Gustaf John Ramstedt

A
KOREAN GRAMMAR

BY

G. J. RAMSTEDT

Reimpression

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 *i*, *i̯ę* 'this' and *ti̯ę*, *čę* '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 Čin-keļ, 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 (Опытъ Краткаго Русско-Корейскаго Словаря), 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 SHIMPEI 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 kęs '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.

G. J. Ramstedt and the Korean language.

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-Ugric 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

the range of Finnish scholarship further to the East and South than any of his predecessors had done. With his publications he became, in particular, the founder of modern Mongolic language studies, though his impact on the development of Turkic studies is also widely recognized and respected.

With such an experience of practical field work Ramstedt was also bound to turn his attention to problems of a more theoretical nature. Following the contemporary Finnish tradition, he preferred to remain within the realm of comparative linguistics and took up the so-called Altaic question. Like some of his predecessors, he favoured the idea that the Mongolic and Turkic languages, many of which he had studied in the field, as well as the Tungusic languages, with which he had only had a more superficial encounter during his field work, were all genetically related in a framework that had come to be known as the Altaic language family. Ramstedt soon realized that the methodological level of Altaic language comparisons had long been much inferior to that prevailing in Indo-European and Uralic (Finno-Ugric) studies. It was, then, Ramstedt's task to raise Altaic comparative studies to a higher qualitative level, corresponding to the strict requirements of the dominant Neogrammarian school of diachronic and comparative linguistics.

Ramstedt could well have earned his position in the history of learning with the double merit of being a pioneering Mongolist as well as the father of modern comparative Altaic studies. However, external circumstances placed before him a third task, which was to occupy him during a large part of his later life. After the separation of Finland from the Russian Empire (1917), Finland urgently needed competent representatives abroad, and the only available choice for the country's first *chargé d'affaires* in the Far East was Ramstedt. Stationed in Tokyo, he stayed in the region for ten years (1919–1929), during which time, along with his diplomatic career, he continued to work on Altaic language comparisons. With his exceptional ability of practical language

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 Tungusic. 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 mani- festations, 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. Espec- ially 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 goverment 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.

Helsinki, 1997.

Juha Janhunen.

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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 Sēchong (*Sēčong*

1419—1451). This alphabet, called *ęn-mun* 'Eunmun', 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, 0 (η);

ㄱ ㄴ ㄷ ㄹ ㅁ ㅂ ㅅ ㅇ

The Koreans names of these eight signs (and sounds) are: *kięk, ięn (nięn), čigit (tigit), ięl (rięl, nięl), miom, piop, siot (šiot), ihäŋ.* The name for *č* ist *čaat.*

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

$č$, $čh$, kh, th, ph, h

ㅈ ㅊ ㅋ ㅌ ㅍ ㅎ

These signs are used only before vowels. The signs for *čh, kh, th* and *ph* are obtained by a small alteration (a line over the signs for *č, k, t* and *p* respectively).

The language has more sounds than these signs indicate, but **2** 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 *č,* unaspirated, weak sounds;
kh, th, ph, čh, strongly aspirated sounds;
kk, tt, pp, čč, long and emphatically pronounced unaspirated sounds.

The sounds *k, t, p* and *č* are in an antevocalic position l e n e s 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 *ɢ*, *ᴅ*, *ʙ*, *ᴅž* and voiced *g*, *d*, *b*, *ž*. Korean written *ka-ta* is thus pronounced *kada*, *ka-ke* is *kage*, *to-ra ka-ta* is *tora gada*, *to-ra po-ta* is *tora boda*, *an-ča* is *anža*, *kam-ta* is *kamda*, etc.

The signs for *k*, *t* and *p* in post-vocalic position and after *l* are clusile 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*.

4 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 clusion to another is made without letting any air pass between the two consonants. E.g. *kapta*, *kapko*, *pakta*, *pakča*, *kupči*, *kukpap*, *papkuk*.

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

6 The consonants which are here spelt *kh*, *th*, *ph* and *čh* are antevocalic, i.e. pronounced together with the following vowel. They may be described as strongly aspirated f o r t e s. Between the e x p l o s i o n and the vowel the voiceless air stream is distinctly heard. They are used both as initial sounds and in the middle of the word. When they are initial, the occlusion is short. But after a preceding vowel the occlusion is considerably longer and a part of the stressed air stream may be audible also before the occlusion. In intervocalic position, for instance, *akha*, *atha*, *apha*, *ačha* etc.

the pronunciation is something like *ak̆-kha*, *ai-tha*, *ap̆-pha*, *ač-čha* or sometimes almost *ahk-kha*, *aht-tha*, *ahp-pha*, *ahč-čha*.

(Of course the spelling *ččh* is here taken only for the sake of explanation, and in the following I prefer to write *atčha*.)

7 Where the strongly aspirated sounds are preceded by a consonant, n o a i r p a s s e s b e f o r e the occlusion, but the glide between the preceding consonant and the aspirated clusile may be partly voiceless if that consonant is voiced elsewhere.

8 As the aspirated sounds can be pronounced only together with the following vowel, every such sound is changed to the corresponding post-vowel clusile, when it stands at the end of a syllable. This rule is very important because the words with inflexion which have an aspirated sound as the last sound of the stem appear unaspirated before a pause and everywhere where a consonant ending is joined to the word. E.g. stem **path* 'field', loc. *pathe* 'on the field', but nom. *pat;* stem **tiph* 'straw', instr. **tiphiro* 'with straw', S. Korean *čiphiro*, but nom. N. Kor. *tip*, S. Kor. *čip*; *nophin* 'high', *nophatta* 'was high', but *nopta* 'to be high'; stem **mječh* 'how much', *mječhil* 'how many days', but nom. *mjet* 'how many'.

9 The spelling *kk*, *tt*, *pp*, *čč* (= *tč*) and *ss* at the beginning of a word is 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, laryngal clusile (?) is present, combined with the occlusion in the oral canal, but this laryngal 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 *tŏn* (*toin*) or 'thick', are often an old

contraction of two clusil 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 clusil has in most cases been a *p*. This *p* has been articulated insufficiently and probably developed into a sound near *φ* followed by some kind of *s* (an unvoiced hissing?), according to what some old writings *psk-*, *pst-* show. But very soon this reduced consonant sound has been substituted by the laryngal clusil 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 *patala*, 'girl'; *ssida* 'to use', written *ssida*, *psida*, cf. *mōpsin* 'impossible, bad', originally *mō-psin* 'of no use'; *ssi* 'seed', written *ssi*, *psi*, cf. *upsi*, usually written *upssi* 'seed sown later and between the drills of the first sowing', from original *u* 'over' and original *psi* 'seed', cf. Manchu *fisihe* 'millet'; *kkada*, written *pkada*, *skada*, *pskada* 'to shell', 'to peel', cf. Manchu *faharambi* 'id'.

10   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* (*kkekke* : *kkekkin* '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. *kusa*), but the genitive ending (*-ń?* *-s?*) which in most cases preceded this noun has helped to give the present *kkot* 'flower', which is declined in N. Kor. with historical correctness *kkože* 'in the flower', but in S. Kor. *kkothe* or *kkode*, owing to new formations from the nominative *kkot*.

11   Where we write *kk*, *tt*, *pp*, *čč*, *ss* in the middle of a word, the spelling is used only to indicate the length of the consonant, just as *nn*, *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 12 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 13 pronounced without audible explosion, all other consonants in the same position are articulated without a distinguishable opening moment. For instance *aŋ*, *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 clusil *t*, which etymologically can appear in 14 both conjugation and declension as variant of *th*, *t*, *čh*, *č* 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', *patča* 'let's receive', *passe* 'may receive'.
   The stem *pat-* is visible in *padatta* 'has received'.
utta 'to laugh', *unnan* 'laughing', *ukko* 'in laughing', *utča* 'let's laugh', *usse* 'may laugh'.
   The stem is *us-*: *usetta* 'has laughed', *usim* 'laughter'.
päatta 'to spit', *päannan*, *päakko*, *päatča*, *päasse*. The stem *pä-ath-* we have in *päathatta* 'spat'.
itta 'to be', 'to exist', *innan*, *ikko*, *itča*, *isse*.
   The stem is *iss-*: *issetta* 'was'.
antta 'to sit', *annan*, *ankko*, *antča*, *ansse*.
   The stem is *anč-*: *anžatta* 'he sat'.
matta 'to fit', *mannan*, *makko*, *matča*, *masse*.
   The stem is *mač-*: *mažatta* 'fitted, agreed'.

When we take into consideration this assimilation of *t* at the end 15 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 *kikkepta*, original *kiskepta* 'id.', etc.

16   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 *čhi* and *či* (respectively *ži*). E.g.

thjen (Chin.) 'Heaven', S. Korean *čhen*

thjo-phi (Chin.) 'sable skin', S. Kor. *čho-phi*

thjei (Chin.) 'body', 'form', S. Kor. *čhe*

tje 'that', S. Kor. *če*

tjohin 'good', S. Kor. *čohin*

tikjen 'boundary', S. Kor. *čigjen*

tjepsi 'plate', S. Kor. *čepsi* (cf. Mongol. *tebsi*)

In North Korean there are dialects which in this case retain the dental sound and some which omit the *j*-sound; e.g. *tje*, *te* 'that', *tjepši*, *tepši* 'plate', *tohin*, *toun* beside *tjohin*, *tjoun*, 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 *čhi* and *či* are original and where they are obtained through palatalisation from original *thi* and *ti*.

17   In the same North Korean dialects, the South Korean *čh* and *č* appear in some words as *čh* and *č*, in others as *ch* (= *tsh*) and *c* (= *ts*). Here *tsh* is original *čh* and *ts* original *č*, while *čh* corresponds to original *čhj* and *č* to original *čj*. E.g.:

čal 'well', N.Kor. *tsar*

čul 'line', N.Kor. *tsur*

čarada 'to be sufficient', N.Kor. *tsarada*

čakta 'to be small', N.Kor. *tšakta*, i.e. *čjak-*

čežin 'wet, watery', N.Kor. *tsedzin*

čelmin 'young', N.Kor. *tšermun*, i.e. *čjerm-*

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

seda 'to stay', N.Kor. *šeda*, orig. **sje-*

megese 'after having eaten', N.Kor. *megeše*, orig. **mege-sje*

san 'reward, prize', N.Kor. *šan*

surjen 'provincial mandarin', N.Kor. *šurjen*

kesi 'the thing', N.Kor. *keši*

As *čhj* (*č'i-*) is pronounced *čh* (= *č'*) in South Korea and *čj* **19** (= *či*) does not differ from *č*, the spelling in present day Korean books is not at all dependable; 'to give' is written *čjuda* or *čuda*, but as the dialects in the North have *tsuda*, the usual spelling *čjuda* is historically incorrect. This is also the case with the spellings *sj* and *s*, which are not kept apart. 'To stand', *seda*, is written *seda* or *sjeda*; the latter is here better corresponding to North Korean *šeda*. It is probable that the North Korean pronunciation with all its later vacillations 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 **20** been palatalized to *čh* and *č*, e.g.

kil 'road', *čil* (on the island Quelpart)

kim (a name), *čim*

čigjen 'boundary', *čižen*, etc.

kiul, *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 **21** express the fact more correctly, has changed to the corresponding nasal. E.g.

mekta 'to eat' but *menninda* 'is eating', *patta* 'to get' but *pannanda* 'gets'

nek nek hada 'to be satisfying', pronounced *nennek hada*

päk-ma (Chin.) 'white horse', pron. *pänma*, *sak-mada*, pron. *san-mada* 'each payment'

sip-li (> *sip-ni*), pron. *simni* 'ten miles'

mjęt-nal, pron. *mjęnnal* 'how many days', *kkot-nada*, pron. *kkon-nada* 'to bloom'

kęp 'fear', *kęp-nada*, pron. *kęmnada* 'to become frightened'

kup-(n)ilda, pron. *kumnilda* 'to move up and down'

ap-(n)i, pron. *amni* 'the front teeth'; *pat-mada*, pron. *pan-mada* '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 $\eta\eta$, beside the usual ηg sound:

kamgida 'to be rolled up', pron. *kaŋŋida* in some places, in others *kamŋida, kaŋgida*.

simgida 'to plant', local pron. *siŋŋida* and *simŋida, siŋgida*.

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 *ń*. 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 *ń* has disappeared long ago. E.g.

kä 'dog', written *kai*, earlier **kańi* (cf. Gilyak *kan* 'dog', Turkish *qančuq* 'bitch')

ka 'shore', earlier written *kań*

ęi 'mother (of animals)', earlier **ęńi* (cf. Tung. *ęńę* '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. *madaŋ* 'each', etc.

The sound *n* has maintained itself in all other cases and com-   **25** binations except where a following vowel or semi-vowel *i, j* has immediately followed it. Here *n* must have very early been pronounced *ń* and has, as the **ń-* 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*, *in-*

ni (Chin.) 'two', now *i*, N.Kor. *i*

njęn 'year', now *jęn*, N. Kor. *njęn* or *nęn*

nję (Chin.), 'woman', now *ję*, N.Kor. *nję, nę*

njęi '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-njęn 'two years', but *jęn* 'a year'

je 'yes', *o-nje* 'yes'

sonję (written *sjo-nję*) 'I, your daughter' (literally: 'the small woman')

As earlier mentioned, the Koreans have the same sign for both *l*   **26** 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 *li* and *lj* see below!
2. Between vowels, *r* is the short and *ll* the corresponding long sound. Instead of *ll* the Koreans write *ln*.
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 pronunced 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-tjęn* 'Latin', pron. *nažęn, nažin*

» *la-kui* 'donkey', pron. *nagui*

» *lō-hjęŋ* 'old brother', pron. *nōhjęŋ* 'you'

» *lai-il* 'the coming day', pron. *näil*, N.K. *nääl* 'tomorrow'

» *lam-pi*, pron. *nambi* 'frying pan' (Jap. *nabe*)

Engl. *lamp*, Kor. *namphu* (Jap. *rampu*)

Chin. *li* 'mile', pron. *i*, N.K. *ni*

» *ljuk* 'six', pron. *juk*, N.K. *njuk*.

In compounds the antevocalic Chinese *l* mostly retains its pronunciation as *n* and causes nasalisation of a preceding clusil. E.g. **mjęt-li > mjęnni* 'how many miles', **ljuk-li > juŋni* 'six miles', *sip-li > simni* 'ten miles', **sip-ljuk > simnjuk* 'sixteen', *sip-ljuk--li > simnjuŋni* '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 *nē*, was pronounced as *ⁿdui*, *ⁿlui* or *duin*, *luin*. 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*) *iľlu* '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 postvocalic *r* is heard. E.g.:

salgo 'in living', *saratta* 'has lived', *sarim* 'life', *salmjęn* 'if living'
tilgo 'lifting', *tirętta* 'has lifted', *tirim* 'the lifting', *tilmjęn* 'if lifting'
molgo 'in driving', *moratta* 'has driven', *morim* 'the drive', *molmjęn* 'if driving'
jęlgo 'in opening', *jęrętta* 'has opened', *jęrim* 'the opening', *jęlmjęn* '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 (*th, t, d, s, čh, č, ž*) has **30** 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 *w*, which in the verbs has been the suffix (*-wu, -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:

sāda (and restored *salda*) 'to live', *sān* 'one who has lived', *sānan* 'living', *sāži* 'lives, perhaps', N.Kor. *sādi, sardi*
tida (and restored *tilda*) 'to lift', *tin* 'lifted', *tinin* 'lifting', *tiži* 'lifts, perhaps', N.Kor. *tidi, tirdi*
mōda (and *molda*) 'to drive', *mōn* 'driven', *mōnan* 'driving', *mōži* 'drives, perhaps'
jęda (and *jęlda*) 'to open', *jęn* 'opened', *jęnin* 'opening', *jęži* 'may open'.

31   The language has thus lost by simplifying combinations of sounds like *lth*, *lt*, *ld*, *ls*, *lčh*, *lč* and *lž*. The only remaining combinations are *lk*, *lp*, *lph* and *lh*. Where *lk*, *lp* and *lph* are followed by a consonant, in present day Korean either *l* is omitted or, if the following consonant is a clusil sound, *p* and *k* are alternatively omitted. E.g.

pulkta (pron. *pukta*, dial. *pultta*) 'to be red', *pulgin* 'red'

malkta (pron. *makta*, dial. *maltta*) 'to be bright', *malgin* 'bright'

palpta (pron. *papta*, dial. *paltta*) 'to tramp', *palbatta* 'has tramped'

nelpta (pron. *nepta*, dial. *neltta*) 'to be broad', *nelbin* 'broad'

32   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 *alphe*. Here the locative *aphe* has been remodelled after the nominative *ap*, which is regular with its omitting of *l*.

altha 'to be sick', stem *alh-*; *aphuda* 'to be sick, to be in pain' from earlier *alphu-*, received from *alh-* with the ending *-bu-*. The disappearance of *l* is regular.

phat, dial. *phot*, 'beans', Loc. *phatčhe*, *photčhe*. Cf. Turk. *burč-aq* 'peas'.

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

oltha (from **olh-ta*) 'to be right', *orhatta*, *oratta* 'was right', *orhin*, *orin* 'right', but *olkhe* 'rightly'

kiltha (from *kilh-ta*) 'to boil', *kirhetta*, *kiretta* 'boiled', *killin* (from *kilh-nin*) 'boiling', but *kilkho* 'in boiling'

ttultha (from *ttulh-ta*) 'to pierce', *tturhetta*, *tturetta* 'has pierced', *tturhin*, *tturin* 'pierced', *ttullinda* 'is piercing'.

34   In Chinese loan words a post-vowel *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 *δ* like the English *th* 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 *-tu*, *-ti*, now pronounced *-tsu*, *-čhi*. E.g.

Kor. *wel*, N.Kor. *wer*, Jap. *gwetsu* from **gwet*, present Chin. *jü*, 'month, moon'

Kor. *thjel*, pron. *čhel*, N.Kor. *thjer*, Jap. *tetsu* from *thet*, present Chin. *the* 'iron'

Kor. *il*, N.Kor. *ir*, Jap. *nichi*, *jitsu* from *nit*, *dit*, present Chin. *ni* 'day'

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

Kor. *phal*, N.Kor. *phar*, Jap. *hachi* from *phat*, present Chin. *pha* 'eight'

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

35   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 *pudon* 'not the same', *pudek* 'not virtuous', *pudan* 'improper, not proper'. Cf. Korean expressions (*pur* 'fire') *pusap* 'fire shovel', *pusö*, *pusi* 'steel as used with a flint'; *panil* 'needle', *panijil* 'needlework' (*-čil* 'work'); *hanal* 'heaven', *hananim* 'the Lord'; *simul* 'twenty', *simurhana* 'twentyone', *simudu* 'twentytwo', *simuse* 'twentythree', *simulle*, *simune* 'twentyfour'; *sol* 'the pine', *namu* 'the tree', *sonamu*, *sollamu* 'the pinetree', *mul* 'water', *čige* 'a rack or hod for carrying', *mužige* 'the rainbow'; *ssal* 'rice', *č'en* (**tjen*) 'shop', *ssažen* 'rice store'; *sal* 'flesh', *tin* 'the back', *sadini* 'the back'.

36   Where the second or third syllable has been *ro*, *ru*, *ri* and the vowel have been s h o r t, a following ending beginning with a vowel has changed *ro*, *ru*, *ri* into *ll*. E.g.

paroda 'to be straight', *pallatta* 'was straight', *pallida* 'to straighten'

moruda 'not to know', *mollatta* 'did not know'

oruda, *orida* 'to ascend', *ollatta* 'has ascended', *ollida* 'to raise'

hịrịda 'to flow', *hịllẹ* 'having flowed'

nịrịda, S.Kor. *irịda* 'to name', *illẹtta* 'has named'

purịda 'to call', *pullẹ* 'having called', *pullida* 'to be called, to be named'

haro 'one day', loc. *hallẹ* (besides *həroe*) 'on one day'

maro, *mallo* 'the ridge of a hill', *mallẹ*, *malloe* 'on the ridge of a hill'.

This changing of *r* (*l*) with a short vowel into *ll*, 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.

37   The combinations *ln* and *nl* have both given *ll*, except in old Korean words where *l* had disappeared before *n*. E.g.

thịẹn-li 'heavenly laws', pron. *čhẹlli*, N.Kor. *thịẹlli*

čịẹn-li 'thousand miles', pron. *čẹlli*

pun-lan 'confusion, disorder', pron. *pullan*

man-li 'ten thousand miles', pron. *malli*

pul nada 'to start to burn', pron. *pullada*

sol namu 'pinetree', pron. *sollamu* and *sonamu*

jẹl namịn 'exceeding ten', pron. *jẹllamịn*

tul (*n*) *jẹ-in* 'a lonely woman, widow', pron. *tulljẹin*

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 s y l l a b l e   e n d s   in:

	k^1	t^2	p^3	n	m	l^4	η
k	kk	kk	pk	ŋg	mg	lg	ŋg, ŋŋ
t	kt	tt	pt	nd	md	ld, d	ŋd
p	kp	pp	pp	mb	mb	lb	ŋb
$č$	kč	tč	pč	nž	mž	lž, ž	nž
s	ks	ss	ps	ns	ms	ls, s	ŋs
n	ŋn	nn	mn	nn	mn	ll, n	ŋn
m	ŋm	mm	mm	mm (nm)	mm	lm	ŋm
r, l	ŋn	nn	mn	ll	mn	ll	ŋn

(row labels at left: "The next syllable begins with")

1) -*k* from orig. *k*, *kh*, *sk* and *lk*

2) -*t* from orig. *t*, *th*, *s*, *ss*, *č*, *čh*

3) -*p* from orig. *p*, *ph*, *ps* and *lp*

4) -*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 **38** s t r e s s e d ; 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 *hj* is often heard as *sj* and *š*. E.g.

kaịl 'autumn', dial. *kahịl*, *kahịr*, *kasịr*

kjẹul 'winter', dial. *keul*, *keur*, *kjẹsịr*

mahịn 'forty', pron. *maịn*

kẹsịl 'the thing' (Acc.), pron. *keịl*, *kẹl*, -*gẹl*

utta 'to laugh', *usịm* 'laughter', dial. *uhịm*, *uịm*

hjẹ 'the tongue', variant *sjẹ*, *šẹ*, *šẹttä*

Cf. *hạna* 'one' with Aino *shine* 'one'; *hạda* 'to do' with Manchu *se-* 'to do, to say', Jap. *suru* 'to do'; *hịi-* 'to be white', Tungus *si-*; *hại* 'day', Tung. *siun*, Manchu *šun* 'sun'.

Some verb stems have *rh* (*lh*) and *nh* as the last sounds, and **39** in such verbs the *h* sound reappears as aspiration in the clusils where possible. In other combinations it is lost. E.g.

mantha 'to be many, to be much', stem *manh-*, *mankho* 'being many', *mančhi* 'many, perhaps', but *manso* 'it is many', *manhịn*, pron. *manịn* 'many', *manhi*, pron. *mani* adv. 'much'

kịltha 'to boil', stem *kịlh-*, *kịlkho* 'boiling', but *kịlso* 'boils', *kịllida* 'to make boil, to cook', *kịllinda* 'is boiling'

40   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.

čotha 'to be good', N. Kor. *tjotha*, stem orig. *tjoh-*: *čokho* 'being good', *čokhe* 'to be good', N. Kor. *tjoịn*, *tjoun*, S. Kor. *čoịn*, written *čohịn* 'good'

nętha 'to put in', stem *nęh-*: *nękho* 'in putting in', N. Kor. *nęịn*, *nęęn*, *nęn*, written *nęhịn* 'laid in'

notha 'to set free', stem *noh-*: *nokhe* 'in order to set free', *notěhi ani hada* 'not to set free', etc.

