo-sen 'Korea' (the second syllable is audibly higher), bjeō-sen 'Keijo' (the second syllable is weaker stressed, but higher pitched). Prof. Tsutomu Chiba has made some experimental studies concerning the accent in Korean.

As to the sentence accent, the stress and pitch on different words arrange themselves according to the logical importance of the words. The more important have a stronger accent than the less important, and the whole intonation and emphasis decreases slowly towards the end of the sentence. This is the rule for declarative sentences. The same rule is valid if an interrogative sentence is closed by an interrogative particle. If on the contrary the sentence expresses a question and no interrogative particle is used, the voice rises sharply at the end of the sentence, and the last vowel is remarkably high. E.g. ng eđa kanan ja 'where are you going?' (with a lowering towards the end of the sentence), ng eđa kanan or ng eđa ka 'idem' (with a sharply rising a at the end of the word ka). This intonation of a question makes it possible in speech to keep apart the different uses of the perfect converb which, as will be seen in the chapter on the verb, is used in three different ways: as affirmative, in questioning and as a polite imperative. The different intonations cannot be shown in transcription, but are easily audible in speech.

Of course the sentence accent follows as in other languages the meaning of the whole sentence. Thus a telling tone differs clearly from that of an assuring tone, which is sometimes kept unfailing and may be rising towards the end, and also from that of a command or entreaty. On the whole the accent is well modulated both as to stress and pitch and does not maintain a monotonous level like the Japanese language.
CHAPTER II

Morphology.

General remarks.

Classification of words. The total number of words which the Korean language possesses is here divided into three groups:

I. the nouns with their declension and other nominal inflexions,
II. the verbs with their conjugation and all kinds of verbal inflexions, and
III. the particles and all uninflected words.

Under the title nouns come substantives, pronouns, numerals and nominal postpositions. Under the verbs come verbs and verbal postpositions. No conjunctions are to be found. Under the uninflected words come all more or less unstressed particles, the interjections and, besides these, all such isolated forms of nouns and verbs as are no longer felt as parts of that paradigm where they were originally created.

Stem and ending. Of greatest importance is the distinction between the nominal and the verbal classes of words.

The nominal class has a fundamental main form for each word. This is its basis, its stem, and at the same time its nominative. (The present nominative is not in all words exactly the same as the stem. The phonetic difference between the stem and the nominative has been mentioned in the chapter on phonetics.)

On the other hand, the stem of a verb is as such not used as a word, i.e. the verbs always appear with endings. Any form of a verb, for instance mekta 'to eat', meksa, mejo 'eats, Sir', megninda (written and older megninda) 'is eating', mepta 'has eaten', megi 'eaten', meginda 'makes eat', when compared with any other forms of the same word, is felt as giving the same etymological word in a different form. This 'etymological word' (here mek- or meg-) ought in any grammar to have a name of its own; I should call it glossa, in accordance with Professor Stenlø's suggestion, and the whole series of the different forms, each of them a word by itself, I should call the paradigm of the glossa. Thus in the above case mekta to eat is a word, meksa, etc. etc. also. The same verbal glossa has always the same stem, but this stem can, as to the last sounds, change phonetically: mek-, megr, megr-. If we should say (as the Japanese and Korean grammarians do) that the word for 'eat' in Korean is mek, it would be necessary to add against this that such a word does not exist, but is merely an abstraction derived from the whole paradigm of the glossa, i.e. the result obtained when the varying endings are thought of as taken away.

The endings. The endings are of different origin. I think there is good reason always to distinguish between

a. suffixes, i.e. original endings only found attached to a stem and themselves abstractions received by dividing the word into two parts — stem and ending,
b. affixes, i.e. enclitically added words, let us say particles or nouns or anything else, which are now only used thus added to a preceding word, but which historically have been or may be supposed to have been independent words now absorbed into endings or terminations.

A present day ending may contain e.g. two or more suffixes, a suffix with an affixed element, etc.

Binding sounds. If the last sound of the stem of an inflected or flexible word is a consonant, we talk of consonantal stems. If the final sound is a vowel, we talk of vocalic stems. The endings can begin with a consonant or a vowel.

If to a consonant stem is added a consonant ending the Korean language now in many cases shows as 'binding' vowel ı; for instance ı
the perfect participle has the ending -n: poda 'to see', pong 'seen', mokt'a 'to eat', megin 'eaten' (with ū as binding vowel); pap 'rice', pabijo 'with rice'.

In the old language there were two 'binding' vowels: ū in words with back vowels and ū in words with front vowels. Remains of this variation can still be found.

If to a vowel stem is added a vowel ending, the consonant ū can appear between the vowels, for instance kada 'to do', hajatta 'has done', haja 'doing', but kada 'to go', katta 'has gone', ka 'going' (for earlier kaatta and ka).  

I. The noun.

80 As in other languages, the nouns are either simple words or compounds. The simple are either primitive or derived.1 In Korean, as in English, it is the last member of a compound which is subject to inflexion, and the other parts remain unchanged and are to be understood as describing or limiting the sense of the changeable part. E.g. sāt-jip 'a new house' and sāt-jih 'in a new house', sāt-jip-t'il 'new houses', ēosn ēip 'a Korean house', ēosn ēipt'il 'Korean houses', ēosn sāt-jihple in new Korean houses' or 'in the new Korean houses'.

How to render in European letters a complex Korean compound, whether it is to be divided as ēosn ēip or written as one, as sāt-jip 'a new house', whether one has to write ēipt'il 'houses', or perhaps ēip t'il, is a matter of practice or taste. The Koreans themselves, who write every syllable as a word, can give no rules in this matter.

A half European middle way is used here.

81 No adjectives. Owing to the Korean manner of constructing compounds, the attributes, as in the above examples, 'new' and 'Korean', remain unchanged, and therefore no special inflexion of adjectives exists in Korean. Our adjectives are expressed either by an attribute, i.e. by the preceding part of a compound, as in English so stone walls, or by participles, as in English so learned expressions, so dining rooms, etc., and, — when used as predicates, as for instance in English sit is good, — by using qualitative verbs (sit excels). As a class of words the Korean language therefore has no adjectives at all, and as a rule prefers verbs to nouns, e.g. saram manso 'man is numerous' = 'there are many men', saram manhalta 'there were many men', manhinge saram 'many men', saram manhinge t'la 'men-many-time' = 'at the time when there were or are many persons present', namu ga khida 'the tree is big' (= 'rises high'), kh'munam 'an high (= elevated) tree'.

The Korean noun expresses the universal or general idea of the corresponding thing; i.e. it has no articles and no numbers, e.g. saram 'a man, the man, men, the men', saram hanahi 'man one, one man', han saram 'a certain man, one man', tu saram 'two men', saram tueri 'man, two of it', 'two men', etc., etc., ī saram 'this (particular) man', 'these men'. By constructing a compound, the Korean language expresses the plural if stress is laid on the idea of plurality. Thus one can add as the last word the noun t'il all, several, together', and, speaking of human beings, also ne. Thus saram 'man' or 'men' has the plural saramd'il 'men-all', saram-ne, and more strongly stressing, saram-nod'il or saram-d'yille. But ēip 'house, houses' has only ēipt'il (N. Kor. ēiptel, ēipte), mal 'horse, mald'il 'horses, many horses' (N. Kor. mader). Used in this way, t'il and ne may be called plural signs, but they can as well be considered independent words. The fact is that the Koreans also say ēlīn d'il onega 'come quickly' when speaking to many, or meaning to call all, besides the more used ēlīn onega, said to one person or to many. The noun ne orig. 'homo' (nai) is also found in namphijn-ne 'masculine-side-man', njephijn-ne 'feminine-side-man, a woman', orun-ne, crusin-ne 'honored man, my father', enh-hakne (anane) 'a woman', kine 'you', etc.

To express the idea of variety very often a reduplication is used, e.g. ēip ēip 'every house', 'from house to house', sāk sāk 'all colours, every sort of colour, all kinds', kot kot > kokkot 'all places, everywhere', namal (for nal na) 'day by day, every day', tadal (for tal dal) 'every month, monthly'. Many such reduplications are used only as adverbs.
The Korean language makes no grammatical distinction in relation to sex or gender, but another distinction is of paramount importance. The social position of the person or persons spoken to and also of the persons spoken of must always be held in view, and one has to use different expressions and choose one's words if one wants to show respect or reverence or friendliness in the speech. The simple forms are the rudest, and the person spoken to must be put shighers. Usually one must consider one self lower than the other. Respect is expressed by special nouns and verbs and mostly by using special terminations in the verbal expressions. The word pop 'rice' is a simple and everyday word and one has to use činži 'nourishment' when speaking politely; the word čip 'house' has to be substituted by túk 'dwelling'; the word aboži 'father' is only a careless 'my father', but talking to or about the father before some outsider, one has to say pühil or šahmunižen. Of course, almost all these refined, cultural words are of Chinese origin.

Declension.

85 The present day Korean language has the following cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For persons</th>
<th>For things</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>= N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>= G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>= D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>= L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>= A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>= I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There exist some variations in the endings according to the dialect; see below.

86 There are some particles which are very frequently used together which the cases, or affixed to the noun. Of them the first three have in all earlier grammars been given as case endings.

1. -i after consonants and ga after vowels are used to indicate the special connection of the subject to its predicate, just as the particle ga in Japanese. It is called in all grammars the nominative, but really -i is a determinative particle 'the' or 'its' and -ga is a connecting particle which has meant 'and'.

2. nín (after vowels) and its variant -in (after consonants) are used to emphasize the preceding word, just like the Japanese particle wa. This has been called the casus absolute, but it is best to call it the emphatic particle.

3. -je (Southern Korean se, Northern Korean ďe) has originally been -je 'having been, being', and is now used after nominative, dative, locative and instrumental; let us call it the esseve particle. E.g. čihes ᵐe 'having been in the house, he went away' = he went from home', čiheseg 'having been towards the house' = 'from the direction of the house' or 'as for the house', 'to be a house it is...' česnse eso 'in Chosen there is' = 'being Chosen there is'. Usually se corresponds to the Japanese te, and Korean -eseg to the Japanese ni, te, now de.

4. to (do), N. Kor. tu (du) 'also, even' is an augmentative particle. The difference between the use of -i and nín.

a) Where -i or -ga are used, the subject of the sentence is closely connected with the predicate, and also with what precedes. In determining the subject itself or asking questions referring to it, these determinative particles -i, -ga are used. Nu ga vasso 'who came?' or 'somebody came', mas-i číče 'how is the taste', ná ga (or ná) kageso 'I'll go', sanao hasso 'the man (not the woman) is better', iljibi možarno 'seven (of that kind or of them) is not enough', hanáči (or haná ga) namasso 'one (of them) is left over'.

b) When nín (ga) is used, the speaker seems vividly to take out from the context the respective word or words, and to be looking for something next following: a suitable predicate, a good definition or an expected opposition, as in such phrases as the prince, where is he?; Charles, viendra-t-il?, Moi, j'étais satisfait. The same occurs in English when we use 'as to' or 'talking about', 'if you mean', but — this usage is much more common in Korean speech. The use of this emphatic particle corresponds
exactly to that of *swe* in Japanese, where it is also wrongly called the casus absolutus. Of course *ajin* is no case ending at all, and can be affixed to nominative, dative, locative and instrumental. Examples: i čebin ná čibio 'this house is mine'; kó tó ajin (tráe ajin) iren (ig naon) gís-in ejgra 'at those times such things did not exist'; ēgsin-či shib-in hakko yu manso 'as to Korea, as to present time, schools are many' = 'Korea has plenty of schools now'; na ajin lóin issó 'as to me, money exists' = 'I have money'.

Note in this and the preceding examples how the idea 'to have' is expressed in Korean.

As was said above, -i is originally an affixed pronoun for 'that' or 'he' (third person singular), the same as *i* 'he' or 'she' in Manchu, -i in Tungusian, ini in Mongolian and -i (the 3 p. possessive suffix) in Turkish. Many Tungus dialects and also Ainu have *ka* 'but', and, and in Tungus dialects (Trow's dictionary) we find the emphatic *nun* 'if', 'when', 'now'.

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Irregularities in case formations.

The language clearly tends to form all cases along one and the same scheme from the nominative or the base of the noun. This can be done but is really used only in literature. The nominative differs in many words from the original stem as to the final sound, and cases formed from the stem are in that way historically regular. Thus we have double forms and seeming irregularities.

A final -t has developed from *s, t, č, čh* (vide §§ 8 and 14). The combinations -ti and -thic have given in Southern Korea *či* and *čhi* (vide § 16). The original sound appears surest in the Locative and Accusative.

s két 'a thing', kesi 'the thing', keće 'at the thing'

hat 'hat', kasi 'the hat', kase 'in the hat'

č nat 'sickle', nače 'the sickle', nade 'by the sickle'
kot 'place', koče (kočhi) 'the place', kote 'on a place'

not 'nail', može 'the nail', modya 'with the nail'

th pat 'field', pače 'the field', pathe 'on the field'

čjet 'neighbourhood', čjethe 'near'; nat 'face' (nače, nathe)

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8 θ nat 'midday', naže 'at noon', naž-ču 'midday-over' = 'afternoon'
krot 'flower', kkoži 'the flower', kkože 'in the flower'
čh pjet 'sunlight', pijči 'the sunlight', pijčhe (pičthe) 'in the sunlight'.

There are many such irregularities and many so to speak constructed forms besides those which can really be said to be historical. From *pat* 'field' the literary accusative is paći for common speech *paći*, but common speech has also pađči, received by analogy from the determinative paći.

An investigation of all present day dialects would be necessary to find out the original shape of some nouns. Words on -k and original -kk have given -k as the final sound in the nominative and can scarcely be distinguished in the declension. On the contrary, words on -p and -ph are still kept apart in their case formations, but also here a confusion is found. Thus we have čip 'house', čibi 'the house', čibe 'in the house' and čip 'straw', čibhi 'the straw' (original *tip* 'straw'). From kap 'price' the determinative is kephi or usually kapci 'the price'. From sák 'payment', sákvi 'colour', ĕk 'moment' the determinative is usually saksi, saksi, ĕkski, and the emphatic form may also be saksi, saksi, ĕkski beside regular saki, saki, ĕki.

Owing to the early vocalization and disappearance of an old spiranitic -g, many words on -o and -w and also -e have irregular declension. From namu 'tree', karu 'flour', čaru 'handle', nuna (muna) 'radish' the determinative is namgi, balgi, balgi, mukki, besides the new and regular namu ga, karu ga, etc. The stem has been *nymaga*, *kraga*, *čaraga*, etc. Such words are also au, determinative ački (N.Kor. ački) 'the younger brother', and sure 'cart', determinative surgi (or sure ga).

In many words it is difficult to decide how a final -i is to be understood. 'The tiger' is karangi, and the determinative is karangi ga, but the word seems to have been kar-ten without -i; 'the face' is in some dictionaries elgod, but in others elgori, the respective determinatives being then elgori and elgori ga. The names for different
The ending -ji has earlier been -gi after a back vowel and -i only after a front vowel, as one can find in the old literature. This gi, ji contains the binding vowel (q, q) and an original suffix -i. When this suffix -i was affixed to a vowel stem, then -ji was the parallel to the post-consonantic variants -ji and -gi. From na 'I, ng 'you', eg 'that', nu 'who', 'somebody' the genitive is since old na 'my', ne 'yours, thy', eg 'his', nui (nui) 'whose, somebody's'.

The short genitive. The consonantonic sound j at the end of the genitive suffix was, perhaps, originally not j but some other consonant. In the old books it is written either with s (A) or with the sign for a nasalized j (A). The sign for s is pronounced t, and in the grammars one finds t (written s) as genitive ending, but the whole concerns the question how to spell the genimation of a consonant after a vocalic-ending preceding word. E.g. hannal 'the next day' from bu 'after', mal 'day'

This doubling of the initial consonant is indicated in old texts by the s sign, e.g. moir-tu-se-ko-rai = moir-tu-se-korar 'forest's back valley' = 'the valley behind the forest'. The original sound can have been either an 'n' or an 's' sound, but nai, nei, nui give us reason to suppose an original -n (or mouillé), i.e. after vowels *-n and after consonants *-g, *-j. This is perhaps made certain by the old spelling muniad 'the tear' from mun 'eye', mal 'water', etc. Cf. Jap. *-no, -mu < *-n, Tang. *-u, Mongol. *-u, *-j, Turk. *-g (original *-n) as genitive endings. But there may have existed also another genitive on *-s or *-t.
As to its syntactical use the genitive can stay only as attribute to a following noun, never in direct contact with the predicate. 
'This is his' is rendered by i geve ki saramek gjas-jo, 'is that yours?' by jë geve tanpije, gez-domka.

**Locative.** The locative has the ending -e (long e) or, often after -l, -g (likewise with long vowel). This is now written -ai, but earlier it was, after back vowels -ai or -gi, after front vowels -ei or -ji. The ending -gse is written -kai or -kei.

The locative indicates the place, time or condition as fixed, a being where, being when or being how (in', 'on', 'at', 'by', etc.).

Where the verb itself seems to demand such a fixing of the place, the suffix -e is enough, but where the verb is more independent of place, the essive particle -sê (written -sje) is usually added, e.g.

*a*  ege orákkena mungeso 'you remained there a long time?'

Tongjiye sarasso 'I lived in Tokyo'

cari eata 'he was in bed'

sane (or saq uc) nara 'put it on the table!'

*b*  ēbese an mëfeso 'I don't smoke in the house'

kapaacense atsa or sa watte 'I bought it in the shop', 'being in the shop I bought it'

kātāte sijepes pjepe tiyeess 'at that time in the town the sickness entered' = 'I got sick in the town then'

Tongjiye pjepe 'he died in Tokyo, I think'

aēpjiènlé ēbese ndogo vesso 'I had a good time in the house of my sister-in-law and am back now'.

Therefore -gse often has to be translated 'from': kapaacense sasso 'I bought it in the shop', or 'I have it from the shop', marasek tera ēbese 'he fell from his horse', or 'being on the horse, he fell', niin-ēbese piress 'I borrowed it at my neighbour's house'. In most grammars -gse is therefore called the ending of the ablative.

As to the use of the locative, it refers directly to a verb. In many words which are used more or less adverbially the nominative can also indicate the place. Some old datives are now used as nominative: orā 'under', orātēp 'the down house'; orā 'long ago', orākkān, orāgān 'a long time'; etc.

**Dative.** The dative is the locative formed from the genitive (long or short genitive). It is used only of nouns for persons or living things, e.g. pak-sēbanjiye sau 'he lives at Mr. Pak's', kij saramije ēbese 'did you give it to him?', nāge esos onan ēn innanja 'is there any cargo coming for me?', koñaijeq edte 'I got it (my passport) from the minister (at the minister's)', urijiyé boi ēptas 'there is no fault with us (in us)', jyagak saramije (or sarambke) nuni phurja 'the English people have blue eyes'.

The essive affix -sê is used with the dative in the same sense as with the locative, e.g. koñaijeqes edte 'being at the minister's residence, I got it', 'I got it from the minister', pak-sēbanjiyeq epesso 'I borrowed it from Mr. Pak'.

The short dative is used in the same sense and also with -sê added.

The conception of the dative is also here quite clear, but can of course be rendered in English through 'from', 'by', 'to', etc. E.g. (N.Kor.): i ankhankke ø wäri issu 'by this woman there are two children', 'this woman has two children'; i ankhankkeq aqeri pjepe tiyeess 'the children of this woman have fallen ill'. When the verb is a passive or an honorific expression, the ending -kese (-kije) indicates 'on the side of', i.e. the agent or logical subject of the passively expressed action. Grammarians have counted -kije, -kese as a nominative ending without saying that the verb must then be passive, e.g. nīmgjukjisk sénal kiyon hao 'the king goes out today' (son the part of the king today an excursion is made). koñulkjisk esesso 'the minister deigned to come' (by the minister's there was the deigning to arrives). The endings -jijesk and -kese (-ējgsk, -ējije, -ēkije) can therefore be found both as indicating the agent and the dative object; e.g. koñaijeqes (koñulkjisk) edte 'I (he, somebody) got it from the minister', but koñulkjisk esesso may mean the same or also 'the minister received it' (son the minister's side it was received), while koñulkjisk edijeso is only 'the minister deigned to accept it' or strictly 'at the minister's there was the honorable acceptance'.

**Instrumental.** This case, for which Lative or Viative would be a better name, expresses either the direction of a movement...
(‘along’, ‘through’, ‘passing by’, ‘from’, ‘to’), the manner, the instrument (‘with’, ‘by’), the material (of which something is made) or the point of view (from which the statement is valid); e.g.

a) direction: sanjro krego ‘he walked through the forest’ (the forest way), kisingijiro kasso ‘he has gone to Seoul (towards Keijo)', mulkarro isso ‘there are some along the beach (on the beach)', mulo ‘towards the water’

b) manner: siro sijaak hao ‘it begins anew’, mai hanaan daro ‘as he says’, ‘according to the saying’, kimiro ‘by force’

c) instrument: kiharo pejiyessu ‘you may cut it with a knife’, kicharo watta ‘they came by train’, kuro tjanjuda ‘we hear with the ears’, kuseiro sjiya ‘to use it for scissors’, jil ucenjro sal titi hao ‘you can buy them, most probably, for ten yen’

d) material: kimiro ipiin (K.Nor. kimili nipihin) ‘covered with gold’, namuro mandin gejio ‘it is a thing made of wood’

e) point of view: sjullo nin tepeji asno ‘it is not hot for Soul’, ezian -injro nin mai cal hunda ‘he speaks well for a foreigner’

When used to mean the instrument, the word sej (from sjiya ‘to use’) is sometimes added, especially in translations from Chinese, and when the point of view is meant, the essive particle -sej, -sej is frequently used, often together with the emphatic particle nin: saramirosen nin i giiyi mot tonda ‘for a man this is impossible’; cospn pejiyessu nin ‘according to Korean law’, i gejjiro (i gillo) kagejso ‘I will decide myself for this’; saramijigeresna giiyi an io ‘it is something not born of man’.

The ending is after consonant stems -jro, after vowel stems -ro, and after l -lo. In North Korean this ending is -ru, -rj, -lu, -lj, -llu, -llj. After back vowels it was originally -ro, -gro and after front vowels -ru, -rju.

97 The locative suffix -e added to the instrumental, originally -ru-ai > -rue, has given -lla, -lve; vide § 36. This ending is common in North Korean, where the meaning is ‘for the benefit of’, ‘to the convenience or inconvenience of’, ‘because of’, ‘owing to’. E.g. abillal mandjresso ‘I made it for my father’, chikillal odi mot hao ‘he cannot come because it is cold’, mugiilal (< muni gejilal) hannaan ja ‘for what did he do that?’. In South Korea only the verbal noun on -ki, -qi is found with this combined case ending and signifying ‘because of’, ‘taking in consideration that’.

Acusative. The direct object is expressed either by using the basic form (the nominative) or by using the accusative case, which more clearly expresses the connection of an object to its verb. Often the accusative gives the sense of a special object; e.g. kogi ēbatta ‘caught fishes, caught fish (as the fisherman does)’ and korigil ēbatta ‘caught the fish’ or ‘caught the fishes’.

After consonants the ending is -i and after vowels -rl. As in the genitive, dative and instrumental, the vowel has been changeable i.e. after back vowels it was *-gr, after front vowels *-jgr. From old days we have nał ‘me’, nel ‘thee’, nal ‘whom’, which need not be considered as shortened forms of naŋi, ngril, ngril. In North Korea the final consonant -r sound has either dropped away or was perhaps never added. The vowel of the ending is in N.Kor. subject to many assimilations, e.g. muna jeyra = S. Kor. munul jeyra ‘open the door’; nuru nusulli ěungī ‘to put out the fire by water’.

The accusative in N. Kor. has the endings -i (after labial sounds -n) in post-consonantic and -rl (resp. -rn) in post-vocalic positions.

In many instances the accusative is also used with verbs of motion, to indicate the direction, and of pronouns also to indicate the dative object. E.g. chajīl nał ěugra (N. Kor. chajil nage enga) ‘give me the book!’.

The above mentioned case formations are living possessions of the language, and can be formed ad libitum from any noun. As mentioned under -jige, -lla, -jigero, the case endings can be heaped; in this relation a word like saramiğeresna nin is a good example. But there are also some remains of seldom used case formations. One ending -i, used in adverbial locations, is certainly the mark of an old case.

The cases instructive. E.g. na neppuji diji nejgra ‘eat just like I eat’ (ti, ti’s ‘shape’, neppuji tiš ʻeating shapeʼ), pandati ʻwith certainty, necessarilyʼ (pandat hada ʻto be necessaryʼ), grippnphisi
'dimly', 'indistinctly' (seqghphit hada 'to be indistinct'); uri čip tani makkjgesso 'our house was hindered by the wall'; mankı̆n tonti ssada 'to be worth much money'; uńjzisii 'gently' (uńjzit uńjzit hada 'to be gentle'), mari 'with the words' (mal 'word').

With this ending compare Manchurian i in a similar sense, in Manchu grammars confounded with the genitive. This case ending on -i can be identified with Turkish -y, -in and Mongolian -un, -iin.

**Pronouns.**

**100** Personal pronouns. As a general rule the Korean language does not use the personal pronouns it possesses as profusely as our European languages do. In most sentences the meaning is clear without specially expressed or constantly repeated I, me, you, your, he, him and so on and the third person (he, she, it, they) is expressed by demonstrative pronouns where needed.

Real pronouns are:

na 'I',

determ. nà (for na), genitive nà (for naŋi, nari), accus. nal and nari, instrum. nallo, seldom nara; stem na (cf. Mo. namai 'me', Mo. and old Kashgar Turk. mare 'hither', 'to me').

uri 'we',

with plural indicators: uridil, uridiy, urimuri (Chin. t̪iŋ 'crowd' and Kor. mari 'heap'). Very often uri is used instead of its genitive and means 'our' or 'of my family'; uri čip 'my house'; uri abaği 'my father'. Stem uri (*uuri cf. Turk. biz 'we').

nç 'thou',

determ. ne (for nei), gen. ne (for nei, neyi), accus. nel and neryl, instrum. nello (N. Kor. nello). The plural is ngiş, ngidil, ngidiy, ngidil, ngidj, etc. or ngidile, ngidil. This pronoun ng is very slow, almost insulting. One has to avoid using pronouns to an unknown man, and to use substitutes of which some examples are given below.

In friendly and familiar talk the person to whom one talks can be addressed by the words:

čane, kéjé (kene, kene) or ke, kide, kéjé.

In these -ne originally meant 'man', 'homme', -de (tei) 'place', ké, ké `that' and čane in čane may be either Chinese či 'self' or a word *ča meaning 'beyond, the other side'. Similarly the use of na 'I' is to be avoided and one can use i-nejek 'this side', i-nom 'this man', i-nje 'this woman' or something else, see below. Very often for 'I' the word če, sinokor, t̪ĭjé 'the younger brother', is used (cf. Mong. deŋi 'the younger brother', in letters 'I').

There are, as said, many substantives, mostly of Chinese origin, used instead of personal pronouns; such are:

for 'you':

kieŋ = elder brother
nokeŋ = old elder-brother
kon = common(l)y known, Duke
tenpin = the person in question or concerned
(njaŋban) jopban = both ranks (military and civil)
sban = secretary, Mr.
i-.getDay = this side
tak = house, house-owner
sqaŋ = teacher, master, sjiŋ id.
(nẽj̄a) in j̄a 'owner' (in familiar addressing) etc.

for 'I':

če = younger brother (not the same word as če, determ. če 'that'
'yonder')
pon-in = underlying man
sjo-in = little man, soine id.
sjo-siŋ = little disciple
sjoa = small person
ssteŋ = youngster, the junior
pok = servant
When using polite substitutes or other accepted expressions instead of simple na 'I' and ng 'you', all other words in the same expression must, of course, agree in style; e.g.

'How old are you' =

a) ng nāi ēlmānā tōnī (to a child or servant)
b) čāne nāi ēlmānā tōnan ja (to a friend)
c) tāk nāi ēlmānā tōjo (politely)
d) tāmīn nījense ga ēlmānā tōnnikkā (most polite to a high official)

As a rule the Koreans, speaking to outsiders, are worrying about finding the right levels or styles, because this social moment in their speech is, according to their conceptions, the mark of civilisation and a refined mind. The rules are:

a) do not speak too slow' of yourself, but sufficiently 'high' of the others; b) use titles or paraphrases and avoid personalities; c) when speaking quite officially or impersonally demonstrative pronouns are clear enough.

Demonstrative pronouns. These are: i (jjo, jo) 'this' (dizer), ē (N. Kor. ēj, tō) with the variant čo 'that yonder' (jener) and kā (kē, ko) 'that' (der). They are used as adjectives (i.e. attributes), but of persons sometimes also as substantives. The vowel o in jo, čo, ko has a shade of depreciation or scolding, e.g. i man 'this much', but jo man 'this insufficient amount', i nam 'this man', but jo nam 'this rascal', čo nam 'you rascal', ko nam 'that rascal'.

Very often these pronouns are closely united with a following substantive, e.g.

i 'someone' ii, či (čē), kā 'this one, that one'
čja 'person' (Chin.) čja, čēja, kāga 'this one, that one, he'
jōja, čōja, koja (scolding)
nam 'fellow' i nam, čō nam, kā nam 'he'
jō nam, čō nam, ko nam (scolding)
ket 'thing, piece' iigat, čēget, kigat 'this' 'that' respectively
jōget, čōget, kōget (said with scorn)
kot 'place' iigat, čēget, kigat 'here', 'there' respectively
jōget, čōget, kōget (with contempt)

man 'quantity' i man, čēman, kīman 'this much, that much'
jōman, čōman, kōman (with contempt)
phig 'side, flank' i phīg 'hereabout' 'you', 'I' etc.
tā 'time' itā 'now', čētā, kētā 'then'
('pētā)
čōtā 'still now', čēpētā (N. Kor. teptā), kōpētā 'then'
čōk 'half part' ičōk 'on this side'
('pēk)
jočōk 'here'
kočōk (with contempt) 'hereabout, here'
-ge (locative suff.) āge, je, āhe 'here', ēge, ēhe 'yonder', kīge, kē 'there'

The third personal pronouns 'he', 'she', 'it', 'they', when expressed, are in Korean rendered by the demonstrative pronouns, usually kē, čē or kē saram 'that man' 'he', 'she'. Where 'that' 'it' means a thing, it is kēget or čēget 'that thing'. When they do not know what to say, the Koreans often use the expression čēge-igi 'it is that thing that'; 'I mean that'.

From the stem kē 'that' seems to be derived as an old adverbial form the enclitically used particle -ko (-kha, -go), which is found indicating a preceding oratio recta. E.g.

čēna-kko handa 'he says I will gives', 'he promises to give'
kējaka-kko handa 'he intends to go', kēja 'let me go'
ōna go handa 'they say he is coming', 'he says they are coming',
ōna 'he comes', 'they come'

This -ko, corresponding to our conjunction 'that', is not identical with the interrogative particle -ko (variant to -ka), which also is used at the end of a sentence; § 159, § 294.

Reflexive pronouns. There is no Korean reflexive pronoun, but Chinese čē and čēgi 'self' are often used. Besides this, also Korean honja, North Kor. hōnwaja 'alone', Chin. čhāngi 'personally' and čēlla 'of itself' are quite frequent.

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns. When used in questions, they have a certain stress, and the tone rises towards the end of the sentence. The predicate is then either a participle with the interrogative enclitic (-ka, -ja with their variants) added or
ends in -a (the honorific formation). When the tone is the ordinary narrative tone, the same pronouns are used as in indefinites. With negative predicate and the particle to 'even, also' a total negation is implied. Such pronouns are:

1) nu, nuga 'who', 'some, somebody'; detorm. nui, nuga, nuiga, gen. nui, dat. nuiga, instrum. nuaro, nullo, accus. nui, nuari.

e.g. nuga vasso, nuga wannan ja (wann, wann) 'who came?';
    nuga vasso, nuga watta (watta) 'someone came';
    nuga do ani vasso 'nobody has come';
    nuga ani vasso 'someone has not come';
    pape nuga isso 'is there someone in the room?';
    nuga-de'nzi 'whoever it may be';
    nuga-ra do 'anybody you may name';
    nugen pajo krajn maari haisto 'to whom do you say that?';
    nuije sasso 'from whom did you buy it';
    cega kanaani ga nugu-nzi norigesso 'I do not know who man is who goes there';
    nu ga ná phienzi kajiga wann 'has anybody brought a letter for me'.

2) muget 'what' 'something' (subst.), orig. mu-ges 'what thing',
    detorm. mugeti, muoi, muig, accus. manesil, muigt, muigl, instrum. muesiro, muell.

e.g. i gesl muello mandan ges-iio 'of what is this made';
    muget to ani muessesini nura do meklo kepsido 'I haven't eaten anything,
    let's eat something and then go';
    nuges-de'nzi 'whatever you like';
    irijii muget-iio 'what is its name?'.

3) musen, musin, musin 'what' (adj.) 'some', orig. mues han 'what saying', mues in 'what being'.

e.g. musin i-iio 'what affair is it', 'it is some kind of affair';
    musin saraijio 'what man is he?' (= what does he do);
    musin ges-de'nzi ela hajje-siissesse 'everything must be done well';
    musin siiss-iinga 'what colour is it?'.

4) miyet (miyet, met), stem *miчёт, 'how much, how many', 'a certain number of' (subst. and adj.), accus. mičchil, instrum. mičchilo 'of how many, at how much'. The final sound of this pronoun is assimilated with the following consonant (s. Phon. about -ti, § 14)

e.g. mičch-il-o 'how much, how old are you';
    mičch-ila tojesso 'how many years is it (since that)';
    mičchilo manse ogesso 'in how many days did you arrive';
    nodo mičch-ino 'how many miles is it together';
    mičch-namir-jo toni tressso 'how many men's money has gone into that';
    a great many men's money has been spent on that';
    mičch-ka kajé vasso 'how many pieces have you brought',
    'they have brought quite a lot';
    mičch-ka do mot editta 'I could get only a few, I didn't receive just any';
    mičch-ino 'what is the time' (si 'hour').

5) vei, vei 'why' (adv.), written wai, orig. wai, probably a locative; wain, wein (adj.), orig. wai-in, 'why been'.

e.g. vei-ja, vei-da 'why is it';
    vei kiri kassio 'why do you say so?';
    wein kahala-do 'what's the reason', 'there is a reason why';
    wein illo katt 'he went on some errand';
    wein illo kanaa 'on what errand did he go'.

6) gda, gde, giti (gidi), Nor. Kor. wede, wedi 'what place, where',
    orig. wed 'what' and ta/i 'place'.

e.g. marin gda ga ĝil kipso 'where is the water deepest';
    gda (gára, marin dero) katt 'they went somewhere';
    gati kaqje haesso 'what places have you been viewing?';
    gda-ur-mari pálivesso 'what languages (the languages of what countries) have you learnt?';
    gda-narijio saran io 'what countryman is he?';
    he is from I don't know what country';
    gda-de'nzi isso 'it is to be found anywhere';
    gend 'whereabout' (<gadi-in in locative).

7) gna, gni (gni, guj), N. Kor. wena-, weni- 'which, someone, (of two or more), always only adjective or genitive gniin.

e.g. gniin nara ga igisse 'which country will win?';
    ki saran cibé gni-ziib-iio 'which of these houses is his?';
    gni (Nor. Kor. wena) 'what time', 'some time',
    'some time', gni-ti, gni-ti 'ni' (ce, tiai 'time');
    elna, elna 'what amount, what extent, how much' (man 'amount, size');
    inja elna mot pujel ti hao 'I shall probably not see you for some time now';
    elna do anso 'it is only very little';
    elna kidarijiketio marin, ano do ani vasso 'we waited some time, but nobody came'.

8) etite 'how, in what manner, in some way, so-and-so' (adv.)
    used only with koda 'to be, to do';
    etite koda 'how to do, how to
be' is usually shortened to gëeh, gëeh han to gëeh, gëehgë to gëehkë, gëehhao to gëeh, etc.

e.g. gëeh i-r-i'o 'what kind of matter is it, what is it about?'; 'there is something in it'; masi gëeh 'how is the taste?'; pammë gëeh sëiso (= gëeh kusis) 'how was your night, Sir?' (= Good morning!): gëeh tëë tâo tômëda, gëeh tëë lânghôo ani tômëda 'sometimes it succeeds all right, but sometimes it doesn't go at all'; gëeh hañgëî moiri'sso 'I can't know it anyhow'; i ga gëehkë eëhëssì 'how will it be best to do it', 'in one or other way it will be all right'.