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

nophịn 'high', stem *noph-*: *nopta* 'to be high', *nopko* 'being high', *nopěi ani hada* 'not to be high'

kaphịn 'paid', stem *kaph-*: *kapta* 'to pay', *kaphatta* 'has paid', *kapke hada* 'to make pay'

halthatta 'has licked', stem *halth-*: *haltta* 'to lick, to lap'

stem *ččotěh-*: *ččotta* 'to frighten away', *ččotěhatta* 'has frightened away', *ččokko* 'in frightening', *ččokke hada* 'to make to frighten away'.

42   There is evidence that the Korean language has had spirantic *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. *ōn*, cf. Tung. *upkat* 'all'
N. Kor. *mugębun* 'heavy'	S. Kor. *mugęun*
mugębi 'weight'	*muge*
N. Kor. *kakkabun* 'near'	S. Kor. *kakkaon*
kakkabi 'nearness'	*kakkai* (written *kakkahi*)
N. Kor. *hạbun* 'alone'	S. Kor. *hōn*, cf. *hạna* 'one'

43   The syllables *wa*, *wę* have as a rule given *o*, *u*, and we therefore have present day *hao* for older *hạwa*; *poo* for *powa*; *io*, *iu* for older

iwę. At the beginning of a word, the syllable *wę* has given *ę*, at least in the interrogative stem *ę* (in *ęna*, *ęttę*, *ętěi*) which in some northern dialects according to Ross is still pronounced as *wę* and goes back to an earlier *mę-*, *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', *jęo* 'opens', from supposed *alwa*, *jęlwę*, etc. This may depend on analogy from the verbs with vowel stems, since *l* (*r*) had disappeared.

    The spirantic *g* (i.e. the *γ* sound) can be detected in words of the **44** type *namu*, *namo*, *namạk* 'tree', *čaro*, *čaru*, *čarak* 'handle', where the oldest pronunciation may have been *namụg*, *čarạg*, and the North Korean pronunciation is (in the determinative form, whose ending is *-i*) *namgi*, *cargi*, 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 vowels.

The Korean alphabet has the following signs for the vowels: **45**

	a	*ę*	*o*	*u*	*ị*	*i*	*ạ*
As initial	아	어	오	우	으	이	ᄋ
In the word	ᅡ	ᅥ	ᅩ	ᅮ	―	ᅵ	�、

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

ja	*ję*	*jo*	*ju*	and
야	여	요	유	

ai	*ęi*	*jęi*	*oa*	*ịi*	*ại*
애	에	예	와	의	익

The Korean order of vowels is *a*, *ja*, *ę*, *ję*, *o*, *jo*, *u*, *ju*, *ị*, *i*, *ạ*, and in the Korean alphabet all vowels are usually placed under the name of *i* (*ihäŋ*) between *s* and *η*.

46 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:

a the normal low-back *a*, long or short;

ę a broad *e* sound articulated well back in the mouth, which gives it a shade of back *ö*; 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;

i̯ the high-mixed vowel, or an *i* sound taken strongly back and high in the mouth, somewhat like Russian ы or Turkish ι;

i the high-front vowel, as in other languages;

ạ is some kind of back vowel, short or long, and has been pronounced probably as the English vowel in words like *blood*, *club*.

47 All other vowels have probably remained unchanged, but the sign for *ạ*, 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 to *a* or in some cases to *i̯*, more seldom to *ę*. This causes many different spellings, the most usual being that of real or 'long' *a* for the sign *ạ* in older documents and books. E.g. *hạda* 'to do', *hạnạn* 'doing', now usually spelt *hada*, *hanan*, *hanị̄n* (sometimes *hanę̄n*).

Historically speaking, this 'short' *ạ* is, like the English vowel in *blood*, *cup*, a late development of an earlier back vowel (*a*, *o*, *u*), which has not been pronounced clearly enough because of shortness; the long *ạ* may have appeared as its pendant later. E.g. *mạl* 'horse', N.Kor. *mạr*, dial. *mor*, cf. Mongol. *morin*, Tung. *murin*, Turk. (Urjanghai) *mor* 'horse'; *phat*, determ. *phatčhi*, 'the beans', dial. *phot*, *photčhi*,

cf. Turk. *burč-aq* 'pea'. Whenever we meet in Korean dialects a variation of *a* with *o* or *a* with *u*, we may suspect this earlier *ạ* as the sound which was or is meant with the spelling *a*. Before *s*, *l* and *r* and after *h*, *ạ* was earlier written also in cases where some front vowel seems to be historically most probable, and this may indicate that *ạ* was once the pronunciation before *s* and *r* (*ạs* from earlier *i̯s* and *ęs*, *ạr* from earlier *i̯r*) and also after *h* (*hạda* from supposed **hęda*).

48 The vowels can appear preceded by a semi-vowel *i̯*, which gives, as we spell it here, *j*, and we have *ja*, *ję*, *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 *ję* is now pronounced *e*; e.g. *pjęda*, *peda* 'to lean down', *pjęge*, *pege*, *pegä*, 'a pillow'. In clear pronunciation, nevertheless, *ję* is the more correct. The combinations *ji̯*, *ji* and *ja* seem to have been 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*, *ję*, *jo*, *ju* have lost the *j* sound after *s*, *č*, *čh* and *ž*, 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 *čha* for written *čhja*, while *tsa* is the pronunciation for written and original *ča*, *tsę* for *čę*, *tshę* for *čhę*, *tso* for *čo*, etc; vide § 16—19. ECKARDT says in his grammar that after *s*, *j*, *č*, *čh* the vowels *ja*, *ję*, *jo*, *ju* are pronounced a l m o s t without *j*, but that the vowel is mostly long, for instance *saŋ*, 'a table', but *sjaŋ*, pron. *sāŋ* with longer vowel, 'over'.

49 The vowels are, or have been, preceded also by a semi-vowel *u̯* sound. The combinations *wa* and *wę*, which are spelt in Korean letters as *oa* and *uę*, still remain. If we suppose a possible earlier combination *wo* and *wu*, they must have given *o* and *u* and earlier *wi̯* probably *u*, but *wi* has given *i* and *wạ* has given *o*. Combinations of a vowel with a following *w* appear as long vowels in the South Korean dialects; cf. above *ōn*, N.Kor. *obun*, 'all', *hōn*, N.Kor. *habun*, orig. *hạbun*, 'alone' (to *hạnā*, *hanna* 'one').

50   Diphthongs in *i* or combinations of a vowel with a following semi-vowel *i* are very frequent, and we have the spellings *ai, ei, oi, ii, ai* and also *jai, jei, joi, jui* as well as *wai* and *wei*. The present day pronunciation is:

ai, pron. *ä*, the low-front broad *ä*, broader than the vowel in English *man*;

ei, pron. *e*, the mid-front *e*, almost like the vowel in English *day*;

oi, the most frequent pronunciation is *ö* like German *ö* in *schön*; but in many dialects the result has been *we* with weak *w* sound and perhaps some rounding of *e*;

ui, pron. as *ü* in French *rue* or in many dialects as *wi*, corresponding to pronunciation of written *oi* as *we*;

ii, pron. as diphthong or very often as *i* with the on-glide a little more back; the genitive ending *ii* is broader and sounds often like a short *e*;

ai, pron. *ä* (see above *a* as equivalent to present day *a*), in other words a broad *e*, but also as *ii* (see above *a* pron. as *i*); e.g. *e-tai* 'where', pron. *edä, edɛ, edii, edī, edi*.

51   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, ö* and *ü*. In some dialects there are now two *e* sounds, the narrower *e* (*e*) from earlier *ei* and the broader *e* (*ɛ*) from *ai*.

52   The triphthongs *jai, jei, 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 *jö* and *jui* usually *jü*, or *ö* and *ü* respectively.

E.g. *pai, pai* 'ship', pron. *pä*

nalgai 'wing', pron. *nalgä*

tai 'bamboo', pron. *tä*

ttei 'raft', pron. *tte*

čigei 'coolie rack', pron. *čige*

čjei-kim 'cymbals', pron. *čegim*

thjei 'body, shape', pron. *čhe*

čai 'ashes', pron. *čä, če*

ka-kai 'may go', pron. *kage* (the ending has been *-kai* and *-kei*; in this case the variant *-kei* has been generalized)

old spelling *saramai* 'of the man', pron. *saramii* (the ending has been *ai* and *ii*; the latter has been preferred)

toida 'to become', pron. *töda*, or *tweda*

kui 'ear', pron. *kü* or *kii* (also *küi* is heard)

toije 'having become', pron. *töje, töije*

kui-ei 'in the ear', pron. *küe, küje, küije*

pui 'a broom', pron. *pi*, seldom *pü* or *püi*

puida 'to be vacant', pron. *pīda*

muipta 'to be disagreeable', pron. *mīpta*

phiida 'to bloom', pron. *phīda*

The diphthongs *ui* and *ii* are after labial consonants as a rule pronounced as *i*, and the spelling is changing accordingly.

53   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 *e* or *i*, *jo* as *o* or *ö*, *ju* as *ü*, *oi* as *we, wi, o, ä, i*, etc. In his publications Professor Shimpei OGURA 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 Seul or Keijo. This means that our transcription is rough and approximate.

The quantity of the vowels.

54   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.

Short	Long
am 'female'	*ām* 'of course'
pal 'foot'	*pāl* 'an arm's length'
pam 'night'	*pām* 'chestnut'
nun 'eye'	*nūn* 'snow'
kim (a name)	*kīm* 'weeds'
pęm (Chin.) 'anybody', 'common'	*pę̄m* 'tiger'
kil 'road, way'	*kīl* 'length'
tęl (a plural sign)	*tę̄l* 'less'
san (Chin.) 'mountain'	*sān* 'alive'
nä 'smoke', 'my'	*nǟ* 'a brook'
töda 'to become'	*tȫda* 'to be thick (of liquids)'
mal 'horse'	*māl* 'speech, word'
tam 'wall'	*tām* 'consumption'
tä 'bamboo'	*tǟ* (Chin.) 'great'
tan 'bundle'	*tān* 'border'
čaŋ 'market' (N.Kor. *tjaŋ*)	*čāŋ* 'bean sauce'
etc.	etc.

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 *ani, an* 'no', 'not' is pronounced with either long or short *a*. Usually the length is shortened in derivations and compounds; e.g. *sālda* (first *a* long) 'to live', but *sallida* 'to let live'; *ālda* 'to know' (first *a* long), but *allida* (and *alguda*) 'to let know', *arida, aroida* '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. *kiim, kisim*; *mām* 'mind', *maam, maim*, dial. *majam*. Besides this contraction the disappearance of an earlier vowel in the second syllable, i.e. after

the consonant, has created long vowels. E.g. *kōm* 'a bear' (cf. Jap. *kuma*); *sję̄m* 'an island' (cf. Jap. *shima*); *pīda, pīlda* 'to beg, to pray' (cf. Mongol. *hirüger* 'prayer', Manchu *firu-* 'to invoke the gods'); *āda, alda* 'to know' (cf. Tung. *alagu-* 'to teach'); *pāl* 'an arm's length', probably orig. *parir* (cf. Mongol. *barim* 'an arm's length'); *māl* 'word', probably orig. **mara* (cf. Mongol. in Ordos *malagai* '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. *nat* 'sickle' (cf. Jap. *nata*); *kat*, stem *kas-* 'hat' (cf. Jap. *kasa*); *kkot*, earlier *koč-* 'flower' (cf. Jap. *kusa*).

58   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 *-ǫi, -įi* with short vowel, but the ending of the locative *-ä, -e*, originally *-ai, -ęi* or *-ǫi, -įi* with long vowel. The ending of the declarative now *·ta*, originally *-ta ～ -tę*, has had long *a, ę*, while the ending of the regressive, now *·tę*, has been *-ta ～ -tę* 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.

59   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:

	back		front	
	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded
high	*u*	*į*	*ü*	*i*
low	*o*	*a*	*ö*	*ä (e)*

60 The Korean development has been similar to the Mongolian in relation to i, in that this back vowel has given i. As in Tungus dialects, the Manchu language included, the front vowel $ä$, corresponding to the back vowel a, has been pronounced more back and given the present $e̦$; in endings we therefore still find a and $e̦$ as equivalents. The front rounded $ü$ has also been taken more back, has lost its rounding and is now $i̦$. The back vowel u sounded somewhat like o, and old u and o have therefore coincided. The vowel $ö$ has, in moving backwards and retaining the rounding of the lips, resulted in the present-day u, which in dialects is often heard as the Swedish u. In many words early dialectical pronunciation has not kept original $ü$ and $ö$ apart, as is shown by variants as pul, $pi̦l$ 'fire' (*$pür$ cf. Turk. $ör-tä-$ 'to burn', Jap. *$pi > hi$ 'fire'), mul, $mi̦l$ 'water' (*$mör$ 'river' cf. Mongol. $mören$ 'river', Tung. mu 'water', Jap. mi 'water'). The original variation in the endings between u and $ü$ has resulted in present-day variation $o \sim u$ and in the dialects one constantly meets variations like $pähoda$, $pähuda$ 'to learn', $kamčhoda$, $kamčhuda$ 'to hide', $čakko$, $čakku$ 'often', $namo$, $namu$ 'tree', etc. The ending of converbum presentis is in South Korea $-ko$, but in North Korea $-ku$, the augmentative particle is to, but in N.Kor. tu; etc.

61 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 u $i̦$ $e̦$ i
orig. back o $a̦$ a

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 $e̦nmun$- documents. We have already mentioned the disappearance of the vowel $a̦$ through fusion with a and i.

The vowel a seems to go back to short or reduced back vowels a, **62** o or u and has also served as a substitute or nearest sound for a reduced back sound in Chinese: $sa̦$, now pronounced sa 'four' (Chin. $dze̦$, Jap. shi). When $a̦$ was the back vowel variant in endings, the corresponding front variant was $i̦$, and in old writings we find very regularly this variation in endings, for instance: genitive $-a̦i$, $i̦i$, accusative $-a̦r$, $-i̦r$, instrum. $-a̦ro$, $-i̦ro$ ($-i̦ru$), pres. part. $-na̦n$, $-ni̦n$, in secondary verb stems the ending $-sa̦-$, $-si̦-$; etc.

The vowel $a̦$ had at some time, before labial consonants, changed **63** to (or remained as) o, and in this position its front vowel variant was not $i̦$ but $e̦$. We have still $haopta$ 'to be done' for earlier $ha̦sa̦pta$ and in old writings we can find hom for later $ha̦m$, now ham 'the deed, doing'. Corresponding to this we have from the verb $čukta$ 'to die' the noun $čuge̦m$ 'the death', besides later and now regular $čugi̦m$. It is probable that the noun $saram$ 'human being', originally meaning 'the living' from the verb $salda$ 'to live', once was $sa̦rom$, later $sara̦m$, now $saram$, N.Kor. $sari̦m$.

With the disappearance of $a̦$, the variation in the endings $a̦ \sim i̦$ was abolished and $i̦$ usually generalized. This greater frequency of $i̦$ in other than first syllables seems to have been extended also to i, which thus changed to $i̦$. For older $isida$ 'to be', $isin$ 'been', $isimje̦n$ 'if being', the language obtained $itta$, $issin$ (or $issi̦n$) and $issim-$ $je̦n$ (or $issi̦mje̦n$). Nowadays the language has the vowel $i̦$ 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.

$-m$; pom 'the seeing', 'sight'	$me̦gi̦m$ 'food'
$-n$; kan 'gone'	$kulgi̦n$ 'coarse'
$-p$; $hapta$ 'to be done'	$usi̦pta$ 'to be laughed at'
$-l$; nal 'me'	$sarami̦l$ 'the man' (acc.)
$-ro$; $soro$ 'with the ox'	$sani̦ro$ 'along the mountain'
$-s$; *$hi̦is$ 'whitish' (pron. $hi̦it$)	*$pulgi̦s$ 'reddish' (pron. $pulgi̦t$)

If we say in the grammatical part later on that an ending is, **64** 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.

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

1. *a* varies with *ę*
2. *ai*, pron. *ä*, » *ęi*, pron. *e*
3. *o* » *u*

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

antta 'to sit', *anžatta* or *anžętta* 'has sat'
hada 'to do', *hajatta* or *hajętta* 'has done'
kamčhoda or *kamčhuda* 'to hide'
toijatta or *toijętta*, now pron. *töjętta*, dial. *twejętta* 'has become'

Hiatus.

66 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.

kiim 'weeds' (dial. *kihim*, *kisim*), pron. *kīm*
kada 'to go', *kaa*, 'having gone', pron. *kā*
sjęda 'to stand', *sjęę* 'having stood', pron. *sę*, N.Kor. *šę*
nęęlda 'to gnaw', pron. *nęlda*, N.Kor. *nęęda*, *nęda* etc.

67 Where the two vowels are different, the narrower or higher one creates a consonantic 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*, *powatta* 'having seen'
uę > *uwę*: *čuętta*, *čuwętta* 'to have given'
ia > *ija*: (written *ni-ja-gi*) *iagi*, *ijägi* 'story, tale'
ię > *iję*: (» *i-ję*) *iętta*, *ijętta* 'has been'

A short consonantic element can also be heard in:

äe > *äję*: (written *pai-ai*) *päe*, *päję* 'on the ship'
äi > *äji*: » *lai-il*) *näil*, *näjil* 'tomorrow'
ao > *awo*: *aolla*, *awolla* 'uniting'
ęu > *ęwu*: *tęuk*, *tęwuk* 'the more'

68 Here it is to be remarked that *ua* and *uę* after labial sounds are usually pronounced *a* and *ę*, e.g.

kippuda 'to be glad', **kippuę*, pron. *kippę*
aphuda 'to be sick', **aphua*, pron. *apha*

After other consonants *u* with a following *a* or *ę* is often consonantic. E.g.

pähuda 'to learn', *pähwatta* 'has learnt'
tolguda 'to make to turn round', *tolgwatta* 'has made to circle'

69 Parallel with this is that *ia*, *ię*, 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.

čhida 'to beat', written *čhjętta*, pron. *čhętta* 'has beaten', orig. *thi-*.
čida 'to become', written *čjętta*, pron. *čętta* 'has become', orig. *ti-*.

70 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.

pęhida, pron. *pęida* 'to cut', dial. *pęjida*; *pęhjętta*, *pęjętta*, *pęętta*, 'has cut',
päuda, *päoda*, written *pähuda* 'to learn'; *pähwatta*, *päwatta* 'has learnt'.

71   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-in 'quicksilver', N.Kor. *šu-un*
nä-il 'tomorrow', N.Kor. *nä-äl*
tuiro 'backwards', N. Kor. *tuuru*
tuwị̣l 'two pieces', *tuul*, *tūl*, N.Kor. *tuur*.

Accent.

72   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, tt, 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.

73   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-sẹn* 'Korea' (the second syllable is audibly higher), *kjẹŋ-sẹŋ* 'Keijo' (the second syllable is weaker stressed, but higher pitched). Prof. Tsutomu CHIBA has made some experimental studies concerning the accent in Korean.

74   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 then 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. *nẹ ẹdä kanan ja* 'where are you going?' (with a lowering towards the end of the sentence), *nẹ ẹdä kanan* or *nẹ ẹdä 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.

75   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 unfalling 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.

76 *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.

77 *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 *mẹkta* 'to eat', *mẹkso*, *mẹgịo* 'eats, Sir', *mẹṇṇinda*

(written and older *mẹgnịnda*) 'is eating', *mẹgẹtta* 'has eaten', *mẹgịn* 'eaten', *mẹginda* '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 *mẹk-* or *mẹg-*) ought in any grammar to have a name of its own; I should call it g l o s s a, in accordance with Professor SETÄLÄ's suggestion, and the whole series of the different forms, each of them a word by itself, I should call the p a r a d i g m of the glossa. Thus in the above case *mẹkta* to eat' is a word, *mẹkso*, etc. etc. also. The same verbal glossa has always the same stem, but this stem can, as to the last sounds, change phonetically: *mẹk-*, *mẹg-*, *mẹŋ-*. If we should say (as the Japanese and Korean grammarians do) that the word for 'eat' in Korean is *mẹk*, 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.

78 *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.

79 *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 *ị*; for instance

the perfect participle has the ending -n: *poda* 'to see', *pon* 'seen', *mękta* 'to eat', *męgin* 'eaten' (with *i* as binding vowel); *pap* 'rice', *pabiro* 'with rice'.

In the old language there were two 'binding' vowels: *ą* in words with back vowels and *i* 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 *j* can appear between the vowels, for instance *hada* 'to do', *hajatta* 'has done', *haja* 'doing', but *kada* 'to go', *katta* 'has gone', *ka* 'going' (for earlier *kaatta* and *kaa*).

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. gr. *sä-žip* 'a new house' and *sä-žibe* 'in a new house', *sä-žip-til* 'new houses', *čosęn čip* 'a Korean house', *čosęn čiptil* 'Korean houses', *čosęn sä-žiptire* '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 *čosęn čip* or written as one, as *sä-žip* 'a new house', whether one has to write *čiptil* 'houses', or perhaps *čip til*, 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 »a stone wall», or by participles, as in English »a learned

[1] The derivation of nouns will be discussed in Chapter V. p. 174.

expression», »a dining room», etc., and, — when used as predicates, as for instance in English »it is good», — by using *qualitative* verbs (»it 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. *sarami manso* 'man is numerous' = 'there are many men', *sarami manhatta* 'there were many men', *manhin saram* 'many men', *sarami manhin ttä* 'men-many-time' = 'at the time when there were or are many persons present', *namu ga khida* 'the tree is big' (= 'rises high'), *khin namu* 'an high (= elevated) tree'.

82   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 tuęri* 'man, two of it', 'two men', etc., etc., *i 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 *til* 'all, several, together', and, speaking of human beings, also *ne*. Thus *saram* 'man' or 'men' has the »plural» *saramdil* 'men-all', *saram-ne*, and more strongly stressing, *saram-nedil* or *saram-dille*. But *čip* 'house, houses' has only *čiptil* (N. Kor. *čiptel, čipter*), *mal* 'horse', *maldil* 'horses, many horses' (N. Kor. *marder*). Used in this way, *til* and *ne* may be called »plural signs», but they can as well be considered independent words. The fact is that the Koreans also say *ęllin dil onęra* 'come quickly' when speaking to many, or meaning to call all, besides the more used *ęllin onęra*, said to one person or to many. The noun *ne* orig. 'homo' (*nąi*) is also found in *namphjęn-ne* 'masculine-side-man', *njęphjęn-ne* 'feminine-side-man, a woman', *ęrun-ne, ęrusin-ne* 'honored man, my father', *anhak-ne* (*anaŋne*) 'a woman', *kine* 'you', etc.

83   To express the *idea of variety* very often a reduplication is used, e.g. *čip čip* 'every house', 'from house to house', *säk säk* 'all colours, every sort of colour, all kinds', *kot kot* > *kokkot* 'all places, everywhere', *nanal* (for *nal nal*) 'day by day, every day', *tadal* (for *tal dal*) 'every month, monthly'. Many such reduplications are used only as adverbs.

84 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 »higher». 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 *pap* '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 *täk* 'dwelling'; the word *abaži* 'father' is only a careless 'my father', but talking to or about the father before some outsider, one has to say *pučhin* or *čhumbužaŋ*. Of course, almost all these refined, cultural words are of Chinese origin.

Declension.

85 The present day Korean language has the following cases:

		For persons		For things	
Nominative	= N	*saram* 'man'	*ahä* 'child'	*čip* 'house'	*namu* 'tree'
Genitive	= G	*saramii*	*ahäii*	*čibii*	*namuii*
Dative	= D	*saramiige*	*ahäiige*	—	—
Locative	= L	*sarame*	*ahäe*	*čibe*	*namue*
Accusative	= A	*saramil*	*ahäril*	*čibil*	*namuril*
Instrumental	= I	*saramiro*	*ahäro*	*čibiro*	*namuro*

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. *nin* (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 absolutus*, but it is best to call it the *emphatic particle*.

3. *-sję* (Southern Korean *sę*, Northern Korean *šę*) has originally been *isję* 'having been, being', and is now used after nominative, dative, locative and instrumental; let us call it the *essive particle* E.g. *čibesę katta* 'having been in the house, he went away' = 'he went *from* home', *čibirosę* 'having been towards the house' = 'from the direction of the house' or 'as for the house', 'to be a house it is . .', *čosęnsę isso* 'in Chosen there is' = 'being Chosen there is'. Usually *sę* corresponds to the Japanese *te*, and Korean *-esę* 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 *nin*. **87**

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 determining particles *-i*, *-ga* are used. *Nu ga wasso* 'who came?' or 'somebody came', *mas-i ęttę-jo* 'how is the taste', *nä ga* (or *nä*) *kagesso* 'I'll go', *sanahi nasso* 'the man (not the woman) is better', *ilgobi možarao* 'seven (of that kind or of them) is not enough', *hanāhi* (or *hanā ga*) *namasso* 'one (of them) is left over'.

b) When *nin* (*in*) 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 *wa* in Japanese, where it is also wrongly called the casus absolutus. Of course *nịn* is no case ending at all, and can be affixed to nominative, dative, locative and instrumental. Examples: *i čĭbịn nä čibio* 'this house is mine'; *kị ttä nịn (ttäe nịn) irẹn (irẹ han) gẹs-ịn ẹptẹra* 'at those times such things did not exist'; *čọsẹn-ịn sibaŋ-ịn hakkjo ga manso* 'as to Korea, as to present time, schools are many' = 'Korea has plenty of schools now'; *na nịn toni isso* '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, -*in*, -*n* in Tungusian, *ini* in Mongolian and -*i* (the 3 p. possessive suffix) in Turkish. Many Tungus dialects and also Aino have *ka* 'but, and', and in Tungus dialects (Tɪтоw's dictionary) we find the emphatic *nun* 'if', 'when', 'now'.

88 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*, *th*, *č*, *čh* (vide §§ 8 and 14). The combinations -*ti* and -*thi* have given in Southern Korea *či* and *čhi* (vide § 16). The original sound appears surest in the Locative and Accusative.

s *kẹt* 'a thing', *kẹsi* 'the thing', *kẹse* 'at the thing'
 kat 'hat', *kasi* 'the hat', *kase* 'in the hat'

t *nat* 'sickle', *naži* 'the sickle', *nade* 'by the sickle'
 kot 'place', *koži (kočhi)* 'the place', *kode* 'on a place'
 mot 'nail', *moži* 'the nail', *modịro* 'with the nail'

th *pat* 'field', *pačhi* 'the field', *pathe* 'on the field'
 kjẹt 'neighourhood', *kjẹthe* 'near'; *nat* 'face' (*načhi, nathe*)

č *nat* 'midday', *naže* 'at noon', *naž-u* 'midday-over' > 'afternoon'
 kkot 'flower', *kkoži* 'the flower', *kkože* 'in the flower'
čh *pjẹt* 'sunlight', *pjẹtčhi* 'the sunlight', *pjẹtčhe (pjẹthe)* '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 *padịl* for common speech *pathịl*, but common speech has also *patčhịl*, received by analogy from the determinative *pačhi*.

An investigation of all present day dialects would be necessary to find out the original shape of some nouns. Words on -*k* and original -*kh* 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', *čiphi* 'the straw' (original *tiph* 'straw'). From *kap* 'price' the determinative is *kaphi* or usually *kapsi* 'the price'. From *sak* 'payment', *säk* 'colour', *čik* 'moment' the determinative is usually *saksi*, *säksi*, *čiksi*, and the emphatic form may also be *saksịn*, *säksịn*, *čiksịn* beside regular *sagịn*, *sägịn*, *čigịn*.

89 Owing to the early vocalization and disappearance of an old spirantic -*g*, many words on -*o* and -*u* and also -*e* have irregular declension. From *namu* 'tree', *karu* 'flour', *čaru* 'handle', *muu (musu)* 'radish' the determinative is *namgi*, *kalgi*, *čalgi*, *mukki*, besides the new and regular *namu ga*, *karu ga*, etc. The stem has been **namạg*, **karạg*, **čarạg*, etc. Such words are also *au*, determinative *akki* (N.Kor. *äkki*) 'the younger brother', and *sure* 'cart', determinative *surgi* (or *sure ga*).

90 In many words it is difficult to decide how a final -*i* is to be understood. 'The tiger' is *horaŋi*, and the determinative is *horaŋi ga*, but the word seems to have been *ho-raŋ* without -*i*; 'the face' is in some dictionaries *ẹlgol*, but in others *ẹlgori*, the respective determinatives being then *ẹlgori* and *ẹlgori ga*. The names for different

craftsmen *täžaŋi* 'smith', *mokčaŋi* 'carpenter', etc., have been compounds on *čaŋ*, but now the determinative *čaŋi* is almost constantly taken as nominative. The *-i* has thus been understood as essential in the word and the result is the new vocalic stem. Also in words on vowels such variants with or without *-i* are found: *palgu* or *pargui* 'sledge', *manthu* or *manthui* 'cake'. This depends on the fact that in the earlier language *-i* was used after vowel stems too, and was not quite identical in meaning with *-ga*. From *na* 'I', *ne̦* 'you', *nu* 'who' the usual determinative formations are *nä ga* (=*nai ga*) *ne ga* (= *ne̦i ga*) and *nui ga*, as in the earlier stage many other nouns which ended in a vowel.

91   *Genitive.* The genitive relation between two nouns can be given either by putting the first noun simply as attribute as in English 'gold dust', 'roadside', etc., or by using the genitive case. This has in Korean both a longer and a shortened form. The l o n g e r f o r m has the ending *-i̦i*. As a rule this genitive case is used only of living and important things; otherwise the nominative is enough if there is no danger of ambiguity. Therefore *čose̦n mal* 'Korean language', 'the language of Korea', 'the Chosenese language', *se̦n-je̦ŋ-mun-pe̦p* 'Korean-English-grammar'; *uri-čip* 'our house'; *saram aphe* 'before people'; *kam namu* 'persimmon tree' (Cf. Jap. *hito no mae ni* 'before people', *kaki no ki* 'persimmon tree').

But *ki̦ koŋi̦i irhi̦mi* 'the name o f that man', *talgi̦i al* (or *ari*) 'a hen's egg', *je̦ŋguk saram* or *je̦ŋgugi̦i saram* 'one from England, an Englishman'. The determinative particle *-i* is often added to the nominative of the following noun: *jaŋ the̦l* or *jaŋ the̦ri* 'sheeps' wool', *kwe* (*kwei̦i*) *mit* or *kwe mitčhi* 'the bottom of the box, the box's bottom'. The genitive ending is thus used to lay stress on the genitive relation.

The ending *-i̦i* is the same after both consonant and vowel stems. In many dialects it is pronounced either as *-i* or more commonly as a short *-e*, *sarame̦*, *kwe̦e̦*, *mare̦*, *talge̦* (the man's, the box's, the horse's, the hen's), differing from the long *ē* of the dative ending. Instead of *kaŋi̦i mur* 'the river's water' one can sometimes hear *kaŋe̦ mur* or even *kaŋa mur*, but more usual is *kaŋ muri*.

The ending *-i̦i* has earlier been *-ai* after a back vowel and *-i̦i* only after a front vowel, as one can find in the old literature. This *ai*, *i̦i* contains the binding vowel (*a*, *i̦*) and an original suffix *-i̦*. When this suffix *-i̦* was affixed to a vowel stem, then *-i̦* was the parallel to the post-consonantic variants *-i̦i* and *-ai*. From *na* 'I', *ne̦* 'you', *če̦* 'that', *nu* 'who', 'somebody' the genitive is since old *nä* 'my', *ne* 'yours', thy', *če* 'his', *nüi* (*nui*) 'whose, somebody's'.

The short genitive. The consonantic sound *i̦* at the end of **92** the genitive suffix was, perhaps, originally not *i̦* but some other consonant. In the old books it is written either with *s* (∧) or with the sign for a nasalized *j* (△). 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 gemination of a consonant after a vocalic-ending preceding word. E.g.

hunnal 'the next day' from *hu* 'after', *nal* 'day'
tuinnal 'the next day' from *tui* 'behind', *nal* 'day'
se̦ppadak 'the surface of the tongue', *se̦*, *sje̦* 'tongue', *padak*
sompadak, *sonppadak* 'the flat hand', *son* 'hand', *padak* 'plain'
palpadak, *palppadak* 'the sole of the foot', *pal* 'foot', *padak*
päkkaunde 'the inner of the ship', *pä* 'ship', *kaunde* 'mid'
utčip 'the upper house', *u* 'over', *čip* 'house'
ummail 'upper village', *u* and *mail* 'village'
sässori 'bird's song', *sä* 'bird', *sori* 'sound, song'
malmorikkun 'the horse driver', *mal mori* 'horse driving' and *kun* 'man'.

This doubling of the initial consonant is indicated in old texts by the *s* sign, e.g. *mois-tuis-ko-rai* = *moi-ttui-kkorä* 'forest's back valley' = 'the valley behind the forest'. The original sound can have been either an 'ń' or an 's' sound, but *nai*, *ne̦i*, *nui* give us reason to suppose an original *-ń* (*n* mouillé), i.e. after vowels *-ń* and after consonants *-ań*, *-iń*. This is perhaps made certain by the old spelling *nunńmul* 'the tear' from *nun* 'eye', *mul* 'water', etc. Cf. Jap. *-no*, *-nu* < *-n*, Tung. *-n*, Mongol. *-un*, *-jin*, Turk. *-iŋ* (original *-in*) 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 gęsi kị saramịị gęs-io*, 'is that yours?' by *čę gęsi taŋsinịị gęs-imnikka?*

93   *Locative.* The locative has the ending *-e* (long *ē*) or, often after *-l*, *-gē* (likewise with long vowel). This is now written *-ai*, but earlier it was, after back vowels *-ai* or *-ai̧*, after front vowels *-ęi* or *-i̧i*. The ending *-ge* is written *-kai* or *-kęi*.

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 *-sę* (written *-sję*) is usually added, e.g.

a) *kịge oräkkane mugęsso* 'you remained there a long time?'
   Toŋgjęŋe sarasso 'I lived in Tokyo'
   čarie čatta 'he was in bed'
   saŋe (or *saŋ ue*) *nōara* 'put it on the table!'

b) *čibesę tambä an mękso* 'I don't smoke in the house'
   kagaesę satta or *sa watta* 'I bought it in the shop', 'being in the shop I bought it'
   kịttäe sjęŋesę pjęŋi tịręsso 'at that time in the town the sickness entered' = 'I got sick in the town then'
   Toŋgjęŋesę čugętčio 'he died in Tokyo, I think'
   ačęmęni-žibesę nōlgo wasso 'I had a good time in the house of my sister-in-law and am back now'.

Therefore *-esę* often has to be translated 'from': *kagaesę sasso* 'I bought it in the shop', or 'I have it from the shop', *maresę ttęrę -žęsso* 'he fell from his horse', or 'being on the horse, he fell', *niu-t-čibesę pịręsso* 'I borrowed it at my neighbour's house'. In most grammars *-esę* is therefore called the ending of the a b l a t i v e.

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: *arä* 'under', *arätčip* 'the down house'; *orä* 'long ago', *oräkkan*, *orägan* 'a long time'; etc.

Dative. The dative is the locative formed from the genitive **94** (long or short genitive). It is used only of nouns for persons or living things, e.g. *pak-sębaŋiige sao* 'he lives at Mr. Pak's', *kị saramịige čuęsso* 'did you give it to him?', *näge onan čim innanja* 'is there any cargo coming for me?', *koŋsaịige ędętta* 'I got it (my passport) from the minister (at the minister's)', *urịige čoi ēpta* 'there is no fault with us (in us)', *jęŋguk saramịige* (or *saramkke*) *nuni phurịda* 'the English people have blue eyes'.

The essive affix *-sę* is used with the dative in the same sense as with the locative, e.g. *koŋsaịigesę ędętta* 'being at the minister's residence, I got it', 'I got it from the minister', *pak-sębaŋịigesę pịręsso* 'I borrowed it from Mr. Pak'.

The *short dative* is used in the same sense and also with *-sę* added. **95**

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 a tuuri isso* 'by this woman there are two children', 'this woman has two children'; *i ankhankkešę adęri pjęŋi tịręsso* 'the children of this woman have fallen ill'. When the verb is a passive or an honorific expression, the ending *-kkesę* (*-kkịisę*) indicates 'on the side of', i.e. the *agent* or logical subject of the passively expressed action. Grammarians have counted *-kkịisę*, *-kkesę* as a nominative ending without saying that the verb must then be passive, e.g. *nimgunkkịisę onal kędoŋ hao* 'the king goes out today' («on the part of the king today an excursion is made»), *koŋsakkịisę osęsso* 'the minister deigned to come' («by the minister's there was the deigning to arrive»). The endings *-ịigesę* and *-kkesę* (*-ĕgēsę*, *-ịigịisę*, *-kkịisę*) can therefore be found both as indicating the agent and the dative object; e.g. *koŋsaịigesę* (*koŋsakkesę*) *ędętta* 'I (he, somebody) got it from the minister', but *koŋsakkesę ędęsso* may mean the same or also 'the minister received it' («on the minister's side it was received»), while *koŋsakkịisę ędisjęsso* 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 **96** 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: *saniro keresso* 'he walked through the forest' (»the forest way»), *kjeŋsjeŋiro kasso* 'he has gone to Söul (towards Keijo)', *mulkaro isso* 'there are some along the beach (on the beach)', *mullo* 'towards the water'

b) manner: *säro sižak hao* 'it begins anew', *mal hanan däro* 'as he says', 'according to the saying', *himiro* 'by force'

c) instrument: *khallo pehigesso* 'you may cut it with a knife', *kičharo watta* 'they came by train', *küiro tinninda* 'we hear with the ears', *kawiro ssida* 'to use it for scissors', *jel weniro sal tit hao* 'you can buy them, most probably, for ten yen'

d) material: *kimiro iphin* (N.Kor. *kimilli niphun*) 'covered with gold', *namuro mandin ges-io* 'it is (a thing) made of wood'

e) point of view: *seullo nin teupči anso* 'it is not hot for Söul', *sejaŋ -iniro nin mal čal handa* 'he speaks well for a foreigner'

When used to mean the instrument, the word *sse* (from *ssida* 'to use') is sometimes added, especially in translations from Chinese, and when the point of view is meant, the essive particle *-sje*, *-se* is frequently used, often together with the emphatic particle *nin*: *saramirose nin i gesi mot tönda* 'for a man this is impossible'; *čosen pebirose nin* 'according to Korean law', *i gesiro (i gello) hagesso* 'I will decide myself for this'; *saramiigerose nan gesi an io* 'it is something not born of man'.

The ending is after consonant stems *-iro*, after vowel stems *-ro*, and after *l* *-lo*. In North Korean this ending is *-ru, -ri, -lu, -li, -illu*. *-illi*. After back vowels it was originally *-ro, -aro* and after front vowels *-ru, -iru*.

97   The locative suffix *-e* added to the instrumental, originally *-ru-ai > -rue*, has given *-llä, -lle*; 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. *abillä mandiresso* 'I made it for my father', *čhipkillä odi mot hao* 'he cannot

come because it is cold', *musigellä* (< *musin gesillä*) *hännan ja* 'for what did he do that?'. In South Korea only the verbal noun on *-ki*, *-gi* is found with this combined case ending and signifying 'because of', 'taking in consideration that'.

Accusative. The direct object is expressed either by using the **98** 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 čabatta* 'caught fishes, caught fish (as the fisherman does)' and *kogiril čabatta* 'caught the fish' or 'caught the fishes'.

After consonants the ending is *-il* and after vowels *-ril*. As in the genitive, dative and instrumental, the vowel has been changeable i.e. after back vowels it was *-ar*, after front vowels *-ir*. From old days we have *nal* 'me', *nel* 'thee', *nul* 'whom', which need not be considered as shortened forms of *naril, neril, nuril*. 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. *munu jerera* = S. Kor. *munil jerera* 'open the door!', *puru murilli čugigi* 'to put out the fire by water'. The accusative in N. Kor. has the endings *-i* (after labial sounds *-u*) in post-consonantic and *-ri* (resp. *-ru*) 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. *čhägil nal čuera* (N. Kor. *chägi näge cuera*) 'give me the book!'.

The above mentioned case formations are *living possessions* of **99** the language, and can be formed ad libitum from any noun. As mentioned under *-iige, -llä, -iigero*, the case endings can be heaped; in this relation a word like *saramiigerose nin* is a good example. But there are also some remains of seldom used case formations. One ending *-i*, used in adverbial locutions, is certainly the mark of an old case.

The casus instructivus. E.g. *nä meŋnin disi megera* 'eat just like I eat' (*tit, tis* 'shape', *meŋnin tis* 'eating shape'), *pandasi* 'with certainty, necessarily' (*pandat hada* 'to be necessary'), *erjemphisi*

'dimly', 'indistinctly' (*ęrjęmphit hada* 'to be indistinct'); *uri čip tami makkhjęsso* 'our house was hindered by the wall'; *manhịn toni ssada* 'to be worth much money'; *nęnžisi* 'gently' (*nęnžit nęnžit 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 *-yn*, *-in* and Mongolian *-un*, *-ün*.

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, my, 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. *nä* (for *nai*), genitive *nä* (for *naịi*, *nai*), accus. *nal* and *naril*, instrum. *nallo*, seldom *naro*; stem *na* (cf. Mo. *namai* 'me', Mo. and old Kashgar Turk. *naru* 'hither', 'to me').

uri 'we',

with plural indicators: *uridịl*, *uridịŋ*, *urimuri* (Chin. *tịŋ* 'crowd' and Kor. *muri* 'heap'). Very often *uri* is used instead of its genitive and means 'our' or 'of my family': *uri čip* 'my house', *uri abaži* 'my father'. Stem *uri* (*wuri* cf. Turk. *biz* 'we').

nę 'thou',

determ. *ne* (for *nęi*), gen. *ne* (for *nęịi*, *nęi*), accus. *nęl* and *nęril*, instrum. *nęllo* (N. Kor. *nęllu*). The plural is *nęhịi*, *nędịl*, *nęhịidil*, *nęhịidịŋ*, etc. or *nędịlle*, *nęnedịl*. This pronoun *nę* is very »low», 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, *kịne* (*kene*, *kęne*) or *ke*, *kịde*, *kędịi*.

In these *-ne* originally meant 'man', 'homme', *-de* (*tại*) 'place', *kị*, *kę* 'that' and *ča* in *čane* may be either Chinese *ča* '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-njęk* 'this side', *i-nom* 'this man', *i-nje* 'this woman' or something else, see below. Very often for 'I' the word *če*, sinokor. *tjęi* 'the younger brother', is used (cf. Mong. *degü* 'the younger brother', in letters 'I').

There are, as said, many substantives, mostly of Chinese origin, **101** used instead of personal pronouns; such are:

for 'you':

hjęŋ = elder brother
nohjęŋ = old elder-brother
koŋ = common(ly known), Duke
taŋsin = the person in question or concerned
(*njaŋban*) *jaŋban* = both ranks (military and civil)
sębaŋ = secretary, Mr.
i-phjęn = this side
täk = house, house-owner
sęnsäŋ = teacher, master, *sịsịŋ* id.
(*nimžja*) *imža* 'owner' (in familiar addressing)
etc.

for 'I':

če = younger brother (not the same word as *čę*, determ. *če* 'that' 'yonder')
pon-in = underlying man
sjo-in = little man, *soinne* id.
sjo-säŋ = little disciple
sjoža = small person
sisäŋ = youngster, the junior
pok = servant

102   When using polite substitutes or other accepted expressions instead of simple *na* 'I' and *nę* 'you', all other words in the same expression must, of course, agree in style; e.g.

'How old are you' =

a) *nę nāi ęlmana tönī* (to a child or servant)
b) *čane nāi ęlmana tönan ja* (to a friend)
c) *täk nāi ęlmana töjo* (politely)
d) *taŋsin njęnse ga ęlmana tömnikka* (most polite to a high official)

As a rule the Koreans, speaking to outsiders, are worrying about finding the right »level» or »style», 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 »low» 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.

103   *Demonstrative pronouns.* These are: *i* (*ję, jo*) 'this' (dieser), *čę* (N. Kor. *tję, tę*) with the variant *čo* 'that yonder' (jener) and *kį* (*kę, 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 d e p r e c i a t i o n or scolding, e.g. *i man* 'this much', but *jo man* 'this insufficient amount', *i nom* 'this man', but *jo nom* 'this rascal', *čo nom* 'you rascal', *ko nom* 'that rascal'.

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

i 'someone'	*ii, čęi* (*čę*), *kįi* 'this one, that one'
čja 'person' (Chin.)	*iža, čęža, kįža* 'this one, that one, he'
	joža, čoža, koža (scolding)
nom 'fellow'	*i nom, čę nom, kį nom* 'he'
	jo nom, čo nom, ko nom (scolding)
kęt 'thing, piece'	*igęt, čęgęt, kįgęt* 'this' 'that' respectively
	jogęt, čogęt, kogęt (said with scorn)
kot 'place'	*igot, čęgot, kįgot* 'here', 'there' respectively
	jogot, čogot, kogot (with contempt)

man 'quantity'	*iman, čęman, kįman* 'this much, that much'
	joman, čoman, koman (with contempt)
phjęn 'side, flank'	*i phjęn* 'hereabout' 'you', 'I' etc.
ttä 'time'	*ittä* 'now', *čęttä, kįttä* 'then'
(**ptai*)	*iptä* 'still now', *čęptä* (N. Kor. *tęptä*), *kįptä* 'then'
ččak 'half part'	*iččak* 'on this side'
(**pčak*)	*ipčak* 'here'
	joččak (with contempt) 'hereabout, here'
-ge (locative suff.)	*jęge, jē* 'here', *čęge, čē* 'yonder', *kįge, kē* 'there'

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

From the stem *kį* 'that' seems to be derived as an old adverbial **104** form the enclitically used particle *-ko* (*-kko, -go*), which is found indicating a preceding oratio recta. E.g.

čumā-kko handa 'he says »I will give»', 'he promises to give'
karjakko handa 'he intends to go', *karja* 'let me go'
onda go handa 'they say he is coming', 'he says they are coming',
     onda '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; § 150, § 294.

Reflexive pronouns. There is no Korean reflexive pronoun, **105** but Chinese *čą* and *čagįi* 'self' are often used. Besides this, also Korean *honža*, North Kor. *habuŋža* 'alone', Chin. *čhinhi* 'personally' and *čęllo* 'of itself' are quite frequent.

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns. When used in questions, **106** 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 encliticon (*-ka, -ja* with their variants) added or

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ends in -o (the honorific formation). When the tone is the ordinary narrative tone, the same pronouns are used as indefinites. With negative predicate and the particle *to* 'even, also' a total negation is implied. Such pronouns are:

1) *nu, nugu* 'who', 'some, somebody'; determ. *nui, nuga, nuiga,* gen. *nui,* dat. *nuige,* instrum. *nuro, nullo,* accus. *nul, nuril.*

   e.g. *nuga wasso, nuga wannan ja* (*wannā, wannī*) 'who came?'; *nuga wasso, nuga watta* (*wanne*) 'someone came'; *nugu do ani wasso* 'nobody has come'; *nugu ani wasso* 'someone has not come'; *paŋe nuga isso?* 'is there someone in the room?'; *nugu-denži* 'whoever it may be'; *nugu-ra do* 'anybody you may name'; *nugul pogo kiren maril hasio* 'to whom do you say that?'; *nuige sasso* 'from whom did you buy it'; *čege kanani ga nugu-nži morigesso* 'I do not know who that man is who goes there'; *nu ga nä phjenži kažigo wanna* 'has anybody brought a letter for me'.