9) gëë in 'what direction, how, why, to a certain degree', N. Kor. vetë, only appearing with hâda; contracted to gëëda, gëëda.

e.g. gëë hâja êg wygëkkotëbël ëtasso 'why did you pick those roses'; gëë (getëën, getëëhan) kladal-gëgëo 'where is one to look for the reason'; gëë hâja-nan (= hâja hanan) malsam-gëgë 'can you say how we had better do it'.

In all these words, whether adverbs or adjectives, there is the same root g, older ws, which in wëh seems to appear in the locative case. To gëë hâda and gëëhada corresponds the location kirëg hâda, jëg hâda 'to be so as that', iëg hâda 'to be so as this' and amorë hâda 'to be in any way', kir, iëg 'tither', iëg 'here, hither', amorë 'in some direction', also used with hâda. Cf. Tungus ili 'hither', tali 'in that direction'.

There is another pronoun which is used only as an indefinite.

10) amo (an-), N. Kor. amu used both as substantive and adjective, 'whoever, whatever, such, any'.

E.g. amo ga wëwanan ja 'has anybody come'; amoëîjëi ébi 'some people's houses'; amogëi ga wëssë 'some gentleman has come'; amo dâro kotta go 'he went somewhere, they say'; amo dâro do kotta 'he went everywhere'; amo-man haço 'however one may do'; amo gode iëgë 'it is somewhere, I think'; amo saram-ino 'whosoever it may be'; amo get to amo jëg 'it is nothing at all'; amoëîjëi orakkëo 'say that') somebody, anyone, may come here; amoëgë hajassëdò 'however it may have been'; amoëgë hajassëdò (këna) 'in any way'; amo-jaùc-ok 'by all means' (ëg 'means'); amo-tëë do tue ani ësàta 'I never slept on the ground'; amo tëë 'at any time'; amo tëë do 'always, even at any time'.

Indefinite numerals.

Before coming to the numerals, some nouns, common in summary counting, may be taken up here, all the more as many of them are used instead of indefinite pronouns.

The most used seem to be:

jëgë (adj.), jëgëgë (subst.) 'several, many, various, different'; e.g. jëgë-gazi 'various kinds of', jëgëgësë issë 'there are many of them', jëgë-bën 'several times, often', jëgë-bën 'in many places, almost everywhere', jëgë-bun 'several persons', 'all of you'.

The origin seems to be jëg 'ten' and in jëg-s the s seems to have been kës 'thing'.

jëg 'some few, certain ones, a little, partially'; jëgë — jëg 'some — some others'.

hok (Chin. subst. adj.) 'some, some other, may be some, perhaps, otherwise, or else, or'; e.g. hoksi 'sometimes, at times', hoki karaà 'as someone may say', malsam hoki tori 'the Word or Logos'.

hanë (subst.), N. Kor. hannë; han (adj.) 'one, some, the same'; e.g. han jëna 'a twenty', hannë jëna — hán jëna 'the one — the other'; han gode këxa 'let's go to the same place'; täh han tonjiç pësa-s 'are you all from the same town?' See this word also under numerals.

høn, N. Kor. haboon 'single', honja, N. Kor. habunna 'alone, not more than one'; hollo (Instrumental) 'by oneself' (N. Kor. habulë).

tä 'all'; 'fully', 'ready', 'finally';

ëci, N. Kor. èci 'all, entire', èci dà idem.

to (Chin.) 'all', together; to-nëjëgë 'all';

e.g. tà wëttà 'all have come, they are all here'; tà bëjësso 'it is ready'; tàdëdë kësètta 'they will all go'; tuël tà èci hajëssë 'they are both (all two) drunk'.

The Koreans use two sets of numerals; the one is pure Korean and the other taken from the Chinese.

The pure Korean numerals are used with Korean substantives, and with the Chinese nouns one uses only Chinese numerals. The Korean set of numerals reaches up to 99, and two words, on 'hundred' and čým 'thousand', have existed but are no longer used. For higher numbers, usually even above twenty, the Chinese numerals seem to be preferred.

Some Korean numerals exist in two forms. The one is used independently, i.e. as a substantive, and is as such subject to declension, the other is an adjective, i.e. as the first part of a compound. Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hanā</td>
<td>han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Kor. hannā</td>
<td>il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Kor. tāur</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se ( şek, ne)</td>
<td>sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne (neɡ, ne)</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasɡt, tat</td>
<td>juk (ajuk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jasɡ, jat</td>
<td>chil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilɡop (nilɡop)</td>
<td>phal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahop</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jel (jei)</td>
<td>sip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Kor. jeŋ, jar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeryhana</td>
<td>sibil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeryhan</td>
<td>sib-i (sim-ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeldu</td>
<td>isip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simentul</td>
<td>sanasip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simentul, simum</td>
<td>sasip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surna</td>
<td>osip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jesun, jesun</td>
<td>jukasip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irkja</td>
<td>chilsip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jerdçj</td>
<td>phalsip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahrj</td>
<td>kusip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 (older language on)</td>
<td>pák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>pákhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>il-bök simentul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further: 200 ibik, 300 sambik, 400 sabik, 500 obik, 600 jukpák, 700 chîlţbik, 800 phalbik, 900 kabik and 1000 čheu, 10,000 man.

The adjectival forms sęk, nek are used before some special words beginning on dental sounds, e.g. səți 'table', səat 'pair', səm 'bag', tal 'month', čən 'sheet', čiım 'load', etc. About when to use tasɡt.
jést as adjectives and when the shorter āt, āt there does not seem to be any certain rule, but the forms sg, ng, tat, āt are used at least before the words ton 'coin, money', mal 'a dry measure' and masijī 'an acre'.

The substantival forms ses-i, nes-i 'three of them, four of them' seem to be compounds of se (or se), ne (or ng) and ses, kō 'piece' of which the -s (> t) is left. The same may be the case with the -s in tasḡ, jēs̄ and also with substantive jérs̄-i 'the most or several of them' (< jérs̄ -ges), cf. adjectival jérs̄ 'several, many', from āt 'ten'.

Note. About the origin of these numerals some hints may here be given.

The subst. hanā, hannā is evidently a han 'one' and nā ('piece? 'face?') and tawur 'two' (Tung. ār, Ma. āu) contains some *bar, *ber. Cf. Aino shine 'one' and tu 'two' (tu-othe 'forty'). In *tā-sas '6' and *jē-sis '10' there is a sas-s, probably 'hand', 'fist', cognate with son 'hand', Ma. sun-ju '6', tungan, sō-lo 'fist' and entering also in Goldi sōs 80, Kor. suin 50, Ma. susai 50. Perhaps tā in tā-sas is cognate with Mong. Kitan tu-ben '5' and with Kor. tā 'all, whole', and jē-in jē-sis with āt '10'. The word for 'ten' is āt which is related to the verb jēnda 'to open' as Ma. jīnan 'ten' to Ma. jīna-kā 'opened' (*jīnumbī 'is opening'). In Kor. *nīl-kop '7' seem to be discernable *nīl = Tung. ilan '3' and Kor. kop 'bending', seil. '(with) three (fingers) bent'.

In the word for '8' ātēlp, ātēlp one may guess a compound of āt 'ten' and *tulp 'towing' and in āhop '7' the above -kop 'bend, curved' after a (? small, child), cf. Ma. ujın '9' = Tung. ujın 'small', seil. 'the small finger (bent)'. The Kor. on '100' is = Turk. on 'ten' and Jap. o '100', while Kor. ēsim 'thousand' is = Mo. Turk. tūmān '10000'.

The Koreans have special compounds or abbreviations for approximate counting. They are very usual with words like ēn 'time', saram 'man, homme', kō 'piece' etc.

Sure counting Approximate counting
hanbēn 'once' hanbēbēn 'once or twice'
tōbēn 'twice' tasebēn 'twice or threice', tābēn 'some few times' (tāc 'few')

sebēn 'thrice'
nebēn 'four times'
taseppen 'five times'
jeppen 'six times'
thopen 'seven times'
jēlp' 'eight times'
āhoppen, ahūppen 'nine times'
jēbēn 'ten times'
ēl-lamūn (ēnāmī) 'over ten'
(jal-lamūn 'exceeding ten, ten at least', jērs (subst.) 'several')

There are also some special words for the age of animals (cattle or wild beasts), such as:

harop, harip 'a yearling' (and 'one wearing of cotton padding')
turip, turip 'two years'
sarop, sarip 'three years old'
top 'four years old'
tasop, tasip 'five years old'
jeip 'six years old'
īrop 'seven years old'
jōp 'eight years old'
āsop or ērip 'nine years old'
tambūl 'ten years old', tambūl id.

In this last word there is perhaps a word phul 'grass', because for the age of animals one can also bear used expressions like hanphul 'one grass' (for yearling), tuephul 'of the second summer', etc.

The language has also special words for 'how many days' and 112 for 'what day of the month'.

harō 'one day', haro id., halle 'in haro nal 'the first day of the one day'
hido 'two days'
hōjī 'second day'
sahil 'three days'

nahil 'four days'
tassä 'five days'

jessä 'six days'

trhe 'seven days', 'a week'

jedirä 'eight days'

ahirä 'nine days'

jerhil 'ten days'

jergharó 'eleven days'

jerithil 'twelve days'

porum, porim '16 days'

simu, simu 'a twenty days'.

kimim, or kinim nal 'the last day of the month'.

And also of the period of years: it-hä 'two years' (há 'year, day, sun'), set-hä 'three years', etc.

Examples: onal i-vel simu-i-thy ri-o 'to-day is the 22nd of the second month'; jessä hue tasi osio 'please come again after six days' haro-gemii day-mar io 'every second day is market day' (haro kemii 'transmitting one day'), ithil kemii 'every third day', 'passing over a two days period', kimim kee 'at the close of the month', porum kee 'about the 16th of the month'.

The Ordinals.

in Korean:

'first' cheyt, cheytä

'2nd' tulžä

'3rd' setöö

'4th' neltä

'5th' tasee, taseelä

'6th' jeselä, jeselä

'7th' ihopäeä

'8th' dgeelžä, dgeelälä

in Sinokorean:

chee-nil

tchee-i

tchee-sam

tchee-sa

tchee-o, tchee-o

tchee-ryak

tchee-ehil

tchee-phil

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'9th' ahoeä

'10th' jëpälä

'11th' jeppä, etc.

'20th' siumölä, siumölä, etc.

'50th' suinžä

'100th' pükä, etc.

'1000th' chenžä

'10,000th' manžä

ée-gu

eé-sip

eé-sib-nil, etc.

eé-sisp, etc.

eé-asip

eé-ilsäk, etc.

eé-ilchën

eé-ilman

Classifiers.

A Korean numeral, which has an adjective and a substantive form, is used in the adjective form when a Korean substantive follows; han saram 'a man, one man', but not every substantives can be used so. A Chinese numeral must be used before Chinese noun, with which it is united to a compound.

Like Chinese, Japanese, Gilyak and many other oriental languages the Korean abunds in nouns specially used with the numerals as a kind of counting unit. Together with a Korean numeral a Korean general noun is used, and a Chinese noun with the Chinese numerals. Adopting Underwood's terminology we will call them 'classifiers' (Underwood 'Special Classifiers'), and not 'auxiliary numerals'. As in English one says 'so many head of cattle', 'so many sheats of paper', 'so many heex of ships', etc., the Korean say, not 'five horses', but 'horses five heads', 'books two volumes', 'persons three names' etc. We shall here enumerate some of the most used classifiers.

skor. mijen 'name', kor. nat 'face' of human beings,

pun. wi (wi, wii) 'person of honored personages, e.g. iwen hanbun 'a physician';

kor. mari 'head', of all kinds of animals,

phił. of big domestic animals (horse, cattle, donkeys),

skor. ('lip, nip) ëp 'hatream' of hats, mattress etc.

êhë 'basis' for houses, carriages, covers, etc.

ëeëa 'seat, site', for houses and artillery guns.
The verb in Korean expresses either that something is going on, i.e., a happening or an action, where the subject is the doer, or that something is so-and-so, such-and-such, i.e., a judgment, an equation, given concerning the subject.

The verbs of action (transitive or intransitive in sense) are here called active verbs and correspond to verbs in our Western languages. The other kind of verb, which we here call qualitative, is rendered in European languages by adjectives and less often by verbs; e.g., puthi phurida 'the field is green', 'das Feld grün'; horani ga masepta 'the tiger is terrible'; ki ga mar ida 'that is a horse'; i ga namu-da (< namu ida) 'this is a tree'.

Only in very few forms or tenses is a distinction made between these two classes of verbs; the difference between them is visible grammatically only in some present tense formations and in the participles, as will be explained later on. Both kinds of verbs follow one and the same conjugation, the single one of the Korean language.

The paradigm of conjugation shows in the Korean language a perplexingly large number of different forms, but nowhere do these by special endings indicate whether one or more persons or things are something or are doing something and the grammatical 'persons' (I, 'you', 'he', 'she', 'it', 'we', 'they') have no grammatical distinction in a language, where all forms of the verb are indifferent to person and number. Instead of this, the choice of forms depends on what degree of simplicity in speech, familiarity or polite courtesy one wants to show. In many forms of the verb we find included a distinct sense of social aspect or regard to the person or persons in whose presence or to whom or about whom the words are uttered. In many positions we thus have the verb still in its simple forms, but in finishing a sentence, addressed to a listener, the social side of conversation cannot be disregarded. The Koreans speak upwards, to equals, downwards or in solicitations. The downward forms are, as a rule, the oldest and simplest. To equals or in the presence of equals are used forms which originally belonged to unfinished sentences. Speaking upwards, there is a different grades of politeness and many various courteous verbal expressions, originally compounds of participles with the auxiliary verb ida 'to be'. The choice of the right form for the main verb of any sentence is in Korean society more important than anywhere else in the world, perhaps with the exception of Japan. The use of too humble or too polite expressions in everyday talk among friends and equals would make the speaker ridiculous, and the use of too low or too simple forms of the verb as predicate, when there is a higher or older person present.
as listener or as the person spoken to, would be an unpardonable
offence. Frequently the different degrees of politeness indicate
also the subject of the verb (onda 'I come', 'we come', 'he comes'
or 'they come', but oo 'you come', in familiar speech).

All forms of the verbal conjugation which are used at the end
of a sentence must therefore be studied very carefully by any for-
egnorian who intends to say anything in Korean. It is to be remarked
that the degrees of politeness are the same whether one addresses
someone directly or only says something in the presence of another
wanting him to listen: e.g. sani nopta 'the mountain is high' (as
monologue without regard to the listening person, or downwards
to children and servants), sani noptso 'the mountain is high' (when
I say it to a friend or to persons not much higher or older than
myself), sani nophimnida (when I tell it to honored person), sani
noptoda (said only for myself).

117 As said above, there is only one conjugation, all verbs being
inflected in the same way and with the same endings, but considerable
phonetical variations in the contact between the stem (its last
sound or sounds) and the suffix (its initial sound and its vowel) are
to be observed.

118 In regard to the last sound of the stem, the verbs can be divided
up in two main groups; we have verbs with I. vowel stem and
II. consonant stem.

In the following examples please observe the character of the
stem and the variations of the suffix.

I. Vowel stems.

1) Single vowel:

poda 'to see': poda 'having seen': pon 'seen'
ođa 'to come here': ođa 'having come': on 'come'
čida 'to give': čeg: čen 'given'
čida 'to load': čeg: čin 'loaded, laden'
čida 'to become': čeg: čeg: čin
khida 'to be great': khge: khin
səida 'to write', 'to use': səeg: səin

2) Diphthongs (on -i):

(naiđa) noda: nai̍g: nain 'to give away, to make go out'
(paiđa) puđa, puđa: pui̍g: puin 'to be empty' or pida: pije: pin
(taiđa) tida: tijeg: tijin 'to win, to conquer'
(seida) seda: seeq: sen 'to be strong'
(toida) tida: tijeg: tiqin 'to result in, to become'
or (N. Kor.) tīeda: tseeq: tsein

3) Verbs in -ra, -ri:

(orida) orida: orra: oran 'to ascend'
pirida: purlė: purin 'to call'
pirida: purlė: purlin 'to flow'
(mirda) mirda: iřeq: iřin 'to name, to call'
aorida: aorra: aerin 'to unite, to annex'

II. Consonant stems.

4) The stem ends in l (this l disappeared early before dentals,
v. Phon. § 30).

(ala) ada: ara: an 'to know, to think'
(melda) melda: mërge: men 'to be far'
(mölē) möda : mōra : mōn 'to drive'
(phulda) phūda : phurg : phēn 'to undo, to untie'
phurēda : phurēq : phurēn 'to be green'
irīda : irīq : irīn 'to reach, to arrive at'

5) The stems of the type:
tāta : tīṛa : tīṛiṇ 'to hear'
kgēta : kāṛa : kāṛiṇ 'to walk'
mutta : nūṛa : nūṛiṇ 'to burn (cloth before a fire)'
tatā : tara : tarīṇ 'to run' and 'to approach'
mutta : nūṛiṇ 'to ask, to inquire'
Stems of this kind had probably originally spirantic d.

6) The stems on original *j or *n, such as:
edīta : ījēq : ījēn (ījēn) 'to build'
nattā : nāa : nājēn 'to be better', 'to recover'
puttā : qējp : puqēn (puqēn) 'to pour out'
kitā : kīq (kēq) : kījēn 'to make a stroke, to draw a line'
edōta : ēoa : ēoqāni 'to tie around'

7) The verbs on -h with preceding vowel or l (r), n:
natāthā : nāhā (nāa) : nāhēni (nāin) 'to bear, to bring forth', 'to produce'
ēōtā : ēoa : ēoqāni 'to be good'
ilāta : irīq (irēq) : irīn (irīn) 'to lose'
orhā : orhā : orhēni (orēni) 'to be right'
nōtā : nōha (nōa) : nōhēni (nōin) 'to lay down'
ūtāthā : tūrhēq (tūrēq) : tūrēni (tūrēn) 'to bore through'
manthā : manhā (manā) : manhēni (manēni) 'to be many'
tatthā : tahā (tāa) : tahēni (tāin) 'to rely on, to depend on'

Please observe that the clusus of the ending here (through metastasis) always appears as aspirated, but not in the verbs where the stem ends in ph or th or ērh (under 9).

8) The verbs on -w (North Korean still -h); e.g.:
tōpta : tōa (tōa) : tōiṇ 'to help' (N. Kor.: tōa : tōbun)
mūpta : mūe (mūeg) : mūiṇ 'to lie down' (N. Kor.: mūē : mūbun)

chipta : chięq : chiṇ (chięni) 'to be cold' (N. Kor. chiębun)
kāhopa : havā : hōaun 'to be done' (havē = hāuo)
kakāhopa : kakāava : kakāaun 'to be near'
tukkāhopa : tukkāq : tukkāun 'to be thick'
uqęptā : uqęqe : uqęqun 'to be heavy'
saramāhopa : saramāava : saramāaun 'to be human'
hāroptā : hāroova : hāroon 'to be injurious'
tęppta : tēnq (tēq) : tēun 'to be warm'
kęppta : kuqę (kūe) : kūjēn (kūin) 'to bake'
(N. Kor. kęppta : kūbę : kūbun)

9) The stems on all other consonants such as k, kk, lk, t, th, s, ss, p, ph, ps, l, tē, nh, n, m and bn.

-k- nępta : nęqę : nęqēn 'to eat'
kk- pokęta : pokkā : pokkān 'to fry'
kk- kļęktā : kļękgę : kļękgęn 'to break off' (v. trans.)
kk- pulępta : pulęqę : pulęqēn 'to be red'
kk- káltta : kalqę : kalqęn 'to scrape', 'to smooth'
t- pätta : pädē : pädēn 'to receive'

-th- atta : athēn 'to throw away' (in pāatta 'to spit')
patta : puthē : puthēn 'to ply, to go by, to be applied'

-th- halātta : halqēni (halqēn) 'to lick, to lap'
halta : halḥē : halḥēn 'to rub smooth'

-ss- ittā : issq : issqēn 'to be, to exist'

-ps- čępta : čēba : čēbīn 'to catch', 'to kill an animal'
(ps- ipępta : ipęqę : ipęqēn 'to dress oneself in', 'to obtain a favor'
ph- kępta : kępha : kęphēn 'to pay'

-tepta : tepęq : tepęqēn 'to cover'
epta : ephę : ephęn 'to turn upside down'

-ps- ēpsq : ēpsqēn 'to lack, not to exist'
ps- nelęppta : nelębę : nelębēn 'to be broad'
The verbs *ita* and *epa* are the only ones of their kind, probably because they are shortenings of earlier *isi*- and *bisi*- (cf. Tung. *bisi*-- and abul-- *bisi*); all other kinds of stems are to be found in more than one verb. All verbs, also those where an old compound is to be supposed, as in *pāta* 'to spit', *putepa* 'to catch hold on', *sonda* (son-ta) 'to lay the hands on, to touch', etc., follow without exception that type to which the last or the two last sounds of the stem show them to belong. So the quality of the sounds alone decides, never the division into active and qualitative verbs.

Besides or above the primary verbs there exist a large number of verbs, formed by joining *hada* to a preceding noun. In an active sense *hada* means 'to do that and that' and in a descriptive or qualitative use 'be that and that': *il* *hada* 'to do work', but *mi* *hada* 'to be nice'. To both Korean and Chinese words or expressions, even Chinese sentences, this verb has been joined to form various kinds of verbs, just like the verb *sura* in Japanese, *se-nu* in Manchu or *etmêk* in Turkish. E.g. *kal* *hada* 'to be thirsty' (skor. *kal* 'thirst'); *kmëg* *hada* 'to imprison' (skor. *km-冥* 'prison, imprisonment, detention'); *kalpan* *èleph* *hada* 'to go hither and thither', 'to

Many of the most used compounds with *hada* are nowadays contracted and the result is a somewhat irregular paradigm. After a long vowel the sound *h* has been lost and also the stem vowel has usually been lost in a preceding *a*, but after a short vowel the *h* has made the chusil in endings aspirated. Thus:

- **fully pronounced**
  - *ir* *hada* : *ir* (haj) : *ir* *han*
  - *kri* *hada* : *kri* : *kri* *han*

- **contracted**
  - *ir* *hada* : *ir* : *ir* 'to be so (as this)'
  - *kri* *hada* : *kri* : *kri* 'to be so (as that)'

- **ir* *hada* : *ir* : *ir* 'to be how?'
  - *kmëg* *hada* : *kmëg* : *kmëg* *han*

- **kama* *hada* : *kama* : *kama* *han*

- **kamatha* : *kama* : *kama* 'to be black'

- **kama* *hada* : *kama* : *kama* *han*

- **pui* *hada* : *pui* : *pui* *han*

- **ppojha* *hada* : *ppojha* : *ppojha* *han*

- **këhja* *hada* : *këhja* : *këhja* *han*

- **këhja* *hada* : *këhja* : *këhja* *han*

- **pulga* *hada* : *pulga* : *pulga* *han*

- **an* *hada* : *an* : *an* 'not to be'

- **namû-ra* *hada* : *namû-ra* *haj* : *namûra* 'to say, you are a blackhead'
An old compound of this kind is, among others, also the verb קומא : קומא : קומא : קומא to thank, originally קומא הפש 'to be uttered (-פש); I will praise you (קומא).

As the stem of a verb is seldom obtained from some single form, in good grammars and dictionaries these three forms are usually given. The first of them is the simple present tense in all persons, singular and plural, and at the same time the infinitives. This is often the only form mentioned, if in the grammars and dictionaries written by Westerns, a verb is meant. The second form is here called the perfect verb, which name will be explained later. The third is the perfect participle.

These three forms together give a good idea of the whole paradigm and make it possible to construct without erring any other form of the same verb. The Koreans themselves give in their Chinese-Korean dictionaries the future participle (on - 및) as the 'basic' form of a verb. But the three forms used by the Western scholars are more suited as key forms of the conjugation and may be called the three bases or basic forms of the verb.

The Korean language in its historical development has acquired many kinds of contractions, in the verbal paradigm as well. A form which now seems to be or is pronounced as a simple form, i.e. consisting of stem and ending, is — not to speak of other possibilities — often a compound of the simple verb (in some primary form) and some form of an auxiliary verb: ide (; ig : in) 'to be ...', ita (; isso : isso) 'to be, to exist' or kada (; haja : han) 'to do, to say, to be'.

Even if we try to keep to the simple forms of the verbal paradigm, we cannot avoid taking into account also some of the more used compounds, as will be seen in the following tables of tenses.

We have to discard all usual divisions of the verbal inflexion, such as indicative, conjunctive, etc., the infinitive, etc. and, taking into consideration first of all the syntactical functions of the different verbal forms, to classify all the verbal formations which this language possesses in a general scheme as follows:

1) such verbal forms as, through their endings, give one to understand that the sentence is finished — 

2) such verbal forms as are used as pointing to a following main verb (like the English: having seen that ... — 

3) such verbal forms as more or less correspond to adjectives and substantives and are therefore either adjectival or substantival forms of the verb (like the participles and the deverbal nouns in other languages) — the verbal nouns.

The verba finita are used as predicate in a sentence, but it is to be observed that the sentence is then a statement, positive or negative. If the sentence is interrogative and an interrogative particle is used, there is another formation of the verb; the interrogative forms of the verb will be taken up later together with a preliminary treatment of the participles and the interrogative particles.

The verba finita can be divided into two groups, 
a) such as express objectively the idea of action or quality without any hint of the will of the speaker. This group corresponds to the indicative in European languages.
b) such as include some will, wish or intention of the speaker. Here one can find forms which correspond to the conjunctive, subjunctive and imperative of European languages. Following Underwood we will call them the volitive forms.

All the forms of the verb which are used as predicate are through their endings understood as indicating also some social aspect, i.e. they express at the same time the relation between the speaker and the person spoken to. We have to note at least three degrees: 

1) a straightforward form, 2) a familiar sociable form and 3) a polite or honorific form. They are usually called 

It is the straightforward form which is the simplest and oldest; the others are formed through combinations or they are elliptic, as will be seen later. We will in the following first of all try to analyse and explain the straightforward forms of the verb, the simple forms of the verba finita as the really basic forms coming first into consideration.
Verba finita.

A. The affirmative indicative.

The simple formations.

127 The indicative, or the group of formations for use as predicate in a straightforward statement, contains three main forms. These three forms are:

1) the declarative, which has the ending -ta (-ta, -da and -tha respectively): poda, êuda, mekte, patta, mantha. This is the general present tense, which gives the sense of verb without any underlying modification or reservation; the first of the basic forms.

2) the regressive, with the suffix -te (-te, -de and -the respectively): podê, êude, mekte, patte, manthe, etc. It implies a 'then' or 'there' and indicates that something is going on or is something which not here now not relating to same or some. It expresses the verb or the action as in some respect at time in time and space and at the same time both a present and a past. We therefore call it here the regressive.

3) the indefinite, with the suffix -êi (-êi, -êi, -êhi), which in the northern Korean dialects is still pronounced -êi, -êi, -êhi. This form includes some uncertainty or simply familiarity on the part of the speaker and has originally, according to the evidence of some Tungus dialects, been a form with a slight future implication, a potential as in German 'es wird so sein' (it may be so). It is used when one does not like to say something quite definitely and is much used between friends.

The regressive is not found as the predicate in this original and simple form. There has been added either

a) an -i, which, together with e, has given e: thus podê, êude, mekte, patte, manthe: this ending is quite common and considered slow; or

b) the particle -ra (-ira), which is slightly more polite: podêra, êudêra, mekte, patta, manthera, etc.

In compositions the original form -te (podê ida; êudê ida; podê in, abbrev. podên, podên; êudêm, êudêm, êudêm) is still to be found.

All these three forms together as simple forms can be called present tense.

The compound tenses. The verb itta 'to be, to exist, to remain' has the basic forms itta: isje: isin. It is a late development of a verb isida: isje: isin, and occurs also as isje: isin or isin.

This verb added to the basic form in -a-e (the perfect convert) has lost the vowel of the first syllable and we now find poatta 'has seen' or 'to have seen' or 'saw', êugëta 'to have given', 'he gave', 'I gave', 'they gave', etc. It is an earlier poat itta 'to be after having seen', 'to remain after seeing', 'to have seen', êug itta 'to be having given'. This compound is in Korean now the simple form of the past tense, corresponding to the imperfect or perfect in our languages.

Besides the poatta, êugëta type the language uses also poassëta, êugëssëta, megassëta, etc. To the -a-e (e) form has been added isje and after that once more itta 'to be'. This is the double perfect or past perfect, 'he had already seen', 'I had at that time given'; manhatta 'it was much', manhassëta 'it had (earlier) been much'.

The verb itta added to the future convert in -ke (-ge, -hê) 'in order to ...' gives forms of the type pogetta, êugëta, megëkêta, manhëkêta, which correspond to the English 'I am to go', and now are the future tense of the Korean verb: pogetta 'I shall see', 'you will see', 'he will see', or 'one can see', 'one is to see'. If after this convert in -ke, -ge, -hê is added issetta 'was' or 'has been' we have the past of the future: pogetsetta 'one had to see', 'he was to see', 'they would see', êugëssëta 'I was to give', 'you were to give', etc.

128 The future convert of itta is ikke 'in order to be', 'to be'. This united to the perfect convert poa, êug, meg has the result poakke 'in order to have seen', êugakke 'in order to have given'. When to this is added itta one has forms like megakkêta, poakkêta, êugkêta 'he is to be have eaten', 'to be in a state of having eaten', 'you will have eaten' or 'I shall have eaten', 'one is at that time to have eaten'.
The tenses in Indicative

Declarative

Present
poda 'he sees'
mekta 'he eats'

Perfect
poat'ta 'he saw'
megitta 'he ate'

Future
poget'ta 'he will see'
mekketa 'he is to eat'

Past-perfect
poasette 'he had seen'
megssetta 'he had eaten'

Future-perfect poakket'ta 'he will have seen'
megkket'ta 'he is to have eaten'

Perfect-future pogess'ta 'he was to see'
mekkess'ta 'he had to eat'

Indecisive

Present
po'zi 'he sees I think'
mek'ei 'he may eat'
Perfect
poat'ta 'he saw I think'
megssetti 'he ate I suppose'
Future
poget'ta 'he will see I suppose'
megkket'ta 'I think he will eat'
Past-perfect
poasette 'he has seen I think'
megssetti 'he has eaten I think'
Future-perfect poakket'ta 'he will perhaps have seen'
megkket'ta 'maybe he will have eaten'
Perfect-future pogess'ta 'perhaps he should see'
mekkess'ta 'I think he had to eat'

Note 1. The verb itta is, of course, also used with logical stress and then does not lose the vowel of the stem. E.g., pabii mekke itta 'the food is ready for eating', but: pabii mekket'etta 'he will eat the food', ta anjatta 'all sat down' but: ta an'ja itte 'all were sitting', sig itte 'he has risen', 'he is standing', but: ejette 'he stood up.'

Note 2. One finds in old documents spellings like poa'i-si 'have seen' and in some dialects spellings like poa'i-sti - cabensi-where the language now commonly has poassi-, cabassi-. The future has in some North-Korean dialects the ending -katta, -katt'as, -katt, etc., or -kat'a, -kat't', -kat't', as testifies by Ross. The back vowel variant (-kai) has here the upper hand, while in the other dialects the front vowel variant (-kei) seems to have been generalised.

Note 3. The ending -ta has originally been -tā in words with back vowel and -tā after front vowel (e.g., mek'ta, isid'g, id'g, etc.); the vowel in this suffix has been long. Cf. Tung. -dāgi, -dāgi or -dāi, -dāi, the ending of the infinitive and the supine, and Old Turk. -ta, -tā in old formations like boltay, oblāt'i ("one who is to become", "one who is to die").

Note 4. The ending of the regressive has had the short vowel, i.e. short e and short a, still found varying in some dialects: kadān manmassa 'I met him on the way', kad'ara 'went', but īt'ēra 'was'. This corresponds to the Tung. preteritum on -tg, -dag(-drg, -rdg) and the Turk. -ty, -dy, Mong. -či, -či, the endings of the definite past tense.

Note 5. The ending -tī has the short vowel and is probably the same as in the Tung. future on -tī (Lamut bak-tī-m 'I shall find', ām-tī-m 'I shall come') and in the Uigur word kōltī 'the future'.

Other indicative formations.

Before going further we have to give here a preliminary explanation of the difference between the verbs of action and the qualitative verbs.

The verbs of action have three participles:
1. the present participle with the ending -nā, -nīn,
2. the perfect participle with the suffix -n, -pīn and
3. the future participle with the suffix -l, -lī.
The qualitative verbs have only two of these, namely the perfect participle and the future participle. Thus, for instance, from the qualitative verbs ida ‘to be’, ēitha ‘to be good’, kakkapta ‘to be near’, ćipta ‘to be cold’, ak hada ‘to be bad’ we have in ‘being’, ēohī ‘good’, kakkaon ‘near’, ēhin ‘cold’, ak hau ‘bad’. Here the participle in -n has no real past sense; it is the adjectival form of the verb and corresponds nearest to the present participle of active verbs.

The participles are largely used predicatively, but usually with a particle appended. Such a particle is, for instance, the affirmative or positively assuring particle -ra, -ira. We can therefore have tense formations like:

1. ponava-ra ‘is seeing’, innava-ra ‘is existing’, mēnya-ra ‘is eating’, kana-ra ‘is going’, kānana-ra (stem kal-) ‘is digging’;
2. por-ira ‘has seen’, issir-ira ‘has existed’, mepyī-ira ‘has eaten’, kan-ira ‘is gone’, kān-ira ‘has dug’ and
3. por-ira ‘will see’, issir-ira ‘will be, shall exist’, etc.

From qualitative verbs we have the same formations:

1. ēohī-ira ‘is good’, kakkaon-ira ‘is near’, ēhin-ira ‘is cold’
2. ēohī-ira ‘will be good’, kakkaon-ira ‘will be near’, etc.

The active verbs have obtained from the present participle two very much used tense formations with a declarative sense.

A. The verb ida has joined the present participle enclitically and given a slow speech declarative with the ending -nanda, -nīṇda after a consonant and -nda after a vowel. The sense is that of a progressive present. It is not found in the compound tenses.

E.g. innīṇda ‘is existing, is now’, mēnyaṇda ‘is now eating’, annīṇda ‘is sitting’, innīṇda ‘is laughing’, tinnīṇda ‘is hearing’, kilīṇda ‘is boiling’, ēppīṇda ‘is lacking, is failing, is not’ (stems iss-, meq-, anc-, us-, ływ-, kīln-, eps-)

ponda ‘sees, is looking on’, kanda ‘is going away’, sānda ‘is buying’.

sānda ‘is living’, kilīnda ‘is making it boil’ (stems por-, ka-, sa-, sā-, kīln-)

The corresponding form of the qualitative verbs would be:

ēohī-ira ‘is good’, kakkaon-ira ‘is near’, mēnya-ira ‘is far’, ak hau-ira ‘is bad’.

B. The second formation ends in -ne (written -nai, -nai, -nei), which may go back to a shortened -nān with some (deictic?) element added (-i or -e?). This kind of tense formation is used throughout the whole indicative, i.e. also in all kinds of compounds. E.g. pone ‘sees’, poanne ‘has seen’, poqene ‘will see’, poqkennene ‘will have seen’, etc. It is used in downwards or familiar speech.

The verbs with a qualitative sense have also a present tense of the same kind, i.e. ending in -n, probably received by eliminating the final -n of the perfect participle and so corresponding to the formation in -ne of the active verbs.

Active verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pohnpeian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pone ‘sees’</td>
<td>kha ‘is big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āne ‘knows’ (stem al-)</td>
<td>kie ‘is long’ (stem kil-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūmne ‘helps’ (stem tō-)</td>
<td>chive ‘is cold’ (stem chi-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kānne ‘pays’ (stem kōp-)</td>
<td>kiphe ‘is deep’ (stem kiphe-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūnne ‘puts down’ (stem nō-)</td>
<td>ēhe ‘is good’ (stem ēhe-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualitative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pohnpeian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>poda ‘seems’</td>
<td>khta ‘is deep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēnya ‘is eating’</td>
<td>khat ‘is near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanda ‘is going’</td>
<td>ēhtu ‘is cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēhūnda ‘is making’</td>
<td>kīnda ‘is long’ (kīnda id.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēhūnda ‘exists’</td>
<td>ika ‘is so-and-so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēhūnda ‘is writing down’</td>
<td>ēkha ‘are few’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to different tenses we find used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Active Verbs</th>
<th>Qualitative Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>pone, meqne, kane etc.</td>
<td>ēhe, kha etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>poanne, meqgene, kane</td>
<td>ēhanne, khyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>poqene, mekkennene, kagenne</td>
<td>čekennene, khyjennene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past perfect</td>
<td>poqassene, meqgesqene, kassaqene etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future perfect</td>
<td>poqkennene, meqgekkennene, kakkennene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect future</td>
<td>poqassene, mekqesqene, kaqesqene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the official language the verbal noun on -m, which is a substantive form of the verb, meaning the action itself or even its result, also in a quite concrete sense, is (for the sake of solemnity?) widely used as a declarative indicative:

E.g. il ham 'works', kam 'goes', issim 'is', kathim 'is like', ñeñim 'are few', etc.