2) *muet* 'what' 'something' (subst.), orig. *mu-ges* 'what thing', determ. *muesi, mue, mue,* accus. *muesil, muel, muil,* instrum. *muesiro, muello.*

   e.g. *i gesi muello mandan ges-io* 'of what is this made'; *muet to ani megessini muera do mekko kapsida* 'I haven't eaten anything, let's eat something and then go'; *mues-idenži* 'whatever you like'; *irimi mues-io* 'what is its name?'.

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

   e.g. *musin ir-io* 'what affair is it', 'it is some kind of affair'; *musim saram-io* 'what man is he?' (= what does he do); *musin ges-idenži čal haja-ja ssigesso* 'everything must be done well'; *musin säg-inga* 'what colour is it?'.

4) *mjet* (*mjet, met*), stem **mječh,* 'how much, how many', 'a certain number of' (subst. and adj.), accus. *mječhil,* instrum. *mjetčhiro* 'of how many, at how much'. The final sound of this pronoun is assimilated with the following consonant (s. Phon. about -*t*, § 14)

   e.g. *mjetch-io* 'how much, how old are you'; *mjethä ga töjesso* 'how many years is it (since that)'; *mjetčhil mane osjesso* 'in how

many days did you arrive'; *modo mjen-ni-o* 'how many miles is it together'; *mjen-namii toni tiresso* 'how many men's money has gone into that', 'a great many men's money has been spent on that'; *mjek-kä kaže wasso* 'how many pieces have you brought', 'they have brought quite a lot'; *mjek-kä do mot edetta* 'I could get only a few, I didn't receive just any'; *mjes-si-o* 'what is the time' (*si* 'hour').

5) *wä, we* 'why' (adv.), written *wai,* orig. *mai,* probably a locative; *wän, wen* (adj.), orig. *wai-in,* 'why been'.

   e.g. *we-jo, we-da* 'why is it'; *we kiri hasio* 'why do you say so?; *wen kkadalg-io* 'what's the reason', or 'there is a reason why'; *wen illo katta* 'he went on some errand'; *wen illo kanna* 'on what errand did he go'.

6) *edä, ede, edii* (*edi*), Nor. Kor. *wede, wedi* 'what place, where', orig. *we* 'what' and *tai* 'place'.

   e.g. *murin edä ga čeil kipso* 'where is the water deepest'; *edäl* (*edäro, musin dero*) *katta* 'they went somewhere'; *ediril kugjen hasesso* 'what places have you been viewing?'; *edä-m-maril pähwasso* 'what languages (the languages of what countries) have you learnt'; *edi-n-naraii saram io* 'what countryman is he?', 'he is from I don't know what country'; *edä-denži isso* 'it is to be found anywhere'; *edimä* 'whereabout' (<*edä-im* in locative)

7) *ena, enä* (*eni, en-*), N. Kor. *wena-, wen-* 'which, someone (of two or more)', always only adjective or genitive *enin.*

   e.g. *enin nara ga igiigesso* 'which country will win?', *ki saram čibi enä-žib-io* 'which of those houses is his?'; *enže* (Nor. Kor. *wenže*) 'what time', 'some time', *ena-ttä, eni-ttä* 'id.' (*če, ttai* 'time'); *elma, enma* 'what amount, what extent, how much' (*man* 'amount, size'); *inže elma mot pöjol tit hao* 'I shall probably not see you for some time now'; *elma do anso* 'it is only very little'; *elma kidarjekketči manin, amo do ani wasso* 'we waited some time, but nobody came'.

8) *ette* 'how, in what manner, in some way, so-and-so' (adv.) used only with *hada* 'to be, to do'; *ette hada* 'how to do, how to

be' is usually shortened to *ęttętha*, *ęttę han* to *ęttęn*, *ęttęhage* to *ęttękhe*, *ęttęhao* to *ęttęo*, etc.

e.g. *ęttęn ir-io* 'what kind of matter is it, what is it about?', 'there is something in it'; *masi ęttęo* 'how is the taste'; *pamsä ga ęttęsio* (= *ęttę hasio*) 'how was your night, Sir?' (= Good morning!); *ęttęn ttäe tömnida*, *ęttęn ttäe taŋčhoe ani tömnida* 'sometimes it succeeds all right, but sometimes it doesn't go at all'; *ęttę hadęnži morigesso* 'I can't know it anyhow'; *i ga ęttękhe čokhesso* 'how will it be best to do it', 'in one or other way it will be all right'.

9) *ętči* 'in what direction, how, why, to a certain degree', N. Kor. *wętti*, only appearing with *hada*; contracted to *ętčęda*, *ętčäda*.

e.g. *ętči haja čę węlgekkotčhil ttasso* 'why did you pick those roses'; *ętčin* (*ętčęn*, *ętčihan*) *kkadalg-io* 'where is one to look for the reason'; *ętči haža-nan* (= *haža hanan*) *malsam-io* 'can you say how we had better do it'.

In all these words, whether adverbs or adjectives, there is the same root *ę*, older *wę*, which in *wä* seems to appear in the locative case. To *ęttę hada* and *ętči hada* correspond the locutions *kirę hada*, *čęrę hada* 'to be so as that', *irę hada* 'to be so as this' and *amorę hada* 'to be in any way', *kiri*, *čeri* 'thither', *iri* 'here, hither', *amori* 'in some direction', also used with *hada*. Cf. Tungus *ili* 'hither', *tali* 'in that direction'.

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

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

e.g. *amo ga wannan ja* 'has anybody come'; *amodirįi čibi* 'some people's houses'; *amogä ga wasso* 'some gentleman has come'; *amo däro katta go* 'he went somewhere, they say'; *amo däro do katta* 'he went everywhere'; *am-man haję do* 'however one may do'; *amo gode itčio* 'it is somewhere, I think'; *amo saram-ina* 'whosoever it may be'; *amo gęt to anio* 'it is nothing at all'; *amo-dęnži orakko* '(say that) somebody, anyone, may come here'; *amorę hajassędo* 'however it may have been'; *amorę hagęna*

(*khęna*) 'in any way'; *amo-žoro-ok* 'by all means' (*čo* 'means'); *amo-ttäe do ttae ani čatta* 'I never slept on the ground'; *amo ttäe* 'at any time'; *amo ttäe do* 'always, even at any time'.

Indefinite numerals.

Before coming to the numerals, some nouns, common in summary **108** 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:

jęrę (adj.), *jęręs* (subst.) 'several, many, various, different'; e.g. *jęrę-gaži* 'various kinds of', *jęrę-gęsi isso* 'there are many of them', *jęrę-bęn* 'several times, often', *jęrę-dä* 'in many places, almost everywhere', *jęrę-bun* 'several persons', 'all of you'.

The origin seems to be *jęl* 'ten' and in *jęrę-s* the *s* seems to have been *kęs* 'thing'.

tęrę 'some few, certain ones, a little, partially'; *tęrę — tęrę* 'some — some others'.

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

hanā (subst.), N. Kor. *hannā*; *han* (adj.) 'one, some, the same'; e.g. *han simul* 'a twenty', *hanā nin — hanā nin* 'the one — the other'; *han gode kaža* 'let's go to the same place'; *tā han toŋhjaŋ saram-io* 'are you all from the same town?'. See this word also under numerals.

hōn, N. Kor. *habun* 'single', *honža*, N. Kor. *habundza* 'alone, not more than one'; *hollo* (Instrumental) 'by oneself' (N. Kor. *habullu*).

tā 'all'; 'fully', 'ready', 'finally',

čoi, N. Kor. *čohi* 'all, entire', *čoi dä* idem.

to (Chin.) 'all'; 'together', *to-moži* 'all';

e.g. *tā watta* 'all have come, they are all here'; *tā töjęsso* 'it is ready'; *čoidä kagetta* 'they will all go'; *tuul tā čhoi hajęsso* 'they are both (all two) drunk'.

tịl, N. Kor. *tẹr* (in the oldest language also *tẹn*) 'several, all, so many there are' is a substantive, and has already been mentioned as the word for expressing the plural; e.g. *inže dịl čibe ga* 'now you will all go home!'.

modịn (adj.), *modo, moda* (adv. subst.) 'all, the whole' (from v. *motta* 'to collect', cf. *to-moži*); e.g. *modịn nara* 'the whole country'; *nara ga modo* id., *sarami modo* 'the whole of mankind'.

mut (subst.) 'crowd', *muri* 'crowd, lot'; e.g. *sä muri* 'the birds, the flock of birds'.

ōn, N. Kor. *obun* 'whole, total', *onža* 'totally, in all'; e.g. N. Kor. *obun šešange* 'in the whole world'; *on gat* or *on gaži* 'all sorts of'; *on gas-saram* 'all kinds of people'.

mada, N. Kor. *madaŋ* 'each, every' (subst.) and

mai, mä (Chin. adj.) 'every'; e.g. *saram mada = mä-in* 'every man'; *nal mada = mä-il* (N. Kor. *mä-äl*) 'every day'; *mä-si* 'every hour', *nara mada* 'every country', *mä-guk* id.

kak (Chin.) 'each, every'; e.g. *kak kaži* 'every kind of'; *kak sägi* id. (*säk* 'colour'); *kak saram* 'each man'; *kakki* 'each of them'.

Numerals.

109   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 *čịmịn* '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:

The Cardinal Numbers

	Korean subst.	adj.	Chinese
1	*hanā* N. Kor. *hannā*	*han*	*il*
2	*tūl, tuul, tuwul* N. Kor. *tūur*	*tu*	*i*
3	*set* (determ. *sesi*)	*se* (*sẹk, sẹ*)	*sam*
4	*net* (» *nesi*)	*ne* (*nẹk, nẹ*)	*sa*
5	*tasịt* (» *tasịsi*)	*tasẹt, tat*	*o*
6	*jẹsịt* (» *jẹsịsi*)	*jẹsẹt, jẹt*	*juk* (*njuk*)
7	*ilgop* (*nilgop*)	*ilgop*	*čhil*
8	*jẹdẹlp*	*jẹdẹlp, jẹdẹl*	*phal*
9	*ahop* (*ạhup*)	*ahop*	*ku*
10	*jẹl* (*jẹri*) N. Kor. *jẹr, jar*	*jẹl*	*sip*
11	*jẹrhana*	*jẹrhan*	*sib-il*
12	*jẹldūl*	*jẹldu*	*sib-i* (*sim-ni*)
20	*sịmul*	*sịmul, sịmu*	*isip*
30	*sẹrhịn*		*samsip*
40	*mahịn*		*sasip*
50	*suin*		*osip*
60	*jẹsuin, jẹsun*		*juksip*
70	*irhịn*		*čhilsip*
80	*jẹdịn*		*phalsip*
90	*ahịn*		*kusip*
100	(older language *on*)		*päk*
101	*päkhana*	*päkhan*	*päg-il*
110	*il-bäk sịmul*	*il-bäk sịmu*	*il-bäg-isip*

Further: 200 *ibäk*, 300 *sambäk*, 400 *sabäk*, 500 *obäk*, 600 *jukpäk*, 700 *čhilbäk*, 800 *phalbäk*, 900 *kubäk* and 1000 *čhẹn*, 10,000 *man*.

The adjectival forms *sẹk, nẹk* are used before some special words beginning on dental sounds, e.g. *saŋ* 'table', *ssaŋ* 'pair', *sẹm* 'bag', *tal* 'month', *čaŋ* 'sheet', *čịm* 'load', etc. About when to use *tasịt,*

jesit as adjectives and when the shorter *tat, jet* there does not seem to be any certain rule, but the forms *se, ne, tat, jet* are used at least before the words *ton* 'coin, money', *mal* 'a dry measure' and *mažigi* 'an acre'.

The substantival forms *ses-i, nes-i* 'three of them, four of them' seem to be compounds of *se* (or *sę*), *ne* (or *nę*) and *ges, kes* 'piece' of which the *-s* (> *t*) is left. The same may be the case with the *-s* in *tasas, jesis* and also with substantive *jeres-i* 'the most or several of them' (< *jere gesi*), cf. adjectival *jere* 'several, many', from *jel* '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 *tuwur* 'two' (Tung. *žur*, Ma. *žue*) contains some *bur, *ber. Cf. Aino *shine* 'one' and *tu* 'two' (*tu-otne* 'forty'). In *tā-sas '5' and *je-sis '6' there is a *sa-s*, probably 'hand', 'fist', cognate with *son* 'hand', Ma. *sun-ža* '5', tung. *sō-lto* 'fist' and entering also in Goldi *sosi* '50', Kor. *suin* '50', Ma. *susai* '50'. Perhaps *tā* in *tā-sas* is cognate with Mong. Kitan *ta-bun* '5' and with Kor. *tā* 'all, whole', and *je-* in *je-sis* with *jel* '10'. The word for 'ten' is *jel* which is related to the verb *jelda* 'to open' as Ma. *žuan* 'ten' to Ma. *žuan-ka* 'opened' (*žuambi* 'is opening'). In Kor. *nil-kop '7' seem to be discernable *nil = Tung. *ilan* '3' and Kor. *kop* 'bending', scil. '(with) three (fingers) bent'. In the word for '8' *jedelp, jedilp* one may guess a compound of *jel* 'ten' and *tulp 'two lacking, without two' and in *ahop* '9' the above *-kop* 'bend, curved' after *a* (?'small, child'), cf. Ma. *ujun* '9' = Tung. *ujun* 'small', scil. 'the small finger (bent)'. The Kor. *on* '100' is = Turk. *on* 'ten' and old Jap. *o* '100', while Kor. *čimin* 'thousand' is = Mo. Turk. *tümän* '10000'.

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

Sure counting	Approximate counting
hanben 'once'	*handuben* 'once or twice'
tuben 'twice'	*tuseben* 'twice or thrice', *tueben* 'some few times' (*tue* 'few')

seben 'thrice'	*seneben* 'three or four times'
neben 'four times'	*nedeppen* 'four or five times'
	nededäppen 'about five times'
taseppen 'five times'	*täjeppen, täjejeppen* 'six times or so'
jeseppen 'six times'	*jennilkoppen* 'six times at least'
ilgoppen 'seven times'	*irjedelppen* 'about seven times'
jedelben 'eight times'	*jedahoppen, jedahuppen* 'about 8 t.'
ahoppen, ahuppen 'nine times'	*ajereben* 'about nine times'
jelben 'ten times'	*jereben* 'ca. 10 times' (*jere* 'several')
jel-lamin (jenamin) 'over ten'	
(*jal-lamun* 'exceeding ten, ten at least', *jeres* (subst.) 'several')	

There are also some special words for the age of animals (cattle **111** or wild beasts), such as:

harop, harip 'a yearling' (and 'one wearing of cotton padding')
(*turip, turup* 'two years')
sarop, sarip 'three years old'
narip 'four years old'
tasop, tasip 'five years old'
jesip 'six years old'
irop 'seven years old'
jedip 'eight years old'
asop or *kurip* 'nine years old'
tambul 'ten years old', *tamphul* id.

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

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

haro 'one day', *haru* id., *halle* 'in one day'	*haro nal* 'the first day of the month'
ithil 'two days'	*ithin nal* 'the second day'

sahịl 'three days'   *sahịn nal* 'the third day'
nahịl 'four days'   *nahịn nal* 'the fourth d.'
tassä 'five days'   *tassä nal* 'the fifth d.'
jẹssä 'six days'   *jẹssä nal* 'the sixth d.'
irhe 'seven days', 'a week'   *irhe nal* 'the seventh. d.'
jẹdịrä 'eight days'   *jẹdịrä nal* 'the eighth d.'
ahịrä 'nine days'   *ahịrä nal* 'the ninth d.'
jẹrhịl 'ten days'   *jẹrhịl-lal* 'the tenth. d.'
jẹrharo 'eleven days'   *jẹlharo* 'the eleventh. d.'
jẹrithịl 'twelve days'   *jẹrithịn nal* 'the twelfth'
porum, porịm '15 days'   *porịm nal* 'the fullmoon day'
sumu, sịmu 'a twenty days'.   *simu nal, simul-lal* 'the twentieth day'
    kịmịm, or *kịmịm nal* 'the last day of the month'.

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

Examples: *onal i-wẹl sịmu-ithịr-io* 'to-day is the 22nd of the second month'; *jẹssä hue tasi osio* 'please come again after six days' *haro-gẹnnẹ čaŋ-nar-io* 'every second day is market day' (*haro kẹnnẹ* 'transmitting one day'), *ithịl kẹnnẹ* 'every third day', 'passing over a two days period', *kịmịmkke* 'at the close of the month', *porumkke* 'about the 15th of the month'.

113   *The Ordinals.*

in Korean: in Sinokorean:

'first' *čhẹt, čhẹtčä*   *če-il*
'2nd' *tulžä*   *če-i*
'3rd' *setčä*   *če-sam*
'4th' *netčä*   *če-sa*
'5th' *tasẹtčä, tassẹtčä*   *če-o, čo-o*
'6th' *jẹsẹtčä, jẹssẹtčä*   *če-ryuk*
'7th' *ilgopčä*   *če-čhil*
'8th' *jẹdẹlžä, jẹdẹltčä*   *če-phal*

'9th' *ahopčä*   *če-gu*
'10th' *jẹlžä*   *če-sip*
'11th' *jẹrhanžä*, etc.   *če-sib-il*, etc.
'20th' *simulžä, simužä*, etc.   *če-isip*, etc.
'50th' *suinžä*   *če-osip*
'100th' *päkčä*, etc.   *če-ilbäk*, etc.
'1000th' *čhẹnžä*   *če-ilčhẹn*
'10,000th' *manžä*   *če-ilman*

Classifiers.   **114**

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 abounds 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 *keels* 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. *mjẹŋ* 'name', kor. *nat* 'face' of human beings,
pun, ui (*wi, üi*) 'person' of honored personages, e.g. *ịiwẹn hanbuni* 'a physician',
kor. *mari* 'head', of all kinds of animals,
phil, of big domestic animals (horse, cattle, donkeys),
skor. (**lip, nip*) *ip* 'hatbream' of hats, mattresses etc.
čhä 'basis' for houses, carriages, covers, etc.
čwa 'seat, site', for houses and artillery guns

oŋgịi han-žari 'one pot', *tasịtčari* 'five handles'

pẹl 'suit' for dresses, pots, covers; *ot han-bẹri kapsi ẹlmanāo* 'what is the price for one suit?'

saŋ 'table' for tables, chairs and standing utensils, meals etc.

ču 'stem' for trees, logs, etc.

Kor. *čaro*, Chinese *pịẹŋ* 'handle' for hand guns, swords, knives, pens, fans and all kind of things to be held in the hand

toŋ 'bundle' for packages and tied things

tẹŋi 'roll, round' for long and round things (bread, fruit)

tte 'flock' for flocks of birds, crowds, companies

khịẹri 'pair' for all things that are made in pairs

ssaŋ 'couple, pair' for animals and things which go in pairs

kil, skor. *kwẹn* 'volume' for books

kä (Chin.) 'piece' for small things of which any number can be used or spoken about

al 'grain' for all kinds of minute or extremely small things

phịẹn 'side' for bits or slices of anything eatable

madä 'link' for words, proverbs, sentences, songs, etc.

chẹk 'prow' for ships and boats

ččok, ččak 'half' for things usually found in pairs or more together as a whole, etc. etc.

Here come in also the names of measures, weight and money and other words used as counting units.

II. The verb.

General remarks on the conjugation.

115 The verb in Korean expresses either that something is g o i n g o n, 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 e q u a t i o n, 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 q u a l i t a t i v e, is

rendered in European languages by adjectives and less often by verbs; e.g. *patčhi phurịda* 'the field is green', 'das Feld grünt'; *horaŋi ga musẹpta* 'the tiger is terrible'; *kị 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 **116** 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 simpleness 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 solilocutions. 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 are 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 foreigner who intends to say anything in Korean. It is to be remarked that the degrees of politeness are the same whether one addresses some one 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 nopso* 'the mountain is high' (when I say it to a friend or to persons not much higher or older than myself), *sani nophịmnida* (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' : *poa* 'having seen' : *pon* 'seen'

oda 'to come here' : *wa* 'having come' : *on* 'come'

čuda 'to give' : *čue* : *čun* 'given'

čida 'to load' : *čie* : *čin* 'loaded, laden'

čida 'to become' : (*čje*) *čę* : *čin*

khịda 'to be great' : *khę* : *khịn*

ssịda 'to write', 'to use' : *ssę* : *ssịn*

(*sjęda*) *sęda* 'to stay, to stand' : *sę* : *sęn*

kada 'to go away' : *ka* : *kan*

ida 'to be' : *iję, ię* : *in*

hada 'to do, to say, to be' : *haja, haję* (*häję, hä*) : *han*

kęnnęda 'to pass over a river' : *kęnnę* : *kęnnęn*

pähoda 'to learn' : *pähwa* : *pähon* (or *pähuda* : *pähun*)

kippuda 'to be glad' : *kippę* : *kippun*

apphịda 'to hurt, to smart' : *appha* : *apphịn*

pissada 'to be expensive' : *pissa* : *pissan*

tollida 'to turn round' : *tollję* : *tollin*

męgida 'to feed' : *męgję* : *męgin*

(*sjęuda*) *seuda* 'to erect' : *sewę* : *seun*

tolčhida 'to turn around' : *tolčhę* (*tolčhję*) : *tolčhin*

(N. Kor. *torthida* : *torthję* : *torthin*)

2) Diphthongs (on -*i*):

(*naida*) *näda* : *näję* : *nän* 'to give away, to make go out'

(*puida*) *püda, püida* : *püiję* : *püin* 'to be empty' or *pida* : *piję* : *pin*

(*igịida*) *igīda* : *igīję* : *igīn* 'to win, to conquer'

(*sęida*) *seda* : *seję* : *sen* 'to be strong'

(*toida*) *töda* : *töję, töiję* : *tön* 'to result in, to become' or (N. Kor.) *tweda* : *tweję* : *twen*

3) Verbs in -*ru*-, -*rị*- :

(*oruda*) *orịda* : *olla* : (*orun*) *orịn* 'to ascend'

purịda : *pullę* : *purịn* 'to call'

hịrịda : *hịllę* : *hịrịn* 'to flow'

(*nirịda*) *irịda* : *illę* : *irịn* 'to name, to call'

aorịda : *aolla* : *aorịn* 'to unite, to annex'

II. Consonant stems.

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

(*alda*) *āda* : *ara* : *ān* 'to know, to think'

(*męlda*) *męda* : *męrę* : *męn* 'to be far'

(*mōlda*) *mōda : mōra : mōn* to drive'

(*phulda*) *phūda : phurẹ : phūn* 'to undo, to untie'

phurịda : phurịrẹ : phurịn 'to be green'

irịda : irịrẹ : irịn 'to reach, to arrive at'

5) The stems of the type:

tịtta : tịrẹ : tịrịn 'to hear'

kẹtta : kẹrẹ : kẹrịn 'to walk'

nutta : nurẹ : nurịn 'to burn (cloth before a fire)'

tatta : tara : tarịn 'to run' and 'to approach'

mutta : murẹ : murịn 'to ask, to inquire'

Stems of this kind had probably originally spirantic *d*.

6) The stems on original **j* or **ń*, such as:

čịtta : čịịẹ : čịịn (čīn) 'to build'

natta : naa : naịn 'to be better', 'to recover'

putta : puẹ : puịn (pūn) 'to pour out'

kītta : kīẹ (kījẹ) : kīịn 'to make a stroke, to draw a line'

čotta : čoa : čoịn 'to tie around'

7) The verbs on -*h* with preceding vowel or *l* (*r*), *n*:

nattha : naha (naa) : nahịn (naịn) 'to bear, to bring forth', 'to produce'

čottha : čoha (čoa) : čohịn (čoịn) 'to be good'

iltha : irhẹ (irẹ) : irhịn (irịn) 'to lose'

oltha : orha (ora) : orhịn (orịn) 'to be right'

nōttha : nōha (nōa) : nōhịn (nōịn) 'to lay down'

ttultha : tturhẹ (tturẹ) : tturhịn (tturịn) 'to bore through'

mantha : manha (mana) : manhịn (manịn) 'to be many'

tattha : taha (taa) : tahịn (taịn) 'to rely on, to depend on'

Please observe that the clusil of the ending here (through meta-thesis) always appears as aspirated, but not in the verbs where the stem ends in *ph* or *th* or *čh* (under 9).