From this verbal noun have been derived
A. an indicative in -mu, which is found in many dialects, but not good enough for the literary language, and
B. an indicative in -me (origin -mati), which has entered the literature.

The formation on -mu is widely in use in the Northern dialects, but is mostly used in 'polite form', i.e. from the passive stem in -b, and we find, for instance, kamu, kammu 'goes', issinnmu 'is', hajjesimmu 'has said, has done'. Besides this the same form with the verb ida enclitically joined is frequently used: kammuda 'goes', issinnuda 'is', hajjesimmudu 'has said', etc. And from the verb hada 'to say' we have kamu in a low style dialectical imperative on -ramu (= -ra kamu -nu) : karanu 'go, I say!'

More frequent are forms of the type kamme 'is going, are going', kassimme 'has gone', kagessime, kagassime 'will go', hamme 'says', hajjesime 'has said', hagessime, hagassime 'will say', etc.

Polite predicative forms.

Up to now we have had in view the straight, simple forms, which in Korea now are mostly used only downwards to children and servants. The more polite forms have many degrees of politeness, but we must content ourselves with the distinction of only two degrees, the middle form, used among civilized people, to friends and equals, and the high forms which must be used when addressing older, higher or honoured persons.

These polite forms are etymologically not simple indicatives, but either conversbs, or compounds of a participle and some simple form of the verb ida 'to be'.

Middle form. If the stem of the verb ends in a vowel or -b (which has been lost before every ending commencing with a dental and also in this form), the ending is -o; if the stem ends in any other consonant, the ending is either -jo or -so.

The original of this formation in -o and -jo is the perfect converb of the passive stem in -b, -bu-: earlier *kawa 'having been gone' (from v. ka-b-) has developed into kao, earlier *megajjo 'being eaten' (from v. megaj-b-) into megju, megjo, and similarly ñawa (from *ñawa, v. al-bu 'to be known') into ño, isie (from isi-b- 'to happen to exist') into *isiu, issu, now isso.

The form in -so seems to be the same formation of a secondary stem in -s- -s-: meksie has been shortened to meksu, now Skor. meksu, čap-sue (from čap-sag-b- to čapso, tieh-sue to čoaso).

The new synonymous types megjo, čakjo and meksu, čoaso are thus of different origin.

The different tenses are:

**Present:** poou, meksu (megjo), isso, čoaso (čakjo), ao (arijo)

**Future:** poouso, megjesso, issesso, čokasso (čoasso), avasso

**Past perfect:** poouesso, megjeseso, isseseso, čokasseo

**Future perfect:** pooukasso, megkesses, issekesses, čokasses

As already said, these middle forms of politeness are constantly used in everyday speech and that explains why in many grammars they are reckoned as the real indicative forms. This formation on "-o, -so can always be used in an interrogative sense, which is impossible with all other forms named hitherto. It is used also as a polite imperative, or, as we call it here, a prepositional, § 160. The interrogative forms and their building will be taken up in §§ 150–154.

To this "-o, -so form the verb ida is very often added. So we find in literary works expressions such as poouida (read poouida), megjoida (read megjoido), issoida (read issoido) etc.; these formations seem to be rather literary and not used in everyday speech.
As result of phonetic abbreviations the dialects possess forms of the type issu'da, issud' from issu ida 'is', kaasud' 'is gone', etc. With the declarative ida, ida (-da, -de) and the regressive ide (-de, ird, -re) are built dialectical forms like sa wanni'de (= sa wannan ida) 'has bought' (Jap. katte kimashita), sa wannir'de (= sa wannan ideya) 'had bought'.

High form. From the passive stem in -b-, -bu- the present participle in -man, -n'g has been prolonged with a -i (s. Postparticiple Nouns N:o 19) and the verb ida, added enclitically hereto. The result has been a formation in -mida (written -pida, -pojida, -pojida), which in Keijo is considered the most polite ending in the indicative. The same form occurs also without ida, i.e. -mvi, -mri, -mn, -mne, but is deemed to be dialectical. Besides -mida there is as a accepted good form also -mmuda, -mnuta, which is used to express a conviction of the lower speaker.

The tenses of the high form in the indicative are:

Present: poma'da, meqimnada, issejimida, e'qimnida, amnida
Perfect: poassimnida, megessejimnida, issejimnida, e'qassimnida
Future: pogoessimnida, megkejimnida, ikkejimnida, e'qkessimnida
Past perfect: poassessimnida, megessejimnida, issejimnida, e'qassimnida
Future perfect: poogessejimnida, megkejimnida, ikkejimnida, e'qkessimnida
Perfect future: poakkessimnida, megkekessimnida, issekkessimnida, e'qakkessimnida

The formation in -mnada, -mnanda is similarly used in all compound tenses. The examples are all declarative, the corresponding regressive and indecisive forms are possible, but seldom used.

The polite forms of the regressive and the indecisive are usually formed either by adding ida to the corresponding formation of the passive stem or by using io (the middle form of ida) added to the regressive and the indecisive of the primary stem, or even to the passive stem. We have thus, in the order of politeness, going from simple to higher style, the following formations:

Regressive: pojoa, pojo, podi, podi, popte, popte, popē, popē, popē, popē
Indecisive: poji, poji, poji io, poji ida (pojida), popo (popē io), popō, popō, popō (popē ida).

Table of the grades of politeness in the indicative present tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active verbs</th>
<th>Qualitative verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to servants and small children:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pona, meqimida</td>
<td>kipta 'is deep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to aged servants, intimate friends, etc.:</td>
<td>kiphe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pone, meqine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to equals, familiarly, carelessly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poji, melēi</td>
<td>kipē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to equals, more polite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poji, melēio</td>
<td>kipēio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to unknown persons, acquaintances:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pooida, meksoida</td>
<td>kipso (kipho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popō, melgēio</td>
<td>kipheio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to unknown persons, with courtesy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popīda, mekspīda</td>
<td>kipsoida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popō, melgēpēo (megpēio)</td>
<td>kipspēio (kiphpēio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to honoured persons, socially higher:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(poma'da), poma'da, meqimnada</td>
<td>kiphjmnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poma'da, mekspimnada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to honoured persons, but expressing positive belief:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poma'manda, meqimnanda (mekspimnanda)</td>
<td>kipsimnanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in literary style:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poninirā, meqimnirā</td>
<td>kiphjmri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in official style:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pon, meqim</td>
<td>kiphjm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in poetry or in exclamatory soliloquions:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pododa, mektoda</td>
<td>kiptoda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is to remark that what in one part of Korea is considered polite enough can be a bad provincialism in another part. The rules and forms of politeness used in the capital Keijo are, of course, taken as standard.

B. The verb in interrogative sentences.

150 The language has three interrogative particles: ka (ko), ja (jo), and ē (N. Korean tī). They are found affixed to the participle and never to any forms of the indicative. They mark at the same time a question and the end of a sentence.

The particle ka (ga) has the variant ko (go). The particle ja, which seems to give the question a more familiar or friendly meaning, has variants such as jo, ji and i, and one finds also the doubled question mark kajae, kajo, kaji and kai. The third affix, originally tī, ē, is more a sign of doubt than of a direct question. The original value of this ē seems to be a noun, meaning something like 'fact'.

151 All participles of any verb can be used together with these question marks. The qualitative verb ida 'to be' has the regular participles in (after a vowel in the preceding word usually only -n), and the future participle il (N. Korean ir). With the questioning participles joined to them we have in present tense in ga, in ja, in jo, in ēt and in future tense ilka, ikka.

152 The forms in -o and -so already explained above are in the middle style of speech also used in questions and, as we will see later (§ 160), also in commands.

153 The correspondence between affirmative forms and interrogative forms of the verb may be shown by the following:

Affirmative               Interrogative
ponda, pone 'sees'        ponanga, ponango
poatta 'has seen'          ponanja, ponanja, ponat, ponā
pogeta 'will see'          poennanga, poannango

154 In discussions the questions and answers are naturally often given in quite opposite styles. If one asks for example 'Is he from Seoul?' and the answer is 'He is from Seoul', this is in the Korean language between unequal persons:

The inferior asks:    The superior answers:
Seul saron innikka?   Seul saron ida
The superior asks:    The inferior answers:
Seul saron inja       Seul saron innida (or innida)

C. The volitive forms.

Answering to the imperative and conjunctive in our languages, the language has some special forms which are somewhat difficult to classify in any other way than by putting them all under this heading, since they are all expressions of the will or wish of the speaker.
156 1) The imperative.

The sense of the imperative is a strong command, from a higher person to an inferior, and must therefore be avoided as much as possible if a definite command is not meant.

a) The imperative without an ending. Only two or three words of this kind are used in commanding children, *iri o 'come here!’ ebe ga 'go home!' je-bo 'look here!' (=hello!), če 'give'.

b) The perfect converb used in commands. This is like German expressions such as 'auffgestanden!' It is quite a strong imperative: pona 'look!', wa 'come!', kahe 'do!'.

c) The above perfect followed by the affirmative particle -ra: poara (> jap. hora), wara, hijera, megara, tijera (listen!), etc.

d) The future converb on -ke, here shortened to -ke, together with -ra: hagera 'do!', kagera 'go!', ike 'be!', čagera 'sleep!'.

Of the above, the third is most often used. The imperative ogra, ongra 'come!' seems to be the only one of its kind.

157 2) The precative.

The precative is as to its form the same as the future converb, and since it does not imply a command but an entreaty is more used than the imperative: il haje 'please do that work', tonil čege 'please give money', munił jelye 'please open the door', kage 'please go'.

158 3) The prescriptive.

The prescriptive is an expression of advice to the person spoken to. It is formed by the ending -kke or, shortened, -kke. This ending is derived from the future participle in -l with affixed ige, the precative of the verb ida: megikke, megikke 'you have to eat', 'please eat', hakikke 'you had better go', 'please go', halikke 'you should do'. This prescriptive is used also when the command is meant for oneself, i.e. as 1. person sing. of imperative.

159 4) The optative.

a) The optative always contains the idea of 'I wish that' and the subject can be 'I' or anyone else. The ending is -se, written in earlier days -sgi: mekse 'I wish that you eat' or 'he may eat', also 'I might eat', kasae, kapse 'let's go', iri hase, iri hasise 'I wish you do it this way'. The more polite form is formed from the passive in -b, -bu; kapse is more polite than kase, megipsae ('it may be an eating') better than mekse, and so on. Still more polite and more distant is this same expression with following ida 'it is' affixed: -se ida is pronounced -sida (seldom -sida): kase ida, kasida 'I wish we go', kapse ida, kapse ida 'please let us go', hasida, hasida 'we may do it', 'let's do it', please'; hasisida 'let's do it together, Sir', 'I pray you do it.'

b) The future optative is formed by -se, shortened from ise 'it may be', affixed to the future participle: hase 'he may go', megise 'you may eat', hase 'I may do it', muga olda haja 'thinking that someone might come'. The meaning is more a consent for the future than a wish.

c) The same -se, the shortened ise, is also affixed to the verbal noun in -m: hame ( = ham ise 'the doing may be') 'it may be a doing, I like to do', 'I like you to do', 'he may do', etc. This formation seems to be sometimes used in the same sense as the indicative in -ći: kaži 'I think I go', 'I may go', 'he may go', kase in the same meanings or 'you (we) had better go'; somu doro mandara čimase 'I'll make it according to my best skill'.

5) The propositive.

The perfect converb in -o, -so, which was mentioned among the indicative and the interrogative forms, is very commonly used also as a volitive form of middle style among equals and to give a milder sense to a command. It may be best to call that use of it the propositive. From the verb ida one has the form iō, and this may be affixed to the indicative: hao 'please do' (doing!), hao iō, kaži iō 'please do' ('how about doing'), mekso 'please eat', isso 'please be', mekči 'please eat', etc.

To be more polite one uses the secondary stem in -si- or the passive stem in -b or both, once or twice: hao, hasio, hapsio, hasipsio 'please do'.
As already explained, the form in -oo itself is originally the perfect
converb of the stem in -do; hao is an earlier *hoova, hasio an early
*hasio. This use of the perfect converb corresponds, therefore,
to the use of the converbum perfecti mentioned under the
imperative (b).

6) The benedictive.

A secondary stem in -sa- has existed, and the perfect converb
of its passive ends in -so. This -so is used as an ending of the
verb in petitions and prayers: ñaso 'please grant', 'give, I pray',
haso 'do, I beg you humbly', oso 'it may come, I pray'; seguk čonjic
sišo 'I beg you to write it on foreign paper'.

To this -so the esseve particle -ści, which will be found explained
under the converbs and was also treated in the chapter on cases of
the declension, gives a shade of still more evident humility;
ossić 'it may come' (in prayers), čosći 'Thou give, God', hasościć
' Thou deign to give, God', tissći 'please deign to listen'.

7) The cohortative.

The cohortative expresses an exhortation addressed either to
myself or all persons present to do something. The ending is -sa.
E.g., měča 'let's eat now', kaža 'let's go', tonž čuža 'let's give the
money', holło kaža 'I'll go alone', ūmbkiž kaža 'let's go together',
kombi kaža 'let's study', tžča 'let's listen'.

Sometimes it is formed from the passive stem and is then more
polite: megiştća 'let's eat', kapća 'let's go'. But this exhortation
ending is as such not considered very polite, and the propositive
(-o, -so) is used in about the same sense, but more politely.

8) The promissive.

From the verbal noun in -m with a vocative interjection á has
been obtained a much used form in -má which expresses a promise
on the part of the speaker himself: megištma 'I will eat it', čumá
'I shall give, I promise surely to give', kama 'I promise to go. I go',
i iril hamá 'I promise to do this', kili sejmá 'I shall write letters',
i promise to write the signs', oná hadenj (> onádegnj) ani wasso
'the said he would come but he did not'.

The promissive as relating to the speaker himself can be used
on all occasions without any fear of being impolite.

Sometimes -má (shortened from ima) is found affixed to the
future converb in -ke: i iril poço-má (or poço-má) 'I shall look after
this affair', 'I promise that I shall look after this'.

9) The preventive.

This name can be given to special formations with the ending
-llá, -llč, i.e. some element -á (já or na?) appended to the future
particle in l. This form expresses some fear that something might
happen, and implies the sense: 'take care that it does not happen'.

E.g., nemč žillé 'it falls, it is falling, it will fall', megillé 'will
he eat it (please prevent it)', kallá 'don't let him go', tora ollá 'he
comes back' 'please don't let him come back', 'I'm afraid he is
coming back'.

10) The desiderative.

This form expresses the intention to do something, and is followed
usually by the verb hada 'to mean, to say'. Between the desiderative
and the verb hada the particle ko 'thus' is often used. The ending
of the desiderative is -llá or -lč (with long vowel á).

E.g., kallá, kallč, karjá 'I'll go', čullá, čullč, čarjá 'I will give',
pollá, pollyá, porjá 'I intend to see', kallá-kko handa 'he says: I'll go
= he intends to go, 'he decides to go', megirja-kko 'I will eat',
megirja-kko hajcso 'I wanted to eat', 'I was just about to eat',
carjá-kko hajcte 'he intended to sleep', 'he was just going to bed'.

With this kind of expression the verb malda 'to avoid', 'not to
do' is often used as a means to indicate hesitation: megirjakko
malakko hajctte 'he was about to eat and not to eat', 'he didn't
know what to do about eating', kallakko malakko handa 'he hesitates
about going'. In such combinations of words with the verb malda
the terminations -llakko, -rjakko are usually shortened to -kko, -jko:
kallakko mallakka, or kallak mallak 'going or not going'. According to Underwood, kallak mallak nada means 'to go a little and stop a little', and the use of these double desireratives indicates lack of interest, but the sense can also be that of a sudden change of mind.

167 The particle ko, which is used after the desirerative form of the verb, is originally a variant of the demonstrative pronoun ki 'that' and means 'thus', 'so'. Here after the desirerative it is strengthened to -kko. If -ko is not used and the verb nada follows immediately after the desirerative, the sound h- is usually unarticulated and the language receives formations of the type kallāda ḍ kallāda 'to intend to go, to be about to go', meghīlāda ḍ meghīlāda, 'to be about to eat, just mean to eat'. Verbs of this kind, of which in the dictionaries hālāda 'to beg, to demand, to request' is an example, are, as explained above, contractions of the fuller type tallā hada 'to say, I want to receive'. In the same way the verb nada after the promissive in -mā is contracted with the ending of the preceding word. Thus there are: čumūda 'to promise to give', čullāda 'to intend to give' and čurāda 'to command to give' and also: onda go handa, onda handa > ondanda 'he says they come', 'they say they come (or that he comes).

168.1. The indirect imperative.

The imperative mentioned above expresses a command given direct to a second person who is present. It cannot be used if the command applies to a third person (he, she, they, etc.). For this purpose the language uses a formation with the ending -ra, i.e. the interjection a joined to the future participle.

As in the preceding promissive and desirerative, the indirect imperative is followed by -ko nada or only nada, which here means 'to say'. E.g. meghīrā-kko hajera 'say to him that he must eat', čurākkko hajetra 'I said that he must give', 'I told him to give'. This form is to be kept well apart from the direct imperative; for instance, directly: meghera 'eat', 'you eat', indirect: meghīrā-kko hajera 'tell to eat, tell him to eat'; ikhera 'be you', indirect: iṣejīrā kko hage 'he may be', 'tell him to be'; ongra 'come you', indirect: oru-kko hao 'please say that he may come'. If the verb nada 'to say' is unexpressed, it joins with the ending of the indirect imperative and we have meghīlāda 'to command to eat', orāda 'to command to come', etc. The compound verbs of this kind can have perfect, future and other tenses: čurā-khetta, shortened čurākhetta 'to have told to give', 'to have commanded to give', meghīrā hajettra, meghīrākhettra, 'I will tell him to eat'; ki sar̄amī ssijānān (ssijā hāman) gēji ssij 'that man writes what one tells him to write', ssijānan gēji 'what he himself wants to write'.

The promissive, the desirerative and the indirect imperative are very much used with the contracted verb nada and these three formations might perhaps be taken up under the class of formations which will be explained next, but because of the use of ko 'thus', which marks the preceding as oratio recta, they must be considered special volitive formations. The conjugation of the verb nada, when this is contracted with the preceding form, is regular as to the declarative and interrogative endings. E.g. kalā hao = kalāo, karjāo 'do you intend to go', kamā hao = kamā 'do you promise to go, do you say you will go', kurā hao = kara 'do you command him to go or them to go', meghīlāo 'do you mean to eat, are you about to eat', meghīlāda 'he was about to eat'; čumādra 'he promises to give'; čumādrdrā 'he had promised to give', etc.

Converbalia.

Under this title we shall take up all such verbal formations as through their ending and meaning lead as to understand that the sentence is not finished but a the main verb is following. In the European languages the two verbs are united by the usual conjunctions, but the Korean language, which has no conjunctions, possesses, like all Altaic languages, many special formations for connecting one action with another or a qualitative expression with another qualitative expression. Some of these converbalia are from early times simple formations with a suffix to the verbal stem, others are made by using auxiliary verbs or nouns after a suffixed form of
the verb. According to this, we can divide the converbalia into two classes: a) simple forms, b) compounds. The simple forms are few, only totalling five (n:i 1, 2, 3, and 15, 16), the rest have more than one suffix element.

It is difficult to find suitable Latin or other names for the different converbal formations. The main point is that there is always some distinction felt in the use of this or that form. The names given here are only tentatively given, and we beg the reader to try to learn the meaning of each ending through the examples given.

171 1) **Converbum presentis.**

The ending is -ko: mekko, kago, mankho, pf. haijko (= haij ick). With this ending the first verb is expressed when two verbs are coordinated, i.e. when they express two actions or qualities accompanying each other, either really at the same time or only in the thought of the speaker considered equally important. E.g., so molgo katta 'they went driving an ox', 'they drove the ox and went', mal igo onda 'she comes carrying on her head (a) water (pail)', igo kagene 'we will go carrying it on our backs', kipko mako muk 'a deep and clear water', malkho kiphin mul 'a clear and deep water', kokho palajin khot 'a nice and red flower', paliko eahirn khot 'a red and nice flower', pi igo param pandu 'it is raining and the wind is blowing', param palgo pi onda 'it blows and rains' na hago 'I and ...', ng hago 'you and', shortened na-go, ng-go (generalised; hago 'and, together').

This converb of ida is usually io (< igo).

In most cases it is possible in the translation of this form with the suffix -ko to use the conjunction 'and', but there can also be an opposition between the two simultaneous actions, and the translation is then 'but'. If the two actions are not contemporaneous as in the examples given above, the use of this form suggests that they are of equal importance: mekko kagene 'we will eat and go'. In this case the particle sce is frequently used: mekkose kagene 'we will eat and then go'.

172 By using the particle nin after this converb one marks an opposition between the two actions, and the translation is then usually 'if'.

E.g. nīn spallo kago nin, jege nin mot egasso 'if you are going to Seoul tomorrow you can't come here', 'you are going then to Seoul and thus you can't come to me', ulgo nin jege issil su ēpta 'if you are crying so you can't stay here', 'you can't be here when you are crying so', 'you cry really so much that you can't stay here', sē hago dō nīta, 'even if I hurry it is too late', papan mekkosul dō negesu 'if you take rice please also take wine (you are already taking rice)', ēl mot hago do, ēl hajetsa go hani 'even doing wrong, can one say one has done right'.

As to tense, one here uses mostly the present: hago, ḫiko, mekko etc.; hajekko, hagekko, etc. are possible, but seldom needed.

With affixed -na the converb presents is used in exclamations without a following main verb: ēhokna 'how good (it is)!', 'really, it's good', ujo hago-na 'how nice!' cf. ēhokna, ḫikna and imperatively used karamuna, karamona (kara hamuna, hamu-na) 'I say that you shall go', 'go, I tell you' with the same ending -na. In an exclamatory sense all tense formations are possible: ēhokko-na 'how good it was'.

2) **Converbum perfecti.**

The ending is -a, -z. It is the second basic form which has already been discussed as the first part of the perfect, where it is united with the verb ita 'to be', 'to exist'. It would be possible to call this form converbum a posteriori. It gives the action of the first verb as in time preceding that of the following verb, and it can also give the first verb as being less important in the mind of the speaker than the following verb, or referring to it descriptively. E.g. ka pooro 'go and see', 'having gone there, please see', ka puo-ja algesso 'I can know it only (ja) having gone and seen', 'I must go and see and only after that I will know it', palle il siya 'call him and then compel him to work', pape ka negesu 'go in the room and eat', phipēṣiril sē niya 'write the letter and send it'.

To stress the difference in time, one uses the particle sce and to stress the opposition of the two verbs one uses the particle nin;
i.e., there is a slight difference in ngeg, ngegse (nggse), nege nín, ngegse nín. With the use of the particle to (do) 'also, even' the meaning is that of a strongly concessive phrase; ngeg do ani ñhata, 'although having eaten I am not satisfied', ngegse do umkëse, 'although it is bitter, I will eat it', el kagí nín kagí do, ñal mo ñanda, 'as to working, he works, but not well', 'even though he works he does not work well', amorí naasë do moloaso 'how much ever I looked on it, I didn't understand it', ñomí kasëgg do ñal mo tójëö 'although I tried my best it did not turn out well', mal haassa do ñal kagíta 'he had to say it, but nevertheless he did not'.

The particle ja 'only' (orig. -a, -ha < *sa) used after this verb is very frequent, and thus used usually easiest to translate by 'must' in the following way: poa-ja algene 'only having seen, I shall know', 'I must see before I know', 'I must see to know', kotkë-ja tójëö (or kotkëgg-ja t.) 'only having been repaired it will do', 'it must be repaired before it will be all right'.

From the oldest times the verb converbum perfecti has been also used with ellipsis of the following verb, and is therefore to be found as 1) present tense: ngeg, ngeg je 'eats', kají, (kají, há), há je 'does, says', 2) imperative and also 3) at the end of a sentence, which is then understood as not finished. This elliptic use is sometimes necessary to avoid the finite forms, where the special distinctions of higher and lower position of the persons should be expressed. By using a passive stem, which in itself is more impersonal and therefore more polite, and by shortening -gwa to -a (and earlier also -get to -a) the middle forms now used in -a, North Korean -a, -u have arisen.

Because of its frequent use, it is called by Underwood 'the verbal participle' and by Eckardt simply the 'Verbalform', names which do not express the real sense of this formation. In the Turkish languages, where it is called the gerund in -a, -e, it is easily identified.

The verb hada 'to say', 'to mean', after this conv verb of qualitative verbs, gives the meaning 'to mean that it is so and so'. E.g., ñôha 'to be good', ñôha hada 'to approve'; maseppa 'to be frightful', maseppa hada 'to be afraid of, to think it awful, to fear'; pangepa 'to be delightful', pangape hada 'to be glad, to find it joyful'. This use of hada makes the qualitative verbs in some sense transitive. E.g. bi ñarani ñpra ñôha tarp 'they love each other', nari ñegëgg kombal ñat haassa 'the day is too warm and therefore we cannot study', 'because the day is too warm we cannot study', but nari ñegëgg kombal ñat haassa 'it is too hot for me, or I find the day to be too hot, and therefore we shall not study!'

Some verbs are used nowadays only in this form, e.g. ñeg nada, 178 'to get up and go out', ñeg nda, 'to rise and come'; the verb ilá : ñeg in 'to rise, to get up' is no longer used in other forms. Such conv verbs are also the words ñeg 'in this way', ñegë 'in that way, so as that yonder' and këjë 'so as that', amorí 'in any way', which are used only with the verb hada; ñeg hada, ñegë hada, këjë hada, shortened ñëtha, ñegëtha, këjëtha, 'to be so (as this, as that there, as that)'.

3) Converbum futuri.

This simple conv verb has the ending -ke : mëkke, oge, ñôkë. It has been mentioned as a primary form of the verb when we dealt with the formation of the future of the indicative, where the verb itta 'to be' is appended. This conv verb could also be called the converbum posterioris. It gives the content of the verb as a consequence or in time or mind later in relation to the following verb: parami oge mafi ñëthëta 'I opened the door that the breeze might come', osyl mëkke menjëgg ñâsí 'please make the dress to fit, make the dress so that it might fit', nahi ga pabíli mëkke ñëtta 'I am here to eat the food', pi ga wa-jë pabíli mëkke tójëö 'there must be rain if we shall have rice to eat', ñëwi mëkke ñanda 'he builds the house to be high', 'he makes his house higher', këjëgg këjë 'let's do it so, let's do it to be so', këjëgg ñëtha ñanda 'he makes the dog die, he kills the dog', pabíli mëkke ñëtta 'the food is ready for eating'.

All verbs can have a periphrastic transitive or factitive built by using this conv verb together with hada 'to do, to make'; ñëthëke hada 'to kill', mëkke hada 'to feed, to make eat', naal haassa hada 'to make one tell', mëndëli ñëga hada 'to have someone to make, to order';
Like the preceding converb, this is also found used at the end of a sentence, but also here the omission of a following main verb in a final form makes the phrase more polite. We therefore have it also under the volitive forms, where we have called it the precat iv e. Sometimes the particle -na is used after the ending -ke: čal ikkena 'you will behave well, you will be a good boy'. This same -na is also found after the present converb in -ko: čal ikkena (exclamation) 'how this is well', 'how well this is and', , čokkona 'it is good, really', čokkona 'it will be all right, it will be fine'.

The future converb of the verb ida 'to be', ije, which we found united to the future participle in -l: kalikt: 'I'll go', megikke, megikke 'you shall eat', was treated above under the name prescript ive. It is usually directed to the second person: megikke 'please eat', originally 'please be the one who eats'.

In the literature a word siri is found after this converb. This siri is a shortened *isi-i where we have the verb *isida 'to be' (the present pronunciation is ita) in the future participle, with an i added. Il hage siri watta 'he came in order to do the work', poge siri kattara 'he went in order to see'. The use of siri seems to stress the sense of future. The origin of the ending i in siri will be explained later under the converbum premissi.

4) Converbum destinationis (Supinun).

The ending is here -ija, -ije, which in daily speech are pronounced -ra, -re or in many dialects -ro. This is a combination of the future participle in -l (r) and the perfect converb ije, ije of the verb ida 'to be'; karje 'in order to go, for going', karje, karje, shortenings of the original kar-i:je, megijije, megijije, megijije, megijije 'being in order to eat', 'for eating', pap mejije (megijije) watta 'he has come for dinner, for eating', measil karje onan ja 'what is he coming to do here, what has he to do here', tonil padirja katta 'he went to receive the money', tje narje hajeta 'he did as if to start', 'he prepared starting, he was to start', tje narje hajeteni pi ga wase mot tje nasso 'I intended to leave, but because of the rain I did not'.

This converbal form is mostly found with verbs of motion (to go, to come, to leave, etc.) signifying the destination or purpose, but it is also used quite frequently with a following form of the verb ida, where then the stem vowel i- is lost; tje narje ini has been shortened to tje narje 'because intending to start', čarije 'because of intending to sleep, being about to sleep'; čarije 'he intended to sleep, he was about to sleep', čohirje-n get 'it is to be well, it would be well', pijeri solki nasseišje čohirje get (čohirje get) 'it would be quite well if my health should quickly improve', čokšač čažiro kal tæe tonil kažiro kamse (or kagame) 'when we come to take the table we will come bringing the money with us'.
veassini il hagi gresso 'as' guests have come to our house, it is
difficult to work', sonnini ogessini na gaçi mot hao 'as' a guest
is coming, I can't go out', nii kumbo hagessini ilijgi osio 'as' we
will study tomorrow, please come early'.

The verb ida is in this form ini, or with loss of stem vowel after
a vowel preceding, -ni; so-ni him-issa 'it is an ox, there is strength
in him', 'as it is an ox, he is strong'; seniri onal kajelle-ni pi ga vassu
(oni, veassini) mot kasso 'I had to go to Seul today but it rained
and thus I did not go'; cibu ci ciqte-ni, huaqari ni mananasso 'he
built a good house but chanced on a fire', kumbo ci kado-ni jumyeg
han sijami ga tilgesso 'he studied hard, and so he became a renowned
scholar' (kado-ni 'because he did', hajessini, hajteq-ni 'because he
had done'), kumbo hande go hado-ni shapman hajkko-na 'he said
he was studying, but he indeed was only playing'.

Instead of ida-ni 'because it was' there is of course after a vowel
also -de-ni. Sendo-ni him itte 'because it was an ox, it was strong'.

To strengthen the causal relation between the verbs, one uses,
besides this form given above, also a longer one with the ending
-nikka, where a word *tka (originally 'occasion' or 'case') is joined to
the ending -ni. Still longer is an ending -nikkanegra, -nikkanegra,
which has *n from the participle in and dere from the word dere, terje
or tari (to, towards); e.g. nari tynikka (tynikkani, tynikkandeg)
pakke haji mot hao 'because it is hot today we can't go out', dere
ziknikandeg kqji-zioso 'it is broken because it has fallen', 'it fell
and was thus broken', nuri kipkinnika mot keik kagesso 'since the
water is deep, we can't come over', kui-nikka tinji ciikpi ina 'because
it is the ear, it ought to hear', kim inikka kui kada 'as it is gold it is
precious', ona kko kajqte-nikka kidarljeqso 'I waited because he said
that he would come', na uqjre-ni mijqjiril manna sarasso 'I should
have died but I met a renowned physician and revived (manna-
sipniki or mannanikkani, mannanikandgra sarasso 'because I met
I revived').

When ini is joined to the future verb in -ke, the result is the
ending -keni; the future sense is very vague in the present language.
This form will be taken up in §§ 190, 191.

6) Converbum admissi.

The ending is -nä, which seems to be the perfect participle togeth-
er with some interjection a, the same as in the promissive. This
form expresses some carelessness and is thus a kind of con-
cessive; the sense is the same as in English expressions such as
'be it as it may' (I will go), 'say what you like' (I will go).

E.g. čaginä sänä kagesso 'it may be for death or life, but I go',
muri kikhipni keik kagesso 'the water may be deep but we shall
go over', čiinä kapsi manso 'it may be good, but the price is too
high', čañu mānā maqin dāro hao 'sleep or not, do as you like', so-ni
mar ima kwanghy haji anso 'ox or horse, it makes no difference',
onal nari čiinä na ani kagesso 'the day may be fine today, but
I won't go out', pia ga kophysin pab ina kogi-ana amo ges ina čiisio
'I am hungry, please give me rice or meat or anything'.

The verb ida 'to be' has here inä or, after vowels, -nä. This -na,
inä can in many cases be translated by 'or', 'or else'; ni-nä kagesso,
= 'I shall go as well' = 'or I go'; pab ina, kogi-ana, amo geši mpikke
čusi 'give me to eat, rice or fish or anything else'; nat-šam ina polka
should I try a noon sleep?'; če-ša čiisio 'you take tea or something!',
or 'you take tea at least!' (čada 'to consume, to repose')

This form frequently includes a sense of indecision and is found
especially in expressions concerning time or amounts, corresponding
to the idea in the word 'about'; čege ogesso 'when will he come?';
čoje-ana ogesso 'about what time will he come'; čañu-ana taw ina
'just one or two'; čañu-ana 'about how much'.

Very often one hears a longer ending -nämä instead of -nä. Here
seems to be a word amä 'possibly', connected with the ending -nä.
The sense seems to be to stress the opposition at the same time as the
sense of 'doesn't matter'; čañu mal ani kagesso 'he knows, but he doesn't
tell', čañu-ana mal ani kagesso 'he may know, but he will not tell', čiinä-
mamä kapsi manso 'it may be good all right, but the price is too
high'.

If one wants to stress the opposition between the two ideas
expressed by the verbs, it seems preferable to use the converb in
-a, -e together with to: čoja-do kapsi manso 'it is good, but the price
is too high'.
Converbum admissi futuri and Converbum premissi futuri.

The formations in and ina, united to the converbum futuri in -ke, have given the endings -keni and -kena, which sometimes seem to be used without much difference in sense; e.g. salgena cekkena ince kagesso 'it may be for life or death, but now I go'; khugenya cekkena sa oo 'it may be large or small, go and buy it'; kí sarami il hagenya tambiril meñin-gona 'although he has to work, he is always smoking'; il hagenya nokkena tambiril meñininda 'he may be at work or be idle, he always smokes'.

As will be seen from the above examples, this form on -kena is mostly used in alternative expressions. The same is the case with the ending -keni.

E.g. irkgkeni enekkeni (= irk hagenni enek hagenni) ne pe saangwaanin mues in ja 'whether I do it this way or that way, what concern is it of yours'; saqenn phalgek ini 'buying or selling, on it goes'; išgenni nokkeni hajajita 'they kept on lifting and placing'; khugenya cekkeni sasao 'large or small, buy it, please'; mekkeni kumegeni (= kulageni) saaŋgak tāro hao 'eat or starve, do as you like'; namu-ja iril hagenya malgeni (or hagenya malgeni) čame nín pužaranhi kal-kkesjo 'he may work or not, only he, but you have to be diligent'.

Both these formations are used also singly, and the form on -keni is often employed also at the end of an unfinished sentence; e.g. ki iri ēham kíp hageni 'that's the truth of it, after all'. 'It is so, after all, but (nevertheless).

This same formation on -keni is found with an affixed postposition ina (kwa or ina 'with', 'together with'), and the whole expresses then a concessive statement with a retracting objection or critical remark following in the main clause.

E.g. nokken-ja kíp hageni ina, na nín kíp ani hagesso 'you can do it in that way, but I will not do so'; i saŋgeni mekkeni ina irikkena mollassa 'although I eat this fish, I don't know its name', 'even at eating this fish, I can not tell the name'; ēhojín wohakanen ina nírri nín wetbasso 'although I fired off my gun, I did not get the deer' 'even with firing off the gun I couldn't get the deer'; mekkeni nín čokeni ina nín sañasa nín kíp hao 'to eat it is tasty, but the odour is disagreeable'; 'although it is good to eat, the odour is awful'; i bēn ḥoŋq hageni wa tasi nín ḥoŋq ḥaži ani hagesso 'this time I forgive you, but I shall not forgive you again'.