8) The verbs on -*w* (North Korean still -*b*); e. gr.

tōpta : tōa (tōwa) : tōịn 'to help' (N. Kor.: *tōba : tōbun*)

nupta : nuẹ (nuwẹ) : nuịn 'to lie down' (N. Kor.: *nịbẹ : nịbun*)

čhipta : čhiwẹ : čhiun (čhiwịn) 'to be cold' (N. Kor. *čhibun*)

hapta : hawa : haon 'to be done' (*hawa = hao*)

kakkapta : kakkawa : kakkaon 'to be near'

tukkẹpta : tukkẹwẹ : tukkẹun 'to be thick'

mugẹpta : mugẹwẹ : mugẹun 'to be heavy'

saramdapta : saramdawa : saramdaon 'to be human'

häropta : härowa : häroon 'to be injurious'

tẹupta : tẹuwẹ (tẹwẹ) : tẹun 'to be warm'

kupta : kuwẹ (kuẹ) : kuịn (kuun) 'to bake'

   (N. Kor. *kupta : kubẹ : kubun*)

9) The stems on all other consonants such as *k, kk, lk, t, th, lth, s, ss, p, ph, ps, lp, č, čh, nč, n, m* and *lm*.

-*k*-   *mẹkta : mẹgẹ : mẹgịn* 'to eat'

  »   *sokta : soga : sogịn* 'to be deceived' (active verb)

-*kk*-   *pokta : pokka : pokkịn* 'to fry'

  »   *kkẹkta : kkẹkkẹ : kkẹkkịn* 'to break off' (v. trans.)

-*lk*-   *pulkta : pulgẹ : pulgịn* 'to be red'

  »   *kalkta : kalga : kalgịn* 'to scrape', 'to smooth'

-*t*-   *patta : pada : padịn* 'to receive'

  »   *ẹtta : ẹdẹ : ẹdịn* 'to acquire, to get'

-*th*-   *atta : atha : athịn* 'to throw away' (in *päatta* 'to spit')

  »   *putta : puthẹ : puthịn* 'to ply, to go by, to be applied'

-*lth*-   *haltta : haltha : halthịn* 'to lick, to lap'

  »   *hultta : hulthẹ : hulthịn* 'to rub smooth'

-*s*-   *atta : asa : asịn* 'to take by force', 'to give farther'

  »   *utta : usẹ : usịn* 'to laugh'

-*ss*-   *itta : issẹ : issịn* 'to be, to exist'

-*p*-   *čapta : čaba : čabịn* 'to catch', 'to kill an animal'

  »   (*nipta*) *ipta : ibẹ : ibịn* 'to dress oneself in', 'to obtain a favor'

-*ph*-   *kapta : kapha : kaphịn* 'to pay'

  »   *tẹpta : tẹphẹ : tẹphịn* 'to cover'

  »   *ẹpta : ẹphẹ : ẹphịn* 'to turn upside down'

-*ps*-   *ẹpta : ẹpsẹ : ẹpsịn* 'to lack, not to exist'

-*lp*-   *nẹlpta : nẹlbẹ : nẹlbịn* 'to be broad'

-lp- *palpta : palba : palbin* 'to tramp down, to step on'

-č- *matta : maža : mažin* 'to meet'

» *četta : čeže : čežin* 'to be wet'

» *čitta : čiže : čižin* 'to bark, to yell'

-nč- *antta : anža : anžin* 'to sit down'

» *entta : enže : enžin* 'to place above'

-čh- *ččotta : ččotčha : ččotčhin* 'to frighten away'

» *matta : matčha : matčhin* 'to fulfill, to hit the mark'

» *sitta : sitčhe : sitčhin* 'to baste clothes'

-n- *sinda : sine : sinin* 'to put on the shoes'

» *ānda : āna : ānin* 'to hold in the arms'

-m- *kamda : kama : kamin* 'to shut the eye', 'to be dark'

» *kemda : keme : kemin* 'to be black'

-lm- *salmda : salma : salmin* 'to cook by boiling'

» *čelmda : čelme : čelmin* 'to be young, a youngster'

119 The verbs *itta* and *epta* are the only ones of their kind, probably because they are shortenings of earlier *isi-* and *ēb-isi-* (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 *päatta* 'to spit', *putčapta* 'to catch hold on', *sondeda* (*son-teda*) '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.

120 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 'to be that and that': *il hada* 'to do work', but *mjo 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 *suru* in Japanese, *se-mbi* in Manchu or *etmek* in Turkish. E. g. *kal hada* 'to be thirsty' (skor. *kal* 'thirst'); *kamgim hada* 'to imprison' (skor. *kam-kim* 'prison, imprisonment, detention'); *kalphaŋ čilphaŋ hada* 'to go hither and thither', 'to

try both this and that' (kor. *ka-* 'go' and *či-* 'to come'); *nadiri hada* 'to make an outing', 'to go out and come in again', *na-diri* 'an outing', *na dida* (: *na dire : na din*) 'to enter having been out'; *panižil hada* 'to sew', 'to do needle-work' (*panižil* 'needle-working', *panil* needle'); etc., etc.

121 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 *ā*, but after a short vowel the *h* has made the clusil in endings aspirated. Thus:

fully pronounced	contracted
ire hada : ire (haje) :ire han	*iretha : ire : iren* 'to be so (as this)'
kire hada : kire : kire han	*kiretha : kire : kiren* 'to be so (as that)'
ette hada : ette : ette han	*ettetha : ette : etten* 'to be how?'
keme hada : keme : keme han	*kemetha : keme : kemen* 'to be dark'
kama hada : kama : kama han	*kamatha : kama : kaman* 'to be black'
kkama hada : kkama : kkama han	*kkamatha : kkama : kkaman* 'to be pitchblack'
puje hada : puje : puje han	*pujetha : puje : pujen* 'to be gray'
ppoja hada : ppoja : ppoja han	*ppojatha : ppoja : ppojan* 'to be darkgray'
hiije hada : hiije : hiije han	*hijetha : hiije : hiijen* 'to be white'
häje hada : häje : häje han	*häjetha : häje : häjen* 'to be quite white'
pulge hada : pulge häje : pulge han	*pulgetha : pulge : pulgen* 'to be red'
ppolga hada : ppolga häje : ppolga han	*ppolgatha : ppolga : ppolgan* 'to be fire-red'
ani hada : ani : ani han 'not to be'	*antha : ani : anin*
namu-ra hada : namu-ra haje : n. han 'to say: you are a blockhead'	*namurāda : namurā (namuräje) : namurān* 'to scold'

An old compound of this kind is, among others, also the verb *kōmāpta : kōmāwa, kōmāo : kōmāon* 'to thank', originally *kōmā hapta* 'to be uttered (-*hapta*) : I will praise you (*kō-mā*)'.

122 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 »infinitive». This is often the only form mentioned, if in the grammars and dictionaries written by Westerners a verb is meant. The second form is here called the perfect converb, 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 -*l*, -*il*) 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».

123 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: *ida* (: *iẹ* : *in*) 'to be . . .', *itta* (: *issẹ* : *issin*) 'to be, to exist' or *hada* (: *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.

124 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 — verba f i n i t a —,

2) such verbal forms as are used as pointing to a following main verb (like the English: »having seen that . . .») — c o n v e r b a (or verba infinita, gerundia according to the older terminology) and

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 v e r b a l n o u n s.

125 The verba finita are used as p r e d i c a t e 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 are other formations 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 i n d i c a t i v e 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 v o l i t i v e forms.

126 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 »low», »middle» and »high».

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, čuda, mẹkta, 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 -*tẹ* (-*tẹ*, -*dẹ* and -*thẹ* respectively): *podẹ, čudẹ, mẹktẹ, pattẹ, manthẹ*, etc. It implies a »then» or »there» and indicates that something is going on or is something, but n o t h e r e or n o w and not relating to »me» or »you». It expresses the verb or the action as in some respect r e m o t e in time or space and is at the same time both a present and a past. We therefore call it here the regressive.

3) the *indecisive*, with the suffix -*či* (-*či*, -*ži*, -*čhi*), which in the northern Korean dialects is still pronounced -*ti*, -*di*, -*thi*. 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 p o t e n t i a l 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.

128   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 *ẹ*, has given *e*: thus *pode, čude, mẹkte, patte, manthe*; this ending is quite common and considered »low»; or

b) the particle -*ra* (-*ira*), which is slightly more polite: *podẹra, čudẹra, mẹktẹra, pattẹra, manthẹra*, etc.

In compositions the original form -*tẹ* (*podẹ ida; čudẹ ida; podẹ in*, abbrev. *podẹn, podịin; čudẹn, čudịin, čudịn*) is still to be found.

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

129   T h e c o m p o u n d t e n s e s. The verb *itta* 'to be, to exist, to remain' has the basic forms *itta: issẹ : issịn.* It is a late development of a verb *isida : isjẹ : isin*, and occurs also as *isiẹ : isin* or *issin.*

This verb added to the basic form in -*a* or -*ẹ* (the perfect converb) has lost the vowel of the first syllable and we now find *poatta* 'has seen' or 'to have seen' or 'saw', *čuẹtta* 'to have given', 'he gave', 'I gave', 'they gave', etc. It is an earlier *poa itta* 'to be after having seen', 'to remain after seeing', 'to have seen', *čuẹ 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.

130   Besides the *poatta, čuẹtta* type the language uses also *poassẹtta, čuẹssẹtta, mẹgẹssẹtta*, etc. To the -*a* (-*ẹ*) form has been added *issẹ* 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', *manhassẹtta* 'it had (earlier) been much'.

131   The verb *itta* added to the future converb in -*ke* (-*ge*, -*khe*), 'in order to . . .' gives forms of the type *pogetta, čugetta, mẹkketta, mankhetta*, 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 converb in -*ke*, -*ge*, -*khe* is added *issẹtta* 'was' or 'has been' we have the past of the future: *pogessẹtta* 'one had to see', 'he was to see', 'they would see', *čugessẹtta* 'I was to give', 'you were to give', etc.

132   The future converb of *itta* is *ikke* 'in order to be', 'to be'. This united to the perfect converb *poa, čuẹ, mẹgẹ* has the result *poakke* 'in order to have seen', *čuẹkke* 'in order to have given'. When to this is added *itta* one has forms like *mẹgẹkketta, poakketta, čuẹkketta* 'he is to be to 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'.

133 The tenses in Indicative

	Declarative	Regressive
Present	*poda* 'he sees'	*pode* 'he sees there'
	mękta 'he eats'	*mękte* 'he eats there'
Perfect	*poatta* 'he saw'	*poatte* 'he saw then'
	męgetta 'he ate'	*męgette* 'he ate there'
Future	*pogetta* 'he will see'	*pogette* 'he will see there'
	mękketta 'he is to eat'	*mękkette* 'he is then to eat'
Past-perfect	*poassętta* 'he had seen'	*poassętte* 'he had seen then'
	męgessętta 'he had eaten'	*męgessętte* 'he had then eaten'
Future-perfect	*poakketta* 'he will have seen'	*poakkette* 'he will have seen there'
	męgękketta 'he is to have eaten'	*męgękkette* 'he will have eaten there'
Perfect-future	*pogessętta* 'he was to see'	*pogessętte* 'he was then to see'
	mękkessętta 'he had to eat'	*mękkessętte* 'he had then to eat'

Indecisive

Present	*poži* 'he sees I think'
	mękči 'he may eat'
Perfect	*poatči* 'he saw I think'
	męgetči 'he ate I suppose'
Future	*pogetči* 'he will see I suppose'
	mękketči 'I think he will eat'
Past-perfect	*poassętči* 'he has seen I think'
	męgessętči 'he has eaten I think'
Future-perfect	*poakketči* 'he will perhaps have seen
	męgękketči 'maybe he will have eaten'
Perfect-future	*pogessętči* 'perhaps he should see'
	mękkessętči '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.gr. *pabi mękke itta* 'the food is ready for eating', but: *pabil mękketta* 'he will eat the food', *ta anžatte* 'all sat down' but: *ta anža itte* 'all w e r e sitting', *sję itte* 'he has risen', 'he i s standing', but: *sjętte* 'he stood up'.

Note 2. One finds in old documents spellings like *po-ai-si-* 'have seen' and in some dialects still to-day forms like *poässi-*, *čabässi-* where the language now commonly has *poassi-*, *čabassi-*. The future has in some North-Korean dialects the ending *-katta*, *-kattęra*, *-katti*, etc., or *-kätta*, *-kätte*, *-kätti*, as testified by Ross. The back vowel variant (*-kai*) has here the upper hand, while in the other dialects the front vowel variant (*-kęi*) seems to have been generalised.

Note 3. The ending *-ta* has originally been *-tā* in words with back vowel and *-tę* after front vowel (e. gr. *męktę*, *isidę*, *idę*, etc.); the vowel in this suffix has been long. Cf. Tung. *-dāwi*, *-dǎwi* or *-dāi*, *-dǎi*, the ending of the infinitive and the supine, and old Turk. *-ta*, *-tä* in old formations like *boltačy*, *öltäči* ('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 *ę* and short *a*, still found varying in some dialects: *kadąn mannassu* 'I met him on the way', *kadąra* 'went', but *ittęra* 'was'. This corresponds to the Tung. preteritum on *-tę*, *-dę* (*-drę*, *-rę*) and the Turk. *-ty*, *-dy*, Mong. *-či*, *-ži*, the endings of the definite past tense.

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

Other indicative formations.

Before going further we have to give here a preliminary explanat- **134** ion 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 *-nan*, *-nįn*,
2. the perfect participle with the suffix *-n*, *-įn* and
3. the future participle with the suffix *-l*, *-įl*.

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', *čotha* 'to be good', *kakkapta* 'to be near', *čhipta* 'to be cold', *ak hada* 'to be bad' we have *in* 'being', *čohin* 'good', *kakkaon* 'near', *čhiun* 'cold', *ak han* '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.

135 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. *ponan-ira* 'is seeing', *innan-ira* 'is existing', *mẹŋnịn-ira* 'is eating', *kanan-ira* 'is going', *kānan-ira* (stem *kal-*) 'is digging';
2. *pon-ira* 'has seen', *issịn-ira* 'has existed', *mẹgin-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:

2. *čohịn-ira* 'is good', *kakkaon-ira* 'is near', *čhiun-ira* 'is cold'[1]
3. *čohịr-ira* 'will be good', *kakkaor-ira* 'will be near', etc.

136 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 »low speech» declarative with the ending *-nanda*, *-nịnda* after a consonant and *-nda* after a vowel. The sense is that of a p r o g r e s s i v e present. It is not found in the compound tenses.

E.g. *innịnda* 'is existing, is now', *mẹŋnịnda* 'is now eating', *annịnda* 'is sitting', *unnịnda* 'is laughing', *tịnnịnda* 'is hearing', *kịllịnda* 'is boiling', *ẹmnịnda* 'is lacking, is failing, is not' (stems *iss-*, *mẹk-*, *anč-*, *us-*, *tịr-*, *kịlh-*, *ẹps-*)
ponda 'sees, is looking on', *kanda* 'is going away', *sanda* 'is buying', *sānda* 'is living', *kịllịnda* 'is making it boil' (stems *po-*, *ka-*, *sa-*. *sal-*, *kịlli-*)

The corresponding form of the qualitative verbs would be:
čohịn-ira 'is good', *kakkaon-ira* 'is near', *mẹn-ira* 'is far', *ak han-ira* 'is bad'.

B. The second formation ends in *-ne* (written *-nai*, *-nại*, *-nẹi*), which may go back to a shortened *-nạn* 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', *pogenne* 'will see', *poakkenne* 'will have seen', etc. It is used in downwards or familiar speech.

137 The verbs with a qualitative sense have also a present tense of the same kind, i.e. ending in *-e*, 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	Qualitative verbs
ponda 'is seeing'	*poda* 'seems'
mẹŋnịnda 'is eating'	*kipta* 'is deep'
kanda 'is going'	*kakkapta* 'is near'
činnịnda 'is making'	*čhipta* 'is cold'
ānda 'is knowing'	*kilda* 'is long' (*kida* id.)
innịnda 'exists'	*ida* 'is so-and-so'
il handa 'is working'	*ak hada* 'is bad'
čẹŋnịnda 'is writing down'	*čẹkta* 'are few'
pone 'sees'	*khịe* 'is big'
āne 'knows' (stem *al-*)	*kie* 'is long' (stem *kil-*)
tōmne 'helps' (stem *tōb-*)	*čhiwe* 'is cold' (stem *čhib-*)
kamne 'pays' (stem *kaph-*)	*kiphe* 'is deep' (stem *kiph-*)
nōnne 'puts down' (stem *nōh-*)	*čohe* 'is good' (stem *čoh-*)

138 As to different tenses we find used:

Present	*pone, mẹŋne, kane* etc.	*čohe, khịe* etc.
Perfect	*poanne, mẹgẹnne, kanne*	*čohanne, khẹnne*
Future	*pogenne, mẹkkenne, kagenne*	*čokhenne, khịgenne*
Past perfect	*poassẹnne, mẹgẹssẹnne, kassẹnne*	etc.
Future perfect	*poakkenne, mẹgẹkkenne, kakkenne*	
Perfect future	*pogessẹnne, mekkessẹnne, kagessẹnne*	

139   In the o f f i c i a l 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', *issịm* 'is', *kathịm* 'is like', *čẹgịm* 'are few', etc.

140   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. -*mai*), 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', *issimmu* 'is', *hajẹssimmu* 'has said, has done'. Besides this the same form with the verb *ida* enclitically joined is frequently used: *kammuda* 'goes', *issimmuda* 'is', *hajẹssimmuda* 'has said', etc. And from the verb *hada* 'to say' we have *hamu* in a low style dialectical imperative on -*ramuna* (= -*ra hamu -na*): *karamuna* 'go, I say!'

More frequent are forms of the type *kamme* 'is going, are going', *kassimme* 'has gone', *kagẹssimme*, *kagassimme* 'will go', *hamme* 'says' *hajẹssimme* 'has said', *hagẹssimme*, *hagassimme* 'will say', etc.

Polite predicative forms.

141   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 converbs, or compounds of a participle and some simple form of the verb *ida* 'to be'.

M i d d l e f o r m. If the stem of the verb ends in a vowel or **142** -*l*- (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 -*ịo* or -*so*.

The original of this formation in -*o* and -*ịo* 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 **mẹgịwẹ* 'being eaten' (from v. *mẹgị-b-*) into *mẹgịu*, *mẹgịo*, and similarily *āwa* (from **alwa*, v. *al-bu-* 'to be known') into *āo*, *isiwẹ* (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 -*sạ-b*-, -*sị-b*-: *meksịwẹ* has been shortened to *mẹksu*, now Skor. *mẹkso*, *čapsạwa* (from *čap-sạ-b-*) to *čapso*, *tioh-sạwa* to *čosso*. The now synonymous types *mẹgịo*, *čohịo* and *mẹkso*, *čosso* are thus of different origin.

The different tenses are: **143**

Present: *poo*, *mẹkso* (*mẹgịo*), *isso*, *čosso* (*čohịo*), *ao* (*arịo*)
Perfect: *poasso*, *mẹgẹsso*, *issẹsso*, *čohasso* (*čoasso*), *arasso*
Future: *pogẹsso*, *mẹkkẹsso*, *ikkẹsso*, *čokhẹsso*, *algẹsso*
Past perfect: *poassẹsso*, *mẹgẹssẹsso*, *issẹssẹsso*, *čoassẹsso*
Future perfect: *poakkẹsso*, *mẹgẹkkẹsso*, *issẹkkẹsso*, *čoakkẹsso*
Perfect future: *pogẹssẹsso*, *mẹkkẹssẹsso*, *ikkẹssẹsso*, *čoakkẹssẹsso*

As already said, these middle forms of politeness are constantly **144** 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 propositive, § 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 **145** find in literary works expressions such as *pooida* (read *poöda*), *mẹgịoida* (read *mẹgịöda*), *issoida* (read *issöda*) 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 *issuda, issudę* (from *issu ida*) 'is', *kassudę* 'is gone', etc. With the declarative *ida, idę* (-*da*, -*dę*) and the regressive *idę* (-*dę, irę, -rę*) are built dialectical forms like *sa wannidę* (= *sa wannan ida*) 'has bought' (Jap. *katte kimashita*), *sa wanniręra* (< *sa wannan idęra*) 'had bought'.

146   H i g h   f o r m. From the passive stem in -*b*-, -*bu*- the present participle in -*nąn*, -*nįn* has been prolonged with a -*i* (s. Postparticipial Nouns N:o 19) and the verb *ida*, added enclitically hereto. The result has been a formation in -*mnida* (written -*pnida*, -*pnąida*, -*pnįida*), which in Keijo is considered the most polite ending in the indicative. The same form occurs also without *ida*, i.e. -*mni*, -*mnä*, -*mne*, but is deemed to be dialectical. Besides -*mnida* there is as a accepted good form also -*mnäda*, -*mnända*, which is used to express a conviction of the lower speaker.

147   The tenses of the high form in the indicative are:

Present: *pomnida, męgimnida, issįmnida, čohįmnida, āmnida*

Perfect: *poassįmnida, męgęssįmnida, issęssįmnida, čohassįmnida (čoassįmnida), arassįmnida*

Future: *pogessįmnida, mękkessįmnida, ikkessįmnida, čokhessįmnida*

Past perfect: *poassęssįmnida, męgęssęssįmnida, issęssęssįmnida čohassęssįmnida*

Future perfect: *pogessęssįmnida, mękkessęssįmnida, ikkessęssįmnida, čokhessęssįmnida*

Perfect future: *poakkessįmnida, męgękkessįmnida, issękkessįmnida, čoakkessįmnida*

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

148   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: *pode, podęra, podįida, popte, poptęra, poptįida*

Indecisive: *poži, požio, poži io, poži ida (požida), popčio (popči io), popčida (popči ida).*

Table of the grades of politeness in the indicative **149** present tense.

	Active verbs	Qualitative verbs
to servants and small children:		
	ponda, męnninda	*kipta* 'is deep'
to aged servants, intimate friends, etc.:		
	pone, męnne	*kiphe*
to equals, familiarly, carelessly		
	poži, mękči	*kipči*
to equals, more polite		
	požio, mękčio	*kipčio*
to unknown persons, acquaintances:		
	poo, mękso (męgįo)	*kipso (kiphįo)*
	popčio, męgįpčio	*kiphįpčio*
to unknown persons, with courtesy		
	pooida, męksoida	*kipsoida*
	poopčio, męksįpčio (męgįpčio)	*kipsįpcio (kiphįpcio)*
to honoured persons, socially higher:		
	(poneda), pomnida, męgimnida	*kiphįmnida*
	poomnida, męksimnida	*kipsįmnida*
to honoured persons, but expressing positive belief:		
	pomnända, męgimnända (męksįmnända)	*kipsįmnända*
in literary style:		
	ponanira, męnninira	*kiphįnira*
in official style:		
	pom, męgįm	*kiphįm*
in poetry or in exclamatory solilocutions:		
	pododa, męktoda	*kiptoda*

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 *ĕi* (N. Korean *ti*). 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 *kaja*, *kajo*, *kaji* and *kä*. The third affix, originally *ti*, *di*, is more a sign of doubt than of a direct question. The original value of this *ti* 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 particles joined to them we have in present tense *in ga*, *in ja*, *in jo*, *inī* and in future tense *ilkka*, *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*
	ponanja, ponanjo, ponanī, ponī
poatta 'has seen'	*poannanga, poannango*
	poannanja, poannī
pogetta 'will see'	*pogennanja, pogennī*

kipta, kiphe 'is deep'	*kiphinga, kiphinja, kiphinī*
kiphetta 'was deep'	*kiphennanga, kiphennanja*
pode 'he sees'	*pode ikka, podikka*
	pode inja, podinja (*podenja*)
poo, posio 'sees'	*poo, posio*
kipso 'is deep'	*kipso*
poptera 'sees'	*popte inga, popte ikka,*
	poptikka
poattera 'saw'	*poatte inga, poattinga,*
	poattikka
kiphettera 'was deep'	*kiphette inga, kiphette ikka,*
	kiphettikka
pomnida 'sees, Sir'	*pomnikka*
(= *pomnan-i-ida*)	(= *pomnan-i-ikka*)
pomnända 'sees, Sir'	*pomnäkka*

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

The inferior asks:	The superior answers:
Seul saram imnikka?	*Seul saram ida*
The superior asks:	The inferior answers:
Seul saram inja	*Seul saram imnida* (or *iomnida*)

C. The volitive forms.

155   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) T h e   i m p e r a t i v e.