7) Converbum contrapositi.

There exists also a converbual formation with the ending -keni, which seems to its function and ending to be the accusative case (in -il) from the participle in, united to the converbum futuri as in the endings -keni, -kena explained above. In the present language the participles are used only attributively and are therefore not capable of declension, but in the old literature one finds some forms like ḫaŋnɪro, the instrumental of ḫaŋn, ḫaŋil, the accusative of ḫaŋn and some other examples of declension. The accusative is sometimes still used as an accusativus absolutus to stress the opposition of what is following, and the meaning is something like 'to think about that and that, how should ...' or '... it cannot ...'. The accusative inil seems to occur also after the converbum perfecti (e.g. ḫaŋniŋ, ḫenil), but such examples belong to the older literary style, and only hage-inil seems as a type to have survived in the language of today. It is to be noted that the following main clause contains either a negative or a wondering question.

E.g. ēhingu ga čukketta go hageni, ētěi ani kal su go issirjo 'when (if, after that) they say my friend is dying, what can I do but go', 'is there a possibility of my not going'; kí sarami mušin il hageno, ná ga ḥoŋq ḥaži mós go hagesso 'when he was doing some work, I could really not have a chat with him'; ḫiŋněl ētěi ḫoŋq niisirjo 'when he can read, how does he not understand the meaning'; ḫoŋq kaze hageni mušin kuŋge go iss? 'he has taken the book away, but what is his meaning with it?'; kšča go muŋgkeni, wí mós kaze kazo 'the box may be heavy, but why cannot you carry it away?' = 'why should it be so heavy that you can't carry it away?'.

8) Converbum mutationis.

This converbual form with the ending -taga has the particle ga joined to the declarative in -la, and the meaning of ga is here 'but'.


The use of the form on -taga implies the pointing at an interruption or change of action, but it may also indicate a sudden change of mind when telling something. The particle ga can also be left out, but it then makes the context somewhat unclear. According to Underwood, -taga signifies 'while', 'at the t me when', but there is nevertheless a kind of opposition between the two verbs.

E.g., čadaga ige nata 'I slept, but I rose up', odaga katt 'I he came, but has gone', 'he was on the way here, but went away', ahi udaga kha te 'the child was crying, but fell asleep', kadaga poatta 'I was on the way and (then suddenly) I saw it', češrijk hadaga sara natta 'I was nearly to die but I revived', čabattaga ćeksi natta 'he caught it, but immediately let it go', neka saranji sogida ča ga sokso deceiving people too much one is deceived oneself', tā khaaridaga čuqema poda 'they all waited, but seem to have died', itaga kamnida 'I am still awhile, then I go'. This itaga (or ita) may be translated as 'by and by', 'after a while'.

It is to be noted that just as ini, ina, ige, etc., are shortened to -ni, -na, -ge, etc., the formation idaga from the verb ida 'to be' is shortened to -daga. This -daga is found used after many other verbs; poa-daga 'has seen, but', porje-daga 'was about to see, but', poge-daga 'would see, but'; Miñk kare-taga (< karej hadaga) ani kasso 'I intended to go to America, but did not', ńbome sara-daga i piejįl ćešesso 'I lived by selling my efforts', 'I live on occasional earnings', onal konšarij porje-daga mot passe 'I intended to see the minister today, but I didn't see him'.

As stated above, this ga of the ending -taga can be omitted; tonįl čašriji kattu wasso 'I went to find the money (and I am back)'. It is usually omitted when two verbs are put together to indicate an alternative. The declarative in -ta is of course the same formation, and as an alternative expression the perfect is very commonly used; oda kada kajyta 'coming and going he did', 'sometimes he was going, sometimes he was coming', watta katta kada 'to be going and coming', ćešlatta narjyta kada 'to be going up and down', adaga uttaga katta 'they wept and laughed when they went', 'they went away weeping and laughing', určttaga useutta (určtta uttta) katta 'they went both weeping and laughing'.

Among words of this kind, besides the above mentioned ita 'after a while', 'by and by', the most common is the word poda 'seeing, looking at', which is used in comparisons and is to be translated by 'than'; češen poda (poda nni) čebńu pi ga čašo noda 'looking at Korea, Japan has more frequent rain', 'it rains more in Japan than in Korea', nosa ga mal poda see 'a mule is stronger than a horse'. Instead of poda also poga is used in comparisons.

9) Converbum citationis.

The ending is here -ta-i, now -ta. It is used before an oratio recta, and is after all the old instructive in -i (§ 99) from the declarative in -ta. It is uncertain whether it is used in everyday speech at all, but it is found in books and letters quite often.

E.g., češe iseg pārgak hada wakam ol tāre narij iđa kajytra 'he sat in his house and thought: tomorrow when he comes I will ask him', nā akhīl mutta, ne gādā sānaa, kajytra 'I asked the child: where do you live?', sjeŋjeŋe ćešesso... in the Bible it is said that...?, pakṣe karada (karasjadā): 'the Teacher spoke: ...'

This use of the formation on -ta to introduce a quotation demands that after the quotation follows hada 'say' or ko hada 'thus say', and this is in itself enough to denote a preceding clause as oratio recta.

10. Converbum respectus.

The ending is -toi, pronounced -tō or -te. In old documents the ending seems to have been -otoi, -utui. This ending is very difficult to explain; the vowel before -toi must be some old suffix, and not a special change of the stem word. This form indicates a 'taking in view that', 'to be that and that (it is...').

E.g., musik hadā čošin saram ida 'to be uneducated, he is a very fine man'; khe ķi ni kiče parj ŝiŋo 'to be so tall, his feet are small'; kojani niň manji čači niň ani češlata 'although there are plenty of cats, they do not catch the rats'; pi ga ollinji mordā (or molla do,
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(11) Converbum efficiendi.

Here the ending is -torok, which can be analysed as the instrumental case with the ending -ro from the declarative in -ta (or the regressive -tâ, -tâ-r) and with the particle ok, ak added; -târo-ak has been assimilated and shortened to -torâk. The sense is 'until that and that is reached', or 'so that...'.

E.g. chadorek mgkta 'to eat until one is satisfied', adorok (aladorek) hombu haigetêra 'they studied until they knew it', komburi ñal hadorok laqen hao 'please admonish him until (so that) he will study well', 'admonish him to study well', osïl iptorok mandêra ñusio 'make the dress so that it fits', 'make the dress to fit', ki iri ñal tâdorek him ssepa 'use your efforts that this affair may succeed', ha ñdorok ani onda 'they do not come back until the sun is down', ki sani ñal hadorok hem hada 'the mountain is rough until one reaches the top', ñttorok ñasa 'search for it until you find it', kirêhe ñttorok ñaţi ani hal ñkésio 'you ought not to sleep until it is so late'. --- Also -toro (i.e. without -ok) is sometimes used in the same sense; e.g. puridaro haura 'make him call'.

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(12) Converbum dumtemporale.

The ending is -mën, formed by uniting the converb perfecti of ida with the verbal noun on -m. Here as in the following converb the stems on -i have lost the -bindings vowel. Before -m the binding vowels (orig. a, ñ) have been labialised, i.e. o, ñ. The meaning is 'meanwhile, while', or that the action is continuing during the action expressed by the following main verb. Usually only the present tense, but sometimes also the perfect is to be found.

E.g. pabil megêmje summil ponda 'I read the newspaper while eating', na nif ñamî (or ñamjênse) konan përu ñido 'I am in the habit of snoring when I sleep', ñamîn hamjek kumburir êtêke hao 'how can you study while you are playing', 'how can you both study and play at the same time', kil kamî ñâça îo haqo 'can't we tell a story while going along the road', mulenôt ñalîn ñal phamîn ño (phamjênse ño) tona ëpta hao 'do you say you have no money when meanwhile you are selling a lot of things', ñige kasamînmg ñige wannan jor 'when did you go and when did you come back'.

Instead of -mën also -mënse is used without any marked difference in meaning. The particle ñên (< ñen < ñisî) is here joined to -mën which is to be treated in the following paragraph.

The verb ñu is in this form imêj, and loses the stem vowel after a preceding vowel.

E.g. kim sëb毫克 ñkko-mëj ëpta go hajesso 'while Mr Kim was there they said he was not'.

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(13) Converbum conditionale.

Its ending is -mën, the same as that of the preceding converb and an affixed ñin, sometimes found in this full form, but usually contracted to -n. In North Korea this ending -mën is in some parts pronounced -mîjê, -mn or -mnên. The sense is that of a conditional or temporal circumstance in relation to the following main verb. All compound tenses are here used.

E.g. pi ga ñmîn ñot hajesso 'if it rains (when it rains) I can't go', ñhirip hamjen êtêke kari ikka? 'if he goes out, what shall I do?', ñhirip hajissimën ëtêke hao 'when he has gone out, what can I do', karja kko hamjen kasi 'if you intend to go out, please go', 'when you intend to go, please go', ñorîn ñalîn a lãh înjen ñâça ñumîn ñanpek ñajess go hajesso 'when one wants to know an unknown word, it's easy to know it if one looks for it in a dictionary', ki iri ñal to mâjê ñın ñal sâle tajesso 'when that affair will turn out all right,
it will be easy to live', kyejke mawalimjen karpis manso 'if one does it so, the price will be high', pymejke nayj nebalimjen kot marjesso 'if you lay them in the sun they will dry immediately'; pomoni imjen kholtli phio 'when the spring comes, the flowers blossom'.

The converb conditional of the verb ida is imjen and after a preceding vowel -mjen, which latter is to be kept apart from -mjen as primary ending; iyun param imjen pi ga ogesso 'when the wind is warm, there will be rain', kaaj watej-mjen oso 'if he has come bringing it is good', 'I wish he had brought it', so-mjen sejasso 'if it is an ox it is all right', i sepzim imjen algete 'if it is this teacher, he knows', 'this teacher will know it', 'might know it', na xingaage nin pasi-mjen kal eal arasso 'I thought I could go (that way) in half an hour'.

14) Converbum hypotheticum.

In the preceding converb the conditional clause is expressed so that the condition is thought of as real or existing. Contrary to this, converb hypotheticum gives the condition as supposed or possible without deciding upon its reality. The ending is here -kedjen, -kedjen, an old shortening of the converb futuri and the regressive ide with nin added, and the sense is 'if it should be that...'.

E.g. pi ga ogedjan munis tadara 'if it should rain (while I am away) shut the door', ne hjeni ogedjan naye alge hajera 'if your elder brother should come, let me know it', omimjen naye alge hajera 'if he comes let me know it', il wenge phogi ani hagedjan te cennar 'if he should not sell it for one yen, give more', silkedjen koman tusio 'if you should not like it, leave it', pi ga kiyadjan oso (eskessso) 'it would be well if the rain should clear up', nu ga ogedjan ewo kidjar te siga go hajera 'if someone should come, tell him to wait a while', ta siyejkejden kombu siga hasio 'as soon as you have rested enough, begin to study, please', kyejke-mjen (kire homjen) 'when it is so', 'if it is so', kyejkejden (kire hagedjan) 'if it should be so', kyejke nin (kire haso nin) 'as it actually is so', kija kire ikyadju kot ejaal su iskessso 'if it should be (but it is not) along the main road, then we could find it', kija kire isejkejden 'if it had been on the main road', so-mjen

ðothaga nagui iden (igedjen) mot sejgetta 'if it is an ox, it is all right, but if it should be a donkey, that wouldn’t do', phjehke nej glekhejen kot maalkekasso 'if you should have put them in the sun, they would have been dry immediately'.

This converb is very often found also without a following main verb, as expression of a wondering 'that it shou ld be so and so'; ekkedjen 'that it should be so good'. Sometimes it is also used so that the thought 'then it is all right' or 'then it is just so' is meant: ekkedjen 'that it should be so good', pi ga ogedjen 'that it should rain'.

In the use of such an exclamatory expression as the predicate of a unfinished sentence the Korean language agrees with many others.

Also the combined ending -kedjenjen is to be noted; e.g. pi ga ogedjenjen wane nin ppall ga ti ekkedjan hasso 'if it should happen to rain, the washings in the court-yard would all be spoiled'.

The converb hypotheticum of ida is not igedjen or igedjen, but usually iden, which phonetically can also be iden joined to converb perfecti ï. In the older literature we often find -den, i.e. the shortened ide nin, affixed to a preceding converb perfecti, but this usage is now exceptional.

In conditional and hypothetical phrases an introductory word may be used. Such are:

hok: 'another (case)', else', 'or', 'perhaps';
man-il: 'one (case) of ten thousand', 'if', 'if perhaps';
pirok (piao-ok, Chin. pi 'example') 'just for example', 'for instance'.

These words may also be used when the phrase has a concessive sense, indicated by the use of the augmentative particle to (do).

15) Converbum momentanei.

This primary formation has the ending -êa. Possibly it is identical with the nomen resultatis (-êa) in Mongolian and the nomen perfecti in the Tungusian dialects (-êa, Turkish -s).

It expresses the following main action as taking place immediately after the first action. E.g. na ga kajga akadari taru-gatta 'I went out, and immediately the children ran away', jagil mekko
tho hajesso 'as soon as I took the medicine, I vomited', pabîl mejgetta sarami watta 'just as I had eaten, a man came', nî ga čeqeqage tadača kikča ga té-nalta 'at the same moment as I had arrived at the station, the train left', kî sarami tîrj oža nî ga na-galta 'at the same time as that man (or he) entered, I went out', pi ga oža maža kinhegta 'it rained a little and then suddenly stopped', nupča čamîl tîrjgta 'as soon as I was in bed, I fell asleep'. 'I laid myself down and slept in at once'.

206 16) Converbum negationis.

This name we here may give to the same verbal noun in -čî (N. Korean -ti), which is treated under the name of Indecisive. It is a verbal noun and used with the verb hada 'to do', if this is negated. In the same way as 'to do' is used in English together with a negation, for instance in 'I do not go' as opposite to 'I go', the Koreans say kaži mot handa or kaži ani handa 'I do not go', thereby stressing the negation. They also say mot handa 'I can't go' or ani handa 'I shall not go', 'I will not go', but the construction kaži mot (or ani) handa expresses a somewhat stronger negation.

To this formation in -čî (-ži, -čhi), Nkor. -ti (-di, -thi) the particles njiu and to are affixed as to other verbal nouns. The use of to after -či (now -čî) seems to have been early shortened to -čo; mekti to to mekti, manshi to to mancho, oli to to olo, otto, etc. For -či njiu (present -či njiu) the abbreviation -čiu, -čin is sometimes used. Besides -či, i.e. the Nominative of this verbal noun, sometimes also the Accusative -čirî, -čil is used.

E.g. aži mot hao 'I don't know', aži njiu mot hao 'as to knowing I don't (know)', 'I really don't know it', ažirî mot hao 'I do not know', aži do mot hao 'he does not even know it', ki sarani sa̱-ka podîn an-kho čeqeq-ka boda 'he seems not be recovering at all, but perhaps dying' (podîn = podi njiu), čukči do ani hago nali či do ani handa, čukči an-kho nâtto ani handa 'he is neither dying nor recovering'.

This same formation is used also with the verb mada, malda (stem mar-) 'to avoid', 'to evade', 'not to do', which verb is used as negation with all volitive forms. Also here the Accusative -čirî is sometimes found.

E.g. kaži mara 'don't go!', kaži marara, kaži malgra (in the same sense); oži malge 'please don't come here!'; nanišl jirj očihi (or notōiirî) mala-kho hajjette 'he said: don't leave the door open', 'he told me not to leave the door open'; mekti mara, mekti njiu mara 'don't eat it!'

There are two formations very frequently used in the same way as these converbs. One ends in -me, -mâ; pomâ, pome 'in seeing, while seeing', hanâ 'in doing, because of doing', meggsepâ 'by having eaten', etc. As this is the locative case of the verbal substantive in -m (v. § 235) and the other cases too of this same verbal substantive are used adverbially, there is nothing special to mention regarding this formation. The other formation, also quite frequently used, is that with the ending -kila, i.e. the case in -lā from the verbal noun in -ki, and is thus also a regular case formation in the North Korean dialects; it is only in South Korea that this case is restricted to the verbal noun in -ki (v. § 233).

Of some verbs the conversival forms, especially conversival perfecti, are used just like the English 'taking in view', 'concerning', 'excepted', and this use makes it possible to call them postpositions, and, — to distinguish them from nouns used as postpositions — verbal postpositions.

E.g. seul pathe seasso 'he came from Seul', originally 'attaching to Seul, he arrived'.

The most used verbal postpositions will be taken up later, § 265.

Nomina verbalia.

The nominative verbalia in the Korean language can be divided into two classes: verbal adjectives and verbal substantives.

I. The verbal adjectives.

The verbal adjectives are, like all other attributively used words not declineable. They stand immediately before the noun to which
they are the attribute, but they can also be used as predicates, then receiving a final particle, either affirmative or interrogative. Under the headings 'various indicative formations', 'polite forms' and 'the verb in interrogative sentences' this use of the adjectival forms of the verb has already been partly treated, — in the following we call these adjectival nouns briefly participles. Underwood and others use the name 'relative participles'. This is due to the fact that the name participle has also been used for what are here called conversival forms. The name 'relative participles' is given because they are often to be translated by relative clauses in our languages.

1. The present participle has the ending -ngn, -njn. Before this ending, a consonant at the end of the verbal stem is in many words in one way or another assimilated.

E.g. itta 'to be': inman, 'being', antta 'to sit': annan 'sitting', nakta 'to eat': megnin 'eating', hajitta 'has done': hajmnn, hajmnna 'one who has done', etc. The verbs with -t stems lose their -t- before the ending: ònm 'knowing', fmt 'lifting', kpm 'hanging up, attaching' etc. The verbs with -kh as the last sounds of the stem end here in -ljn, -ljn: killjn 'boiling', tullljn 'piercing', 'boring through'.

2. As has already been said, the qualitative verbs are not used in this form. The perfect participle with the ending -n seems to be the old form and the ending -ngn is really the -n participle of a secondary verb with the ending -ng-, -nj-. This verb is still found in use, e.g. fhld 'to be big', fhldnd 'to be increasing', fhld 'big', fhld 'growing bigger'; see § 246.

2. The perfect participle has the ending -n. The sense in words of action is that of the past tense, but in qualitative verbs purely adjectival, like the English 'an aged man'; e.g. nlljnjn sarn (niikta 'to be old') or nlti xnnk sarn (his-age being-many man) 'an old man'.

3. The future participle has the ending -l, -r, in North Korean -r. This is the form under which the Korean dictionaries give all verbs. The sense is that of the future action or of the action as such, i.e. without any determination of tense, v. § 221.

When the participles are used as attributes to a noun, the direction of the action is not grammatically indicated and is clear from the context.

E.g. il hanan saram 'work-doing man', 'a man who works', saran hanan il 'man-doing work', 'the work a man does', il han saram 'a man who has worked', saran han il 'work done by a man', il hal saram 'a man who has to work', saran hal il 'a work to be done by a man', kil hanan saram 'the man who goes on the road', saran hanan kil il 'the road the man goes on', etc.; insa han sarami nguy-jo (insa hada 'to greet') 'who is the man who greeted?' or 'who is the man whom you greeted?' In this respect the Korean language is even freer than the English where one says 'sleeping rooms', 'eating rooms', 'drinking cars', 'walking sticks', 'closing hours', etc.

E.g. ne sánnan cibi qna 'bibi-o 'in which house do you live', ná meglnin suri tan sur-o 'the brandy I drink (seats) is very sweet', i gei nguy ga onan chá-go 'this is a book which who is reading?' 'who is reading this book', uri hanan kiri nguy 'the way we have gone is far', se chunin cibi dlá isso 'where is the house one rents out', se cun nibi dlá isso 'where is the house one has rented', se cib dlá isso 'where is the house which is to be rented', kpmn papi innn ja 'is there a through-going room?', kpnj pani inna 'is it a room which has to go through?'

From the present participle have been derived the indicatives in-ne (inne 'is', pone 'sees', megny 'eats', hajjne, 'has done', hajjne 'will do') and the progressive present in-nínda, -nda (innandá 'is', meglnn d 'is eating', ponda 'is looking', handa 'is doing'). In -n a particle i has joined the participle, and in -ninda, -nda we have an earlier -nan i in a shortened form. Also innaída, meglnnádia are this participle with i added. Besides this the literary language makes considerable use of the participles with -ira to indicate the close of a sentence: hananira 'does', hanira 'has done', harira 'will do', kiptrira 'is deep', kiptrira 'will be deep', kirira 'is long', kirira 'will be long' (kilda 'to be long').

Corresponding to the present in -ne, the qualitative verbs have an indicative in -e (sometimes -a, -á): kiphe 'is deep', kie 'is long'.
The qualitative verb *ida* has the participles *in* and *il*. After a preceding vowel the stem vowel is lost, i.e. of in only the sound *-n* is left.

E.g. *ęgir-ię-n* *tłi* 'at the time when I was about to die', *ęgir-ię-n* *pap* 'the rice he was about to eat', *ękił-n* *tłi* 'the time when he died', *męktę-n* *pap* 'the rice which we then ate off', *kadał* *kil* 'the way he then went', *kassetę-n* *kil* 'the way he had gone', etc.

The extended future participle.

The above example *ęgir-ię-n* may be taken as an example showing the origin of the extended future participle with the ending *-len,-lën*, which is very much used with the interrogative particle *-či* but may be found also as predicate in questions and also as attribute to nouns. This *če* has been a noun with the sense of 'fact, thing' (v. postparticipial nouns, n:o 6).

E.g. *kałlįńi* *małlįńi* *morgęsso* 'I can't know whether he had to go or not', *issilléńi* *aži* *mot hau* 'I don't know whether there is' (cf. *kalē* *małe* *morgęsso* 'I don't know whether he is to go or not', *issillé* *aži* *mot hau* 'I don't know whether it is to be, it will be'); *öllinga* 'will he come?', 'was it; he will come?'; *ći irić tā hajęssilįńi al su ėpsō* 'I don't know whether the work is all done'.

Special postparticipial nouns.

The participles are used with all kinds of nouns but the language has a special inclination to use certain nouns with a very general sense (thing, fact, moment, case, place, word, while, way, etc.) after the participles where European languages have subordinate clauses. In this combination the nouns are used in the nominative, i.e. without case endings, except *koro* and *tirō*, which are instrumental forms.

The most used nouns of this kind are:

1) *ći* 'place', 'where', 'if', 'as to', pronounced *te*, *tā* and *de*, *dā* after pr. pf. fut. participles; e.g. *piti* *mańdie* *nwā* *usānįl* kažiŋa
When there is no rain coming why have you come here carrying your umbrella?'; kî saramî il hanandê i mal hajîte 'when he was working he said:' (work-doing place, he said), il hando 'when he had worked', 'as he had worked', il hao-nê 'when he was working'; nêge ol phîngi ga inmîndê sto me to come a letter being-places, 'but there ought to come a letter to me'; saqîlte iSSo 'I can use it', 'it can be used'; kalîte nîn 'as to going'; kal éi-nêde 'when it concerns going, speaking about going'; pî hage-nê de, pîshêngêda 'for instance', 'to take an example', 'if', 'just to have an illustration'; érê hage-nê de, êrêshêngêda 'if it is so', 'if it's this way', kîrê hage-nê de, kîrêshêngêda 'if it's so', 'if it's that way'. This noun te, de is thus very frequently used for a subordinate clause of time or of situation. But it is also found in its original, more concrete sense, e.g. kandê 'home' the gone place is not existing, 'there are no traces of going', ëohin kal tâ (kal-te) nîn iSSo 'there is a good place to go to'.

2) tîl, jîl, pronounced tiîl, dîl, original meaning perhaps 'event', 'case', is used after all participles, but usually with question or negation in the following main verb; e.g. kaşz în dîl saqîlte iSSo 'even if I bring it, can it be of any use?; kan dîl mot pînta 'even if he has gone, I have not seen it', kal dîl ëohna ani handa 'even if he is to go I don't find it good'. Cf. Manchu dule 'in the contrary'.

3) tâî, original pîlî 'season', 'time', still found in iptî 'now', 'nowadays', kipî 'at that time', cêptî 'lately', identical with Turkish (Uliger) bûta 'season', is pronounced tî and means 'at the time of', 'when'. It is used after all participles but most frequently with the future participle. Also the Locative tîa is used.

E.g. phîngi sîl tîa soneîna casso 'when I wrote a letter (was to write a letter) a guest arrived'. This tîa with the future participle is a very popular method of expressing the temporal clause.

4) éch 'occasion, time'; to be rendered by 'while', 'when' after the future participle. Also the Locative âch is in use.

E.g. akku ol éch (or: ol êch) mëa ëhîşîpîlîda (or ëhipî yîda, ëhipîra) 'when I came a few minutes ago it was terribly cold.'

Sir'; na-gal êch mada (êcêp-mada) i saramî mna'ma 'every time I go out I meet this man'; kombî hal ëchke (hal êch or hânînde, kal tê, kal têke) ëhînî hajî mara 'don't play while you study'.

The words êch (Turkish âcî 'time') and tê (N:î 3) are still felt as independent nouns while te, de (1), tîl (2) and ëch (5) are by all grammarians explained either as endings or as conjunctions.

5) ëch, originally a Chinese word with the sense 'moment', 'case', now gives an expression for 'as', 'as far as', 'since', 'when', etc. It is used after the perfect participle.

E.g. tîrîn-ûzh 'as I have heard', 'as far as I have heard', kîrêkhe yim hal ûzhk 'since one has said so', 'since they have said that', i gosîn tê hajîsîn-ûzhk kî deîm ëch ëchak ëhaj 'as we have already finished this we will begin with the next following', nà ga manîî jîn-ûzhk 'a'ch tîrî ëzi màlla' go happejî 'at the moment I opened the door they said: you must not come in yet', kapsîl ëhîre-nûzhk tonî ëpekînî 'that I should have no money when I was to pay the price!' ka pîònîzhk amo de ëpsî 'I went to look and there was not any'.

6) tî, original and North Korean ëi, jî, 'fact', 'thing', 'event', is used with the perfect and future participles. The interrogative particle ëî (< ëî) is the same word in another function. Cf. Tung. -tî as a question mark.

E.g. kal ëî-ru 'he will go, he shall go', kal ëi-nêde nîn 'if it is about going', 'as to talking about going', hajîsîl ëî-ru do 'although one really has said', 'even if one has done', 'although even ëi 'that one has said it (does it matter)', kal ëî-ru 'I should say', kal ëi-je nîn 'when one was to do'; nari kâlînî-ûjî do at su ëpsî 'one cannot know whether the day will clear up at all' (kîînî 'to clear up', kâlînî < kâlî-ç-n, -n < in; see § 224); tîpho ari ëhtêkhe mëa ëhî-ërîsîn-ûjî, ëhînî ga sà ëhîsî 'how many shells of the great guns fell. — (it was so much that) the earth was all ploughed up'; kan ëi ga orà-û (the gone-fact is long time ago) 'it is already a long time since he went'; mëgîn ëi ga ne sî tôîsî 'it is already four hours since I had a meal'; ne îcîrî
kase mulugen sal ci-nde ookin gojil sara 'when you go in the street to buy things, buy them good'; sugil-ci enjig keji mal hagesse 'I will sooner die than tell lies'. To remark is the use of the verb ida 'to be' in forms like ipa-zi (now seldom in speech) and iden-zi, iden-zi, Nkor. iden-zi, iden-zi (who) so ever, (who) ever it may be'; nugu-denzi 'anybody', nugu-denzi 'whatsoever, anything'; nighj-denzi 'any amount'.

7) de, written ęgi (Chin.) 'time, coincidence, occurrence' used after the perfect participle.

E.g. ki saram ęgi-zi nın orë-so 'it is a long time ago that he died'; na mannagi ęgo ejel on-zi ga isso 'have you been in Sen earlier than when you met me?' ēne pon ęga orë jo 'it is a long time since I saw you'; i sesa pųpho han ęga no mjet man-nin ina bōni 'about how many thousand years may it be since the world was created?'

8) tai 'accordance, concordance', instrumental čaro 'in accordance with, so as, like' is used after nouns and also after all participles.

E.g. tąro 'like this', mal čaro 'according to the word'; nō pon čaro 'like what I have seen, in accordance with what I have seen'; ki saram mal hanan čaro 'in accordance with what he says'; mal kāltari 'in accordance with what he is to say'; ki ēnai aha ponin čaro kažigo siphe hao 'that baby in accordance with what it sees it wants to get it', 'that baby wants to take everything it sees'.

9) če, written thgei (Chin.) 'body, shape', is used after all participles and with the verb hada 'to do', in the sense of 'to pretend', 'to simulate'.

E.g. ēnai če hanja 'is making weeping shape', 'tearful weeping', ēn ce hanja 'simulates having wept', ul če hanja 'simulates to start weeping'; il hanan če kajigja ani kajigja 'he was pretending to work but was not doing so'.

10) the 'ground', 'site', 'place' ( biç-te (the site of a house)) is very much used after the future participle to express an obligation; the verb ida 'to be' usually follows this the.

E.g. kal the io 'one ought to go, I am obliged to go', kassil the io 'they ought to have gone', taqini mal han dário hal the ida 'one must do it just as you have said', phijnži nın wahjini ssil the io 'you ought to write a letter'.

Sometimes the obligation does not logically concern directly the subject of the verb, but is more a conclusion of the speaker.

E.g. i hainin ēnisil hal the io 'this servant ought to be reliable, must be reliable', i serram čaua čal hajjegsjikka pujo hal the imnida 'this man must be rich as he has done good business'.

For the ida is often erroneously written thehida.

11) tās, tīs, pronounced tīt, 'similarity', is used both with the ending i (tīsi, the old instructive case) and with the verb hada 'to be' (v.qual.) after all participles in the sense of 'seemingly, probably', 'likely to'.

E.g. ol tīt hada 'it seems that he will come, he may come', ęg saram al tīt hada 'that man probably knows it', 'he must know it, after all', aha ēmān didi hada 'the child may be sleeping', jīl wèn ēro mal sal tīt sèpsa 'one probably can't buy it for 10 yen'.

The form tīsi is used not only after participles but also after the form in ēi, but -tī-tīs has been shortened to tīsi.

E.g. pap mëltį taho just (as lightly) as eating food', nō meqni dëti ne do meqer 'please eat just as I am eating', čokti dësti (čakći) ēa t vä 'he is lying there as if dead'.

12) jaŋ and mojaŋ (Chin.) 'manner, fashion' is used after all participles to express some probability or feasibility. The verb may be ida or hada or sïpta 'to look like', or the instrumental case is used. Cf. kijaŋ (jiŋ), kijanjaŋ 'so, in that way'.

E.g. ēgin dégi mojaŋ io 'he seems to start reading now', akka kan mojaŋ ida 'they seem to have gone a few minutes ago', ibiŋ ni jaŋ ida (karjan ida) 'he seems to go to Japan, I think he goes to Japan', ațił ol jaŋ mëresso 'it is still long until he comes', ki serram pić pić jaŋro sībi hao 'that man starts a quarrel about getting money seemingly due to him', čengjiŋjil jaraŋ har-jaŋ imjinn sogi phijnžirja njig-jaŋ ennın ēsi mi na čosso 'if you should travel to China it would be very
well to get some letters of introduction", karja hanjen 'if you intend to go', karja kar-joj (kal-nojen) imijen 'if you should possibly intend to go', migi dol kal jairo pipkhirol ekkesso 'I have to get a passport as I shall probably go to America'.

13) ko (Chin.) 'reason', 'cause', is used in the instrumental case, i.e. koro, goro, in the sense 'because of', 'owing to'.

    E.g. čihoj i iro hagennan goro tarij iroj mot hagesso 'now because I do this work I can't do any other work', onal nunwan goro te čihoj 'it's colder today because the snow is falling', pulabul kal thig in goro kasso 'he has gone because he had to'.

    The participle is either the present or the perfect with the modification they imply.

14) kkadalok (locative kkalolge) 'reason' is used in about the same sense as koro.

    E.g. nari kall kal an kkalolge kikarjesso 'I waited because I thought it would clear up', nunwan (wannan) kkalolge ani watta 'he hasn't come because it has snowed'.

15) su 'remedy', 'means', 'possibility', after the future participle and with the verb ilta 'to exist', epta 'to lack', is the commonest expression for facts, events.

    E.g. kal su isso 'one can go', kal su ēpsoso 'there is no possibility to go', mot kal su isso 'one need not go', mot kal su ēpsoso 'there is no possibility not to go', 'I must go', 'you must go', etc., al su ēpsoso 'I have no means of knowing it', 'I can't know it', toni ēppin ĝik mal sal su ēpsoso 'as I am short of money I can't buy the horse', ēhiti ēppin jenj ēkso 'I have no paper and can't write a letter'. kijja ka kijj ēk so su isso 'as the characters are big I can read them very well'.

    When two negations are used the idea 'must' is strongly expressed: ējīr kal kal su ēpsoso 'you must go there'.

16) man 'size', 'quantity', 'amount', 'measure', with the verb hada 'to be' and after perfect and future participles, means the extent of quality and quantity, and can be translated by 'worth while to', 'able to', 'good for', 'can'. Cf. jel man 'only ten', san man nephin 'high as the mountain', elma (<"when man") 'how much', nā

sīnguk han man mot hada 'it is not as much as I thought', mantha (<"man hade") 'to be an amount, to be much, to be many', manhij (<"man han") 'numerous'.

    E.g. i ēhīk po man hade 'this book is worth reading, is readable', če put ssoj man kāži mot kāso 'that pen is not good to write with', al man han gess so 'it is a matter one could weep over', i gessi neği man hada 'this is eatable, one can eat this'.

    After the perfect participle, man is often to be translated 'but'. In this sense the declarative and the indicative are also found before man and the emphatic maniju 'but'.

    E.g. kiri kess maniju ēße sss 'I went there, but it wasn't there', phįjgo sikki nassijen ēhij-īq-n man 'it would be well if the sickness should be better soon', pi gaj Li tē kāss man mot kal su ēpsoso 'it will probably rain, but even so I must go'.

    Before this man, maniju the indicative ending ēi has in the compound tenses been shortened to t and this is now assimilated with following w to nm, mm (written sn): kagettē maniju, kāss maniju 'has to go but', kagessēg maniju, kagessēmaniju 'he had to go but', kagessēg maniju, kagessēmaniju 'he had gone but'.

17) kes, nominative, pronounced kęt, get. North Korean ke, ge, 'piece', 'bit', 'thing', 'object', is used after all participles in the most wide sense and of both concrete and abstract sthings. When used in the predicate before the verb ida, kes, gess has given -k'-, -g', i.e. kes-ida, kes-ia, -gesi-ia, etc. are usually abbreviated to -kida, -gida, -ki, -gii, etc.

    E.g. i gessi khallo phin go gesso (> phingio) 'this is cut with a knife (is a thing cut with a knife)', i saram mol hananguero 'this man is saying', kalla hanan ges to (kallinanguero) 'he (says he) wants to go', 'the matter is that he wants to go', sal kei kąj kage kage 'please carry away what I am to buy', san gessi kąj kage kage 'take with you my purchases', ēnquin get 'the dying', 'to be dying', ēnquin get 'the being dead', 'to be dead', ēnquin kęt 'to be near death', ne ēnąn gessi mot arasso 'he didn't know that you knew it', 'he didn't know what you know'.

    When used after the future participle and with following
ida 'to be', the sense is 'it is a thing that one has to', and signifies duty, which is most easily expressed by 'ought to', 'should', 'must', 'has to', etc.

E.g. i ñeck ná go pol kés is 'this book I must read, ought to read', kal kés is (kallikio) 'I ought to go', píheñi nín nòheñi ssil kés is (süllkio) 'as to the letter, you ought to write it'.

This use of kés with the future participle with ida gives about the same sense as the use of the 'place, site' or of the following noun il.

Joined to a participle, the accusative késil, shortened to kël, gêl (N. Kor. kęg, gąg), is often used in exclamatory sentences as elliptic predicate; e.g. ñohiñ gêl 'how good it is!', 'but it is good!', N. Kor. ṯom-gëg; ñënnan gêl 'there is nothing!' ñëssil két 'it will not be!' 18

18 il 'work, business, doing'. Besides its use in the general sense, it has after a future participle and with the verb ida the meaning 'must', 'should', 'ought to'.

E.g. kar ir io (kal il io) 'we have to go', nòheñi phíñiñirí ssir ir io 'you ought to write the letter', 'the letter writing is your business', ṯa ñiñessil il io (ir-io) 'all ought to be ready', por ir isso (pol il isso) 'I have something to look after', 'I am busy'.