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!' *čibe ga* 'go home!', *jẹ-bo* 'look here!' (=hello!)', *ču* 'give'.

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

c) The above perfect followed by the affirmative particle *-ra* : *poara* (> jap. *hora*), *wara*, *hajẹra*, *mẹgẹra*, *tịrẹra* (listen!), etc.

d) The future converb on *-ke*, here shortened to *-kẹ-*, together with *-ra* : *hagẹra* 'do!', *kagẹra* 'go!', *ikkẹra* 'be!', *čagẹra* 'sleep!'.

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

157   2) T h e   p r e c a t i v e.

The precative is as to its form the same as the future converb, and since it does not imply a commend but an entreaty is more used than the imperative: *il hage* 'please do that work', *tonịl čuge* 'please give money', *munịl jẹlge* 'please open the door', *kage* 'please go'.

158   3) T h e   p r e s c r i p t i v e.

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

159   4) T h ẹ   o p t a t i v e.

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 *-sại*: *mẹkse* 'I wish that you eat' or 'he may eat', also 'I might eat', *kase*, *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*, *mẹgipse* ('it may be an eating') better than *mẹkse*, and so on. Still more polite and more distant is this same expression with following *ida* 'it is' affixed: *-se ida* is pronounced *-sīda* (seldom *-sēda*): *kase ida*, *kasīda* 'I wish we go', *kapse ida*, *kapsīda* 'please let us go', *hasīda*, *hapsīda* 'we may do it', 'let's do it, please'; *hasisīda* '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: *kalse* 'he may go', *mẹgịlse* 'you may eat', *halse* 'I may do it', *nuga olsera 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*: *hamse* (= *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 indecisive in *-či*: *kaži* 'I think I go', 'I may go', 'he may go', *kamse* in the same meanings or 'you (we) had better go'; *somssi däro mandara čumse* 'I'll make it according to my best skill'.

5) T h e   p r o p o s i t i v e.   **160**

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 p r o p o s i t i v e. From the verb *ida* one has the form *io*, and this may be affixed to the indecisive: *hao* 'please do' (doing!), *hao io*, *haži io* 'please do' ('how about doing'), *mẹkso* 'please eat', *isso* 'please be', *mẹkčio* '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 -o itself is originally the perfect converb of the stem in -b; hao is an earlier *hǫwa, hasio an early *hǫsiwa. This use of the perfect converb corresponds, therefore, to the use of the converbum perfecti mentioned under the imperative (b).

161   6) The benedictive.

A secondary stem in -sǫ- 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: čuso 'please grant', 'give, I pray', haso 'do, I beg you humbly', oso 'it may come, I pray'; seguk čoŋiie ssiso 'I beg you to write it on foreign paper'.

To this -so the essive particle -sję, 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; ososję 'it may come' (in prayers), čusosję 'Thou give, God', hasosję 'Thou deign to give, God', tissosję 'please deign to listen'.

162   7) The cohortative.

The cohortative expresses an exhortation addressed either to myself or all persons present to do something. The ending is -ča. E.gr. mękča 'let's eat now', kaža 'let's go', tonil čuža 'let's give the money', hollo kaža 'I'll go alone', hamkkii kaža 'let's go together', kombu haža 'let's study', titča 'let's listen'.

Sometimes it is formed from the passive stem and is then more polite: męgipča 'let's eat', kapča '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.

163   8) The promissive.

From the verbal noun in -m with a vocative interjection ā has been obtained a much used form in -mā which expresses a promise on the part of the speaker himself: męgimā 'I will eat it', čumā 'I shall give, I promise surely to give', kamā 'I promise to go. I go',

i iril hamā 'I promise to do this', kil ssimā 'I shall write letters', 'I promise to write the signs', omā hadęni (> omādęni) ani wasso 'he 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 -mā (shortened from ima) is found affixed to the future converb in -ke: i iril pogę-mā (or pogęmā) 'I shall look after this affair', 'I promise that I shall look after this'.

9) The preventive.   164

This name can be given to special formations with the ending -llā, -llē, i.e. some element -ā (jā or nā?) appended to the future participle in l. This form expresses some fear that something might happen, and implies the sense: 'take care that it does not happen'.

E.g. nęmę žillē 'it falls, it is falling, it will fall', męgillē 'he will eat it (please prevent it)', kallā 'don't let him go', tora ollā 'he comes back!' 'please don't let him come again', 'I'm afraid he is coming back'.

10) The desiderative.   165

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 -llā or -ljā (with long vowel ā).

E.g. kallā, kaljā, karjā 'I go', čullā, čulljā, čurjā 'I will give', pollā, polljā, porjā 'I intend to see', kallā-kko handa 'he says: I'll go' = 'he intends to go', 'he decides to go', męgirja-kko 'I will eat', męgirja-kko hajęsso 'I wanted to eat', 'I was just about to eat', čarja-kko hajętte 'he intended to sleep', 'he was just going to bed'.

With this kind of expression the verb malda 'to avoid', 'not **166** to do' is often used as a means to indicate hesitation: męgirjakko mallakko hajętta 'he was about to eat and not to eat', 'he didn't know what to do about eating', kallakko mallakko handa 'he hesitates about going'. In such combinations of words with the verb malda the terminations -llakko, -rjakko are usually shortened to -lak, -rjak :

kallakko mallakko, or *kallak mallak* 'going or not going'. According to UNDERWOOD, *kallak mallak hada* means 'to go a little and stop a little', and the use of these double desideratives 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 desiderative form of the verb, is originally a variant of the demonstrative pronoun *ki* 'that' and means 'thus', 'so'. Here after the desiderative it is strengthened to *-kko*. If *-ko* is not used and the verb *hada* follows immediately after the desiderative, the sound *h-* is usually unarticulated and the language receives formations of the type *kallāada* > *kallāda* 'to intend to go, to be about to go', *megillāada* > *megillāda*, 'to be about to eat, just mean to eat'. Verbs of this kind, of which in the dictionaries *tallāda* '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 *hada* after the promissive in *-mā* is contracted with the ending of the preceding word. Thus there are: *čumāda* '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 11) T h e   i n d i r e c t   i m p e r a t i v e.

The imperative mentioned above expresses a command given d i r e c t 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 *ā* joined to the future participle.

As in the preceding promissive and desiderative, the indirect imperative is followed by *-ko hada* or only *hada*, which here means 'to say'. E.g. *megirā-kko hajera* 'say to him that he must eat', 'tell him to eat', *čurākko hajetta* '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: *megera* 'eat', 'you eat', indirect: *megira-kko hajera* 'tell to eat, tell him to eat'; *ikkera* 'be you', indirect: *issirā kko hage* 'he may be', 'tell him to be'; *onera* 'come you', indirect:

ora-kko hao 'please say that he may come'. If the verb *hada* 'to say' is unstressed, it joins with the ending of the indirect imperative and we have *megirāda* 'to command to eat', *orāda* 'to command to come', etc. The compound verbs of this kind can have perfect, future and other tenses: *čura-hajetta*, shortened *čurajetta* 'to have told to give', 'to have commanded to give', *megira hagetta*, *megirāgetta*, 'I will tell him to eat'; *ki sarami ssiranan (ssira hanan) gesil ssio* 'that man writes what one tells him to write', *ssillānan gesil* 'what he himself wants to write'.

The promissive, the desiderative and the indirect imperative **169** are very much used with the contracted verb *hada* 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 *hada*, when this is contracted with the preceding form, is regular as to the declarative and interrogative endings. E.g. *kalla hao = kallao, karjao* 'do you intend to go', *kamā hao = kamāo* 'do you promise to go, do you say you will go', *karā hao = karao* 'do you command him to go or them to go', *megillāo* 'do you mean to eat, are you about to eat', *megillāde* 'he was about to eat'; *čumādera* 'he promises to give': *čumājettera* 'he had promised to give', etc.

Converbalia.

Under this title we shall take up all such verbal formations as **170** through their ending and meaning lead us 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:is 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 : *mękko, kago, mankho,* pf. *hajękko* (= *haję ikko*). 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.gr. *so molgo katta* 'they went driving an ox', 'they drove the ox and went', *mul igo onda* 'she comes carrying on her head (a) water (pail)', *čigo kagenne* 'we will go carrying it on our backs', *kipko malgin mul* 'a deep and clear water', *malkko kiphin mul* 'a clear and deep water', *čokho pulgin kkot* 'a nice and red flower', *pulkko čohin kkot* 'a red and nice flower', *pi ogo param punda* 'it is raining and the wind is blowing', *param pulgo pi onda* 'it blows and rains'; *na hago* 'I and ...', *nę hago* 'you and', shortened *na-go, nę-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 contemporal as in the examples given above, the use of this form suggests that they are of e q u a l importance: *mękko kagenne* 'we will eat and go'. In this case the particle *sę* is frequently used: *mękkosę kagenne* '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.gr. *näil sęullo kago nin, jęge nin mot ogesso* 'if you are going to Seul tomorrow you can't come here', 'you are going then to Seul and thus you can't come to me', *ulgo nin jęge issil su ępta* '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', *ęsę hago do nitta,* 'even if I hurry it is too late', *pap mękkosę sul do męgęra* 'if you take rice please also take wine (you are already taking rice)', *čal mot hago do, čal hajętta go hanī* 'even doing wrong, can one say one has done right'.

As to tense, one here uses mostly the present: *hago, ikko, mękko* etc.; *hajękko, hagekko,* etc. are possible, but seldom needed.

With affixed *-na* the converbum presentis is used in exclamations without a following main verb: *čokhona* 'how good (it is)!', 'really, it's good', *mjo hago-na* 'how nice!' cf. *čokhena, ikkena* 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: *čohakko-na* 'how good it was'.

2) Converbum perfecti.   **173**

The ending is *-a, -ę.* 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 *itta* 'to be', 'to exist'. It would be possible to call this form converbum a n t e r i o r i s. 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 poara* 'go and see', 'having gone there, please see', *ka poa-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', *pullę il sigjęra* 'call him and then compel him to work', *panę ka męgęra* 'go in the room and eat', *phjęnžiril ssę näjęra* 'write the letter and send it!'

To stress the difference in time, one uses the particle *sę* and to   **174** stress the opposition of the two verbs one uses the particle *nin;*

i.e. there is a slight difference in *meg̦e, meg̦eșje (meg̦ese), meg̦e ni̦n, meg̦eșje ni̦n*. With the use of the particle *to* (*do*) 'also, even' the meaning is that of a strongly concessive phrase; *meg̦e do ani čhatta*, 'although having eaten I am not satisfied', *mäweșje do mekkesso*, 'although it is bitter, I will eat it', *il hagi ni̦n haje̦ do, čal mot handa*, 'as to working, he works, but not well', 'even though he works he does not work well', *amori poasse̦ do mollasso* 'how much ever I looked on it, I didn't understand it', *čosim hajesse̦ do čal mot töje̦sso* 'although I tried my best it did not turn out well', *mal hagesse̦ do mot hajetta* 'he had to say it, but nevertheless he did not'.

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

176 From the oldest times the converbum perfecti has been also used with ellipsis of the following verb, and is therefore to be found as 1) p r e s e n t t e n s e: *meg̦e, meg̦e jo* 'eats', *haja, (haje̦, hä), hä jo* 'does, says', 2) i m p e r a t i v e 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 *-awa* to *-o* (and earlier also *-iwe̦* to *-u*) the »middle forms» now used in *-o*, North Korean *-o, -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.

177 The verb *hada* 'to say', 'to mean', after this converb of q u a l i t a t i v e v e r b s, gives the meaning 'to mean that it is so and so'. E.gr. *čotha* 'to be good', *čoha hada* 'to approve'; *musepta* 'to be

frightful', *musewe̦ hada* 'to be afraid of, to think it awful, to fear'; *pangapta* 'to be delightful', *pangawa hada* 'to be glad, to find it joyful'. This use of *hada* makes the qualitative verbs in some sense transitive. E.g. *ki̦ sarami sero čoha hao* 'they love eachother', *nari tewe̦se̦ komburil mot hagesso* 'the day is too warm and therefore we cannot study', 'because the day is too warm we cannot study', but *nari tewe̦ haje̦se̦ komburi̦l mot hagesso* 'it is too hot for me, or I find the day to be too hot, and therefore we shall not study!

178 Some verbs are used now-adays only in this form, e.g. *ire̦ nada*, 'to get up and go out', *ire̦ oda*, 'to rise and come'; the verb *ilda : ire̦ : in* 'to rise, to get up' is no longer used in other forms. Such converbs are also the words *ire̦* 'in this way', *če̦re̦* 'in that way, so as that yonder' and *ki̦re̦* 'so as that', *amore̦* 'in any way', which are used only with the verb *hada*; *ire̦ hada, če̦re̦ hada, ki̦re̦ hada*, shortened *ire̦tha, če̦re̦tha, ki̦re̦tha*, 'to be so (as this, as that there, as that)'.

3) C o n v e r b u m f u t u r i.

179 This simple converb has the ending *-ke : mekke, oge, čokhe*. 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 converb could also be called the converb p o s t e r i o r i s. It gives the content of the verb as a consequence or in time or mind later in relation to the following verb: *parami oge muni̦l jeretta* 'I opened the door that the breeze might come', *osi̦l nipke mandi̦re̦ čusio* 'please make the dress to fit, make the dress so that it might fit', *nä ga pabi̦l mekke isso* 'I am here to eat the food', *pi ga wa-ja pabi mekke tögesso* 'there must be rain if we shall have rice to eat', *čibi̦l nopke handa* 'he builds the house to be high', 'he makes his house higher', *ki̦re̦khe haža* 'let's do it so, let's do it to be so', *käri̦l čukke handa* 'he makes the dog die, he kills the dog', *pabi̦n mekke isso* 'the food is ready for eating'.

All verbs can have a periphrastic transitive or factitive built by using this converb together with *hada* 'to do, to make': *čukke hada* 'to kill', *mekke hada* 'to feed, to make eat', *mal hage hada* 'to make one tell', *mandi̦lge hada* 'to have someone to make, to order';

(*nopta* 'to be high') *nopke hada* 'to make something high'; (*čotha* 'to be good') *čokhe hada* 'to better something, to improve'; (*pulkta*, 'to be red') *pulkke hada* 'to redden'; (*musępta* 'to be frightful') *musępke hada* 'to frighten', etc. It seems to be the easiest way for the Koreans to form factitive and transitive verbs, and therefore many of the old transitives now seem to be falling out of use.

180   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 p r e - c a t i v 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 ikkona* (exlamation) 'how this is well', 'how well this is and' ..., *čokhona* 'it is good, really', *čokhena* 'it will be all right, it will be fine'.

181   The future converb of the verb *ida* 'to be', *ige*, which we found united to the future participle in *-l* : *kalkke* 'I'll go', *mẹgilkke, mẹgikke* 'you shall eat', was treated above under the name p r e s c r i p t i v e. It is usually directed to the second person: *mẹgikke* 'please eat', originally 'please be the one who eats'.

182   In the literature a word *siri* is found after this converb. This *siri* is a shortened **isir-i* where we have the verb **isida* 'to be' (the present pronunciation is *itta*) in the future participle, with an *i* added. *Il hage siri watta* 'he came in order to do the work', *poge siri kattẹra* '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.

183   4) C o n v e r b u m   d e s t i n a t i o n i s (*Supinum*).

The ending is here *-rja, -rjẹ*, which in daily speech are pronounced *-ra, -rẹ* or in many dialects *-ro*. This is a combination of the future participle in *-l* (*-r*) and the perfect converb *iẹ, ijẹ* of the verb *ida* 'to be'; *karjẹ* 'in order to go, for going', *karẹ, karo*, shortenings of the original *kar-ijẹ*; *mẹgirijẹ, mẹgirjẹ, mẹgirẹ, mẹgiro* 'being in order

to eat', 'for eating', *pap mẹgirẹ* (*mẹgiro*) *watta* 'he has come for dinner, for eating', *muesịl harjẹ onan ja* 'what is he coming to do here, what has he to do here', *tonịl padịrja katta* 'he went to receive the money', *ttẹ narjẹ hajẹtta* 'he did as if to start', 'he prepared starting, he was to start', *ttẹnarjẹ hajẹttẹni pi ga wasẹ mot ttẹ nasso* 'I intended to leave, but because of the rain I did not'.

This converbial 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; *ttẹ narjẹ ini* has been shortened to *ttẹnarjẹni* 'because intending to start', *čarjẹni* 'because of intending to sleep, being about to sleep'; *čarjẹde* 'he intended to sleep, he was about to sleep', *čohịrjẹ-n gẹt* 'it is to be well, it would be well', *pjẹņi sokhi naassịmjẹn čohịrjẹn gẹl* (*čohịllẹn-gẹl*) 'it would be quite well if my health should quickly improve', *čhäksaņ čhažiro kal ttäe tonịl kažigo kamse* (or *kagenne*) 'when we come to take the table we will come bringing the money with us'.

5) C o n v e r b u m   p r e m i s s i.   **184**

The ending is here *-ni*. To the participles (ending in *-nan, -n* and *-l*) has been added an element *i* which originally is an indefinite pronoun meaning 'something' and interrogatively 'what', s. Post-participial N:o 19. In the literature are used *hanani, hani* and *hari*. Of these the perfect participle with *-i*, i.e. the form on *-ni*, is in the present day language the most used verbal form to connect two actions or two verbs together when there is some *logical connection* between them, the first being a premiss, the second its consequence. This connection can be causal, temporal or any other, and in transla-tion one can use conjunctions of widely different kinds, or one can as well omit them. Compared with converbum perfecti the con-verbum premissi binds the verbs and phrases much looser.

E.g. *onal nari čohịni, sophuņ harja-na kagesso* 'today the weather is fine, let's go out to take a walk', *mogi marịni näņsurịl mẹkkesso* 'my throat is dry, I would like to drink cold water', *uri čibe sonnimi*

wassini il hagi erjepso '(as) guests have come to our house, it is difficult to work', *sonnimi ogessini na gaži mot hao* '(as) a guest is coming, I can't go out', *näil kombu hagessini ilžigi osio* '(as) we will study tomorrow, please come early'.

185 The verb *ida* is in this form *ini*, or with loss of stem vowel after a vowel preceding, *-ni*; *so-ni him-isso* 'it is an ox, there is strength in him', 'as it is an ox, he is strong'; *seuril onal kagette-ni pi ga wasse* (*oni, wassini*) *mot kasso* 'I had to go to Seul today but it rained and thus I did not go'; *čibil čal čiette-ni, hwažäril mannasso* 'he built a good house but chanced on a fire', *kombu čal hade-ni jumjen han sjembi ga töjesso* 'he studied hard, and so he became a renowned scholar' (*hade-ni* 'because he did', *hajessini, hajette-ni* 'because he had done'), *kombu handa go hade-ni čhaŋnan hajekko-na* 'he said he was studying, but he indeed was only playing'.

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

186 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 **kka* (originally 'occasion' or 'case') is joined to the ending *-ni*. Still longer is an ending *-nikkandere, -nikkandero*, which has *-n* from the participle *in* and *dere* from the word *tere, terje* or *tarje* ('to, towards'); e.g. *nari teunikka* (*teunikkani, teunikkandere*) *pakke kaži mot hao* 'because it is hot today we can't go out', *ttere -žinikkandere kkije-žesso* 'it is broken because it has fallen', 'it fell and was thus broken', *muri kiphinikka mot kenne kagesso* 'since the water is deep, we can't come over', *kui-nikka tinnin čikpun io* 'because it is the ear, it ought to hear', *kim inikka kui hada* 'as it is gold it is precious', *omä kko hajette-nikka kidarjesso* 'I waited because he said that he would come', *nä čugirje-ni mjenjiril manna sarasso* 'I should have died but I met a renowned physician and revived (*mannassinikka* or *mannanikkani, mannanikkandero sarasso* 'because I met I revived').

187 When *ini* is joined to the future converb 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. **188**

The ending is *-nā*, which seems to be the perfect participle together with some interjection *ā*, the same as in the promissive. This form expresses some c a r e l e s s n e s s and is thus a kind of concessive; 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. *čuginā sānā kagesso* 'it may be for death or life, but I go', *muri kiphinā kenne kagesso* 'the water may be deep but we shall go over', *čohinā kapsi manso* 'it may be good, but the price is too high', *čanā mānā maim däro hao* 'sleep or not, do as you like', *so-na mar ina kwaŋge haži anso* 'ox or horse, it makes no difference', *onal nari čohinā na ani kagesso* 'the day may be fine today, but I won't go out', *pä ga kophini pab ina kogi-na amo ges ina čusio* 'I am hungry, please give me rice or meat or anything'.

The verb *ida* 'to be' has here *inā* or, after vowels, *-nā*. This *-na, ina* can in many cases be translated by 'or', 'or else'; *nä-nā kagesso,* = 'I shall go as well' = 'or I go'; *pab ina, kogi-na, amo gesil mekke čusio* 'give me to eat, rice or fish or anything else'; *nat-čam ina polkka* 'should I try a noon sleep?', *čha-na čāsio* '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'; *enže ogesso* 'when will he come?'; *enže-na ogesso* 'about what time will he come'; *hanā-na tŭur ina* 'just one or two'; *elmā-nā* 'about how much?'.

Very often one hears a longer ending *-nāmā* instead of *-nā*. Here **189** seems to be a word *amā* 'possibly', connected with the ending *-nā*. The sense seems to be to stress the opposition at the same time as the sense of 'doesn't matter': *ānā mal ani hagesso* 'he knows, but he doesn't tell', *ānāmā mal ani hagesso* 'he may know, but he will not tell', *čohi-nāmā 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* : *čoha-do kapsi manso* 'it i s g o o d, but the price is too high'.

190 Converbum admissi futuri and Converbum premissi futuri.

The formations *ini* and *inā*, united to the converbum futuri in *-ke*, have given the endings *-kẹni* and *-kẹna*, which sometimes seem to be used without much difference in sense; e.gr. *salgẹna čukkẹna inže kagesso* 'it may be for life or death, but now I go', *khigẹna čẹkkẹna sa oo* 'it may be large or small, go and buy it', *kị sarami il hagẹna tambäṛil mẹṇnịn-gona* 'although he has to work, he is always smoking', *il hagẹna nolgẹna tambäṛil mẹṇninda* 'he may be at work or be idle, he always smokes'.