19 i 'something', 'one', 'man' or 'thing', is used in the present language only as a kind of ending, and has been said to be a shortened form of the Chinese word ūn 'man', 'human being', but is an old interrogative-indefinite pronoun 'some' or 'what'. In English it corresponds very often to the word 'one': i í ga ñooso 'this one is better', ñeg i í ga ñuñiñ (muel) hane 'what does that one say, what is that one doing', kò i nín kënta ga 'that one is black, but ...'

When this word i is used after participles, it substantiates the participle in one way or another: kanan-i 'the man who goes, the going one, that that one goes', kan-i 'the man who has gone, the gone one, the absentee, the absence, the being away', (kal-i) kari 'the one who is to go, anything that will go, the starting one, the departure'. We have here the same i as has already been treated under the converbum premissi, which has the ending -ni, i.e. the perfect participle and i, but i is still used after the perfect participle also as a sign of substantiation, or when no other noun is found necessary.

E.g. kanan-i ga wugu io 'who is going there', 'who is now going', squeñ u-li ga alësssa 'that man who came from Seoul may know it', ñëgoll-i 'the old one', 'the old man', ñëgoll-i 'a young one', 'a youth', ñëgoll-ege nañiñ tallà hao 'what can I demand of a dead man?', sëddan-tir il àssio 'please help one while he is living', nà ga kari ikka 'is that that I am to go?', 'shall I go?', nà ga pori ida 'it is I who am to see, is it that that I shall see, I shall see, I will see, I like to see'.

The last examples with -ri iñka, -ri ida, -ri io, etc., are usually both in speaking and writing shortened to -rikka, -rida, -rio and by Ëkiram in his grammar they are said to be formations from a secondary verb stem on -ri with future sense. It is here to be remarked that -ri with the verb ida is most commonly used for the first person: ñari ikka, karikka 'shall I go', porio 'I shall see'.

The combination of -i with a participle has, as seen in old documents, been very much used with the final affirmative particle íra at the end of a sentence for the indicative, kanan i íra (kanan-íra) 'goes', kar í íra (karíra) 'shall do, will say, will be', but also without íra it occurs quite often at the end of a sentence. In the high style forms karnida, ísísímní which have been treated earlier, we have the same formation and the verb ida, i.e. karnida is an earlier kapkan-i ida and karinika is an earlier kapkan-í ikka. The same -i is also to be found in iiri, a word used after the future convcrb (si-ri < *isíl-i).

20 iíra, a Chinese word meaning 'person, personality', is used beside or instead of í (No. 19) to indicate the doer of an action, and is more polite than the preceding í.

E.g. kanan-íra 'the goer', 'the going person', kan-íra 'the one who has gone', kalou 'the one who is to go', ñeg í-kanan-íra muñ yó 'who is the worker there?', 'who is working there?', kì gode
katcul-żaril aži mot kanaŋja jo 'I am not one to know who it was who went there', seul kassinja ga, seul kassinjanja ga 'that one who had gone to Šeul', aha ponnaŋga 'a nurse', kanaŋ hanjaril keje hanje irje onjaril tőa eunje 'by giving alms to the sufferers and helping the unfortunate'.

This čja is used after both Chinese and Korean nouns, and after participles.

pa 'place', 'point', 'side', 'object'. Contrary to the preceding i and čja, which denote the doer and give the verb in an active sense, the substantive pa is often used to denote the object of the action, so that the verb is to be translated by the passive. The original meaning may have been 'place'.

E.g. sän ba 'the place where one has lived' — 'domicile', s aldı ba 'the things some one bought', 'the things then bought', sän ga muŋga io 'what is it you know?', čuŋga ba tasi sal su isso 'can something which has died live again?'; njeĩi ga ubi phuŋki-ri, ubi maikō ssæŋ muu ssarari algo injin (iĩin) ba-ra 'you are our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men' (2 Corinthians, Chap. 3. v. 2), čuŋgi kei suŋnjamje ngaa suu his 'that mortality might be swallowed up of life', pi ga manki wassjini pathe smin ba kolsiŋi kještarn nasso 'as it has rained much, the grain sown in the field has been damaged', hajun baril puŋgi mungin iril hao 'losing your working instruments, what work can you do?', hänanin ďan ba ponsjeŋi puŋgi 'losing the original nature given of God'.

ča 'line', 'ruler', 'line of thought' is used if the following verb has the sense of thinking, knowing or hoping, and after such a verb corresponds to 'that'. If the accusative čuŋgi is used, the sense is that the thinking was right, but if the instrumental ča is used, the phrase usually indicates that the line of thought was wrong.

E.g. kan žul aratta ('gone-line I thought') 'I knew he had gone', kan žuŋgi aratta 'I knew (quite correctly) that he had gone', kan žullo aratta 'I thought he had gone (but he hadn't).'

pišsal ča luŋgi 'did you think that it was to be so expensive?', muŋgi ideŋ-ži la čello tǒa čello ōan-ri ga isso 'there are some who believe that everything has come into existence of itself', tól čello parašo 'I hoped that it would happen', suŋgi kanan žul mōllat 'I didn't know that the time went so'.

ča 'word', 'speech' is used with participles if the verb which follows means 'to hear' or 'to perceive'. The Koreans cannot use another object with the verb 'to hear' than one which means the sound which is actually heard.

E.g. kada han (kattān) marıči liṛuoso 'I have heard the word that he has gone', 'I have heard that he has gone', čuŋgi la man liṛuoso níka 'have you heard that he is dead?'.

pač (Chin.) 'time, turn, occasion' is used with the future participle and the verb hada 'to do' in the sense of 'to be on the point of', e.g. tiriŋ-žil pač ěboj̣o 'I was about to fall', toj̣a mānna čuŋgi pač ěbojo 'he met with robbers and nearly lost his life', kire kada ga teročí némje-žil pač ěboj̣o 'when I was walking on the road I almost fell over a stone'.

se, written se (Chin.), 'state, condition, aspect, circumstances', has from early times been used with ida 'to be' and a preceding future participle in polite speech, meaning 'the opportunity to'; e.g. meŋgil-se-da, meŋgilse 'has the opportunity to eat' and (passively) meŋgilse id; ḫalse (after vowel -oolsa) 'is, Sir'; čohiŋ čohiolsa 'it is good paper'; kire ḫalse, kirečio 'so it is, Sir', kire ḫalseol, kirečio 'so it happens to be, Sir', etc.

Elliptically used se without ida is often heard in daily speech; (kire+ ḫal sa>) kirečio > ḫalse 'so it is'.

vi̋, written sai 'interval', 'space between' (Tung, soja 'the inner angle or space between the fingers') is used after the future participle in the sense of 'while, during'; e.g. pač meŋgil sa toj̣a ča čhimaben tiriŋ wasso 'whilst we were eating, a thief entered our bedroom'. In this sense it is very common and equivalent or varying with locutions like meŋgaŋga, meŋgilti, meŋgil toj̣e, etc.

čoro, soro or soro with the future participle means 'the more... the more'. As in the ending torok (v. § 198) we have
here the instrumental case with the particle -ok, -uk, and the preceding sq, sq, su is here a noun, perhaps that which means 'new' (sá 'new', sário 'again'), or perhaps a word sq (orig. so) 'over, more', 'higher up' (cf. mo. sajo recently, newly) or tung, sola, sola- 'to go upwards'). The variation of the vowel of the noun is here caused by lack of stress.

E.g. paramí pul sûrk pari irg naa 'the more the wind blows, the more the fire rises'; ḍohin noru nín týrul sûrk týkko sýpsu 'the more I hear good songs, the more I want to hear'; hómmamíl púhol sûrk crigeye gaa 'the more one studies Chinese letters, the more difficult it is', pol sûrol cýjepso 'the longer I look on it, the prettier it is'.

28) pep (Chin.) 'law', 'custom', is frequently used with the future participle and the verbs isso 'is', or ḍýpsu is 'not'. It means 'can', 'cannot'.

E.g. jagil máník magil pep ḍýpsu 'one can't take much medicine', aži mot hónnar saramíl tópante kugíje ñal pepi ñdí isso 'where (do you think it) is customary (possible) to go sightseeing in the garden of an unknown man?'; týrul pep ḍýpsu 'not allowed to enter', 'you can't enter', jagli itte-míjén i piýjil kothil yóbi ísýsso 'if I then had the medicine, I could have cured that sickness'.

In most cases the noun su 'possibility', 'means' can be used in about the same sense.

29) támun 'purpose', also támun 'in the purpose of' or 'because of', 'for the reason that', is mostly used with the perfect participle.

E.g. púhol támunne éhági sa watta 'he bought a book for studying', mën kíri ñan támun ñil í sýtýsso 'I will repose one hour because I have walked a long way'.

30) ñharrow, N.Kor. jári 'in order to', 'for'. This is either the instrumental in ro of a noun èka or, perhaps, a contraction of ò (see No. 6) and nqéj é gharo 'to do, for doing'. It is used only with the future participle.

E.g. éhági pákki l ñharrow (= pákki lá ñharrow) éhági saro kasso 'he has gone to buy paper for copying a book', sénsep hàn

paramíl sôhil ñharrow kíri ñharrow 'I have sought a shady place to get a cool wind', agúne ñharrow kíri ñharrow kíri ñharrow êható 'I look for the ash broom for (the purpose of) sweeping the ash from the stove'.

31) kil 'road', is often used also in the sense of «durings» or «while» after the present participle.

E.g. kvan gil naa hajot 'while going, he said', málgojíl sa ñanak gil ñí ñíbíro oó 'please come to my house when you go shopping', kúmer jokójíkínun gile sú lúmgíl-ro lútá túnjén ñokhesso 'as you are mending the box, you had better put in a new lock'.

32) çen (tyúu Chin.) 'middle, mid.' This is used oftener than the preceding kil in the sense of 'while', 'during'. The participle is then the present.

E.g. súmmun ponnal júne katta 'he fell asleep in the middle of reading the newspaper'; kil kvan júne 'while walking along the road'; kyl ponnal júne itta 'he is reading now', 'he is in the middle of his reading'.

33) çen (Chin.) 'the fore', 'before', 'earlier than' is used with the future participle.

E.g. kíi ña ñú ñí ñíne katta 'he went away before I came', 'before my coming', magil çen kájí ñora 'don't go before you have eaten, before eating'.

The verbal noun on -ki is here as frequent as the future participle: ojí ñíne, mëkkí ñíne etc.

34) hu (Chin.) 'after', 'the following', is used with the perfect participle in the sense of 'after that'.

E.g. i ñhági pón hu (híu) naa ñu ñegara 'after reading this book, give it to me', naï ña ña ñu amogá ña wànnan jà 'has someone been here since I left?'

35) lóy 'alternative', lóyn 'interval', 'space in'. Of these, lóyp is used in the sense of 'during', 'while'. Very much more frequent is the use of lóy after the future participle and with the verb hada 'to do', in the sense of 'to hesitate between doing and not doing'.

The verbal noun on -ki is here as frequent as the future participle: ojí ñíne, mëkkí ñíne etc.
E.g. kal ton mal ton haigiv 'he went a little and stopped again', 'he didn’t know whether to go or not'; pi ga ol ton ël ton haigiv 'it rained a bit and again not'; il hal ton mal ton hanan geui saig tā ëpsa 'it is no use if you work just a little and stop again', 'there is no need for you to vacillate between working and not working'.

36) eijen (ti-kijen, Chin.) 'boundary, border', is used with the future participle and with iđa ‘to be’ in conditional phrases in the sense of ‘if it really concerns’ or ‘when it comes to the point that’.

E.g. kal eijen imjen na do kageso 'if it really has come to going, I will go too'; i pathil phal eijen iđen (iđen) ‘if you should come to such a point that you have to sell this field’.

37) ppun is used after the future participle and with following iđa in the sense of ‘only’, ‘solely’.

E.g. ne nīn il man kal ppun iđa 'you have only to work'; i get pāhöl ppun deq tī pāhoreva 'you have not only to learn this part, but you have to learn more'; nakki wa mung nīn tāso ga tarīl ppun io, majo-jin kathin geui io 'the nakki (small octopus) and the mung (big octopus) differ only in size, their shape is just the same'.

38) māijin (māam, mām) ‘mind’, sāngu ‘thought’, tīs ‘meaning’, sēn-jī (Chin.) ‘intention’, parām ‘hope’ are used with the future participle.

E.g. ne ga nūl ol parae kidarigeso 'I will await you in the hope that you will come tomorrow'; jīn-jugī kal māijin iśso ‘I have in my mind to travel to England’; ilbon kal tīsī īpsa ‘I have no idea of going to Japan’ etc.

39) ējim 'beginning' with the future participle gives the sense ‘when about to’.

E.g. kal ējim (or kal ējine) nu ga reasso ‘just when I was about to go someone came’, = kalā hānde nu ga reasso.

The use of such postparticipial nouns and of the still more frequent converbal constructions is one of the most characteristic features of the Korean language. It is by these means the sentence can be continued to any length. So though Korean has no conjunctions, it is rich in other remedies to tie more or less independent phrases closely together, when this joining (‘conjunction’) is wanted as solemn or rhetorical.

II. The verbal substantives.

Substantives are formed from the verbal stems with various suffixes. Most of the formations now used as verbforms (those with the endings -tā, -te, -tī, -tā, etc.) are strictly speaking substantives. Besides these, there are also some not mentioned earlier. The most important of these are:

1) the verbal substantive in -ki (earlier *-kwi). The idea of the verb is expressed in the form of a substantive, in other words, this expresses the activity or the quality itself. It is declined regularly and used in all case formations.

Nom inative. hagi ga sūpsa ‘it is easy to do’, pogi do ēkkhe nghkhi do masi issa ‘it is both fine to look at and is tasty to eat’. nonga hagi wa kis koush hagi ga soro tarīl geui (tarīngso) ‘agriculture and literary study differ entirely from one another’, pakēn hagi man hanjīn tā ērī iđa ‘if you will only yield, I give you all’, òn qađi iri kal man hagi nīn sūtsē do kōn hagi nīn ereppso ‘all kinds of work are easy to talk about, but it is difficult to do them’.

To stress the opposition the nominative with following nīn is often used pleonastically; ēkkhe nīn ēsso ‘as to goodness, it is good’; ēkkhe nīn ēkhe ‘it may be good, but . . . ’; hagi nīn ka do tova qān nīn moj hār ‘as for going, I will go, but I will not return’.

Sometimes this substantive is used with the verb kada ‘to do’, for the sake of emphasis: e.g. opi do hago hagi do handa ‘they do both coming and going’.

Locative. nghkhi kagi na do kageso ‘with you going. I will also go’, ki sara ini hēng oorī sol ēn arasso ‘that man with his strength I thought would live long’, i čāk na popie nīn čānī īpsa ‘that book, the way I read it, is without interest’. 

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Accusative. The accusative is used as the object of a following verb, but it is also used to introduce a quotation, i.e. in the same way as conversum citationis and the word marty ‘with the words’; ki i ga mal hagiril i bieyin nin klok tynthia go hajetka ‘he said that this time it would come out exactly’, ne ga sul mekkal nörmän hagiril ëba nani naamaa to kun få Nin anira ‘as you are fond of drinking and gambling you are a rake and not a gentleman’.

Instrumental. The instrumental case of this verbal substantive is used in the various senses in which the instrumental is usually found; the most frequent is perhaps the sense ‘on account of’. Specially to be remarked is the use of this case with the verb ëkëñger hada ‘to decide for’, ‘to decide to do’: ki saram mal hagiril kiikëmsi ahass o because he told it, I thought it was a false rumour’, i naa känsil saa gëri ëkëñger haje ëss ‘I have decided to buy this’, i naa hagiril ëkëñger hajëssëmikaka ‘have you decided to move?’

Instrumental-locative in -kilài is used to express the cause or the purpose. The case ending -kilài is used in South Korea only appended to the verbal substantive in -ki, but in North Korea it is frequently used with many other kinds of nouns; ëbobok huagilì jëppë hajëssë ‘as he confessed, I forgave him’, ëal naakëllài të çoess ‘I gave him more because he ate so well’, sëilhë hagilì kë man tigëne ‘as they did not like it, I stopped’ (Cf. N.Kor. ëbšilì ‘for the father’).

The verbal substantive in -m, -im. It expresses either the action or its result, concrete or abstract. Like any other substantive, it is used in all case formations.

E.g. midïm ‘faith’, midïm ‘a believer’, pom ‘the looking’, pom ‘work to look after’, ‘an errand’. This -m noun of a verb is much used as object to its verb; e.g. ëam âda ‘to sleep’, ëkkum ëkkuda ‘to dream’, sarij ës ‘to live a life’, sëllam sëllità ‘to feed oneself with’, nörmän nöda ‘to play a play’, xorij âkada ‘to ferment, to gather pus’, etc.

There are many nouns of this type from verbs which are now obsolete: ërii ‘an armful’ (Cf. Manch. ëlëmbi ‘to accept’, Turk. altmaq ‘to take’); peën ‘the next’ (Cf. Turk. åki ‘two’).

As there exists an old dominant suffix -ak, -ak, words of the type ëkäri ‘short’ are to be referred to this -m noun and thereby to primary nouns (ëkarì ‘to be short’).

3) The verbal substantive in -i. The language has a noun in -i from verbal stems both as a substantive and as an adverb. As a substantive it is used of both active and qualitative verbs.

E.g. nöda ‘to play’, nöri or nörim ‘a play’, yîda ‘to enter’, tîri ‘entrance’, ‘the entering’, ërij ëlìda ‘to enter’, ‘to do entering’, mëdä...
'to drive', mōri 'driving', mal mōri -kkun 'a horse driver', 'horse-driving man'; ẖeṭta (pl. ġeṭta) 'to walk', ġerī 'street, road'; ġaṭta 'to catch', ġabi 'catching', 'capture', 'handle', kōgi ġabi -kkun 'fish-catcher', 'fish-catching man'; nophi 'to be high', nophi 'height'; mantha 'to be many', manhi 'multitude', 'many'; kipta 'to be deep', khiphi 'the depth', 'deeply'; tatta 'to close', taji 'sliding wall' (ni-ā-ḏji il), 'the closing'; tarja 'to be different', tarja, tálá 'difference'; kíldi 'to be long', kiri 'length', kirēm, kirêk, kirēkê 'length', khashir 'the elephant' (ḵo 'the nose'); khipa 'to be tall', khiphi 'tallness', 'stature'; pappūda 'to be pressed for time', pappi 'hurry', 'quickly'; ñepi, ñepi 'to be easy', sīj (older sêj) 'easiness', 'easily'; muguţa 'to be heavy', muge (older mugev) 'weight'; purepota 'to be enviable', purpe ḥada 'to envy', pure 'envy, greed'; aqin 'a wedge' (Tung. ʔarki- 'to tighten a boat'); etc.

240 Undoubtedly it is this noun in -i which is used as an adverb when the adverb on -i is derived from the verb. The qualitative verbs formed with ḥada have their adverb in hi. E.g. ka ḥada 'to be possible', kahi 'possibly', kadik ḥada 'to be full', kadikhi 'fully', kigh ḥada 'to be so, kiri 'in that way', 'so', ġeṭta 'to be how', ġeṭe 'how', kaman ḥada 'to be quiet', 'to be still', kamanhi 'quietly', pujañi ḥada 'to be diligent', pujañîni 'diligently', 'eagerly', etc.

-nhi > ni. Here it is to be remarked that -nih is usually pronounced and often also written ni; so one very often meets adverbs where the ending seems to be -ni (kamanhi, pujañîni, etc.), but as the corresponding verb contains (n + ḥada), we have here the same phonetical development as in manhi 'many', instead of or beside manhi from the verb mantha (original man ḥada) 'to be an amount', 'to be numerous'.

Here must be mentioned also the adverb and postposition ġeptha 'without' from the verb ġeptha 'to lack', stem ġeps-

241 As to the use and sense of the deverbal -i formation as an adverb, it is to be mentioned that the converb of the future (with the ending -ko) is also used as an adverb, and that a difference in the meaning is felt. While nophi 'highly' means 'in the height', nophk 'highly' means 'so that it will be high': sā ɡa nophi naratta 'the bird was flying high', sā ɡa nophk naratta 'the bird flew up high', manhi meghaṭa, 'has much eaten', mankhe meghaṭa 'has eaten a lot', khipa ḥada 'they are talking loudly (so that there is much noise)'; tálá 'differently', 'in a different way', tarja 'so that the result is different', nanu pppurgyi khiphi tiri ḥeṣso 'the root of a tree has entered deep, is deep in the earth'; makhtar tae khiphe tirjeço 'I pushed my stick deep in the earth'. Although there may be some exceptions in the use of these two adverbs, as a rule the difference exists, and we therefore find, side by side, kath, kahke 'similarly', ppal, pppurgye 'urgently', pappi, pppurgye 'quickly', 'at once', sīj, sūpke 'easily', sīj, sīpke 'with difficulty', nāppi, nappge 'badly, basely', keţi 'keşiye 'indolently', tujne, tujmule 'seldom', kahi, kahge 'possibly', kadikhi, kadik ḥage 'fully', mgha, mgha 'earnestly', etc.

4) The verbal substantive in -o, -u. The derived noun in -o (when the stem has o or u, -u (when the stem vowel is any other sound) seems in many cases to go back to a formation with a suffix -ag, -ag, where the consonantal element has developed into a vowel as in the word namo 'tree' (earlier namag, cf. namaksin 'wooden shoes'). From some verbs this noun is quite concrete, e.g. karo, N.Kor. kargi 'fleur', from the verb kalda (kara: kan) 'to grind, īrō 'handle', N.Kor. tsargi 'the handle', from the verb ẓalda 'to grip, to sling around'.

Many words of this type are now found used either as adjectives or as adverbs. Some examples may be given: (toda 'to turn around') toro 'on the contrary', toro ġeṭ (written toróh) 'on the contrary', (matta 'to assemble', 'to collect') modo 'all', to-maži 'all, altogether', ġeṭta 'to be frequent') ġaţo 'frequently, often', (v. *aţ 'to open') aţo 'completely', 'entirely', (matta 'to meet, to suit, to hit') maţo 'opposite, face to face, against', maţo koda 'to go to meet', (nemida 'go over, to be too much') nemda 'too much, exceedingly', (maređa 'to circle about, to surround') turo 'on all sides, round about', (maţapta 'to be acid, peppery') mawu 'awfully, very, exceedingly', (kjepte 'to be unable to, to lack capacity for') kje, kjeu 'hardly, scarcely, with difficulty', cf. Goldi kjeuke 'hardly', 'not', 'probably not'; (niţa 'to increase, to be stretching') nītu 'continually'; (mīlā 'to shove')
miru 'the space between high and low water mark'; (parfäda 'to be straight') paro 'straight, lengthwise, against'; (tārjada 'to be different') tāra 'different, differently'; (kathādā 'to make perpendicular') kathō, kathā 'upright, perpendicularly'; (kōryāda 'to be equal', kōroda 'to adjust, to make equal') koro 'equal, all alike'; (kattā 'to be in good order', kathōdā 'to put in order') kathō, kathu 'complete, in order'; etc.

**Secondary verb stems.**

From the primary verbs the language has several kinds of derived verbs, which express the action as either transitive, passive or inchoative. Some forms of such secondary verbs have been so frequently used for the sake of politeness that they now belong to the paradigm of the primary verb. The most used derivatives are:

1) -b-, a suffix which from the beginning has had the sense of the passive; it is to be found also in the form of -bu-, -bh-(

E.g. primary us- : utta (pf. usētta) 'laughs', (has laughed'), usīm, (usīm) 'laughter', but secondary *usīp- in the verb usēpta (pf. usēptta) 'is ridiculous' (was ridiculous'), usīma 'ridiculousness'.

primary *kis- 'to be happy', kippu- (kipp-) 'to be glad', kikēptta (orig. kiapi-, kisēpt-) 'to be happy, to be glad', kikēpta 'was happy', kikēwaum 'happiness', kikēwaum 'happy'.

primary mit- : miltta (pf. midētta) 'to believe', midīm 'belief', midēptta, nipupuda 'to be trustworthy', nipupum 'reliability', 'trustworthiness'.

primary sjīh- 'to feel sorrow', sjīhrim 'sorrow, sadness', sjīpta (; sjīpē or sjīē : sjīphēn) 'to be deplorable'.

primary alh- 'to cause pain, to be sick', 'to have pain', ari (arih), arīm 'pain, sickness', secondary *alpēh- : aphūda, apa, aphēn 'to be in pain', aphēm, aphēm 'pain'.

primary nēc- 'to be low', secondary nappēdā, nappētda 'to be base, to be contemptible', nappēm 'baseness', nappē 'basely'.

Secondary pappēda (; pappē : pappēm) 'to be in a hurry, to be pressed', pappēm, pappē 'hurry', derived from a primary *pēr-, (cf. Turk. bas- 'to press' and Korean (*pasēbh >) patēbh 'tightly, as squeezing, exceedingly').

The secondary verb of this type, for instance iptā, isiptā, hapta, meppēpta, etc., is not used in the declarative, but its converbum perfectī (*tiege, *isege, *haea, *megege), developed to io (in), isso (issu), hao, mego (N.Kor. mego), has entered the conjugation of the primary verb as a polite form and is as such used with the same function as the declarative, volitive and interrogative. That the passive is more polite than the active is easy to understand. Besides the converb on -o the participles are also largely used, and it is more polite to say haor īda than har īda, hoon īda than han īda, hamman īda than hanan īda. This hamman īda is the same as the literary hamnāda and pronounced hamnāda, and hamnān īda has given hamnida 'does, says'. Thus the origin of most of the polite expressions goes back to the use of such passives on -b-

But it was not enough with the use of passive stems only. Other secondary stems have also been used for the sake of politeness. Such are the stems in -ag- (-ag-) and -si- (see below).

Special mention may be made of the verbs with the ending -kepta, -ropta, which are qualitative verbs and are derived as passives from earlier verbs in -kē (-kē, -kēg) and -ag- (or -r-, -r-).

E.g. kikēpta 'to be glad', kikēwēm (Nor.Kor. kikēwēm) 'joy', kikē (N.Kor. kikēbē) 'joy, gladly', cf. kippēda 'to be glad' and the primary *kis- 'to be glad' found in old documents; meppēpta 'to be heavy', meppēm 'heaviness', 'weight', mūgē 'weight (earlier mūgēi, N.Kor. mūbē), cf. musik hāda 'to be heavy'; īlēpta 'to rejoice', īlērē hāda 'to show one's happiness', from īlēwa 'to rejoice, to be fond of'; pangēpta, pangēda 'to be happy'; īlēpta, īlēda 'to be lasting, to be durable', etc.

The ending -ropta, -ropta is found joined to nouns.

E.g. hā 'damage', hāropta 'to be injurious', sā 'new', sāropta 'to be new, to start again', see (written o) 'single', werōpta 'to be an orphan, to be single', etc. Here the passive formation is certainly derived from the verb stem (hairg-, sairg-, eirg-, or something like that), because there must have been a denominal verb stem from which these qualitative verbs are derived.

2) -nu-, -nī-. This suffix is after all a very old element *-nu-, *-nī-
for inchoative derivations. There existed a verb hāda 'to be big', found in hār-abi 'grandfather', halani, hānsi 'grandmother', and many other old compositions; from this verb the language has hāngol 'heaven', originally 'the extending'. Besides, many of the most used qualitative verbs which, as explained earlier, have no present participle, nevertheless have forms exactly similar but explained as perfect participle from a secondary verb in -nada.

E.g. khād 'to be big', khōn 'big', khānada 'to get larger, khān 'growing big', khāl 'to be long', khīn 'long', khīnada 'to extend', khīn 'growing long'. In old documents one can find many indications of the past existence of such a secondary verb.

E.g. insišā jhīm in modom innoada (< ising-) 'in human life, if there is parting, there is also the meeting again'. Here we have a verb in -na- in the sense of 'to be, to be in the future'.

It is from this secondary verb or strictly speaking from its perfect participle that the language has obtained the ending -nan, -nin of the present participle of the active verbs. And here we have also to register the imperative ongra (ongra) 'come here!'

From this same verb stem with the ending -no- the passive stem has been -noh-, which is lost with some few exceptions. The perfect participle in -nōn (earlier written -nohun, -nog) is used with the noun -i, i.e. in the form we call converbum presenti of some few verbs, na ga paranōni 'as I hope', 'as I dare to hope', sīnak hanōnī 'as I dare to imagine'. The perfect converb is used with the particle -ra as the final word of a sentence. E.g. osigirīl parēnər 'I hope for your august coming'. These endings -nōni, -nōra (for earlier -naon -i and -naor-rra) are still very much used in letters, but are seldom heard or perhaps not at all used in daily speech.

3) -sg-, -si-. It is somewhat difficult to say what modification of the sense of the primary stem this suffix has been the expression for. It is evident that it has very early been used in expressions with a shade of politeness or reverence. E.g. kōdō in 'saying', kōsada 'in saying' (used when speaking of important persons).

hōo and hōso (earlier hōwa and hōsqa) 'doing', 'saying'. We find this stem formation in mutēspa 'to ask respectfully' ('muta-sa-b') from muta (mure) 'to ask', and in some other verbs of this type. Later on the secondary verb in -sg-, -si- has been used perhaps most frequently when the verb was qualitative. E.g. kēp 'to be deep', kipō (earlier kipōj) and kipō (kipōj), N.Kor. kipō 'being deep'. From this variation kipō jipō moyo ~ mokso the ending -so seems to predominate over the ending -jo. It is now almost the rule to form these polite forms with the ending -o when the verb has a vowel stem, and with -so, if the stem ends in a consonant; thus pūk, hōo, o, ejo, etc., but mokso, tisso, kipō, čapso, puloso, etc., while forms like pūk, hōo, o, ejo, etc. are rarely heard and moyo, tisso, kipō, čapso, pulo see to give way for mokso, tisso, etc.

4) -si-. This ending may have been the -i-factive of the preceding -sg-, -si-, and means now something like 'to dēign to'.

While the polite forms which have been treated earlier are used in the presence of persons to be honoured, and without regard to what or who is the subject of the sentence, the verb stem in -si- is always used when it is a question of the action of an honoured person himself. E.g. oj 'the coming, the arrival', osiai 'the August person's desiring to arrive', na ga wass 'I came', ē Vepos 'he will come', crusiu me osiaj yo mehōu 'my father has come', osiaj me 'he will come', crusiu me an old man', crusiu ne the honoured old man', 'my father', crusiu da (da for ida) 'it is the old man', 'it is the father', crusiu neida (for isida) 'it is my honoured father'.

From all kinds of verbs one can find such secondary verbs, and in some grammars it is said that -si- is an inflexion for showing politeness. But this language has no inflexions at all, and the difference between for instance crusiu da and crusiu neida, hāda and hasida, moksa and moksa, hāna and hasina, in and in, etc. depends on the existence of such an old type of secondary verbs.

At least in South Korea the women, instead of using forms like mokso 'eats', hōo 'does', very often use mokso, haso etc., where
the contraction of *mekaio, *hasio is evident. Such forms are used when addressing a man and include a polite *sio as the doer.

250 This same old combination of the suffix *sr- and the suffix *s- is found in that polite form among the volitive formations which is called the benedictive. E.g. *pijasigil *phian *hage *hasiosje 'O Lord, give peace to Thy people'. Here the origin is the perfect verb from the stem in *s-* with *s added. Instead of *siosje as highest forms for invocation, the optative of the same polite stem is also used; e.g. *pijas *hage *hasiospe *please give, mayst Thou give peace', *dopiosje, *dopiospe *give thou', 'grant thou', 'deign to grant'.

251 The Koreans seem to be very eager to accumulate their politeness, as is seen in the variants, e.g. (from *dota derived) *daida, *dupla, *dupta (earlier *dupta), *dopida, *doposida and (in *dopiosje) *dopiospla.

252 From the verb *da the derived *daida has escaped this tendency for politeness and remained as the present straight verb *da, *isse, *issja, with the older forms *sje and *sin, *issin. It signifies simply 'to exist, to be in existence'. The old verb *sje has been used as a kind of divider of phrases, and, losing its stem vowel, taken over a special function as the present esseve particle *sje. This particle has been mentioned above, in the explanation of the declension of nouns (*ebe 'in the house', *ebesje 'as to being in the house, from the being in the house, from the house', *saramjje 'towards the man', *saramjoseje 'as to the man', 'from being the talked-about man', *soul 'the capital', *soulje 'concerning Seoul', 'as to Seoul') and also in the chapter on converses, among which that in -ko (converb presentis), that in -e, -e (converb perfecti) and the formation on *mien (cy. conditionale) are very often used with this particle.

Speaking politely the straight verb *da is substituted by *kidaida, written *kijesiida, original *kji *isida, with the sense 'to dwell', 'to remain', 'to have the opportunity to exist'.

253 The word *siri, used after the converb futuri (e.g. *hage *siri), is another old form of the verb *daida, which is used in a specialised sense.

We have divided the Korean verbs into two classes, the qualitative verbs and the verbs of action. From both kinds of verb is derived a secondary stem, which we will call the factitive. If the verb is qualitative, e.g. *marida 'to be dry', *melida 'to be far', *tepa 'to be warm', etc., the factitive has the sense of the corresponding transitive, e.g. *meliada 'to dry', *melida 'to enlarge the distance', *teda (*teida) 'to warm', etc. If the verb has a transitive sense, the factitive is either the corresponding passive or the causative. Underwood says in his grammar, as also other grammarians have said, that the Korean verbs have three distinct voices, active, causative and passive. But as there is no grammatical nor phonetic difference between the causative and this kind of passive, the causative and passive really are one, although they may be translated either way, e.g. *pida 'to see' (active), *pida 'to have it seeing', 'to show, to let see something' (causative), 'to let one see, to appear' (passive).

As to the ending, there is a strange instability, and we have most probably three different suffixes:

1) -ir, -ir, -iri,
2) -u, -u, -hu,
3) -chi, original -thi, N.Kor. -thi.

The factitives are therefore to be learnt in each case separately, both as to the form and to the sense. As a general rule, however, a factitive from a verb on a vowel stem has the suffix -u and those with a consonant stem the suffix -ir. There are many verbs which historically are such factitives in -ir without a shorter variant. E.g. *sugida 'to kneel', *kidrida, N.Kor. *kidriguda 'to wait for', *parida 'to let go, to throw away, to lose', *purida 'to act, to exhibit', *kitchida 'to end, to finish' (cf. kikit 'the end').

Some examples:

A. verbs with vowel stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean verb</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pada</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pida, *pida</td>
<td>to be seen, to show,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pida, *pida</td>
<td>to show</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
seda 'to stay'
nada 'to go out'
seda 'to be strong'
phida 'to blossom'
ppada 'to fall out'
ssida 'to use', 'to write'
oruda 'to ascend'
purida 'to call'
hirjida 'to flow'
muvjida 'to step aside'
muvjida 'to be watery, to be soft'
aorjida 'to unite' (v. intr.)

B. verbs with consonant stem

cida 'to freeze' (v. intr.)
cida 'to know'
sida 'to live'
pilda 'to pray, to beg, to loan'
milda 'to bite'
neld 'to be broad'
tida 'to enter'
njida 'to be elastic'
molda 'to drive'
thida 'to twist'
helda 'to pull down'
tolla 'to turn back'

tilla 'to hear'
tatta 'to run'
kotta 'to walk'

sisida 'to lead', kelhida 'to trip'
sisida 'to get holes'
holha 'to take the strength of'
nottha 'to miss, to allow to escape'
hilha 'to be boiling'
kkintha 'to break, to cut'
teplia 'to be warm'
kakkapta 'to be near'
eziplina 'to be confused'
epota 'to be narrow'
ssqkta 'to rot'
nokta 'to melt' (v. intr.)
sokta 'to be deceived, to fall in a trap'
nekta 'to eat'
sekta 'to mix'
palta 'to fix'
nikta 'to be ripe'
makta 'to stop'
multa 'to bury, to inter'
kotta 'to be straight'
pattia 'to receive'
putta 'to pass by'
hetta 'to be dishevelled'
holta 'to rub, smooth' (holth-)
uttia 'to laugh'
pupatia 'to take by force'
pitta 'to comb'

sisita 'to wash'
nontha 'to set free'

The endings -gi- and -gu- seem at some period of development to have given -hi- and -hu-, and this -hi-, -hu- seems to have lost the h sound, but as this suffix has been a living element in the language new variants have appeared by analogy. If we find with the verb alda such factitives as aroida (< algoe-) 'to inform', arida, N. Kor. arighad and South Kor. allida 'to let know', of these the last two may be more recent and aroida, arida perhaps older, as is testified by the Goldi verb abo-, alosi- 'to teach'. It is not clear whether -(g)di- and -(g)hu- from the beginning were two different suffixes or only variants of some older suffix type. But it is clear that the N. Kor. suffix *-thi- used in the forming of causatives, is an old suffix by itself, and corresponds to Turk. -i-, Mong. -êi-, Tung. -li-, -êi-, the ending for transferred or transitive action.

As already said under the converbum futuri, the Koreans use also a periphrastic combination of -ke and hada 'to do', 'to make', when the sense is causative, and -ke and tida 'to become', 'to turn out as', when the sense is passive, e.g. nopta 'to be high', nophe hada 'to make high', 'to elevate',palpia 'to step on', palphida or palphida hada 'to have someone to step on', palphida or palphida tida 'to be stepped on', mekta 'to eat', megida or mekke hada 'to have someone to eat', megida or mekke tida 'to be eaten'. The periphrase is always used when the factitive is not quite clear either as to its building or its sense. Of some verbs the factitive is no longer used at all; on the contrary there are many verbs which are seemingly factitives but are probably formed from nouns, e.g. kugida 'to call (as mountaineers at night)', from kuh 'the call of a falconer' (cf. Tung. ku-ni-m 'to call by whistling').

**Other deverbal verbs.**

There are a whole group of verbs which have been used only in the perfect converb and show a stem in secondary -il-, -ir-, which seems to have been an ending for intransitive (neuter, medium) verbs. Such forms are used with following ŝida 'to come to, to become' (N.Kor. aida). The corresponding transitive is formed either by the same intransitive form and the verb ñhida (N. Kor. tha) 'to beat, to hit', or therida (which is not used separately), or by a verb stem with the ending -ri-, which is possibly the factitive in -i- from this verb stem in -il-. E.g.:

ukta 'to be bent in, to be battered', uge ŝida 'to get battered', ugre ŝida id., ujida 'to batter in', ujirida, ugre-êhida, ugre-thërida 'to batter'.

pusg-êhida 'to break, to be in pieces', pusg-êhida, pusg-thërida 'to break something', pusgre-êhida 'to fall in pieces', pusgre-êhida, pusgre-êhida, pusg-êhida 'to break in pieces'.

gre ŝida, egre ŝida 'to be droll', from gta (ese, ese) 'to be sideways'.

ukta 'to be slack, loose', uge ŝida, ugre ŝida 'to become loose, to slacken down', ugre-êhida, ugreida, ugreida 'to unharden, to loosen'.
The suffix -r can also be traced elsewhere, for instance in the verb phurjida 'to be green', phurjin 'green', phurjirin 'greenish', from phul 'grass', kirg hada 'to be so', irg hada 'to be as this', êrgê hada 'to be as that (there)', from the pronouns kî, i, ê.

Denominal verbs.

In many cases one notes an etymological connection between a verb and a noun when these have a somewhat similar sense. Mostly it is the noun which is shorter and therefore probably nearer the original. The element which could be called a suffix or root determinative is, however, difficult to explain, both as to its form and its meaning.

The following few examples are illustrative of this. E.g.:
(suffix k) mul 'water', mulkta 'to be watery', ol 'thread', olkta 'to tie',
pul 'fire', pulkta 'to be red'.
êkê (cf. Turk. kër 'fatbodied, thick'. Mong. kürējî 'to be thick', Tung. kürēl 'to swell'), kulkta 'to be voluminous',
perē żida 'to fall in pieces', pulbe żida idem.

(suffix p) nēlda 'to spread out', nēlpta 'to be broad',
pal 'foot', pulpta 'trample, tread on'.
(suffix n) mul 'water', murîda, muruda 'to be watery',
phul 'grass', phuruda (phurudra) 'to be green',
(suffix a) ēl 'well, enough', ērada 'to be sufficient', možara 'to be insufficient'.
(suffix i) ēa 'foot (measure)', ēdda 'to measure the length',
ma 'a mill', naïda 'to grind',
khâ 'day, sun', hîjê hada 'to be white', hîjda 'to be white, clear'.
 tik 'behind, after', tûida 'to chase, hunt',
ā 'stomach', pîda 'to conceive',
ōjē 'belt'. nîjida 'to tie on a girdle'.

Derivations of this kind are inherited from past periods of the language, but there are some few endings which are used as living material for building new words. These endings are:
1) -ropta, -rępta (see p. 245),
2) -stropa, -stępta gives qualitative verbs with a sense 'to be worthy of', 'to be apt to', e.g.
isâr 'wonder', isânsirpepta 'to be wonderful',
sosâ 'tricks', sosasirpepta 'to be cunning',
têg 'virtue', têksirpepta 'to be virtuous',
kkôi 'strangest', kkôsirpepta 'to be wily',
sanç 'multitude', sansirpepta 'to be vulgar',
sarâm 'men', saramsirpepta 'to be human',
sarç 'love', saramsirpepta 'to be lovely', sarânu hada 'to love',
pultka 'to be red', pulgîsirpepta 'to be reddish',
hîjda 'to be white', hîjsirpepta 'to be whitish'.

To the verb in -stępota corresponds a noun with the ending -sirp (or -sîrpe?), and this is used with the verb hada as a qualitative expression with the same sense, e.g. isânsirpeptaha = isânsirp hada, sosasirpeptaha = sosasirp hada, pulgîsirpeptaha = pulgîsirp hada, etc.
3) -tupta 'to be like, to be of the nature of', e.g.
saramdeppta 'to be almost human'.

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Notes about the use of some of the verbs.

Among the most used verbs there are some which must be mentioned separately, either because of their form or because of some unexpected variation in the sense.

1) ida. It has already been mentioned (§§ 193, 229) that since the oldest times the originally short stem vowel is often omitted after a preceding vowel. We therefore find in this combination only the verbal endings, which has given the impression that nouns or any other word can be conjugated; e.g. (so 'ox, cow') so-da 'it is an ox', so-de-'it was an ox', so-da-n gor 'because it was an ox'. so-de-n-jii mar iden-jii 'it may be either an ox or a horse', ol-se 'opportunity to come', ol-se-n 'he comes' ('it is his opportunity to come'), ol-je-n jii > ol-lin-jii 'whether he might come', hajjok e'in order to have done', hajjok-n harms 'was to have done, but ...'; *in ije nin 'if it is': so-m-je-n, som-jen 'if it is an ox', so-da ya > sodage 'while it is an ox', so (politely said) 'is', saram to 'it is a man', mekko joo 'it is to eat', mekki-o 'eats, I think' (orig. mekki-i); megg joo 'eats', ka Jo 'goes' (jo < to 'is').

This capacity of the verb ida to lose its i- and sometimes to change it to -je- is one of the traits of the Korean language which have been difficult to understand and have therefore been misinterpreted. Besides this, it is also to be noted that the ending -ke with in, ide, etc. has been shortened to -ken, -ke-de, etc.; mekken-p 'the food one then ate', mekkeden 'if I should eat', mekk-p 'the food that was for eating'.

2) ita. This verb joined to the perfect and future converses forms the compound tenses and also loses its stem vowel, e.g. ita 'to be', iss-ita 'has been', ikke-sa-tta 'will be', ikke-sa-tta 'was to be', etc. This loss of the stem vowel is also found elsewhere when the verb ita has been unstressed e.g. orii 'long ago', orii-tta, orii-ssa 'it is long ago'. See also the particle -sa, -si for original ije (§ 262), the particle siri after the future convers (§ 263).

3) hada. This is the most used verb in the whole language, since, strangely enough, it has been used in both active, intransitive and qualitative senses. Its translation as 'to do' is not wide...
enough. Like its phonetic equivalent in Manchu (se-mbi 'to mean, to do') and in Japanese (suru 'to be, to say, to do') [cf. Korean mal hada (<*mal-sada) with malsam (<*mal-sam) 'a word, an utterance'], it is, the 'verb in the most extensive sense', wider than the English 'to do' ('I do not go, do you say?, show do you do?'). After nouns it is a verb expressing either the quality ('to be . . .') or, if an active sense is intended, the transitive verb ('to do'). In this latter case the noun may be used with the accusative ending if a special, not a general object, is meant. With the perfect conjugation of a qualitative verb, *hada* expresses 'to think it ...' (*köha hada* 'to think it good', 'to approve', ak haje hada 'to think it bad', 'to disapprove'; also: kkama hada, kkamatha 'to be quite dark', etc.). With the future *hada* means 'to make' (*köhe hada* 'to make it good', 'to improve', 'to repair', melkhe hada 'to feed', 'to compel to eat'). With the noun man 'amount' has been formed man hada, now manha 'to be many', and there are many other verbs which seem to be old contractions with *hada*. Of the negative particles not 'not, not possible', an, ani 'not, unwillingly', not hada, ani hada, are used like the English 'do not' as a negative auxiliary; melkhe not handa 'I don't eat', melkhe ani handa 'I do not wish to eat', besides not mgninda, ani mgninda. Of these, ani hada is usually shortened to anha, ani hade to anhe, ani hago to ankhe, ani hage to anhe, but ani han to anin, ani haje to an, etc. As the *h* sound is very weak, if pronounced at all, the stem of the verb *hada* disappears, leaving only the endings on all occasions where the preceding vowel is a long å, ê. This is the usual habit of this verb if it stands after another verb and has the sense 'to mean, to say, to think' or if it is equal to mal hada 'to say, to utter' (mal 'word, speech'). E.g. mgnillä hada, mgnilläda 'to mean to eat, to want to eat', mgnirä hada, mgniräda 'to say: eat!', mgnirmä hada, mgnirmäda 'to promise to eat', mgnirmä hazi ani hada, mgnirmänjantha 'not to promise to eat', melkä hada 'to say: let's eat', melkëda, melkëgjantha, etc.; kiy hada 'to be so', kiyrom, kiyen 'such', ette hada, ette han, etten 'which, what kind of'.

It is sometimes difficult to decide whether it is the verb *hada,* 'to do, to be', or *ida* 'to be', which has given the verbal ending found joined to some otherwise clear forms: *poda, podam* (*poda im or poda ham*), *dher* 'like, similar to' and *dherem* idem, pulhe, pulhem, 'from'.

Among other verbs there are some which are used more or less pleonastically to express some special side of the action. While the three above are auxiliary verbs these could be called modifying verbs. We mention only some of them and without any pretense to fullness or exactitude. Such are for instance:

4) *śida* (śida), N.Kor. *śida* (*śida*) 'to become'. This verb is used after nouns, but most frequently after verbs in the perfect conjugation, to express an intransitive and inchoative verb. It is so frequent that of some verbs only this composition with *śida* is used, e.g. *śappa* śida 'to fall backwards', *śere* śida 'to fall down', *par* śida 'to be broken'. These three are used without the declarative forms, which should be ***śapppida, tplea, putta, (or pulda)?*** From intransitive verbs a verb in the sense *to be more* and *more* is obtained.

\[\text{karśa} 'to divide' \quad \text{kalla śida} 'to be divided, split'\]
\[\text{thida} 'to burst' \quad \text{thē śida} 'to burst'\]
\[\text{kkokta} 'to break' (tr.) \quad \text{kkekē śida} 'to become broken, be broken'\]
\[\text{gpta} 'to turn down' \quad \text{gēpē śida} 'to fall upside down'\]
\[\text{čihda} 'to be young' \quad \text{čihe śida} 'to become younger'\]
\[\text{mulkta} 'to be watery' \quad \text{mulē śida} 'to become thinner'\]
\[\text{poka} 'to roast, to parch' \quad \text{pokā śida} 'to be roasted'\]
\[\text{salmā 'to cook' \quad \text{salma śida} 'to become riper'\]
\[\text{pulka} 'to be red' \quad \text{pulē śida} 'to reddened'\]
\[\text{cīupa} 'to be dark' \quad \text{cēnē śida} 'to darken'\]

One finds the indirect imperative *śina* 'it be' used after the perfect conjugation, and also *śe ıda*, especially in older usage. The combinations *śe hada* (cf. *köha hada*) 'to mean it to become', in the sense of 'to desire, to wish that it may become', is also used.
E.g. _phig nan han kodese suiije že ida_ (my prayer is) may he rest in this peaceful place', _jon han jiong gna toje že ida_ 'I want to be a good physician'. _soggejii un tege palpam žira han dij, etei palpam žigesso_ 'if one merely says 'be bright' to the eyes of a blind person, will they?': _meggo že hajaj tola-go hajesso_ 'I wanted to eat and asked for it'.

Of this _čhida_ 'to become' the present converb _Čigo_ joined to another verb in the same form, expresses a strong desire or a wish for something beyond possibility or difficult to attain or do.

E.g. _Ehuganjan kago žigo_ 'my wish is to get to Heaven', _jon nan pogun mekkō žigo_ 'would that I had some dragon flesh and phoenix soup to eat'. _Kejnan kama hago žigo_ 'oh, that I might be the Governor of the Kjøngsang Province'.

**270** _Čhida_ and _therida_. They are used in the same sense and with about the same frequency. They create a transitive if the preceding verb is intransitive. In some cases _Čhida_ seems to be identical with the verb _Čhida_ which means 'to beat, to hit', but in other cases we have perhaps some connection with the ending of the factitive verbs. It is possible that _Čhida_ (N.Kor. _Čhida_) and _therida_ are variants of the same kind as the 'endings' -_kerida_, _-ido_ or -_urida_ and -_ada_. Where _čido_ is used to form an intransitive expression, _therida_, _Čhida_ form with the perfect converb the corresponding transitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ppada</em> 'to fall into water', <em>ppa-žida</em> 'to drown'</td>
<td><em>ppa čhida</em>, to drown (tr.), <em>ppa-čhida</em> 'to drown (tr.)_</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| _nemč žida_ 'to fall over' | _nemč therida_ 'to throw over'
| _muneč žida_ 'to collapse' | _muneč therida_, _muneč čhida_ 'to break up'
| _ččeg žida_ 'to fall over' | _ččeg therida_ 'to fall'
| _puse žida_ 'to break' (intr.) | _puse therida_ 'to break' (tr.)
| _ččekuče žida_ 'to fall upside down' | _ččekuče therida_ 'to overturn'
| _bēheče žida_ 'to be spread about' | _bēheče therida_ 'to spread about'
| _bēheče žida_ 'to become diseveled' | _bēheč čhida_, _bēheč čhida_ 'to scatter' |

The verb _čhida_ 'to hit, to beat' takes in the most various senses a noun as its object, and it is impossible to give any rules as to when it is used, e.g. _phuń čhida_ (to beat wind) 'to exaggerate', _talk čhida_ (to beat fowls) 'to keep fowls', _jip kerim čhida_ (to beat sidestep) 'to go a side way', _če čhida_ 'to sift'.

6) _kada_ 'to go'. This is used after other verbs in the sense of 'to continue', 'to go on' or if the preceding verb expresses motion, this _kada_ is used almost as a pleonasm.

E.g. _pisada_ 'to be expensive', _pisada gada_ 'to be more and more expensive', _pūhoda_ 'to learn', _pūheca gada_ 'to go on learning', _kkśida_ 'to drag', _kkśidg gada_ 'to drag along', _nada_ 'to go out', _na-ada_ idem, _tolda_ 'to turn around', _tora gada_ 'to go back', _to return' (in polite speche: 'to die', still more polite is _tora gasida_), _kada_ 'to do', _hajęg gada_ 'to go on doing, to continue to do'.

7) _oda_ 'to come'. It is used sometimes in the sense 'to become', and must always be used in the sense of 'to come towards the speaker', 'to come near'. Where in other languages 'comes' means something else, the Korean uses _kada_ (the Koreans say _I will go to you tomorrow', never 'I will come to you'). The verbs _oda_ and _kada_ complete one another to make clear the direction of the movement, e.g. _na gada_ 'to go out', _na oda_ 'to come out', _hajęg gada_ 'to make away', _każe oda_ 'to bring', _ira gada_, _ira oda_ 'to arise', _čina gada_ 'to pass', _čina oda_ 'to pass in this direction', _tóda_ 'to turn out, to become', _ččigada_, _ččig oda_ 'to become'.

In the ending -_toda_ used in exclamations in the same sense as the declarative in -_ta_ (hadoda or _kada_, _tóda_ or _tōda_?) we have probably not the verb _oda_, but an old contraction of _ta_ and _ida_, original *weida_ 'to be'. The verb _oda_ is identical with the Manchu and Tungus verb _oda_ 'to become', while Korean _čido_ 'to become' is identical with the Manchu -_či_- and Gold. did- 'to come'.

8) _nada_ 'to emerge', factitive (nada) _nda_ 'to drive out', are usually used so that they are to be translated by 'out'. E.g. _ka nada_ 'to go out, to move out', _na gada_ 'to come out', _hajęg_ 'to rise', 'to float
The verb *poda* is also used as a qualitative verb in the sense 'it seems like', 'it appears to be that', or 'as if', and in this case the preceding phrase is usually interrogative, i.e. has the endings -ka or -ja.

E.g. *pi ga onan ga poda* 'it seems to rain', 'may be it rains', *pi ga ol ka poda* 'it looks like starting to rain', 'I am afraid it will rain'; *tyē giši ka poda* 'I am afraid it will fall', 'it seems as if it will fall'. In this composition the ending -nanga is often shortened to -nā (*pi onā poda for onan ga poda*).

The perfect verb *poda* has after the interrogative *ka* been shortened to -ba, and we therefore have, besides the interrogative ending *ka*, a more dubitative ending -kaba; e.g. *ol ka 'does he come?'*, *ol kaba 'does he come, perhaps?'*.

Another use of *poda* is with the sense of 'than' (i *get ēg get poda čosso* 'this is good in regard to that' = 'this is better than that'); v. Verbal postpositions § 285.

13) *patta* 'to receive, to get', factitive *patēhida* 'to offer, to give'. The verb *patta* is sometimes used pleonastically to indicate that the action is for the benefit of the subject himself. E.g. *ssēda* 'to write', *ssē patta* 'to receive the occasion of writing', but *kapta* 'to pay', *kapta patta* 'to receive payment'. After some verbs with a passive sense *patta* is used to strengthen the passive ('to get punishment' = 'to be punished').

14) *čuda* 'to give' (politely čupta, čupta, čusida) and *patēhida* 'to make to receive', *tērida* 'to lift up to, to offer, to bring before', are the contrast to *patta*, and used to indicate that the action is to the benefit of some other person. E.g. *phuruda* 'to set free, to loosen', *phurud patta* 'to get it free', *phurud čuda* 'to give it free, to liberate', *phurud nottha* 'to let off, to leave it in freedom', *phurud ēsida* 'to become unfastened, to be loose', *phurud tērida* 'to have it to be freed', *mēkta* 'to eat', *mēg čuda* 'to eat (at the will of another), alda* 'to know', *ara čuda* 'to recognize, to admit', *allida* 'to let know', *ālīg čuda* 'to publish', *tūta* 'to hear', *tīra* čuda 'to lend an ear', *tēpta* 'to help', *tēa čuda* 'to give help', etc.

15) *kaţiđa* 'to take with one, to hold'. Of this verb the present *kaţiđa* 'holding', 'in holding' is frequently used pleo-
astically. E.g. phjoril sa kažigo tiq qada 'to enter having bought the ticket (and holding it)', ēde kažigo salda ('gaining-holding-to live') 'to live on one's salary'.

278 16) perida, parida, and sometimes (shortened?) puda, seems to signify 'to throw away', but is scarcely used otherwise than after the perfect verb as an auxiliary verb to signify 'totally'. E.g. ita 'to forget', ižeta 'has forgotten', ižg perida, ižg-pparida 'to forget totally', ilha 'to lose', ēhe barida, ēhe pparida 'to lose irrevocably'; saroda 'to burn' (tr.), saroa-arya (salcē b.) 'to burn up' (V. tr.).

279 17) mekta 'to eat', is used in its ordinary sense very widely, but as in Chinese, it is used with many kinds of objects (as 'to eat sticks' = 'to get beaten', 'to eat scoldings', 'to eat money'). E.g. jak mekta (> jov-mekta) 'to eat insults' = 'to be abused'; ēpe mekta 'to eat heat' = 'to have a sunstroke'; nā mekta 'to eat age' = 'to get old'; nā mekta 'to eat smoke' = 'to be stupid'; he mekta 'to eat emptiness' = 'to lack constancy', kire mekta 'to grasp at'; ēṣaṣ mekta 'to grab', āpanim mekta 'to have a discontented nature' (āpanim 'angry mind').

280 18) tōida 'to become', 'to turn out as', is used with the future verb to substitute a verb in a passive sense; e.g. mekka tōida 'to be eaten', 'to become eaten', palpe tōida 'to be stepped on'; but it is also used with other verbal forms. The verb tōida is an active verb (present indicative tōinda), not a qualitative verb as is ēida (present ēida, never ēinda).

The word which expresses what or how a thing becomes, what turns out, has in Korean the particles -i or ga, e.g. i gopi ēōin gopi tōinda 'this will be a good affair', kē sarovi puža ga wjēta 'he has become a rich man'.

281 19) sīpta, sibuda (stem sib-, sib-, sīphi-) is a qualitative verb which means 'to be agreeable', 'to be likely', 'to seem good'. It is used also in the sense of 'to like'. The preceding verb seems always to be in the form of a present verb. E.g. mekko sīpo 'I like to eat (really: 'eating would be agreeable', 'eating is the suitable thing'). The verb sīpta is often used with the substantive tīs, tī (postpositional nouns, p. 225, No 11). E.g. ol tī sīpta (ol tī hada, ol tīs-ida, ol tī poda) 'it seems likely that he comes', 'probably he comes' (cf. ol ka poda 'may be he comes and maybe not').

20) malda 'to avoid', 'to shun'. This verb is used after the verb form of -ē in all volitive formations instead of ani and not to negate the verb.

When this verb malda is repeated in the same form as the preceding verb, it means 'of course' or 'how to talk about doing and not doing'. Kago malgo (going, not going) 'of course he goes', algo malgo 'naturally I know', ara māra (knowing, not knowing) 'how to talk about the knowing', kirekho malgo 'of course, it is so'. In daily speech this use of malda as a strong confirmatory expression is very frequent. But the contrast between a verb and following malda can also be meant, e.g. kālā go mañal go handa, kālāk mallak handa 'to go and not to go', 'to go just a little'. This use has already been mentioned in the section on the desiderative.
CHAPTER III

Postpositions and adverbs.

The postpositions and many of the adverbs are etymologically and in their formation either nouns or some form of verb. The words which are here called postpositions correspond to the prepositions in English or other European languages. If they are used closely joined to a preceding noun, they are postpositions, and if without a preceding noun but joined to a following verb they are adverbs.

The postpositions are very much used to complete the declension of nouns and to substitute the case formations by giving a more definite expression.

The postpositions which are forms of a substantive are here called nominal postpositions, and those created in a verbal paradigm verbal postpositions.

The nominal postpositions.

These stand logically in a genitive relation to the preceding noun. This genitive relation is not expressed by using the genitive ending, and it is the stress which joins the two words together. The postposition is almost stressless. As to its form, the nominal postposition is either nominative, locative or instrumental, and in many words the locative and the instrumental are used side by side with the difference in sense that these cases imply.

The most frequently used words which in this way connect themselves with a stronger accentuated preceding substantive are the following:

1) anhe, anhiro 'for, before, in the presence of, under the eyes of, by, to, in regard to, owing to'; abanim anhe mal hajesso,

'I spoke to my father', 'I told it for the sake of my father', tojah anhe dekesssso 'he died for a robber, he was killed by a robber'. This word, very often written hanthai instead of anthai, is the locative of *anth, which is not found in the nominative, but corresponds to Manchu antu 'the fore', Tungus ant 'South'. The locative anthe is used in many widely varying senses like the English word 'for'.

2) anhe, anhiro (ane, aniro) 'in, between, among, amid'; regular case formations from a word anh, an 'the inside' (also 'the lining of a garment'), found in many compounds: anhan 'the inner room', anhpat 'the in and out of...', toyan 'interval, during', uran 'the yard' (= ul 'the fence' and an 'inside') and in anhak 'the wife', anhak 'woman'.

3) apehe, aphiro (earlier alphi, alphiro), 'for, before, in the front of': san aphiro watta 'he came along this side of the mountain', san apehe 'before the mountain', ki apehe 'before that, earlier', ciq aphirogq 'in front of the house'. The stem is originally *alphi, corresponding to Turkish alp 'foreman, forefather, hero' and Mongol allagut 'the nobles', Turk. alpan id.

4) are, written arai 'under, beneath', is now used also as nominative: arannu 'the lower teeth', arde 'on the underside', but is originally the locative of a noun al 'the underside', still found in ildal 'the place under the house', pail 'the stomach'. The instrumental is allo and means 'downwards, upside down'. This word corresponds to Turkish al in alpin 'under'.

5) we (uihe, uihi), uiro (uihiro, uiuru, uruu) from w 'over, up, above, on', found in many compounds: ussaram 'a high class man', wnni 'the upper teeth', uteggori 'upper garment', 'outside jacket', upsi 'extra seed', etc. The word w, older w and wn, found in idan, idnu 'the roof', corresponds to Tungus w in wle 'over, on', uski 'upwards', ur-, urig-, 'to lift up'.

6) so 'inside, heart' and sok id.; soe, soghe, sijo 'in, within', are regular formations from the still used nouns so and sok.

7) kji 'end, tail, aft', is used as a regular substantive and as a postposition in the locative and instrumental in the sense of
'behind, after'. It seems to correspond to Goldi kíta, kíta 'the stern of a boat'.

8) kat, kgt, found in compounds and meaning 'the outside' or 'the side' of: pakkat, pakkat 'the outside', kgt tala 'to turn the outside to', 'to be uncivilized, to be unkind', kgt for an 'seeing the outside the inside is known'. Of this word the locative kathe and the instrumental kathiro are used as postpositions in the sense 'by, beside, near to', e.g. san kathe 'near the mountain'. On the mountain slope'. Cf. Turk. qat in qatinda 'by the side of'. Mo. qacar, qarer 'the chin'.

9) kjet 'beside, by, with', not used in the nominative except in compounds and originally the same as kjet 'friend, supporter, one who sides with', but very frequent in the locative kjethe and instrumental kjethiro 'at the side of, towards, near to' and many other senses: ná kjethe sánan saram 'the man who lives with me', san kjethiro 'towards the mountain, in the vicinity of the mountain', kañ kjethiro katta 'he went to the river, he went in the direction of the river'.

10) jeghe, jeghiro 'at the side of, beside, by, near, with', seems to be an original jep 'sides, ribs': ná jeghe sánan saram 'a man who lives with me, under my protection', abanum jeghe sao 'I live with my father', san jeghe kínta kíjinda 'a rivulet flows alongside or under the shade of the mountain'. The Tungus sapti 'rib', Mongol epéjguun 'breast' may be a cognate word.

11) mit 'base, bottom, sole, root', 'origin', 'principle', etc. is in the case formations mithe, mithiro very much used in the sense of 'under': namu mithe 'under the tree', san mithe 'under the mountain, at the foot of the mountain'.

12) tui 'back, behind, after', in compounds: tuéip 'the back house', éiptui 'the back of the house', is used in the locative tuirá, tüira, tüire, and instrumental tuirò, tüirò, taurò, in the sense of 'behind, in the back of'. This word tui is identical with Goldi dui (dúæ 'behind'). Earlier this tui was also used in the sense of 'North' and onp in the sense of 'South'. Tuirà and aphe are now mostly used in a purely local sense: man tuira 'behind the door', mun aphe 'before the door', san tuira 'on the other side of the mountain', san aphe 'on this side of the mountain'. In other senses, temporal or other, the Chinese words ku 'after' and cén 'before, fore' seem to be taking or to have taken over the functions of the Korean words.

13) pat 'outside, the other side, farther away', stem *pak, is used in compounds, but as postposition or adverb only in locative pakkhe (earlier patkhe) and instrumental pakhkhe (earlier patkarò) in very varying senses: éip pakhkhe kasso 'he went out of (the house)', i pakkhe tærin gesi manso 'besides this there are many more', i mal pakkhe níñ tà palkso 'except this word all is perfectly clear', i put pakkhe ēpso 'have you no pens besides this?', mun pakkhe 'outside the door', čóom pakkhe ani kigaygoso 'he didn't wait but a little'. Except in purely local sense, the Chinese word u, written ou (Chinese pronunciation uai) 'outside', is now preferred: i weege 'beside this, over this, above this'.

14) kkaž, kлежа, kkat, kkt, kkt 'up to, until and including, till': íipta kkaži 'until now', íboon kkaži 'including Japan, as far as to Japan', čenjek kkaži 'until evening'. The word seems to have been *kkaž, and kkaži is perhaps the old instructive case in i and the shorter kkat the nominative. Sometimes also kkažu, kkažan is used, but these are, according to Underwood, not elegant; kkažu seems to be a compound with a 'over' ('till-up').

15) katë, N. Korean katë 'similar to', 'as, like': na wa katë 'like me, together with me', nam katë 'as snow, like snow', seri katë 'just as we, like us, with us', čch čka kwa katë kírimjí sasso 'together with that book he bought a picture, I bought that book and a picture'. This is the noun in i from the verb katta (katha; katë) 'to be similar, to be the same'. The substantive katë also means 'similarity' and in a similar way'.

16) kacja 'sort, kind', hangaži 'one sort, likewise, also, in the same way, together with'. Like hangaži also hande (kan tji 'one place') and hamkkæi (kan pki 'one time') are used. The word kacja is the i-noun of a verb katta (kaža; kacja) 'to be in order', factitive katënda, katënda 'to put in order'. This word kacja
'order, kind, sort' has been taken over by the Manchu language (haćin 'order, sort') and Tungus (e.g. tar-gečın 'such, of that kind').

17) k̕iri 'among, amidst'. Gale has in his dictionary k̕iri as 'an ending used with pronouns and nouns having, the force of a plural but implying class separation'. Here we have the -i noun from the verb k̕iła 'to be long' and k̕i means 'along' the whole line of. The double consonant k̕k is a remaining genitive gemination. E.g. uri k̕iri 'among us, in our group', uri k̕iri, uri k̕iriə 'among us'.

18) ūnu, N.Kor. tju, txe 'amidst, in, between', is the regular form of the Chinese word ănu 'the mid, the middle part'.

19) tei, pronounced te, de, or its genitive gemination tei, is a Chinese word meaning 'place, substitute'. It is mostly used in the instrumental; iti̯ro 'instead of this'. The compound tai-sin (translation substitute-bodys), in the sense of 'instead of, for, representing', is mostly used in the locative täsine, tesine, and in N.Kor. also the compound tai-pi 'substitute', mostly in the instrumental tābiri, tābiru 'instead of'.

20) tai 'accordance, concordance', in the instrumental täro, 'in accordance with, so as, like', is used after nouns as a postparticiple (No 8). E.g. täro, iti̯ro 'like this, as this', maldaro 'according to the word', t̕i̯i iti̯ro 'according to the possibility, as possible' (cf. Manchu mutere teile, mutere i teile 'according to possibility').

21) t̕an 'from', in for instance čip t̕an 'from home', saram t̕an 'from a man', ittari 'from starting here', is a noun tan 'border, limit, hem' and can be declined regularly: či̯tane 'by there', či̯taneset 'from there, from that side'. The double initial consonant is a remaining genitive gemination. To this tan seems to correspond the Turkish word jau 'side' and the old-Turkish ending -dajen, -djan, -dandan (ogudjadan 'from the Oguz-es, from the side of the Oguz-es) which is the oldest known form of the present Turkish ablative ending -dan.

22) -t̕awi, -t̕a'i like, as': ittawii 'like this', saram-tawii 'like a man, worthy of a man, human'. Here we find the genitive gemination and a word tabi, the -i noun of the word taba 'to be becoming', or 'worthy of', which was treated above under the heading denominal verbs, saram-dapta 'to be human', jayban-dapta 'to be noble, to be gentlemanly', etc. With this tabi, now pronounced -tawii, cf. Turkish (Uigur) tawii 'mássiiğ'.

23) taçi̯i̯m 'the sequence, the next, the following'; this is the noun in -m from a forgotten verb tag-, which meant 'to follow, to be near, to unite oneself to'. The locative taçi̯ime and the instrumental taçi̯imjo are used in the sense 'after'; i daçi̯i̯me 'after this, next to this', i mał taçi̯ime 'after this word', i mał taçi̯imjo 'following this word, after this word'. To the verb *tag- cf. Turkish jagon 'to be near, to follow' (jagon 'near') and Tungus daga 'near, close to'.

24) čherem, čherom, čhero, N.Kor. thgi̯, 'like, as, complying with, compared with', seems to be the instrumental of a noun thgi̯, now lost, together with ham (čherom from older čheru ham), cf. podgi̯, puthem.

25) keva (after consonants) and wea (after vowels), N.Kor. keva, gwa 'with, together with, and'; mał keva so 'horses and cattle', so wea mał 'cattle and horses', na wea kahi 'similar to me, like me, as I', ne wea tari̯i̯da 'it is different with you, differing from you'. It is not clear whether this original keva is a noun or a verb, but apparently it is identical with the Tungus ending ku in possessive adjectives: asiku 'married' (asi 'wife'), kisi̯g 'happy' (kisi̯g 'happiness'), ambanku 'possessed by a devil' (amban 'devil, tiger').

26) čari 'place, bed', is used both in the nominative and in the locative in the sense 'in the place of, instead, owing to'. It may be that we have here a substantive in -ri from the verb čar- 'to sleep'. It is often used like the Tungus čari, Goldi čaran, Manchu čalen 'because, owing to'.

A definite line between nouns and what we here call nominal postpositions cannot be drawn. As already mentioned, many of the words above are used quite regularly and stressed.
The verbal postpositions.

This name may be given to words formed from verbs which are used more or less unstressed after a noun. If this verb is a transitive verb, the preceding noun stands logically as its object. Some of these verbal postpositions are used so that the connection with the original verb to which they have belonged seems already lost.

The verbal postpositions most used seem to be:

a) words in -da

poda 'looking at', 'compared with', 'than': ii ga êpoda naa 'this is better than that'; also podam and podë: sawunj podamnëg ëgom naa 'a little better than it was last year'; pego, see below.

ida, -da 'being', 'while': ëbë-da 'while being at home'; this -da seems to be very much used before the verb poda 'to look', to indicate the direction: ënij-da poda 'to look out (-side); ërë-da poota 'looked inside'; ëkëj-da 'upwards', ëraj-da 'downwards', etc.

b) words in -go

hago (abbreviated kho) 'doing', 'saying', gives an expression for 'and', 'even so' or 'together with': na hago ne hago kagësso 'I and you will go';

malgo 'avoiding', and èpko 'lacking', used in the sense of 'without', 'except': ton èpko katta 'he went without money', horanî malgo ënنسخ 'all animals except the tiger'; besides èpko, also ëpsi is used;

kažjgo 'carrying', 'having', in the sense of 'with' (a thing): cohî kažjgo watta 'he came with some paper', ton kažjgo katta 'he went away with the money';

tarigo 'leading', mogîgo, mastgo 'following', in the sense of 'with' (a person): anagî ahâ tarigo wasso 'the woman came with the child', sensûn mosûgo oo 'he comes with the teacher';

pego 'looking on', 'in the face of', see below peo.

c) words in -a, -ë. These are the most frequent, and we give only some of them. The fact of the matter is that no definite line between verbal postpositions and the use of the perfect converb can be drawn.

siq, se 'being' (after all cases except the genitive and the accusative). This form of the verb *isida (now ita) 'to be' has been discussed under the chapter «Cases» and called the essive particle.

seg 'using', used in the literary language after the instrumental case; e.g. bënsëg, bëniyrebëg 'by force', 'with all one's mind' (sijda 'to use').

terë, terjë (derë, derjë) 'turning towards', used to indicate the object if it is a person, or the objective with verbs with the sense to say, eto aska: abanîn derë pirettë 'I asked it of my father', na derë (na paga, na anthe, na aphe, na tâ haja, nágé) jok haman ja, 'do you scold me?', kë saram derë kidarira këo haierë 'say to him that he may wait'. The verb terida does not seem to be used, but terjë is explained as corresponding in sense with the Japanese verb mukau 'to face', 'to turn towards'.

putëg, pitëg (also puthem, pithem) 'passing through', 'via', very much used in the sense of 'from', 'starting from', 'counted from', e.g. atëkham putëg 'from the morning', ilihon putëg 'from Japan'.

(putta 'to pass by', 'to ply', 'to touch on the way').

tëbirë 'holding the hand', 'leading', in the sense of 'together with' (a person) from tibjida 'to hold in the arms'.

kažj 'keeping', 'holding (a thing)', 'with', like kažjgo.

aolla 'including', 'with' (aorîda 'to unite'), aorî id.