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

E.g. *irẹkhẹni čẹrẹkhẹni* (= *irẹ hagẹni čẹrẹ hagẹni*) *nege saŋgwani muẹs in ja* 'whether I do it this way or that way, what concern is it of yours'; *sagẹni phalgẹni kao* 'buying or selling, on it goes'; *tịlgẹni nokhẹni hajẹtta* 'they kept on lifting and placing'; *khigẹni čẹkkẹni sasio* 'large or small, buy it, please'; *mẹkkẹni kumgẹni* (= *kulmgẹni*) *säŋgak täro hao* 'eat or starve, do as you like'; *nami-ja irịl hagẹni malgẹni* (or *hagẹna malgẹna*) *čane nịn pužarẹnhi hal-kkẹs-io* 'he may work or not, only he, but you have to be diligent'.

Both these formations are used also singly, and the form on *-kẹni* is often employed also at the end of an unfinished sentence; e.g. *kị iri čham kịrẹ hagẹni* 'that's the truth of it, after all'. 'it is so, after all, (but nevertheless)'.

191 This same formation on *-kẹni* is found with an affixed postposition *wa* (*kwa* or *wa* '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. *nohjẹŋ-in kịri hagẹni wa, na nịn kịri ani hagesso* 'you can do it in that way, but I will not do so'; *i säŋsẹnil mẹkkẹni wa irhịmịn mollasso* 'although I eat this fish, I don't know its name', 'even at eating this fish, I can not tell the name'; *čhoŋịn nohakkẹni wa noro nịn mot čabasso* 'although I fired off my gun, I did not get the deer' 'even with firing off the gun I couldn't get the deer'; *mẹkki nịn čokhẹni wa näamsä nịn hjuŋ hao* 'to eat it is tasty, but the odour is

disagreeable', 'although it is good to eat, the odour is awful'; *i bẹnịn joŋsẹ hagẹni wa tasi nịn joŋsẹ haži ani hagesso* 'this time I forgive you, but I shall not forgive you again'.

7) Converbum contrapositi. **192**

There exists also a converbial formation with the ending *-kẹnil*, which seems as to its function and ending to be the accusative case (in *-ịl*) from the participle *in*, united to the converbum futuri as in the endings *-kẹni*, *-kẹna* 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 *hananịro*, the instrumental of *hanan*, *hanịl*, the accusative of *han* 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 *inịl* seems to occur also after the converbum perfecti (e.g. *hajẹnịl*, *iẹnịl*), but such examples belong to the older literary style, and only *hage-inịl* 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. *čhiŋgu ga čukketta go hagẹnịl, ẹtči ani kal su ga issịr-io* 'when (if, after that) they say my friend is dying, what can I do but go', 'is there a possibility of my not going'; *kị sarami musịn il hagẹnịl, nä ga iägi haži mot hajẹsso* 'when he was doing some work, I could really not have a chat with him'; *ilkkẹnịl ẹtči ttịsịl morịr-io* 'when he can read, how does he not understand the meaning'; *čhägịl kaže kagẹnịl musịn kwaŋge ga isso?* 'he has taken the book away, but what is his meaning with it?'; *kkwä ga mugẹpkẹnịl, wä mot kaže kao* '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. **193**

This converbial form with the ending *-taga* has the particle *ga* joined to the declarative in *-ta*, 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 irę natta* 'I slept, but I rose up', *odaga katt a* 'he came, but has gone', 'he was on the way here, but went away', *ahä ŭdaga kkię žetta* 'the child was crying, but fell asleep', *kadaga poatta* 'I was on the way and (then suddenly) I saw it', *čugirję hadaga sāra nāatta* 'I was nearly to die but I revived', *čabattaga čiksi nōatta* 'he caught it, but immediately let it go', *nęmu saramil sogidaga čä ga sokso* deceiving people too much one is deceived oneself', *tā kidaridaga čugęnna poda* 'they all waited, but seem to have died', *ittaga kamnida* 'I am still awhile, then I go'. This *ittaga* (or *itta*) 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 converbs; *poa-daga* 'has seen, but', *porję-daga* 'was about to see, but', *poge-daga* 'would see, but'; *Miguk karjā-daga* (< *karjā hadaga*) *ani kasso* 'I intended to go to America, but did not', *ilbone sāra-daga i pjęnil ędęsso* 'I lived in Japan, and I got this sickness', *phum phara-daga sanda* 'I live by selling my efforts', 'I live on occasional earnings', *onal konsaril porjā-daga mot poasso* 'I intended to see the minister today, but I didn't see him'.

194 As stated above, this *ga* of the ending -*taga* can be omitted; *tonil čhažirję katta 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 hajętta* 'coming and going he did', 'sometimes he was going, sometimes he was coming', *watta katta hada* 'to be going and coming', *ollatta narjętta hada* 'to be going up and down', *ŭdaga uttaga katta* 'they wept and laughed when they went',

'they went away weeping and laughing', *uręttaga usęttaga* (*urętta usętta*) *katta* 'they went both weeping and laughing'.

Among words of this kind, besides the above mentioned *itta* **195** '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'; *čosęn poda* (*poda nin*) *ilbonin pi ga čažo onda* 'looking at Korea, Japan has more frequent rain', 'it rains more in Japan than in Korea', *nosä ga mal poda seo* 'a mule is stronger than a horse'. Instead of *poda* also *pogo* is used in comparisons.

9) Converbum citationis. **196**

The ending is here -*ta-i*, now -*tä*. 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. *čibe issęsę säŋgak hadä »ačham ol ttäe murįri ida» hajęttęra* 'he sat in his house and thought: tomorrow when he comes I will ask him', *nä ahäril muttä, ne ędä sānanja, hajętta* 'I asked the child: where do you live?', *sjęŋgjęnę illęssidä: ...* 'in the Bible it is said that ...', *paksę karadä* (*karasjadä*): 'the Teacher spake: ...'

This use of the formation on -*tä* 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. **197**

The ending is -*toi*, pronounced -*tö* 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 hadö čohįn saram ida* 'to be uneducated, he is a very fine man'; *khi nįn khįde parįn čękso* 'to be so tall, his feet are small'; *kojaņi nįn manhįdö čui nįn ani čapta* 'although there are plenty of cats, they do not catch the rats'; *pi ga ollįnži morįdö* (or *molla do,*

morina) *na-gaja hagesso* 'although I don't know whether it will rain, I must go out'; *čugịn hue jagịl kaže wassịdö muẹt hagennịn ja* 'to come bringing medicine after the death, what use will it be'?

In many cases the sense is about the same as that of converbum admissi and that of converbum perfecti with *do*, but there are different shades in the concessive *ona, wa do, odö, oži manịn, ogo manịn, onama, wassẹ do, onžira do, olčira do* 'although he comes'. This formation on *-tö, -te* points most clearly to a point of view and is therefore to some extent also comparative.

198   11) C o n v e r b u m   e f f i c i e n d i.

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 *-tẹ, -tạ?*) and with the particle *ok, uk* added; *-tạro-ok* has been assimilated and shortened to *-torōk*. The sense is 'until that and that is reached', or 'so that . . .'.

E.g. *čhadorok mẹkta* 'to eat until one is satisfied', *ādorok (aldorok) kombu hajẹttẹra* 'they studied until they knew it', *komburịl čal hadorok kwẹn hao* 'please admonish him until (so that) he will study well', 'admonish him to study well', *osịl iptorok mandịra čusio* 'make the dress so that it fits', 'make the dress to fit', *kị iri čal tödorok him ssẹra* 'use your efforts that this affair may succeed', *hä čidorok ani onda* 'they do not come back until the sun is down', *kị sani olla kadorok hẹm hada* 'the mountain is rough until one reaches the top', *ẹttorok čhaža* 'search for it until you find it', *kịrẹkhe nịttorok čaži ani hal kkẹsio* '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. *purịdạro hära* 'make him call'.

199   12) C o n v e r b u m   d u m t e m p o r a l e.

The ending is *-mjẹ*, formed by uniting the converbum perfecti of *ida* with the verbal noun on *-m*. Here as in the following converb the stems on *-l-* have lost the »binding» vowel. Before *-m* the binding vowels (orig. *ạ, ị*) have been labialised, i.e. *o, ẹ̄*. 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. *pabịl mẹgịmjẹ simmun ponda* 'I read the newspaper while eating', *na nịn čamjẹ* (or *čamjẹnsẹ*) *konan pẹrudi isso* 'I am in the habit of snoring when I sleep', *čaŋnan hamjẹ komburịl ẹttẹkhe hao* 'how can you study while you are playing', 'how can you both study and play at the same time', *kil kamjẹ (ṅ)iägi mot hao?* 'can't we tell a story while going along the road', *mulgẹnịl manhi phalmjẹ do (phalmjẹnsẹ do) toni ēpta hao* 'do you say you have no money when meanwhile you are selling a lot of things', *ẹnže kassịmjẹ ẹnže wannan jo* 'when did you go and when did you come back'.

Instead of *-mjẹ* also *-mjẹnsẹ* is used without any marked difference in meaning. The particle *sẹ* (< *sjẹ* < *isịẹ*) is here joined to *-mjẹn* which is to be treated in the following paragraph.

The verb *ida* is in this form *imjẹ*, and loses the stem vowel after a preceding vowel.

E.g. *Kim sẹbaŋ ikko-mjẹ ēpta go hajẹsso* 'while Mr Kim was there they said he was not'.

13) C o n v e r b u m   c o n d i t i o n a l e.   **200**

Its ending is *-mjẹn*, the same as that of the preceding converb and an affixed *nịn*, sometimes found in this full form, but usually contracted to *-n*. In North Korea this ending *-mjẹn* is in some parts pronounced *-mjẹŋ, -mjan* or *-mjaŋ*. 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 omjẹn mot kagesso* 'if it rains (when it rains) I can't go', *čhurịp hamjẹn ẹttẹkhe hari ikka?* 'if he goes out, what shall I do?', *čhurịp hajẹssịmjẹn ẹttẹkhe hao* 'when he has gone out, what can I do', *karja kko hamjẹn kasio* 'if you intend to go out, please go', 'when you intend to go, please go', *morịnan marịl alla hamjẹn okpjẹnne čaža pomjẹn suipke algesso* 'when one wants to know an unknown word, it's easy to know it if one looks for it in a dictionary', *kị iri čal tömjẹ nịn čal salge tögesso* 'when that affair will turn out all right,

it will be easy to live', *kịrẹkhe mandịlmjẹn kapsi manso* 'if one does it so, the price will be high', *pjẹtčhe näjẹ nōhịmjẹn kot marịgesso* 'if you lay them in the sun they will dry immediately'; *pomi tömjẹn kkotčhi phio* 'when the spring comes, the flowers blossom'.

201 The converbum conditionale of the verb *ida* is *imjẹn* and after a preceding vowel -*mjẹn*, which latter is to be kept apart from -*mjẹn* as primary ending; *tẹun param imjẹn pi ga ogesso* 'when the wind is warm, there will be rain', *kaẓẹ wattẹ-mjẹn čosso* 'if he has come bringing it it is good', 'I wish he had brought it', *so-mjẹn ssịgesso* 'if it is an ox it is all right', *i sẹnsän imjẹn algetči* 'if it is this teacher, he knows', 'this teacher will know it', 'might know it', *nä säŋgage nịn pansi-mjẹn kal čul arasso* 'I thought I could go (that way) in half an hour'.

202 14) C o n v e r b u m h y p o t h e t i c u m.

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

E.g. *pi ga ogẹdịn munịl tadara* 'if it should rain (while I am away) shut the door', *ne hjẹnị ogẹdịn näge alge hajẹra* 'if your elder brother should come, let me know it', *omjẹn näge alge hajẹra* 'if he comes let me know it', *il wẹnẹ phaẓi ani hagẹdịn tẹ čuẹra* 'if he should not sell it for one yen, give more', *silkhẹdịn koman tusio* 'if you should not like it, leave it', *pi ga kägẹdịn čosso (čokhesso)* 'it would be well if the rain should clear up', *nu ga ogẹdịn čom kịdarjẹ issịra go hajẹra* 'if someone should come, tell him to wait a while', *tā süijẹkkẹdịn kombu sịẓak hasio* 'as soon as you have rested enough, begin to study, please', *kịrẹ-mjẹn (kire hamjẹn)* 'when it is so', 'if it is so', *kịrẹkhẹdịn (kịrẹ hagẹdịn)* 'if it should be so', *kịrẹkho nịn (kịrẹ hago nịn)* 'as it actually is so', *khịn kire ikkẹdịn kot čhaẓịl su ikkesso* 'if it should be (but it is not) along the main road, then we could find it', *khịn kire issẹkkẹdịn* 'if it had been on the main road', *so-mjẹn*

čothaga nagui iẹdịn (igẹdịn) mot ssịgetta 'if it is an ox, it is all right, but if it should be a donkey, that wouldn't do', *phjẹtche näjẹ noakkẹdịn kot mallakkesso* 'if you should have put them in the sun, they would have been dry immediately'.

203 This converb is very often found also without a following main verb, as expression of a wondering 'that it s h o u l d be so and so': *čokhẹdịn* '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: *čokhẹdịn* 'that it should be so good', *pi ga ogẹdịn* '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 -*kẹdẹmjẹn* is to be noted; e.g. *pi ga ogẹdẹmjẹn urane nịn ppallä ga tā kjẹldan hagesso* 'if it should happen to rain, the »washings» in the court-yard would all be spoiled'.

The converbum hypotheticum of *ida* is not *igẹdịn* or *igẹdẹn*, but usually *iẹdịn*, which phonetically can also be *idẹn* joined to converbum perfecti *iẹ*. In the older literature we often find -*dẹnịn*, i.e. the shortened *idẹ nịn*, affixed to a preceding converbum perfecti, but this usage is now exceptional.

204 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 (piro-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*).

205 15) C o n v e r b u m m o m e n t a n e i.

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

It expresses the following main action as taking place immediately after the first action. E.g. *nä ga kaẓa ahädịri tara-gatta* 'I went out, and immediately the children ran away', *jagịl mẹkča*

tho hajẹsso 'as soon as I took the medicine, I vomited', *pabịl mẹgẹtča sarami watta* 'just as I had eaten, a man came', *nä ga čẹnẹčanẹ tadatča kịčha ga ttẹ-natta* 'at the same moment as I had arrived at the station, the train left', *kị sarami tịrẹ oža nä ga na-gatta* 'at the same time as that man (or he) entered, I went out', *pi ga oža maža kịnčhẹtta* 'it rained a little and then suddenly stopped', *nupča čamịl tịrẹtta* '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 *-či* (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 kanda* 'I can't go' or *ani kanda* '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 *-či* (*-ži, -čhi*), Nkor. *-ti* (*-di, -thi*) the particles *nịn* and *to* are affixed as to other verbal nouns. The use of *to* after *-ti* (now *-či*) seems to have been early shortened to *-to* : *mẹkti to* to *mẹkto*, *manthi to* to *mantho*, *odi to* to *odo, otto*, etc. For *-ti nịn* (present *-či nịn*) the abbreviation *-tịn, -čin* is sometimes used. Besides *-či*, i.e. the Nominative of this verbal noun, sometimes also the Accusative *-čirịl, -čil* is used.

E.g. *aži mot hao* 'I don't know' 'I can't know', *aži nịn mot hao* 'as to knowing I don't (know)', 'I really don't know it', *ažirịl mot hao* 'I do not k n o w', *aži do mot hao* 'he does not even know it', *ki sarami sal-ka podịn an-kho čugịl-ka boda* 'he seems not be recovering at all, but perhaps dying' (*podịn = podi nịn*), *čukči do ani hago nātči do ani handa, čukto ankho nātto ani handa* 'he is neither dying nor recovering'.

207   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 *-čirịl* is sometimes found.

E.g. *kaži mara* 'don't go!', *kaži marara, kaži malgẹra* (in the same sense); *oži malgẹ* 'please don't come here!'; *munịl jẹrẹ nōtčhi* (or *notčhirịl*) *malla-kko hajẹtte* 'he said: don't leave the door open', 'he told me not to leave the door open'; *mẹkči mara, mẹkči nịn mara* 'don't eat it!'

There are two formations very frequently used in the same way **208** as these converbs. One ends in *-me, -mä* : *pomä, pome* 'in seeing, while seeing', *hamä* 'in doing, because of doing', *mẹgẹssịmä* '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 *-killä*, i.e. the case in *-llä* 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 converbial forms, especially converbum per- **209** fecti, 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. *sẹul puthẹ wasso* 'he came from Seul', originally 'attaching to Seul, he arrived'.

The most used verbal postpositions will be taken up later, § 285.

Nomina verbalia.

The nomina verbalia in the Korean language can be divided **210** into two classes: verbal adjectives and verbal substantives.

I. The verbal adjectives.

The verbal adjectives are, like all other attributively used words **211** not declinable. 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 converbial forms. The name 'relative participles' is given because they are often to be translated by relative clauses in our languages.

212　1. The p r e s e n t p a r t i c i p l e has the ending -*nan*, -*nin*. 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': *innan*, 'being', *antta* 'to sit': *annan* 'sitting', *mẹkta* 'to eat': *mẹŋnin* 'eating', *hajẹtta* 'has done': *hajẹnnin*, *hajẹnnan* 'one who has done', etc. The verbs with -*l*- stems lose their -*l*- before the ending: *ānan* 'knowing', *tịnin* 'lifting', *kẹ̄nin* 'hanging up, attaching' etc. The verbs with -*lh*- as the last sounds of the stem end here in -*llan*, -*llin* : *killin* 'boiling', *ttullin* 'piercing', 'boring through'.

213　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 -*nan* is really the -*n* participle of a secondary verb with the ending -*na*-, -*ni*-. This verb is still found in use, e.g. *khịda* 'to be big', *khịnạda* 'to be increasing', *khịn* 'big', *khịnin* 'growing bigger'; see § 246.

214　2. The p e r f e c t p a r t i c i p l e 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. *nịlgịn saram* (*nịlkta* 'to be old') or *nāhi manhịn saram* ('his-age being-many man') 'an old man'.

215　3. The f u t u r e p a r t i c i p l e 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 **216** d i r e c t i o n o f t h e a c t i o n is not grammatically indicated and is clear from the context.

E.g. *il hanan saram* 'work-doing man', 'a man who works', *saram hanan il* 'man-doing work', 'the work a man does', *il han saram* 'a man who has worked', *saram han il* 'work done by a man', *il hal saram* 'a man who has to work', *saram hal il* 'a work to be done by a man', *kil kanan saram* 'the man who goes on the road', *saram kanan kil* 'the road the man goes on', etc.; *insa han sarami nugu-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 room», »eating room», »dining car», »walking stick», »closing hour», etc.

E.g. *ne sānan čibi ẹna čib-io* 'in which house do you live', *nä mẹŋnin suri tan sur-io* 'the brandy I drink (»eat») is very sweet', *i gẹsi nugu ga ponan čhäg-io* »this is a book which who is reading?» 'who is reading this book', *uri kannan kiri mẹo* 'the way we have gone is far', *se čunin čibi ẹdä isso* 'where is the house one rents out', *se čun čibi ẹdä isso* 'where is the house one has rented', *se čul čibi ẹdä isso* 'where is the house which is to be rented', *kẹnnẹn paŋi innan ja* 'is there a through-going room?', *kẹnnẹl paŋ inja* 'is it a room which one has to go through?'

From the present participle have been derived the indicatives **217** in -*ne* (*inne* 'is', *pone* 'sees', *mẹŋne* 'eats', *hajẹnne*, 'has done', *hagẹnne* 'will do') and the progressive present in -*ninda*, -*nda* (*innanda* 'is', *mẹŋninda* 'is eating', *ponda* 'is looking', *handa* 'is doing'). In -*ne* a particle *i* has joined the participle, and in -*ninda*, -*nda* we have an earlier -*nan ida* in a shortened form. Also *innaida*, *mẹgimnaida* are this participle with *ida* 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', *kiphịnira* 'is deep', *kiphịrira* 'will be deep', *kīnira* 'is long' *kīrira* 'will be long' (*kilda* 'to be long').

Corresponding to the present in -*ne*, the qualitative verbs have **218** an indicative in -*e* (sometimes -*a*, -*ä*): *kiphe* 'is deep', *kie* 'is long',

čohe 'is good' (*čoha, čohä*). This tense formation does not seem to hold good for the literary language and may be a shortening of forms like *kiphini, kini, čohini*, etc., earlier used at the end of independent sentences as found in old documents.

219 The use of participles with interrogative particles *ka* and *ja* has been treated earlier. Relevant at this point is that also here many kinds of shortenings and contractions are to be found: *innanja* 'is it?' shortened *innani, innā, innī; ponanja* 'does one see?' *ponanī, ponī, ponä, ponā*.

220 The particle *ka* is usually not contracted with the participle, but before the verb *poda* ('to see') 'to seem', -*nanga* is very often -*nā*, e.g. *pi ga onā poda* 'it looks to be raining', *onal kugjeŋ kallā (karjā) hajette-ni, etči-mjen, parami hiibaŋ čikkennā poo* 'we had intended to go to see sights to-day, but, may be, it seems as though the wind will prevent it' (*čikkennā < čikkennan ga*). This ending -*nā* before *poda* is to be kept apart from the ending of the converbum admissi. The shortening of -*nanja* to -*nanī* and of -*nja* to -*nī* is of course to be kept apart from the -*ni* we have in converbum premissi.

221 As to the use of the participles they are often to be found in phrases which in our languages are rendered by subordinated clauses.

E.g. *nāhi manhan saram* 'a man whose age is much', 'an old man'; *sogi čoun saram* 'a man whose mind is narrow', 'a narrow minded man'; *ibi ak-han njein* 'a woman with a bad tongue'; *kapsi pissan mulgen* 'goods whose prices are expensive', 'an expensive article'; *čane pon že ga orä-o* 'the time when I saw you is long ago', 'it's a long time since I saw you'. The future participle is used in cases where, properly speaking, no time relation is included; e.g. *por ir isse ka-ja iži* 'I have work to do and must go'; *čugil pjeŋ* 'a sickness to death', 'a deadly disease'; *megil kesi manthera* 'there was much to eat'; *uri ga kal kiri tädan-hi meresso* 'we had a very long way to go'.

222 The particle *ka* after the future participle has been pronounced with lengthened and voiceless clusive. Instead of *megil ka* one speaks *megilkka* and *megikka; il ka* is pronounced *ilkka, ikka*. This *ikka* is much used in many kinds of interrogative sentences, as explained earlier.

The qualitative verb *ida* has the participles *in* and *il*. After a **223** preceding vowel the stem vowel is lost, i.e. of *in* only the sound -*n* is left.

E.g. *čugir-ie-n ttä* 'at the time when I was about to die', *megir-ie-n pap* 'the rice he was about to eat', *čukte-n ttä* 'the time when he died', *mekte-n pap* 'the rice which we then ate of', *kade-n kil* 'the way he then went', *kassette-n kil* 'the way he had gone', etc.

The extended future participle.

The above example *čugir-ie-n* may be taken as an example **224** showing the origin of the e x t e n d e d   f u t u r e   p a r t i c i p l e with the ending -*llen*, -*llin*, 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 *či* has been a noun with the sense of 'fact, thing' (v. postparticipial nouns, n:o 6).

E.g. *kallinži mallinži morigesso* 'I can't know w h e t h e r he had to go o r not', 'I don't know if he was about to go', *issillenži aži mot hao* 'I don't know whether there is' (cf. *kalči malči morigesso* 'I don't know whether he is to go or not', *issilči aži mot hao* 'I don't know whether it is to be, it will be'); *ollinga* 'will he come?', 'was it: he will come?'; *ki iril tä hajessillinži al su epso* '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 **225** has a special inclination to use certain nouns with a very g e n e r a l s e n s e (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 *täro*, which are instrumental forms.