ëceg 'around' (from ëuda 'to surround'): ëceg sego sego 'standing close around'.

kylëg, kyren 'together with' (cf. Mong. gelba).

tulë 'around', 'about' (turu da 'to circle around'); turu id.

kkë 'through' (kkëda 'to press oneself through').

këneq 'over', 'to the other side of'; këqq gëneq 'through' (këneqda 'to pass over a river or a mountain').

ëina 'passing by', 'by', 'after': nûil ëina 'after tomorrow', sëul ëina 'after Soul', 'having passed Soul' (ënida 'to pass').

kësëqa, kësëlë 'transgressing', 'against' (the laws, the customs, the intentions) (kësarida 'to transgress', 'to go against', 'to be opposite').

nëmpë 'over', 'more than' (nëmda 'to pass over', 'to come to the other side' and...
The adverbs.

Contrary to the European languages, which in most cases have special forms for the adverb, formed from adjectives, the Korean language, from a morphological point of view, has neither adjectives nor adverbs. On the other hand, it is to be noted that

1) all cases (nominative, locative, instrumental and the now obsolete instructive) which syntactically refer to the following verbal form are used adverbia.

2) most of the words mentioned above as nominal postpositions can be used independently, i.e. without a preceding stronger-stressed noun and then syntactically refer to the verb, i.e. are used as adverbs.

3) all those formations of the verbs which are above called converses point to a following main verb or, in other words, stand in the position of an adverb to their verb.

4) those verbal formations which end in -i (the ending of a deverbal noun and at the same time of an adverb from the verb) and in -o, -u (an ending for a derivate which is used as a noun, as an adjective and as an adverb) have been treated above and give, as also the future convert (-ko), the necessary adverb of almost any kind of qualitative and active verb.

5) the language possesses a number of simple adverbially used words, inherited from the ancient language and with cognate words in one or more of the related languages.

6) the Koreans are specially fond of building onomatopoeic expressions of different kinds, almost ad libitum and at the choice of the speaker himself. Such words or quaswords are syntactically used as adverbs qualifying a following verb or, if no other verb is needed, joined with the verb hada 'to say, to do'; they form a class of words to themselves and will be taken up below under the heading Uninflected words.

The adverbs can be roughly classified as follows: adverbia 287 negationis, adverbia localia, adverbia temporalia, adverbia qualitatis and adverbia quantitatis.

Adverbia negationis.

The negation is in Korean referred to the verb. As negative 288 adverbs are used:

1) an, ani (sometimes written anki) and
2) mot (cf. mō- in mo-zarada 'to be insufficient', mo-psida 'to be of no use' = 'to be impossible, to be bad' and možilda 'to be bad' from ežara 'to be sufficient', sśida 'to use', ežida, N.Kor. edir- 'to be kind, to be good').
The use of these words has been already treated above; see con-
verbual negations, § 206 and also § 268.

Where the negation is referred to the noun we usually find a
periphrase with the verb ćpta 'to lack, to be not existing' or a Chinese
expression, i.e. a Chinese compound with 1) pul, pu: pulpp ep hada
'to be illegal', pulman hada 'to be unsatisfied' (man 'complete'),
pujrān hada 'to be diligent', puendo 'not the same' (toŋ 'the same,
likewise'), 2) mu: mubojep hada 'to be sound' (pjeŋ 'sickness'),
munap 'an eunuch' (lan, nan 'testicles'), munep 'lawlessness',
munap 'insipid' (Korean mas 'taste') or, more seldom, 3) pi : piŋ
pisok 'neither bone nor layman', pip 'a beggar' ('a nothing-man').

Please note that the use of the verb malda 'to avoid, to shun'
'to abstain from' ideologically corresponds to a negation. This verb
has been mentioned above when treating the volitive forms of the
verbal conjugation.

A d v e r b i a l o c a l i a.

289 Here we have to do with case formations of nouns, among others
also these nouns with a general sense of locality which are spoken
of above as nominal postpositions. We have to add that the use of
case endings is very often quite unnecessary, i.e. that the nominative
can be used adverbially; e.g. edā (edji) 'where', originally 'what
place', kaonā 'in the middle' (kaot 'the middle'). On the other hand,
the words are, ara 'under', 'beneath' and ore, ora 'long ago' 'since
long' are locatives (of al and ol), but used mostly as nominatives,
also in compounds (arįtčep 'the under-house, the house below'.
orągan, orąkkan 'a long time').

A d v e r b i a t e m p o r a l i a.

290 As adverbs are used, either in the nominative (N) or in the loca-
tive (L), seldom in the instructive (I), different kinds of nouns,
which in one way or another serve as definitions of time. Such are
for instance:

nęjo N 'when' ('what time'), nęjo-dęngji 'anytime, always'.
ilček N, ilčji I 'early'

atīhan, atįhij 'in the morning', atįhame L id.
nąja L 'at noon'
nąja N (nači) 'in the afternoon'
pam N, pame L 'at night'
čįjįngk, čįjįnq N (čįj 'down', nįj 'direction') 'in the evening'
onal N 'to-day' (probably ol 'this', 'right this', olhka 'to be right')
orhā N 'this year' (kā 'year')
čįjįkki, čįče N 'yesterday' (kki, pki 'time')
kįjįkki, kįče N 'the day before yesterday'
naižl, mįjįl 'to-morrow', nąmįjįl 'after to-morrow'
orā 'the day after to-morrow' (probably L)
kimnįn 'this year', nāmŋn, mįjįn 'next year'
čąmŋnj 'last year', čąmŋnj, kįjįkki 'the year before last',
kįjįkki 'three years ago'
ttā, tttā, tttāro 'some times', 'from time to time'
čiptā 'now-a-days', čiptā, kiptā 'at those times' (ptā, ttā)
kot N 'immediately' (kot 'place' cf. 'on the spot')
akka (written a-skā) 'some minutes ago' (kka 'occasion')
pajahiro (L) 'then, at that time'
palksi, palksi (palksi) 'already' (sje expressive particle)
meņįje 'earlier, already earlier' (čįj from n. ěda), N.Kor. manįg
ięže (iže) 'now', (Chn.) biŋn 'now, at present' (Tung, tikin id.)
mak 'just now', sibān (Chn.) 'now'
nįjēhā, jēhā 'since of old, up to now' (njē 'old', kā 'year')
orā 'long ago, since of old, from old'; orāhkan 'a long time'; orā-žī
(< iži) an haja, orāžnā 'not long ago'
mirī 'beforehand'
ažik 'still', 'yet', ažik ani 'not yet', ažikčet N 'still, up to the present
time, until now' (*kčet 'till, until')
tiçek 'just then'
nō (noo) 'still, continuously, as earlier'
sul, nāru 'continuing, always' (v. njida 'to stretch')
širo 'again', širo id. (sā 'new', sāropta 'to be new')
matēhame 'just then'
mažornak 'at last, in the end'
Adverbia qualitatis et modi.

Under this heading come the two different nominal formations of the verb, i.e. the noun on -i and the future verb on -ke, which are used or can be used from qualitative verbs as adverbial forms.

Without the intention to give a complete list, we enumerate here some of the most used adverbs of this kind:

čal 'well', čal mot 'not well', 'badly',
šūi, šūipe 'easily',
am 'certainly', 'of course'
amā 'perhaps', 'probably'
hōk 'perhaps', 'or perhaps', man-il 'perhaps'
keu 'hardly', 'scarcely',
čāharhi 'rather'
tok 'just', 'precisely'
kkek 'exactly', 'firmly',
čam 'really', 'truly',
sinsillo, činsillo 'in fact',
ugen hi 'eagerly', 'willingly',
čįlo, čogon hi, sisaro 'spontaneously', 'of itself',
čes, čilîn, čilphi 'quickly', 'at once',

pijlo 'separately', 'specially',
čįk hi, čįk hage, neŋŋeqi hi 'enough',
teqa, teqeqe 'slowly',
čeqke, čeqi 'slightly' (čeqta 'to be few')
tall, tare 'differently',
pheq, tādān hi 'very', 'strongly',
pure 'purposely',
Pāgč, Pāgce 'gratis' (< kī-gče 'that shape', 'so as it is')
bhin hi 'personally',
veqas, vesciro 'secretly',
kamanki, kaman hage 'quietly',
ugen hi 'ably', 'competently',
veqisi, kere 'falsely',
časehi 'carefully', 'distinctly'
Pāsinc, Pāsinhi 'with forethought',
kįphi 'suddenly',
ppalii, pparige, sokhi, ppippi, pppunpe 'quickly', 'hastily',
palpul 'by good or bad', 'necessarily',
čeqiro, čeqggo 'by force',
māu 'awfully', 'very' (māpça 'to be acrid'),
oqik, oqik 'even so, only; but', 'the very', 'very' (< ol + čeqk)

Adverbia quantitatis.

Also under this heading we have the deverbal formations in -i, 292 in -ke and in -o, -u, and, besides these, some primary adverbs.

Some examples:
tā 'wholly', 'every one', 'completely',
to 'more', 'again', (v. ttada 'to attack, to go on', cf. Tung. hatama 'again', 'near'),
teq 'more' (in nominal compounds teq, e.g. teqkeryi 'exaggeration',
themmal 'water above the ice'); used in comparisons: teq melé
further, teq sārige, teq čallé 'shorter', teq kījda 'to be bigger'; teq-oq,
teqk 'all the more',

āi I, a I, aśe I 'in the beginning, at first' (si 'time')
tišā I, tišeq 'then, subsequently' (tiʔ 'off, apart')
tasi (Chin.) 'another time, again',
hińi (hin hi), tāqię, tāşje 'usually', 'generally',
kakkím, čačjo 'often' (Chin. kak 'every', kiım 'now')
hānjoŋ (Chin.) 'usually'
pōnā (Chin.) 'from the beginning, until now'
išan, haq-sun, čōsī (Chin.) 'always'
kįphèi 'three years later', kįqįphilì 'four years later' etc. etc.
tši 'less'; like the preceding word, used in comparisons: tši mēlī 'less far', 'not so far', etc. (v. tšīlīda 'to lessen'),
manhi 'much' (mantha 'to be much', mankhe 'so that it will be much'),
kgun-ggun, kwe'i 'almost, nearly'
čā (čhāi) 'all', 'entirely', 'by a little'
čom, čogom, čokkom 'a little'
hāmā 'mostly' (an old verb hāda 'to be big'),
hā 'too', 'too much' (perfect converse of the same verb),
kuvali, kuva hage 'too',
kaŋaŋ 'mostly', very,
ači 'entirely',
mūdo, tomoshi 'in all', 'totally' (= skor. to 'all' and v. motta 'to gather'),
sēro 'mutually' (an old verb *sēlīda 'to be mutual'),
hollo, honja 'alone' (N.Kor. habullu, habun-ja, from a verb habu-
cf. kan 'one'),
oŋa 'in all' (N.Kor. obun 'all'),
koro, koriq 'equally', korora, korosq 'all alike' (koriqda 'to be alike',
koroda 'to adjust'),
ţimuluo 'seldom', etc. (ţimuluda 'to be scarce'),
nego 'too much'.

There must perhaps be mentioned here expressions like seqisq 'three in company', seqisq 'four in all', 'all four', etc., where we have the esseive particle.

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CHAPTER IV

The uninflected words.

Among the different kinds of adverbs we have already met with many words which show no kind of inflection and which themselves cannot be derived from a more simple stem word (e.g. phēk 'very', čal 'well', tē 'more', am 'certainly' etc.). There are still three groups of words which are to be discussed. These three groups are:

1. The Enclitica.

These are short words (mostly one single syllable) which are used directly joined to the preceding word. We have called them simply particles. Some of them join themselves to a noun and some to a verb.

1. We must first mention the interrogative particles. They are ka with its variants ko, kū (dial. kje, ke), ja with its variants jo, ji, i and the combination kaja, kai. They were discussed when we were dealing with the interrogative forms of the verb. It is interesting to note that the interrogative particles seem to agree with those in the Japanese language and with the interrogative pronouns in the Altaic languages. Here, as in Japanese, the interrogative particles are used only at the end of the sentence and, with verbs, only after participles; see above §§ 150—154.

2. A particle či, N. Kor. ti, which is used as a kind of query after the participles, has evidently been a substantive in the sense 'fact' or 'thing', e.g. kallagō mōlānqzī morigesse 'I don't know whether he has gone or not', kalti śō < kalči-in-dā 'when he went', 'when one was to go', kālērā do < kal či-ra do 'in going', 'even if one is to go', v. Postparticipial nouns, § 225, No 6.
3. Among other particles there is the connecting ka, pronounced ga and now used only attached to the subject, i.e. after the nominative. It seems to correspond on the one hand to the Japanese particle ga (e.g. sā desu ga 'so it is, but'), and on the other to the Goldi and Olecha word ka 'but', 'and'. It has been described as the ending of the nominative, but this is not quite the case. It is now used after vowel stems in the same way as the determining i is used after consonant stems. (This i is, as explained above, originally a pronoun for the third person. E.g. sei 'the three', 'three of them', núi manhja sarat 'an aged man', 'his-age being-many man').

4. The particle mū has been called above the emphatic particle; cf. Tungus man 'if', 'as to'. It has the variants iù (after preceding consonant) and mū (after preceding vowel) and in some dialects iù and mū. The use of this particle, which is found affixed to words specially stressed and standing at the beginning of a sentence, has been explained under the heading «Declension». This same particle is also affixed to verbum presentis and verbum perfecti, and it has entered as an essential part in the endings -mūn (<-m ìg gūn) and -kūgn (<-ke ìg gūn) of the conditional and hypothetical verbs.

5. Further we have the particle to, do (N.Kor. tu, da) 'also', 'too', which we have called the augmentative particle and which corresponds to the particle da, dā in the Tungus, Mongol and Turkish languages. E.g. na do ne do 'both I and you', hanū do ēpqo 'there isn't even one', 'there is nobody', sibq ka do kī saranāl mannal su ēpqo 'even if you go now, you are not able to meet him'; amori poa do moriqqo 'however much I may look on it, I can't find it out'; amori poasse do 'how much ever I have looked on it'.

6. A particle a, ja, ija is used at the beginning of a sentence affixed to a substantive as a special sign for the vocative. The vocative has not here been included among the cases because this particle can be affixed also to other forms than the nominative. The same particle is used also in calling; e.g. i saranā 'you there', i wānā 'you, fellow'. It may be that we have the same particle in that ā which we found in the promissive form of the verb, where it is affixed to the verbal noun in -m (čūnā 'I will give then', megīnā 'I will eat'), in the preventive form in -lā (megīllā 'look out, he will eat it') and also in the verbum admissi, where -ā is united to the ending of the perfect participle (issīnā 'be it as it may', onā 'although he comes') and the indirect imperative (megīrā; kīrjā (<<kīr jāl) 'that's so! 'yes!'

7. The particle ra, ira is used at the end of a sentence to indicate that it is finished and to point out a word as the precise word. We have had it in the regressive (hadra 'he does there', 'he did then', haijīgara 'one has done', etc.) and after the participles (hananira, hanira, karira). It is a common rule to use it in the strong or impolite imperative (hajra 'do!', poara 'see!', 'look!' and the type ākkra 'be!', hajra 'go!'). With the verb hada 'to say' it indicates the word to which it is attached as the proper name of a thing, i.e. a quotation. E.g. namphu-ra hanan ēgī 'that which is called a lamp', Pau-ira hanan saram 'the man who is called Pak', sapka-ra hanan ēgī vī ga požra-ha 'we say poża' for what they call sapka (hat'). It is used also before the particle do: kòhīn-ira do 'although it is good'; kòlā-ra do 'even if he goes', kòlārā do, kòlārā hā do 'if you say that he goes'. This particle corresponds to the Turkish particle -la, which is used as a verifying extra ending at the end of a sentence.

8. The particle ok, uk is used in the words lōk 'all the more', pīroq 'for instance', tīrok 'just', 'precisely', amo žoro-ok, amožorok 'by any means' and in the endings -torok (verbum efficiendi) and surūk (see under post-participial nouns), here joined to the instrumental case. It apparently has the sense of 'just', 'just that', and corresponds to the Turkish case ok, ok: bān-ök 'just I, even I', ol-og 'just that'.

9. When from the participles in -nan (hanana) and in -n (kòhīn) we have special indicative forms (han 'does' and dōke 'is good'), we probably have the same element as in the regressive in -e (hade, mekte side by side with hadera, mektgra). This may have been some particle i which has been used only at the end of a finished sentence. Possibly it is only a kind of finishing sound or sound change without any special etymological value.
10. The same may be the case with that -u, alternating with -e, which we have in the present tense of the type hamu, hame, which started from the verbal noun in -m. If this has any historical value, it may be identical with the vowel in the Mongolian present tense ending -mu, -mii.

11. The particle ja with the sense only (that), just that, which in old documents is sometimes written sa, sometimes 2a, may originally be two different words, and is perhaps not identical with the vocative particle ja. E.g. hunjine-ja olla kagetta 'the following year then (I am sure not earlier) he will go to the country', inje-ja kigiri yi kko wassinnedda 'only now have I a little leisure and have come', samgine-ja egera 'only when it is the third watch does he go to bed'. This ja is also used after the present and perfect converses (scil. -ko-ja, -kasje-ja, -a-ja, -asje-ja); after the present convers it is an emphasizing particle and after the perfect convers, this emphasis results in the meaning 'only that', which amounts to 'must'. E.g. sul mekkasje-ja gti hanjetta 'drinking brandy so, what will it be', gti hadenji (gti-thenji) ka-ja ha 'in any case I must go', ka, mal tha-ja 'well, we must mount', poa-ja algenne (only having seen, I will know) 'I must see to know'. This use of ja in the sense of 'must' has already been mentioned under the perfect convers.

12. The particle sjé, which we have called the esseive particle, is in fact an abbreviated isje, the perfect convers of isda, later isda, now itta 'to be'. We have found this used after some cases of the noun, after present and perfect converses and also after the ending -mijen.

13. Also the instrumental particle ssé, found after the instrumental case, is a perfect convers (sseda 'to use', ssé 'using').

14. The particle ko (variants kko, go), which is used after an oratio recta, is some old form of the pronoun ki 'that'. E.g. onda-go handa 'he says that they come', čuma-kko hajetta, 'he promised to give', kara-kko hajera 'tell him to go', etc. The use of this particle has been mentioned under the desiderative, promissive and indirect imperative.

15. Last we have to mention a particle -na, which is used as a sign of wondering or admiration, sometimes also in an assuring sense at the end of a clause. E.g. ekho-na 'really, it is good', čham, mal čal hago-na 'really, he talks well', etc. It is chiefly used after the present convers and is sometimes found without a vowel (hagun, åkko); the ending of the convers is here often -ku instead of -ko (haguna, hagun). When we find kon, kun used after the perfect participle (e.g. čohnungun) it is to be understood as an abbreviation of the verb ida 'to be' (čohnungun for čohn un 'gon').

The Interjections.

The Koreans very often use different kinds of exclamatory sounds, especially at the beginning of a sentence. It is almost impossible to enumerate them or give an account of their sense, but the most frequently used interjections seem to be:

a 'Ah!' atta (a shortened a-iita), atča (a-haža), apta, aptana (a-ipta), aja, ai, ai-go, a.go, a, ágona 'Oh!' e, elta, era, eja 'Oh, stop!'
a, oka, oja (expression of fear) a, e (expression of surprise)
č, či, če 'Well!', 'Yes!' či, če, onče, onja 'Yes!', 'Of course!' 
je 'Here! (take)', jetta 'Here it is!' ha, hai 'Is that so!' he 'so!', 'what!'

Besides these exclamations, there are also more wordlike expressions for different feelings or outbursts of interest.

As such are used:
čham 'Really!', ha čham idem.
čikš 'So!', 'So it is!', 'Yes!'
Onomatopoeia.

311 The Koreans quite frequently use imitations of different kinds of sounds. Such new creations are used at the will of the speaker and have no real history behind them, but this fondness for onomatopoeia goes beyond the sphere of sound and includes positions and movements. Such sound complexes of the moment are mostly used reduplicated, and stand in the sentence as adverbs to the following verb. They consist of one or two syllables, seldom of three. In some of the one-syllable onomatopoeia, either a Chinese word or some form of a Korean verb seems to have been the base, but it is scarcely possible to find any relation between the two-syllable onomatopoeia and the inherited inflected words which the language possesses. But on the other hand from these onomatopoeia verbs can be derived with the endings -kerida, -kida and -tída.

Some examples:
sugin sugin hada 'to whisper'
phallan phallan hada 'to flutter'
tallan-dallan hada 'to rattle'
anan-anan hada 'to flatter, to pretend to admire'
tegsil-tegasil hada 'to cut capers, to frolic'
tosun-tosun hada 'clumsily'
tebuk-tebuk 'in tufts', 'in bunches'
tefk-tefek 'stupidly, clumsily'
tephal-tephal 'flying up and down'
talmak-talmak 'shaking, rattling'
tamssak-tamssak 'squeezing'
syelg-syelg 'cool'
nyilim-nyilim 'quickly'
lam lam hada 'to have the mouth closed' (tamiha id.)
tan tan hada 'to be firm'
thinn thinn hada 'to be strong'
phijn phijn hada 'to be smooth, to be plain' (skor. phijn 'plain')
pijn pijn hada 'to be fair, to be all right'
tiit tiit hada 'to be hot' (tiida id.)
kak kät (kakkät, kkakkät) hada 'to be clean' (kgi- id.)
exal exal 'flowing', exol exol id.
leq deq hada, leq don, leqdon leqdon h. 'to drum'
sqep sqep 'very, much'
ogil ogil 'congregating, in swarms'
umil umil 'in swarms'
doki doki hada 'to move in swarms'
ugil ugil 'turning inwards, beaten inwards' (aktta 'to batter in')
aumil aumil 'indistinctly, almost hidden' (sinokor. am 'hidden')
omil omil 'gumming (in eating)'
egil egil 'dizzily, giddily'
adj adj 'giddily'
ekip ekip 'uneven, prickly' (as from smallpox)
eleq eleq 'in spots, pitted'
allak allak 'in (big) spots, variegated'
ektok ektok 'variegated'
elsen elsen 'multicolored, variegated'
elsen telesen 'with irregular spots'
elmen elmen 'full of holes'
akpak akpak 'full of bigger holes'
élgi élgi 'tangled', élgi selgi 'in many ways tangled'
egginj égginj 'on all fours'
gh égh 'crying', égh-ghérida 'to bawl, to cry'
égkhém égkhém 'with long strides'
sàníl sàníl 'laughing'
sengi sengi, sengil sengil, singil singil 'grinning'
sillok sillok, sàlik sàlik 'twitching, pulling'
silikim sillikim 'unwillingly'
sàlak sàlak 'sideways, askew'
ssigín ssigín 'panting, with a gasp'
sàdíl sàdíl 'halfdry'
sàdíl pudl 'partially half dry, partially dry, warping'
orok orok 'in (uneven) lumps'
ùjíl pužil 'boldly'
úri ùri 'imposing, majestic'
úred úred 'sounding deep and full'
udun adun 'idiotically, stupidly'
ùdun adun, adun adun 'stupid' (Skor.)
wallhak wallhak 'precipitately'

Note. We have the old Instructive in:
ëp ëbi 'in every house', 'every house'
sul nari, nanari 'every day'
tal dari, tadarí 'every month'
hà hà 'from year to year', 'every year', etc.
etc., etc.

A few sentences may show their use:
Nënsiqal ñëngat ñëngat, ibil ppitlak ppitlak handa 'he twitches his eyelids and moves his lips'
ëjëh ëjëh hëjëh muri sul sul nari ganda 'the river flows turbulently and beats downwards strongly'
ëpë pëmë ëmël than than nûdëra 'last night they shot off guns repeatedly'
ëjës ëjës ëjës na nûdëra 'the tide has gone out little by little'
CHAPTER V

Word formation.

Nouns.

312 Nouns which are not simple root words are either derivations or compounds. It is sometimes quite easy to discern the original components in a compound, but as there are many phonetic changes and variations it is frequently difficult to find out how the language has acquired a particular word, — whether we have to do with a compound or a derivative. It would demand a great deal of special study to give a reliable survey of the Korean word formation, but as a preliminary introduction the following may be of some use.

Nouns with suffixes.

313 To the deverbal nouns in -ki, -m, -i, -o (or -u), we may add some more with different endings, but as the same endings are also partly to be found in nouns, it is almost impossible to be sure whether the stem word is a noun or verb. The denominal and deverbal derivations are therefore given together.

314 1) -ak, -ek, -k: thérak 'hair' (jan theri, jan therygi, jan thelgi 'sheep wool'); türak 'courtyard'; ka 'boundary, border', kaaak hada 'to border on'; nał 'raw, uncooked', narak 'unhulled rice'; toł, tołok 'stone', tołji, tołjjak 'a small stone'; kŋŋuk 'black' (kŋŋuđa 'to be black'); kırık, kırıkki, kiri 'the length' (kiłda 'to be long'); nélbükki 'the breadth' (nelspla 'to be broad'); ngbök 'flat' (nepla 'to be flat'); pesökki, pesörökki, pesörökki 'offal, crumbs' (pesüđa 'to crumble'); pırık-čiđ hada 'to ask for

alms, to beg'. pırık-čiđi 'a beggar' (pïldâ 'to pray, to beg'); kara, karačiđ 'ring'; sak 'price, wages' (sada 'to buy'); čhak 'closely, firmly' (čhada 'to grasp firmly', čhê gada 'to arrest').

Perhaps we have to count among these also sâak 'a young woman' (sâ 'new'), anâk 'a wife', anâkñe (ananyê) 'wife' (an 'inside', ankhân 'the inner room', 'the wife'). But as to marüp, marüpâk 'the knee', the vowel makes difficulties, and the word is perhaps a compound as probably is nîmâphak, (= nîma, nimâ, nimâpi) 'the forehead'. The ending -âk seems to be sure in ğârîm, ğârîmak 'short' (ğârida 'to be short'), pusîrôm, pusîrôm 'a boil'.

2) -kâ (-ke), -ü (-e): nälgî, nälâ 'the wing' (naldâ 'to fly'); tolgy 'whirlwind' (tolda 'to turn round'); ssâgâ 'a wrap' (ssada 'to wrap in'); pjeđa 'a pillow' (pjepla 'to lean the head against'); ssige 'a veil' (ssêđa 'to cover the head'); čëgie 'a hood' (ćiđa 'to carry on the back'); čëpke 'a pincer' (ćiđla 'to pinch'); čëpke 'a bed cover' (ćiđla 'to cover').

karâ 'older kalâgâ' 'a spade' (kâlda 'to dig'); karâ 'a millstone' (kâlda 'to grind'); kalâ 'a branch of a family' (karida 'to divide'); nágâ 'a stopper, cork' (nakta 'to stop, close'); kure, kulle 'a bridle' (kulda 'to treat'); ppâlê, ppâlajë 'the wash' (ppâlda 'to wash'); ssîre, ssîrîgi 'sweepings, dust' (sîldâ 'to sweep'); norâ 'song', nori 'play', norijm 'amusement' (nolda 'to amuse oneself'); sorâ, sori 'sound'; etc.

With this type of deverbal noun seem to be analogous words like kol, karâ 'valley' and jërîm, jërîmâ, jêlim âfruit', where the ending -â (original -a) is apparently joined to a noun.

3) -čî. This ending seems to be denominal, e.g. kirêkki, nélbükki, püsörökki, etc. (see above); abâži, abbamim, abâ, abi, 'father'; emêzî, emenim, emi 'mother'; agunjî, agunzî 'the stove'; pvisão 'the trousers' (cf. Gohlâ pa trousers', 'liver'); pëlî, pëlajë, pëlâzî, pëlâži, pëlajzî 'insect'; pûjû, pûjuzi 'the nape of the neck'.

4) -çî. This ending is a diminutive termination, for instance in words like kâdži 'a pup' (kâ 'dog'), saozî 'a calf' (so 'a cow'),
muaţi ‘a colt’ (mal ‘horse’); tojaţi ‘a pig’; mogaţi, mok ‘the neck’; son-mogaţi, son-mok ‘the wrist’; pogaţi ‘a half gourd, used as a vessel’ (pak ‘the gourd’); wugæzi ‘remains’, wug, mukëid. (mukta ‘to remain, to stay’); (lan- >) nän-tiæzi ‘a precipice’ (tílda ‘to fall’); namogæzi ‘remainder, surplus’ (namda ‘to remain’).

It is possible that the endings -ëi and -aži are of the same origin, but it is also possible that in abaži, æmezi we have an original -eti and in some other words an original -adi, -di.

318 5) -ari, -eri, -ri. The vowels vary according to the vowel of the stem, and -ri is found after a vowel stem. This formation seems to have been favoured for denoting concrete things. E.g. ñek, ñegeri ‘the chin’; ñin, ñigeri ‘the back’; pon, pongari (pongari) ‘the top, the head’; ñen, ñigeri ‘a lump’, ñilækæri, ñilækæk ‘a cloud of earth’; mugi, mageri ‘remainder’, ‘shorts’; ñiæhe ‘under’, ñiæhegi ‘sandals’, tolænæri, tolænæri ‘a stone block’; han, hanari ‘a jar’; tok, taguri, tokkuri ‘a pot’, ‘a bottle for brandy’; padari ‘the bumble bee’ (Mongol. batagana ‘a fly’); sadari, sadakari ‘ladders’ (Mongol. ñatu ‘ladder’); ñokhari ‘an acorn’ (tòh ‘pig’?); sozi, sozori ‘the bunch’; tagari, tagari, ñig ‘the head’ (of a slaughtered animal); ñequri ‘the edible frog’ (mekta ‘to eat’); mugi, mageri, mageri ‘a ball, a round thing’; ñqoni ‘empty, wide’, ñeqori ‘wideness’ (cf. Turk. ñeqni ‘the ocean, the sea’); ñan ‘alone’, ñapari ‘a single piece’; Chinese ñoktu, Korean ñoktu, ñoktu ‘a kind of hat’; ñaguri ‘mouth, snout’ and *ak in akpuri, ñpuri (ñuri, ñn) (cf. Turk. äggi ‘mouth’); Chinese ñu, Korean ñu, ñuí ‘the oats’; Chinese ñkpo, Korean ñkpo, ñmpki ‘a bad fellow’; etc.

319 Here we have also to reckon with ækri ‘a thing, a piece’, derived from kæs ‘thing’, piecë, and probably earlier kægri, kægri. This word seems to be much used as an ending, and will be taken up under compounds. § 332.

A combination of an older ending *-di and -eri may be supposed in the words ñigæzi ‘the back’ and pongari ‘the head, the top’.

6) -añ, -ey. Deverbal formations are: ñiæñ ‘the straw thatch’ (nita ‘ñiæ: ñiæ ‘to lay side by side, to arrange’); ñihægæzi ‘the dress’ (nihæda ‘to dress’). Perhaps also in N. Kor. pir{'}, pir{'}gæzi ‘the beggar’, pir{'}gækæzi ‘a poor beggar’.

From nouns are derived: N.Korean kodjæ ‘a place’ (kot, kod-i ‘place’), kæmdægi ‘darkness’ (kæmda ‘to be black’). On dialectical differences depend N.Korean narnæ ‘country’, ñætæ ‘the earth’, padæ ‘the sea’, madæ ‘each’, etc. against S. Kor. nara, tæ, pada, mada. This seems to allow one to conclude that among the words with a long final vowel there may be words where an ending is absorbed.

7) -añi, -eyi: kuri, kuren ‘snake’, ‘a serpent’; kori, koja, koja ‘the cat’; tæjækæri, tækænægi ‘clothes taken apart for dyeing’ (tætæ: tæq ‘to pull to pieces’); padægi ‘a jar’; ñequr ‘a yellow dog’ (ñurudæ ‘to be yellow’); ñima, ñimægi ‘the forehead’; ñgæzari ‘the carp’ (cf. Turkish bany ‘fish’).

8) -açi, -eyi. This ending is difficult to get clear because -a, -ç may belong to a secondary stem and thus only -çi should be the ending; on the other hand -i may be the determinative ending and the real suffixes should then be -ak, -çk. Sıris ‘sweepings’, ssı ‘sweepings, dust’ (essı ‘to sweep’); ñiægi ‘a story, a tale’ (? nida ‘ñiæ: nın ‘to connect, to continue’); oragi ‘a thread in weaving’ (or ‘strings’, ‘band’, of ‘the threads of warp and woof’); ñequri ‘a hero’ (? -kure in pirgæzi ‘a beggar’); ñpı, ñpı ‘the bords of reed grass’; miskurı, miskurı ‘the lamprey’, miskurı ‘the quail’, namu, namægi, namikær ‘the tree, wood’.

9) -gi. This ending, which is the termination of the verbal substantive and signifies the action or the state expressed by the verb, seems also to be used in concrete nouns. E.g. poqi ‘an example’, ‘something for show’ (poda ‘to see’); nagi ‘a native of; seul-lagi ‘a native of Seoul’; murıqıgi ‘clothes that reach down to the knees’ (édıda ‘to fall down’); N.Korean tshigži-tshá, S.Korean ñe, ñe ‘a sieve’; ñeraqi ‘a grown-up’ (ñerada ‘to increase in size’); ñiægi hada ‘to lay a wager’ (ñaña ‘to emit, to give out’).
10. -ami, -gni, -mi. From the verbs we have ḵḵʷrimi, ḵḵum 'a wrapper, a ball of twine' (ḵḵurda 'to wrap', 'to wind'); ḵɠṃi, ḵɠŋi 'a coarse sieve' (cf. Turkish ḫığık 'a sieve'). Perhaps also words like ṭeqni 'seasickness' and ṭeqn 'reason', 'cause', 'naraṃi 'the length' (nald 'to run lengthwise').

11. -tā, -tā : ḫeq, N.Korean ḫeq, ḫeqči 'the tongue'; pā, ṭeqči 'the stomach'; ḫeq, ḫeqči 'the back'; ḫeq, ḫeqči 'the beginning'. This ending is quite obscure and may be a shortened composition; one can hear both ṭeqči and ṭeqči, ḫeqči and ḫeqči 'the mountain' (see below that, under the compounds).

12. -gak. In North Korean, 'to mow hay' is ṭeqa or ṭeqgččiy ḫada; this gives a word ṭeqgči with the sense 'sickle', where we should have a deverbal ending -gak. The word ṭeqgči 'a rice ladle' (cf. ḫada 'to give') is possibly a second example.

13. -i. If we had § 239, among nouns derived from verbs with the ending -i the noun for actions, for the result of the action, and also for many different kinds of nouns in which one sense or another are connected with a verb. E.g. ṭeqi (ṭeqi) 'the life'; ṭeqi 'the handle' (čeqta 'to take, to fetch'); ṭeqi, ṭeqi (qeq-čča 'the front place in a two man chair', ṭeqči 'the rear handle of a chair', ḫada 'to grasp firmly'); ṭeqi, ṭeqi 'full-size', 'čeqči 'as big as a house' (čada 'to be full', 'to be up to the size of'). From nouns which denote members of a family there is a kind of diminutive formation in -i: ṭeqi, ṭeqi 'the mother'; ṭeqi, ṭeqi, ṭeqi, ṭeqi, ṭeqi 'the father'; ṭeqi, ṭeqi, ṭeqi 'the uncle'; ṭeqi 'mother of animals'. This kind of diminutive is known in other Altaic languages as well.

14. -qki (? -qki or -dki). This ending is not clear; we have the few examples sāqki 'youngster, young animal' (sā 'new'), thqki 'hare, rabbit' (Chin. tho id.) and ṭqki 'an axe' (probably from tol 'the stone, the hammer'); according to Prof. Oowua 'the axe' is in fact called tol and tol in some dialects.

15. -i is found as a denotational ending in ḫeqi 'the surplus' (qeq 'more'), ḫeqi 'the beginning' (qeq, qeq 'the first').

16. -t (original -s and -t). From most of the qualitative verbs there is a form in (written) -s used in connection with the verb ḫada : pulqī pulqī ḫada 'to be reddish', ḫṣī ḫṣī ḫada 'to be whitish', norq urq urq ḫada 'to be yellowish', ḫqī ḫqī ḫada 'to be hot', ṭqī ṭqī ḫada 'to be clean'. Here is a suffix *-s, and the same suffix is perhaps also to be found in the formations pulqīqīqī, ḫṣīqīqī, urqīqī, ṭqīqīqī, etc., where the ending -r-op- is the formative of a secondary verb stem. To this -s correspond among others the Tungus verbs in -se: ḫq- 'to die' and ḫsas- 'to be sick to death' and the deverbal nouns in -s in the Mongolian language. The Tungus ending -se contains an ending -s and the verb se- which is used independently in Manchu and both as to sense and etymology is identical with the Korean verb ḫada 'to do, to say' (< ḫeq- << -se).

Besides this -t (original -s) there is another ending -t which is found in denominational formations, e.g. qeq 'more', ṭeq 'the second one, one more' (cf. Mongolian det 'vice', as in titles); ṭeq, ṭeq 'the first, number one'; ḫeq (qeqčča) 'uselessly, vainly', ḫeq (qeq-čča), 'a failure, a useless thing'; etc. Whether the ending of this kind of derivation really is -t or perhaps -s or something else is quite uncertain.

17. -q, -q. Such an ending can perhaps be supposed in examples like ḫqq, ḫqq 'butterfly', ḫqq, ḫqq 'the muzzle of animals'; ḫqq, ḫqq, ḫqq 'a weeding hoe'; ḫqq, ḫqq 'strength (as in strong drinks or poison)', cf. Turk. ḫqq, ḫqq. ḫqq id. Whether this ending is a special ending or perhaps an abbreviation (qeqqeqi) is perhaps shortened to qeqqeqi is difficult to decide without special study.

Composition of Nouns.

The Korean language has a trait which distinguishes it from all cognate languages, and this trait consists in its great aptitude for nominal compositions. Perhaps this is a consequence of Chinese influence. In any case this usage is very old. As such a fondness
for compounds exists, it is impossible to enumerate all the possibilities the language possesses, and therefore only a few examples can be given of compounds where the second part seems to have sunk to little more than an ending.

1) -hi, found as a kind of plural sign: ne 'thou', npihi 'you'; če 'that', čečhi 'those, they'; a 'child', ahči, ahča 'children' and 'child'.

2) -əja (Chin.), 'person': puža 'the rich man', kža 'that fellow, he', nizja 'the owner, the master', 'my own beloved', etc.; see Postparticipal nouns No. 20 § 226.

3) čja, čjani (Chin.) is very much used to indicate the craft or trade: not 'brass', nočani 'the maker of brass goods'; sin 'shoe', sinčani 'the shoemaker', čil-kir 'earthenware', crockery', čil-kirčani 'the potter'; tam 'the wall', tamčani 'the plasterer, wallmaker'; tazja, tazjani 'the smith'; kuči 'the fail', kučči 'the thief, thief person'; či-gop 'the hunchback', či-gopčani 'the humpbacked person'; apčjani 'the foreman'; tazjani 'the last man'; kep 'hear', kepčani, kepčjani 'the hare-hearted man'. The same Chinese word has also entered the Turkish language, where we have sas 'word', saččan, kkr. sasčan 'wordmaster, orator', žrčani 'the learning', žrčaničan 'apt to learn', etc.

4) nim (Chin.) is used after names and titles of honoured persons: abanči 'the father', čenčim 'the mother', hűjčim 'elder brother', son, sončim 'the guest', šenči, šenččim 'the teacher', mistre, šinči 'colleague, you' (used between monks of the same sect), hančim 'God' (hantl 'heaven'), etc.

In daily speech this -nim is very often shortened to -ni and abani, čenča also to abani, čenča.

5) -nom is used in a contemptuous sense: točk 'a thief', toččnom, id., čap (Chin.) 'various, mixed', čamnom 'a low fellow'.

6) -kan (Chin.) is used in names for workmen: il 'work', ilgųn 'a worker', norim 'play', norimčgųn 'a player', kyo 'a palanquin', kygųn 'a palanquin bearer'; mori 'the drive' (molda 'to drive'),
morikčan 'the driver, the coachman', etc. This is to be kept apart from -kan (Chin.) 'royal person', e.g. ningun (ingun) 'the Ruler, the Emperor'.

Also su, šiu (Chin.) 'hand' is found in names for workmen or professionals: mokšu 'carpenter' ('wood hand').

7) -keči is used to show contempt; ton 'money', tongčeg 'a money lover'; kločeg 'worry', kloččegčeg 'an anxious person' and 'a cause of anxiety'; pāp 'food', pāpkeči 'a food lover, a great eater'.

8) -pač the chamber' and -pač the poor person', two Chinese words which seem to have been mixed and given the ending -pači: sēnči (sə 'writing utensils'), 'secretary, master, Mr' (kim-sēnči 'Mr Kim'); ančči 'a lame person, a cripple' (čzj 'sitting'); allančči 'a flatterer' (allan allan hada 'to pretend to admire'); piričči 'a beggar' (pilt 'to beg')

9) patči 'an actor'; norinbatči, norinčči 'a clown', norinčči, norinčgųn 'a gambler' (nolda 'to play').

10) ne, *nai 'man', an old word now replaced by saram and used only in compounds, especially as a sign of the plural: wam 'the parents', wamone id.; njepčjen 'a woman' (Chin. njé 'woman', phijen 'side'), namphjen 'a man' (nom 'man', phjen 'side'); tānč 'you' (tan 'to touch', sin 'body'), tansinče id. or plural; saramči, saramčič (see under Declension, § 89).

11) kalči 'value, worth', is mostly pronounced -atči; sipčam-atči 'worth ten sen'; il čap-atči 'the value of one yen'.

There is an ending -atči, which also may originally have been the last member of a compound and now signifies a person as the holder of an office.

12) -kan (Chin.) 'chamber, room' and 'interval, period of time'; e.g.: apkan 'the foreroom', imsčkan 'dining room'; ančkan, ančkan 'the inner room, the women'; ñamčkan 'a space between, a little while'; sēk 'the period of one hour' (sę 'hour'); orāčkan 'a long time' (orā 'long ago')

13) -keri 'thing, piece' (from kes, see above, § 319) is much used in concrete nominations: let 'more', (let-keri) tēkeri 'exagger-
ation'; amsu 'cheating', amsugri 'a trick'; sip-ën 'ten sen', sip-ën-geri 'ten sen piece', also 'something worth ten sen'; etc.

From this keri are to be kept apart keri 'road' (ketta : kerç : kerçin 'to walk') in turgri 'a crossroad' (tu 'two'), sungri 'crossroad' (Chin. saw 'three'), etc., and keri 'hangings, strings' (keldä : kerç : ken 'to hang up') in angengeri 'the ear-strings of spectacles' (angengri 'sight'); opekri 'breast strap of a horse', okkeri (< oskeri) 'horizontal pole to hang clothes' ('*os clothes')

14) -thai, pronounced thā 'size' (see above, § 327): Øip-thā 'as big as a house, the size of a house' (Øip-thā katta 'to be like a house'); this -thā is mostly used with the verb katta : katha : kathin 'to be similar' and seems to correspond to the Mongol ending -čai. Turk. -ča, which have the same sense and are used as endings.

15) -thak, tak 'the ridge, the top, the highest point'; mallö, mallanq, mallothaqi 'the ridge of a mountain'; kkok, lkoktaq 'the top of a mountain'; etc.

16) -ča, an old word which seems to have meant 'condition' or 'state': kijč 'so as it is', 'gratis'; hünča, N.Kor. hambunci 'alone, single'; etc.

17) -raç, -raç (Chin. taç) 'beast' is found in some names for wild animals: ko (Chin.), korær 'the tiger'; sırç, sırq 'the wolf', etc.; perhaps also hıràç 'sorcerer'. Here we have the ending -tar, -tan of the Turkish and Mongolian names like arsen 'lion', qañtan 'tiger', sërtaq 'hyena', etc.

18) -čil 'work': pančil 'needle', pančil 'needlework', pančil hada 'to sew'; no 'rudder', nočil hada 'to row'; päč, pàç 'to row', máč 'to mow', màčil hada, màčil hada 'to gossip'; tám 'a patch for a hole', támčil hada 'to mend, to patch'; nkil, jak 'sealdings', nkil čil hada 'to scold'; ppallö 'wash', ppallöčil hada, ppallö 'to wash clothes', etc.

This čil may sometimes mean not only the work but also the worker, and is therefore probably identical with the Turkish ending -čil in ikčil, igčil 'the sick person', sọčil 'the slanderer', etc.
CHAPTER VI

The structure of the sentence.

The simple sentence. The most important part of a Korean sentence is the predicate. The verbs are, as we have explained above, of two kinds, i.e. verbs of action, corresponding to what are called verbs in other languages, and the verbs which have been called qualitative verbs and correspond to adjectives.

A Korean sentence, where it is not a single word as the answer to a question or a short exclamation, is complete and clear with the verb alone. E.g. 해디 'he goes, they go', or 'I go', 'we go'; 들하기 'it is bright'; 손으로 'it is a man'. The lack of a subject seems to be no inconvenience at all to the Koreans, and ideas like 'it' or 'he', 'she' are as a rule not expressed grammatically.

When the subject is expressed it always stands at the beginning of the phrase and is to be understood as limiting the action or quality expressed. If it is clear who or what is being spoken of, the subject is left out.

The action can be closer defined and limited in many ways, and we have thus both subject and object referring to and limiting the idea of the verb. Furthermore, the action can be narrowed by words expressing temporal or local circumstances. In this case we talk of adverbs if the limiting words are nouns and of converses if the limiting words are verbs. All these limitations, starting from the subject, and proceeding through temporal adverbs, dative objects and accusative objects, stand before the verb, which is thus the last word in a sentence. To repeat the above, the order of the words in a normal sentence is: subject, local-temporal adverb, dative object, accusative object, converb, main verb or predicate. (For possible variations of this general scheme see below.)

The noun and its attributes. As in other languages the nouns are used in many different ways, i.e. as subject, as object, in local, temporal or other kinds of limitations of the verb. The noun itself is limited or narrowed by attributes. If there are several attributes, they are placed in logical order so that the narrowest comes first; e.g. 'these three young black horses'. This logical order is maintained quite strictly in the Korean language. To use expressions common in European languages, we can therefore state as the general rule that the governing word follows the governed, that the noun follows the adjective it governs and that the whole sentence is governed by the verb at the end.

Logically there is no strict difference between an adjective as attribute to a noun and the relation of the first part of a compound noun to the last. As to grammatical variations of forms, the case endings and particles come after the last noun, but never after the attribute; in other words, the Korean language knows nothing of concordance between the attribute and its main word.

What are above called nominal postpositions are words for some general local ideas ('under', 'in', 'at', 'beside', 'about', 'above', etc.), which are used as the main or governing word to the preceding noun.

Orientation. Varying from the normal sentence, where the local and temporal adverbs as a rule come after the subject part of the sentence and before the object, the Korean sentence often begins with a local or temporal or some similar adverb, which more vividly connects the sentence with the surrounding situation or context. This anticipatory use of a certain class of adverb is quite common in ordinary discussions, but is avoided as much as possible in the literary language. It is natural that this anticipation is caused by the desire of the speaker to prepare the mind of the person spoken to as early as possible. This kind of deviation from the normal order of the words can be called the sentence with orientation.
Supplementary correction. The Korean sentence ends in the verb, but sometimes in daily speech the speaker may find that he has left some word or words out, and in this case the word left out can be put after the verb but always in a voice or tone level which differs from the normal. E.g. sarami kanda 'the man goes' or kanda 'he goes', but if this kanda is not understood and the speaker wants to repair his omission quickly, he can say kanda, sarami instead of the regular sarami kanda, 'he goes, the man' instead of 'the man goes'. This breaking of the order is strictly avoided in the literature.

The accusative object. If the object is a more or less occasional or special limitation of the sphere of action expressed by the verb, the accusative case is used, and this accusative has a freer position in the sentence than many other limitations of the verb. The accusative can precede the dative or follow it, and in some cases the accusative can be given at the beginning of the sentence like the anticipatory adverb. But very often the object of a transitive verb is so closely united in thought with the verb that it stands just before the verb and is then without an accusative suffix.

Direct and indirect speech. A phrase can be the object in another phrase and is then expressed without change, in other words, there is no difference between direct and indirect speech in the Korean language. The particle ko (go, kko) can be used to point out what precedes as the utterance of another. E.g. il hando 'he works', il hando hao, il hando go hao 'he says that he works'. The middle polite form of the verb, which ends in -ox or -so can stand only at the end of a sentence but not in the included indirect clause: il hao 'he works', but never il hao hao, instead of this, forms like il hasinda hao and il haminda hao may be used. Instead of using hao in the sense of 'to say', the noun mal 'speech' is very largely used; e.g. hando han mar-ia (handan mar-ia) 'the word is: he works', he says he works'. This use of the word mal 'speech' is quite common.

Oatory questions. The Koreans, to emphasize causal, local or temporal clauses, often use a conditional clause 'if one asks' with an following question and the answer. 'He has gone to Seoul to study' may be constructed as follows: 'If you ask why he has gone to Seoul, it is for study', or 'If you where he has gone to study, it is to Seoul', e.g. kji i go eolgrl haman go hani, seonrl hao 'If you say where he is going, he goes to Seoul'; kji srcaml jgolri we kirn go hani pji ri tylgrl kirng (when you say why this man's face is so (pale), the sickness having entered it is so' — 'his face is so pale because he has been sick'. Here the ko after the participle is the interrogative particle ko, not the one used in the indirect clause.

Amplified sentence. By using participles with a following noun (see postparticipial nouns § 225), the Koreans can unite a sentence with a following sentence. For the same purpose the numerous converbal forms of the verb are very convenient. There is a distinct tendency in the literary language to unite all clauses and sentences which are logically connected, and the result is periods which may fill whole pages without stops or other dividing marks than the modulations in the voice and the meaning of each verb. That is why the language needs no need for conjunctions. Sometimes the connective may be in some way repeated, using a verb like kirng hoda 'to be so'. E.g. ton ikki nji issinya (issinya kirng) kji srcamljge nji kiyj ani hajessu 'money I have, but (even so) I do not give it to him, chsargyl cal hana (kirng) marjn tonj epso 'he does business well, but (nevertheless) he has nothing left over'. It is the verb kirng hoda (kirngkha) 'to be so', 'to do so', which in its different converbal forms and other formations of not finite character nearest corresponds to a conjunction, but this is most used in daily speech and is as much as possible avoided in good literary style.

Another word which is largely used when the period is broken into smaller units is the word man 'amount', 'size', 'worth', but as adverb almost 'but'. E.g. jenjngi tti marjin tti hal su epso 'the tools are there, but, I cannot work'; kji srcaml orlko hajejln marjin (or hajejln marj) anr one (or one kirng) 'I have told him he should come, but he does not (doesn't, so it is'). The word man, with the emphatic particle, marjin, is used after the declarative form in -ta and also after the indecisive in -et, but most literary and probably most correct is to use it after the participle, like other postparticipial nouns.
Two negations. The negation in Korean is strong enough used alone, and if we have two negations, the sense is strongly positive. E.g. *kiripke an hamjën mot logesso* 'if one doesn’t do so, it will not come out all right', the sense is one must do so; *iipseun guži an haži anso* 'this is not to be put not over', the sense being 'this is really good', 'this is certainly best'.

Unfinished sentences. The sentence is normally closed with a verb in a finite form, but the Koreans can also use elliptical or unfinished expressions. In orders, commands and explanations, we find the whole utterance ending in converses or postpositions or case endings. In this use the rest may be omitted as understood. The same seems to be the rule in answering questions.

Leaving the sentence unfinished can also have a social reason. As explained in the chapter on verbs, the Koreans have many different forms for the predicate, all paying some attention to politeness. If the speaker is uncertain what form or what kind of politeness he has to show, the most convenient way out of the dilemma is to use an unfinished sentence. The perfect in -a, -e has been used from the oldest times as substitute for other forms, and it is this verb from the passive stem formation (i.e. originally -wa, -we) which has created the middle polite verbal form in -o, now used as the most convenient and sufficiently polite way of ending a sentence.

Chinese expressions. The order of words is quite different in Chinese, where for instance the object follows the verb. When Chinese expressions are used in Korean phrases they are to be understood as a single word, a compound, which corresponds to a Korean noun. By using the word *hada* 'to do', 'to be' after the Chinese expressions, the Koreans obtain the corresponding verbal expression (§ 120). This incorporation of Chinese has gone on since the beginning of Chinese influence, and in more or less scientific or serious writing, we everywhere meet with this *hada* type. Of all the verbs in dictionaries, at least three-fourths are verbs with *hada*. Nevertheless the Chinese order of words in a sentence has not influenced the Korean order.

Appendix.

Texts.

A. Songs.

I

ǎgi, āgi, ěrin āgi,
kkamił kkamił kusil nuni,
toppul toppul kemjun neri,
ětći kiri eipppun-ja?

thabak thabak kwaj wase
áydo kathin ipsisło-šše
păngi păngi usimnysě
čemna pëmo ip mañhune.

Baby, baby, my small baby,
your twinkling pearl-eye,
your forest-like dark head, how are you so charming?

When you come on all fours
and with your cherry-like lips
when you smile your lovely smiles,
mother will kiss you on your cheeks.

II

ćaža, ćaža, čanin-guna,
uri āgi čal do čanda.
ǐńja ton-ā, kimža ton-ā,
sčunjën čińšjə puqai ton-ā.

ćimją čumjun neryl sal kə?
kimši čumjun neryl sal kə?

Sleep, sleep, he is sleeping,
our baby sleeps so nicely,
silvery child, golden child,
with long life, great age, riches and rank.

Can one buy you by giving silver,
can one buy you by giving gold?
kukkau nín čuńsin toni,  
şumоńiğe hjoža toni.  

For the country a noble boy,  
for the parents a faithful son,

kiŋjiğe níši toni,  
du-la čińsiğk hwanok toni,  
tonu pana justin ton-a,  
tăsan katići kusesege.  

for the brethren a brotherly son,  
for the family and relatives an harmonious son,  
for the village and the house a renewer,  
be strong as the great mountain!

hahá katići kipko kipke,  
junčeč čińha kasa poșa,  
čal do, čal do, čal do čanda,  
uri čiń čal do čanda.  

Be deep (in feeling) as the rivers  
and the sea!  
Be renowned over the whole world!  
Gently, gently, gently sleeping,  
my baby is sleeping sweetly.

III

pana, pana, mal-pana ja,  
kuń kuń čińna muń-pana ja,  
nęjį hińi čan hago-na,  
phokpho katići ssonnan mure.  

Mill, mill, watermill!  
Strongly pounding watermill,  
your strength is powerful  
in your cascade-like splashing water.

üre-zińin końi sori  
sül-säl épši ollimjenjẹ  
han sem, tu sem čińje náni  
pag-ok kathin hjin ssal ilse.  
i ssal čińje muńt hal kaś?  
jenći-mań kara náje,  
ciónró čińje čaru kasa,  
allak taliak mal tirińje.  

The sound of the falling pounder  
you raise high restlessly,  
you pound for us one bag, two bags  
of the white-jade-like white rice.

What is there to do after pounding this rice?  
To grind the grain in the horse-drawn mill,

to sift it with sieve to flour,  
to mix water in it.

kőpke kőpke pińe náje  
cińgił cińgił kllin kirım sosə  
mosi ikke cińgił náje  
sakssí sanye kőiğe nóčka.  

kəşa, kaşa, nóllie kaşa,  
őri-donšane nóllie kaşa,  
kkot to štǎŋg šop-kop nóllkem  
kiņmsa kiņmsa nóllie kaşa.  
pok-sun-i nín saksši nágo  
špumirō siliń sana

kkot kəwa phurjil nowattaga  
čani ikke nóra poșa.  
sığnun-ų, mal tińso!  
kağı kipko-zińje.  
i kağı bańe śińme  
kida čgol pogo šiغو!  
somok mańo čəbara!  
sanıro do olla pogo  
č.isPresente makkena!  
mullo do kzyćəčkəna!  
hənari nọptu kșuna,  
katići nulmjen naźilse-go,  
to cut it nicely in slices,  
in the fiercely boiling oil  
to stir it until it is tasty  
and to lay it as an adornment on  
the young wife’s table.

IV

Let’s go, let’s go to play,  
in the back garden we’ll go to play,  
picking flowers we will play,  
in pairs, in pairs we go to play.

The Happy-girl we choose as  
bride,  
the Beautiful we make the bridegroom,  
we gather flowers then and grasses  
and we try to play interestingly.

V

My love, listen to my words!  
The autumn has passed deep,  
but before this autumn passes out  
I want to see your face.

Take my hand by the wrist!  
Let’s go up to the mountains,  
let’s put shoulder against shoulder  
and let’s wade over the waters.

They say the heaven is high —  
when we fly together, it is low.
They say the end of the earth is far—
when we go together, it is near.

I, this body, am born to poverty,
you, my love, are also born to poverty;
in some country, somewhere,
should there not be a place to put us two.

B. From the translation of the Bible.

**Genesis, Chapter XXXVII.**

1. Jakobi kij abo somonir hagedu tta kot Kanaan tae ke hani
2. Jakobi sejigii irg hanira. Josebi sipchil sje hejndii gwa
hamkki jangii chini, kij taac ghira tu sje mo Pilbaajii adal gwa
Sibaijii adaloo tejbir kathii etagga eheji cal mot hanan gesil obijige
ko-hadenu.
3. Isıraeii Josehii nailh taei nii nii nin goro jere adal pada
ta sarat hajj chasak osiç ega nhiphinga-jira.
4. kij hejndii abi g na modii hejnije pada Josehii te sarat hamil
pogu muie hajj tehig hawispuy han marji hal sa gu cpeni.
5. Josebi kkumii kuugju modii hejnije gi gi hajdii
leuk muieka hadera.
6. eheji ne rajar: eheji-khenjii dajj kum kum gesil tyrihio.
7. wii ga pathejji kokki-tanii mukkinii, nai tanii neji-na segi,
nehii tanii tanii tuul lejje gesiç egi hader hani.
8. kij hejndii karadaj: gae ga wii wargi sejagunmu-mu urirr jasrigi
petenmu-jajii hago kij kkum gwa kij marji inbaja leuk muieka
hadenu.
9. Josebi taasii kkumii kuugju kij hejndii ni jiggii hajj karadaj: esposio,
a gae ga tii han kumii kumii, kij wa tii gwa jel-hen piyeri naje
egi hader hani hago

10. i kumiiro pujiense ko-hal tae abo ga kumiju karaadaj: me
ga i kum kum gesil mujeenmu-jajii naa wa ne mu u ne hejndii
karajjii tae teputajji ney gi yungunmu-jajii hani
11. kij hejndii ni sejii kahdii aje abo nii kij marji chajjeni haderna.
12. hui kij hejndii Segemei abjii jari terii egi saa
13. Isıraeii Josehii ne rajar: me hejndii Segenei sejigii jangii chii ani
hanan-jajii? naa gae ga narii kheji te iri-irae hani karaadaj: naa
gae jeji irrigation.
14. karaadaj: me ga kaise hejndii gwa jari te ga ta cal innan ga po-
to waa naje ko-hera hago tidagii Helyone kollojiagee jowo
Josebi Segenei haderna
15. tijesig pahnuun hadeno hagi mana karaadaj: me ga mupil chaa-
nan-jajii
16. karaadaj: najj hejndii channoi chijenkhendia eheji ga
plasse gi jangii chinu gaa naje ko-hera!
17. kij sarimi karaadaj: eheji ga jenjie te manaari-irae, naa gae
kijj marji tirnie, Todamesii kajaa haderna. Josebii hejndiiro, velgaa ga
Todamesii manaari-irae.
18. Josehii aje aje kaga kajii mot haja hejndii mejiyse jopo
vuii, khamkii klaii-haja.
19. sejii mahadaj: sa kum jai kumiju karaa gaa onda.
20. eea, vuii kenneji tenzii ga ak hajj jimmu siuba megeta haja;
na hajj kij kumii ejeetka tii kesii porriyse hagenajii.
21. Nebeni tiitoo kij seneji kaa-kaja naja haja karaadaj: wii ga kij
sajngijo, sjoji kaa saa aalajii hago.
22. te rijadaj: kij ejeel hillji mujeen mujeen tenzii
soijii taajii aalajii hani tajo kij seneji kaa-kaja naje kij abigore
tollejye porriyaa hajj-iregaa.
23. matlham Josehii nirajia kij hejndii osiç pekkinii ko
nijiga vizhia os-ileera.
25. tidagii anseiji imesajji mepag gat gatj pariyaji hajj tae Ismael
iokajji Killigaji pujtei daji naa muri jakaljujji molo bja
mulpdm gwa juhjai gwa moljajji sii kajj Agubhoi naje kajji
jaajji-hagenajii.
Gospel of St. Mark. Chapter IV.

1. Jesus went from there to a town called Sichem. There he entered the synagogue, and he spoke to them. 
2. He said, "Listen! When someone plants a crop, he does not pull out the weeds first and does not go around his vineyard to destroy them. 
3. But when the harvest is ready, he says to the farmer, 'First gather the weeds and then put them outside. Then harvest your wheat.' 
4. Likewise, the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was cast into the sea and gathered all kinds of fish. 

5. Terr nín hiliy egejol tolojak pathe terr-żimá hiliy kipch ani hamjro kot ssgag na-oná, 
6. hā pa toda chon-zik ppulhki ta epeq marjgo, 
7. terr nín kasi-demnul soge terr-żimá, kasi ga čaramiro kij-uni makhji jlmərli mátkhi mot hago, 
8. terr nín čahji ttae terr-żje čarami pphunşehn hami, kipchil hami hok santrip pà do tāīgo, njuksp pà do tāīgo, pàk pà do tōinm-iraas hasgo. 
9. to narrasada: chāi isse tirił-żja nín tirił-żje-dá! 
10. Jesukkijsje hołlo kjesl tāxe hankki kānun sāngdžil-gua jėldu ejejga gā k jẹr piyurul mukësani. 
11. narrasada: škanunim narañi onjò hën gesil néhìjíe nín čūdò čù iniże nín modin gesil piyul hänin. 
12. čeįjíi gëjíi gëjíi nín pà dëjì mot hago įjikíi nín tèrē dōtòh kàndàtë mot hengi hän-ini čeįjíi nín torikhej číi sja hänul edil ka lò jèrùngg høngn-rrs hasgo. 
13. to narrasada: nèhìi gā k piyurul kàndàtë mot hø-bi-n-da ëtrg-kìe modin piyurul alganen-jo. 
15. to ppurùn kàd kàd inññ-żja nín torił tèrímà Sadani kàt wassj magunpp urùn torił ppànnun kës-io. 
16. to i va kàhçì tołžikpathe ppurùn kòde inññ-žja nín torił tèrkk kot kippyl padjì. 
17. sòge ppurùn gá epeq càmkan kijddàgàgà ñeij jeporùk kàndùnìna pphppùggl taq hàn-zik lòt sìlçhe-purrìm-io. 
18. kàsì-demnul konndà ppurùn kòde inññ-žja nín torił tèrʁddì. 
19. sjetànjìi nèmìjìe na ñàriñìi jokìmm gòa tòrrùn màłgjìi ñèrì kàd kàd tòrril màggà kipchil-çhì mot hàggà tàjn-ìo. 
20. čëhìn ttae ppurùn kòde inññ-žja nín torił tèrkk pàdà kipchil hàggìjìl hok santrip pà dò tòiìgo, njuksp pà dò tòiìgo, pàk pà dò tàmìn-írraas hàsgìgà. 
21. to narràsàdà: sàrrùm tèyìrrìi kàttàgà màl ràñ-iìa, phjèyssì arà-ñà tøngùnìñ-ìaj lìjììjìe ne tûjìi an-khènìñ-ìaj. 
22. tàdíi swàmjì-gësi ñèrì nàjì anìmi ëpfà kàmìhòin-gësi nàtha nàjì anìmi ëmìgni.
23. küi ga isse tëryl-bja nün tëryl-lí-ça-da
24. to kargasjada: sijin nesil samara, nêfî ga nami sijin khearinan
khearimso nêfî do khearimso padix kes-in-ira. to nêfîge tê qurini
25. tägä inan ngare sargamige nün te êkgo ömmän sargamige nün inan
pet-to ppääqi-ira.
26. to kargasjada: shangnimé nara nün sargami serir têe tenzén
goa kathini.
27. pame êcido nàže nîr nàmá ssi ga nasîj caradòi êçêkhe têin
çurin aqî mot hanan-zi-ra.
28. ttaï sijcro jemmarî maçîma ëçêjne nün ssaqi namië taêne nün
isagï tàigö l'êe nün isagï vonzén-ban to sijcî ërumani
29. jemma niglî têe nün kôt nodido sijcî ëken këedul têa ga nårim-
in-ira.
30. to kargasjada: wari ga hëngnimé naraarî êçêkhe pi hâmiq to
masam piyuroo-sq piy fam ko?
31. mañcaî jëjça ssi han agëma kathini taa simil têe nün taa ne
modin ssi ëjune ëjog ëjog kes-irodëi.
32. simin kue nün carasj modin namul jëjune këpho to han këk
kàçi ga nasîj kon ëjune vonzéi kë kynjre kë tijiran-ira.
33. Jesuí tî i kathin jëph piyuro ëçêqiga ara ëmmän-dàro toril
malagm basigo
34. to piyô ga ani-mjen malsamîl aní kasîgo taman honçu kjesil
têe nün kë ëcêqiga modin gësil phurë nìrasëda.
35. kë nari ëçumblam Jesuí ëçja ayrjë nìrasjada: wari ga kung
phëngro kàajo ësminî
eçjî ga marirî tæ-nàmà Jesuí këjje pae kësîn dáro mësîga
kani to tarîn pàdîri isse këçthè hûn-hal sâ
37. kwamphunî këpho nìras-îmîj mûigjë tûjîe pae tîë onî pae
kàdík hooj-ûdëra.
38. Jesuí komuresij pëpho basigo ëmmisidëni ëcêjardi këlàmij
kàradà: sijènëmëtna-ira, wri ga ëçalke tûin gësil tóra pòji anisi-
nàmkà hand
39. Jesuí kkàjë paraarî kulañçësimjë padà darjë nìrasjada: sëam
sëam gông hoja kare\ul\ hasini paraarî kàjëhgo oço an hâjone
40. te ëcêjåge nìrasjada: nòte nêfî ga muñjeg hâjone-ja? nêfî
ga aëjik to midjimë ëmmän-ja?
41. ëçjî ga simi ëtjëwë aro mal hàja ëkàradà: së ga nû-eg
param gea pàda-ra do ësjañon hâjone-ja\u2013; wàderà.

Gospel of St. John, Chapter III.
1. parisâ-gjo-ì ëjune Nigocî-à hâjone sargami issi Jûda
kënañgna-ira.
2. i sargami poam wassj Jesûrî poga kàradà: Nûpî-ì, wri ga
sijènëmëtnisaj Hângnîmëtnkëjí ëttë ôsin sijènë ìsùl ëndà.
Hûnûntë hâmûntë këjèjë ani hàsmëni sijènëjì hàmpàsing
èjigjî amô sargam do hâmî mot hâmî ëndà.
3. Jesuí tûdâp hàja kàradà: ësînûlo, ësînûlo nege nìrânoni:
sargami kàdîp nàjì ani hâmûn Hàngnîmërnar pirî jòj mot
hànûn-ira.
4. Nigocî-à kàradà: sargami nìlùmëjë êçêkhe ngaëssìnâmâkà?
tû-ben gûn pà sije tàjràggama ëll su ëssàmâmâkàkà?
5. Jesuí tûdâp hasjîdà: ësînûlo, ësînûlo nege nìrânoni: amô gea
sijènëmjë pirî ëni ani hâmûn Hàngnîmërnar ràsàj ëgi jòj mot
hànûn
6. jûñjûñra na gësi jûñjûñ ra, sinjûñ na gësi sin ën
7. kàdîp na-jà hàtteta hâmûn marir këjìhë nìrâjî mài;
8. paraarî ëjme ro/pmà sótjë tîë do ëdàjsj ëmëj ëdàro hâmûn-zi
9. jûñjûñra na tûdâp hàja kàradà: ìtëi ëgë hûn ëm îkkessàn-
nâmâkà?
10. Jesuí kàradà: wye ga ëtjùrëjì sijènëjì tûjë ëgë hûn ëmëj
11. ësînûlo, ësînûlo nege nìrânoni: wri amô gësi jûñjûñ ra
12. ëjì sijènë ëtjë jòj ëm jûñjûñ ëndì ani hâmûjì, hâmûmjë hàmûl
13. hàmûl jûñjûñ ëtjë nojìja pakke hànûre ëlla hâmûjì ga ëpûnì i
hànûrë ëmmàn ënja-ira.
14. Mose ga kwanjaesjé pàamjì jìnj get katèhi inʒe do tò tjiyè-jà hàrimi.
15. munaŋ negu-denjì čèrig midimüen jënsunjì edir-ira.
16. Hangnimii sjesjaŋyl i chèryem sranŋ hàsis toksàŋɣàrìl ësìjëssini
negu-denjì čèrig midimüen migjëljan hàsi anko jënsunjì edir-ira.
17. Hangnimii jìi adaryl sjesjaŋ ponàsin gësi sjesjaŋyl ėpëjìŋòi hasirìg
hànan gësi aŋko, jìi edalalo sjesjaŋyl kuaŋça hasirìg hànan gës-ira.
18. čèrig mìnjan saramjin čèrig čèh hàsi an jìj hàpan saramjin palje čèrig čèh
hàssëssini i nìn Hangnimii toksàŋɣàrìl īrìŋmìl mitìjì an hàm-ira.
19. pitèhì sjesjaŋ nìm-ãdòi saron mi hàŋ-hàanu iri ak-hàmìjo
pit pòda edaun gësi tè éòhà hàni i gësi čèrigl čèh-hàan gës-ira.
20. aŋi hàŋ-hàanu saramin ta pitèhì mìnsè hàja pitèhìro oʒí an
hànanì i nìn jìi hànan iri ñàhìŋmìŋjì poł-ka turìŋgè hàm-ìo.
21. ñìllirìl ëmùgìng saronjin pitèhìro oŋañi i nìn jìi hànan iri Hangnimii
nìm ñìng hàŋ-hàan gësi nàta nàŋgò ëv hàm-ìra hàsidìra.
22. i hûe jësu sa ñëjìdjìi jûddà tìaro kàsi jìŋèhì jëjig nìu-hàmìjì
sjerèjrìl òago.
23. Johannì jìi hû jàl Sallem hàkkàon ñònësesjì sjerèjrìl ñàni jëjig
mìdèjrìi mìnhìn jèŋgo-ra saronjì wàsèjì sjerèjrìl padîjì.
24. tûe Johani aʒík ìge kàchìji anhàŋŋàŋ-ʒì-ira.
25. Johannì ñëjì ga hûdà-mìŋjo ñèbèrè kòjìlëjrìl ín-hàja pìjëllòni
tojìjìtenì.
geu katèhi ìssè sìjëssëŋkàssìg òjìŋgà hàdòn saronjì sjerèjrìl ñàmì
saron mi tè kìyro kàdë-ìdàs.
27. Johani tàdàp hàja kàrgàdà: mànìmì hângresjì ñëjì anhàsùmèn
saronjì ano get-to padîjì su ñàmàng-ìra.
28. ñëjìì nà ngà mìl-kògìgìl: sàa nìn Kìrìsìdà sa øû-o, jìi òpëjìIf ponàn
saron-ìrà hû ràjìi ñëjìì òjìŋg hàl gës-ìnì-ìra.
29. sìnhàtíjì ñàŋgì tònì saronjì tìllàŋqìni, sìllàŋqì òjìŋgùa ga
sàqìije òtìqàtì sìllàŋqì sóràjìl tònì jìŋk ëhëje kípî gàŋhàni, ìyì hù
nàjì kîpîjìì ñàçëppàmì hàŋ-ʒì-ìra.
30. jìi nìn hû kàjè-jà hàgekkò su nìn sòi-hàjè-jà hàl-ëi-ìra.
31. urìro pitèhì osìni nìn ìmùmìl ìe kjesì-ʒì-ìra. taejìì nànì nìn
32. jìi ñà poŋgì tònì gësîl òjìŋg hâdòi òjìŋg pànnàni ga ìpôda.
33. jìi ñàŋjìŋgì pànnàni nìn Hangnimì ìkàm bësìda hàja ìŋjì
ñàŋgùŋ-ìra.
34. Hangnimii ponàsinì nìn Hangnimì sjesjaŋ ìlìjìjì ëpìì ñàsì
ñàsìssìmì Hangnimìi màjììgìhà sànjì-ìra.
35. abàjìkkìísì adaryl sranŋ hàja manmundìl tì jìì sòng ñàsìssìnì.
36. adaryl mìnjan saronjìgì nìn ñàsìßìì ikkò adàrìl mitìjì an hànì
daronjì ñàsìßìì ìtòì jìì hàpa Hangnimìi ìnììngó ñàsììì
kìì ìe ìmùmìl-ìra.
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