The most used nouns of this kind are:

1) *tai* 'place', 'when', 'if', 'as to', pronounced *te, tä* and *de, dä* after pr. pf. fut. participles; e.g. *pi ani onande wä usanil kažigo*

osjęsso 'when there is no rain coming why have you come here carrying your umbrella?'; *kị sarami il hanande i mal hajętte* 'when he was working he said:' (»work-doingplace, he said»), *il hande* 'when he had worked', 'as he had worked', *il hadę-nde* 'when he was working'; *näge ol phjęnʒi ga innande* »to me to come a letter being-place», 'but there ought to come a letter to me'; *ssịltte isso* 'I can use it', 'it can be used'; *kaltte nịn* 'as to going'; *kal ǔi-nde* 'when it concerns going, speaking about going'; *pi hage-n-de, pikhęndä* 'for instance', 'to take an example', 'if', 'just to have an illustration'; *irę hage-n-de, irękhęndä* 'if it is so', 'if it's this way', *kịrę hage-n-de, kịrękhęndä* '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. *kandä ęmnịnda* »the gone place is not existing», 'there are no traces (of going)', *ǔohịn kal tä (kal-tte) nịn isso* 'there is a good place to go to'.

2) *tạl, tịl*, pronounced *tịl, dịl*, original meaning perhaps 'event', 'case', is used after all participles, but usually with question or negation in the following main verb; e.g. *kaʒę on dịl ssịltte isso* 'even if I bring it, can it be of any use?', *kan dịl mot poatta* 'even if he has gone, I have not seen it', *kal dịl ǔoha ani handa* 'even if he is to go I don't find it good'. Cf. Manchu *dule* 'in the contrary'.

3) *ttai*, original *ptai* 'season', 'time', still found in *iptä* 'now', 'nowadays', *kịptä* 'at that time', *ǔęptä* 'lately', identical with Turkish (Uigur) *buta* 'season', is pronounced *ttä* and means 'at the time of', 'when'. It is used after all participles but most frequently with the future participle. Also the Locative *ttäe* is used.

E.g. *phjęnʒi ssịl ttä sonnimi wasso* 'when I wrote a letter (was to write a letter) a guest arrived'. This *ttä* with the future participle is a very popular method of expressing the temporal clause.

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

E.g. *akka ol ǔęk* (or: *ol ǔęge) mäu ǔhipsịpteda* (or *ǔhiptę ida, ǔhiptęra*) 'when I came a few minutes ago it was terribly cold,

Sir'; *na-gal ǔęk mada (ǔǔęn-mada) i saramịl mannao* 'every time I go out I meet this man'; *kombu hal ǔęge (hal ǔęk* or *hanịnde, hal ttä, hal ttäe) ǔạnnan haʒi mara* 'don't play while you study'.

The words *ǔęk* (Turkish *ǔaq* 'time') and *ttä* (N:o 3) are still felt as independent nouns while *te, de* (1), *tịl* (2) and *ǔịk* (5) are by all grammarians explained either as endings or as conjunctions.

5) *ǔịk*, 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. *tịrịn-ʒịk* 'as I have heard', 'as far as I have heard', *kịrịkhe mal han-ʒịk* 'since one has said so', 'since they have said that', *i gęsin ta hajęssịn-ʒịk kị daịm kęs sịʒak haʒa* 'as we have already finished this we will begin with the next following', *nä ga munịl jęn-ʒịk 'aʒịk tịrę oʒi malla' go hapteda* 'at the moment I opened the door they said: you must not come in yet', *kapsịl ǔurję-n-ʒịk toni ępkędịn* 'that I should have no money when I was to pay the price!' *ka ponʒịk amo do ępsę* 'I went to look and there was not any'.

6) *ǔi*, original and North Korean *ti, di*, South Korean pronunciation *ǔi, ʒi* 'fact', 'thing', 'event', is used with the perfect and future participles. The interrogative particle *ǔi* (< *ti) is the same word in another function. Cf. Tung. *-ti* as a question mark.

E.g. *kal ǔi-ra* 'he will go, he shall go', *kal ǔi-nde nịn* 'if it is about going', 'as to talking about going', *hajęssịl ǔi-ra do* 'although one really has said', 'even if one has done', *hajęssịllịn ʒi* 'that one has said it (does it matter)', *hal ǔi-n-ira* 'I should say', *hal ǔi-ję nịn* 'when one was to do'; *nari käillịn-ʒi do al su ępso* 'one cannot know whether the day will clear up at all' (*käida* 'to clear up', *käillịn < käil-ię-n, -n < in*; see § 224); *täpho ari ęttękhe manhi ttęrę-ʒęnnan-ʒi, ǔęnʒi ga tä phajęsso* 'how many shells of the great guns fell, — (it was so much that) the earth was all ploughed up'; *kan ʒi ga orä-o* (»the gone-fact is long time ago») 'it is already a long time since he went'; *męgin ʒi ga ne si töjęsso* 'it is already four hours since I had a meal'; *ne kęrie*

kasę mulgęnįl sal či-nde čohįn gęsįl sara 'when you go in the street to buy things, buy them good'; *čugįl-či ęnžęn kęžįt mal hagesso* 'I will sooner die than tell lies'. To remark is the use of the verb *ida* 'to be' in forms like *ijęn-ži* (now seldom in speech) and *idęn-ži, -dęn-ži,* N Kor. *idęndi, -dęndi* '(who) so ever, (who) ever it may be'; *nugu-dęnži* 'anybody', *muęs-idęnži* 'whatsoever, anything'; *mjętčh-idęnži* 'any amount'.

7) *če*, written *čjęi* (Chin.) 'time, coincidence, occurrence' used after the perfect participle.

E.g. *kį saram čugįn-že nįn orä-sso* 'it is a long time ago that he died'; *na mannagi čęne sęul on-že ga isso* 'have you been in Seul earlier than when you met me?' *čane pon že ga orä jo* 'it is a long time since I saw you'; *i sesaŋ päpho han že ga mjęt man-njęn ina tönī* 'about how many thousand years may it be since the world was created?'.

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

E.g. *idäro* 'like this', *mal däro* 'according to the word'; *nä pon däro* 'like what I have seen, in accordance with what I have seen'; *kį saram mal hanan däro* 'in accordance with what he says'; *mal hal ttäro* 'in accordance with what he is to say'; *kį ęrįn ahä ponįn däro kažigo siphę hao* 'that baby in accordance with what it sees it wants to get it', 'that baby wants to take everything it sees'.

9) *čhē*, written *thjęi* (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. *ūnan čhē handa* 'is making weeping shape', 'feigns weeping', *ūn čhē handa* 'simulates having wept', *ul čhē handa* 'simulates to start weeping'; *il hanan čhē hajęttęna ani hajętta* 'he was pretending to work but was not doing so'.

10) *thę* 'ground', 'site', 'place' (*čip-thę* '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 *thę*.

E.g. *kal thę io* 'one ought to go, I am obliged to go', *kassįl*

thę io 'they ought to have gone', *taŋsini mal han däro hal thę ida* 'one must do it just as you have said', *phjęnži nįn nohjęni ssįl thę 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 činsil hal thę io* 'this servant ought to be reliable, must be reliable', *i saram čaŋsa čal hajęssęnikka puža hal thę imnida* 'this man must be rich as he has done good business'.

For *thę ida* is often erroneously written *thęhida*.

11) *tąs, tįs*, pronounced *tįt*, 'similarity', is used both with the ending *i* (*tįsi*, 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 tįt hada* 'it seems that he will come, he may come', *čę saram al tįt hada* 'that man probably knows it', 'he must know it, after all', *ahä čanan dįt hada* 'the child may be sleeping', *jęl węn įro mot sal tįt sipso* 'one probably can't buy it for 10 yen'.

The form *tįsi* is used not only after participles but also after the form in *či*, but *-či-tįsi* has been shortened to *tįsi*.

E.g. *pap męktįt hago* 'just (as lightly) as eating food', *nä męŋnįn dįsi ne do męgęra* 'please eat just as I am eating', *čukči dįsi (čuktįsi) ča itte* '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 *sipta* 'to look like', or the instrumental case is used. Cf. *kijaŋ (ijęŋ), kijaŋiro* 'so, in that way'.

E.g. *čigįm ilgįl mojaŋ io* 'he seems to start reading now', *akka kan mojaŋ ida* 'they seem to have gone a few minutes ago', *ilbonįl kal jaŋ ida (karjaŋ ida)* 'he seems to go to Japan, I think he goes to Japan', *ažįk ol jaŋi męresso* 'it is still long until he comes', *kį sarami pit padįr jaŋiro sibi hao* 'that man starts a quarrel about getting money seemingly due to him', *čhęŋugįl juram har-jaŋ imjęn sogä phjęnžiril mjęt-čaŋ ęnnįn gęsi mäu čosso* 'if you should travel to China it would be very

well to get some letters of introduction', *karja hamjẹn* 'if you intend to go', *karja har-jaŋ (hal-mojaŋ) imjẹn* 'if you possibly intend to go', *migugil kal jaŋiro piŋphjoril ẹkkesso* '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. *čibaŋ i irịl hagennan goro tarịn irịl mot hagesso* 'now because I do this work I can't do any other work', *onal nuni onan goro tẹ čhipso* 'it's colder today because the snow is falling', *pulgabul kal thẹ 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) *kkadalk* (locative *kkadalge*) 'reason' is used in about the same sense as *koro*.

E.g. *nari käil čul ān kkadalge kidarjẹsso* 'I waited because I thought it would clear up', *nuni on (wannan) kkadalge ani watta* 'he hasn't come because it has snowed'.

15) *su* 'remedy', 'means', 'possibility', after the future participle and with the verb *itta* 'to exist', *ẹpta* 'to lack', is the commonest expression for »can», »might».

E.g. *kal su isso* 'one can go', *kal su ẹpso* 'there is no possibility to go', *mot kal su isso* 'one need not go', *mot kal su ẹpso* 'there is no possibility not to go', 'I must go', 'you must go', etc., *al su ẹpso* 'I have no means of knowing it', 'I can't know it', *toni čẹgin žik mal sal su ẹpso* 'as I am short of money I can't buy the horse', *čohịi ga ẹpsịni phjẹnži ssịl su ẹpso* 'I have no paper and can't write a letter', *kịlža ga khịn žịk čal pol su isso* 'as the characters are big I can read them very well'.

When two negations are used the idea 'must' is strongly expressed: *čẹri mot kal su ẹpso* '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. *jẹl man* 'only ten', *san man nophịn* 'high as the mountain', *ẹlma (<*wen man)* 'how much', *nä*

säŋgakhan man mothada 'it is not as much as I thought', *mantha (< man hada)* 'to be an amount, to be much, to be many', *manhịn (< man hạn)* 'numerous'.

E.g. *i čhäk pol man hada* 'this book is worth reading, is readable', *če put ssịl man haži mot hao* 'that pen is not good to write with', *ul man han gẹs io* 'it is a matter one could weep over', *i gẹsi mẹgịl 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 indecisive are also found before *man* and the emphatic *manịn* 'but'.

E.g. *kịri kassịn manịn ēpsẹtta* 'I went there, but it wasn't there', *phjẹni sokhi naassịmjẹn čohịr-iẹ-n man* 'it would be well if the sickness should be better soon', *pi ga ol lịt hage-n man mot kal su ēpso* 'it will probably rain, but even so I must go'.

Before this *man, manịn* the indecisive ending *či* has in the compound tenses been shortened to *t* and this is now assimilated with following *m* to *nm, mm* (written *sm*): *kagetči manịn, kagen manịn* 'has to go but', *kagessẹtči manịn, kagessẹnmanịn* 'he had to go but', *kassẹtči manịn, kassẹmmanịn* 'he had gone but'.

17) *kẹs*, nominative, pronounced *kẹt, gẹt*, North Korean *ke, ge*, 'piece', 'bit', 'thing', 'object', is used after all participles in the most wide sense and of both concrete and abstract »things». When used in the predicate before the verb *ida, kẹs, gẹs* has given *-k-, -g-*, i.e. *kẹs-ida, kẹs-io, -gẹsi-da*, etc. are usually abbreviated to *-kida, -gida, -kio, -gio*, etc.

E.g. *i gẹsi khallo pẹhin gẹsio (> pẹhingio)* 'this is cut with a knife (is a thing cut with a knife)', *i saram mal hanangida* 'this man is saying', *kallā hanan gẹs io (kallānangio)* 'he (says he) wants to go', 'the matter is that he wants to go', *sal kẹsịl kažẹ kage* 'please carry away what I am to buy', *san gẹsịl kažẹ kage* 'take with you my purchases', *čuŋnin gẹt* 'the dying', 'to be dying', *čugịn gẹt* 'the being dead', 'to be dead', *čugịl kẹt* 'to be near death', *ne ānan gẹsịl 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 čhäk nä ga pol kęs io* 'this book I must read, ought to read', *kal kęs io (kalkkio)* 'I ought to go', *phjęnži nįn nohjęni ssįl kęs io (ssįlkkio)* 'as to the letter, you ought to write it'.

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

Joined to a participle, the accusative *kęsįl*, shortened to *kęl*, *gęl* (N. Kor. *kę, gę*), is often used in exclamatory sentences as elliptic predicate; e.g. *čohįn gęl* 'how good it is!', 'but it is good!', N. Kor. *tjoun-gę*; *ęmnan gęl* 'there is nothing!' *ępsįl kęl* 'it will not be!'

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', *nohjęni phjęnžirįl ssįr ir io* 'you ought to write the letter', 'the letter writing is your business', *tā töijęssįl 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 *in* 'man', 'human being', but is an old interrogative-indefinite pronoun 'some' or 'what'. In English it corresponds very often to the word 'one': *i i ga čosso* 'this one is better', *čę i ga muęsįl (muęl) hane* 'what does that one say, what is that one doing', *kį i nįn kęmda 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 nugu io* 'who is going there', 'who is now going', *sęuresę on-i ga algesso* 'that man who came from Seul may know it', *nįlgįn-i* 'the old one', 'the old man', *čęlmin-i* 'a young one', 'a youth', *čugįn-iege muęsįl tallā hao* 'what can I demand of a dead man?', *sānan-irįl toa čusio* 'please help one while he is living', *nä ga kari ikka* 'is that so that I am to go?', 'shall I go?', *nä ga pori ida* 'it is I who am to see, it is that that I shall see, I shall see, I will see, I like to see'.

The last examples with *-ri ikka, -ri ida, -ri io*, etc., are usually both in speaking and writing shortened to *-rikka, -rida, -rio* and by ECKARDT 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: *kari 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 *ira* at the end of a sentence for the indicative, *kanan i ira (kananira)* 'goes', *har i ira (harira)* 'shall do, will say, will be', but also without *ira* it occurs quite often at the end of a sentence. In the high style forms *kamnida, issįmnida* which have been treated earlier, we have the same formation and the verb *ida*, i.e. *kamnida* is an earlier *kapnan-i ida* and *kamnikka* is an earlier *kapnan-i irkka*. The same *-i* is also to be found in *siri*, a word used after the future converb (*si-ri < *isil-i*).

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

E.g. *kananža* 'the goer', 'the going person', *kanža* 'the one who has gone', *kalča* 'the one who is to go', *čę ir-hananža nugu jo* 'who is the worker there?', 'who is working there?', *kį gode*

katten-žaril aži mot hananža jo 'I am not one to know who it was who went there', *seul kassinža ga, seul kassinnanža ga* 'that one who had gone to Seul', *ahä ponanža* 'a nurse', *kanan hanžaril kuže hamje irhe onžaril tōa čumje* 'by giving alms to the sufferers and helping the unfortunate'.

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

21) *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. *sān ba* 'the place where one has lived' — 'domicile', *saden ba* 'the things some one bought', 'the things then bought', *anin ba ga mues io* 'what is it you know?', *čugin ba tasi sal su isso* 'can something which has died live again?'; *nehii ga uri phjenži-ra, uri maime ssese mus-sarami algo innin (illin) ba-ra* 'you are our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men' (II Corinthians, Chap. 3, v. 2), *čugil kesi sänmjeniige samkhin ba töige* 'that mortality might be swallowed up of life', *pi ga manhi wassini pathe simin ba koksigi kjeltan nasso* 'as it has rained much, the grain sown in the field has been damaged', *haden baril perigo musin iril hao* 'losing your working instruments, what work can you do?', *hānanim čun ba ponsjeni perigo* 'losing the original nature given of God'.

22) *čul* '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 *čuril* is used. the sense is that the thinking was right. but if the instrumental *čullo* 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 žuril aratta* 'I knew (quite correctly) that he had gone', *kan žullo aratta* 'I thought he had gone (but he hadn't)'. *ol čullo sängak hajesso* 'I supposed. he would come'. *kirekhe*

pissal čul negjesso 'did you think that it was to be so expensive?', *mues iden-ži tā čello tön čullo ānan-i ga isso* 'there are some who believe that everything has come into existence of itself', *töl čullo parasso* 'I hoped that it would happen', *seweri kanan žul mollatta* 'I didn't know that the time went so'.

23) *māl* '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. *katta han (kattān) maril tiresso* 'I have heard the word that he has gone', 'I have heard that he has gone', *čugetta han mal tiressimnikka* 'have you heard that he is dead?'.

24) *pen* (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. *ttere-žil pen hajesso* 'I was about to fall', *tožak manna čugil pen hajetta* 'he met with robbers and nearly lost his life', *kire kada ga torese neme-žil pen hajesso* 'when I was walking on the road I almost fell over a stone'.

25) *se*, written *sjei* (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. *megil-se-da, megilseda* 'has the opportunity to eat' and (passively) *megiolseda* id.; *iolseda* (after vowel *-olseda*) 'is, Sir': *čohin čohii-olseda* 'it is good paper'; *kire halseda, kirelseda* 'so it is, Sir', *kire haolseda, kireolseda* 'so it happens to be, Sir'; etc.

Elliptically used *se* without *ida* is often heard in daily speach; (*kire hal se* >) *kirelse* > *kilse* 'so it is'.

26) *sä*, written *sai* 'interval', 'space between' (Tung. *saja* 'the inner angle or space between the fingers') is used after the future participle in the sense of 'while, during'; e.g. *pap megil sä tožagi čhimbane tire wasso* 'whilst we were eating, a thief entered our bedroom'. In this sense it is very common and equivalent or varying with locutions like *mektaga, megilttä, megil tonane*, etc.

27) *serok, särok* or *surok* 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 *sạ, sẹ, su* is here a noun, perhaps that which means 'new' (*sä* 'new', *säro* 'again'), or perhaps a word *sạ* (orig. *so*) 'over, more', 'higher up' (cf. mo. *saja* 'recently, newly' or tung. *solo-, sola-* 'to go upwards'). The variation of the vowel of the noun is here caused by lack of stress.

E.g. *parami pul särok puri irẹ nao* 'the more the wind blows, the more the fire rises'; *čohịn norä nịn tịrịl surok tịkko sipso* 'the more I hear good songs, the more I want to hear'; *hanmunịl pähol sẹrok ẹrjẹwẹ gao* 'the more one studies Chinese letters, the more difficult it is', *pol surok ẹjẹppuo* 'the longer I look on it, the prettier it is'.

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

E.g. *jagịl manhi mẹgịl pẹp ẹ̆pso* 'one can't take much medicine', *ạži mot hanan saramịị toŋsane kugjẹŋ hal pẹpi ẹdä isso* 'where (do you think it) is customary (possible) to go sightseeing in the garden of an unknown man?', *tịrẹ ol pẹp ẹ̆pso* 'not allowed to enter', 'you can't enter', *jagi ittẹ-mjẹn i pjẹnịl kotčhil pẹbi issẹsso* 'if I then had 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) *ttämun* 'purpose', also *ttämune* 'in the purpose of' or 'because of', 'for the reason that', is mostly used with the perfect participle.

E.g. *pähol ttämune čhägịl sa watta* 'he bought a book for studying', *mẹn kirịl kan ttämun il si süigesso* 'I will repose one hour because I have walked a long way'.

30) *čharo*, N.Kor. *charị* 'in order to', 'for'. This is either the instrumental in *ro* of a noun *čha* or, perhaps, a contraction of *či* (see No. 6) and *hạrjẹ* > *hạro* 'to do, for doing'. It is used only with the future participle.

E.g. *čhägịl päkkil čharo* (= *päkkillā- kko*) *čohịiril saro kasso* 'he has gone to buy paper for copying a book', *sẹnsẹn han*

paramịl sohil čharo kịnịrịl čhažasso 'I have sought a shady place to get a cool wind', *aguŋie čhärịl čhil čharo komirärịl čhatčio* '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 »during» or »while» after the present participle.

E.g. *kanan gil mal hajẹtta* 'while going, he said', *mulgẹnil sa onan gil nä čibịro oo* 'please come to my house when you go shopping', *kwerịl kotčhinan gile sä čamịl-sö kkatčhi tumjẹn čokkhesso* 'as you are mending the box, you had better put in a new lock'.

32) *čuŋ* (*tjuŋ* 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. *simmun ponan žuŋe čatta* 'he fell asleep in the middle of reading the newspaper'; *kil kanan žuŋe* 'while walking along the road'; *kịl ponan žuŋ itta* 'he is reading now', 'he is in the middle of his reading'.

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

E.g. *kị i ga nä ol čẹne katta* 'he went away before I came', 'before my coming', *mẹgịl čẹn kaži mara* 'don't go before you have eaten, before eating'.

The verbal noun on *-ki* is here as frequent as the future participle: *ogi žẹnẹ, mẹkki žẹnẹ* etc.

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

E.g. *i čhägịl pon hu* (*hue*) *nal čuẹra* 'after reading this book, give it to me', *nä ga kan hu amogä ga wannan ja* 'has someone been here since I left?'

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

E.g. *kal toŋ mal toŋ hajẹtta* 'he went a little and stopped again', 'he didn't know whether to go or not'; *pi ga ol toŋ čil toŋ hajẹtta* 'it rained a bit and again not'; *il hal toŋ mal toŋ hanan gẹsi ssil tä ẹpso* '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) *čigjẹŋ* (*ti-kjẹŋ*, Chin.) 'boundary, border', is used with the future participle and with *ida* 'to be' in conditional phrases in the sense of 'if it really concerns' or 'when it comes to the point that'.

E.g. *kal čigjẹŋ imjẹn na do kagesso* 'if it really has come to going, I will go too'; *i pathil phal čigjẹŋ iẹdin (iẹdẹn)* '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 *ida* in the sense of 'only', 'solely'.

E.g. *nẹ nin il man hal ppun ida* 'you have only to work'; *i gẹt pähol ppun dẹrẹ tẹ pähoara* 'you have not only to learn this part, but you have to learn more'; *nakĕi wa munẹ nin täso ga taril ppun io, mojaŋ-in kathin gẹsi io* 'the *nakĕi* (small octopus) and the *munẹ* (big octopus) differ only in size, their shape is just the same'.

38) *mäim* (*mäam*, *mäm*) 'mind', *säŋgak* 'thought', *ttis* 'meaning', *wẹn-ii* (Chin.) 'intention', *paräm* 'hope' are used with the future participle.

E.g. *ne ga näil ol parame kidarigesso* 'I will await you in the hope that you will come tomorrow'; *jẹŋ-gugil kal mäimi isso* 'I have in my mind to travel to England'; *ilbon kal ttisi ẹpso* 'I have no idea of going to Japan'; etc.

39) *čiim* 'beginning' with the future participle gives the sense 'when about to'.

E.g. *kal čiim* (or *kal čiime*) *nu ga wasso* 'just when I was about to go someone came', = *kallä hande nu ga wasso*.

226 The use of such postparticipial nouns and of the still more frequent converbial 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 **227** suffixes. Most of the formations now used as verbforms (those with the endings *-ta*, *-tẹ*, *-či*, *-ča*, 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 **228** 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.

N o m i n a t i v e. *hagi ga süipso* 'it is easy to do', *pogi do čokho mẹkki do masi isso* 'it is both fine to look at and is tasty to eat', *noŋsa hagi wa kil kombu hagi ga sẹro tarin gẹsio (taringio)* 'agriculture and literary study differ entirely from one another', *pokĕẹŋ hagi man hamjẹn tä čuri ida* 'if you will only yield, I give you all', *ōn gaži iril mal man hagi nin süiwẹ do hän hagi nin ẹrjẹpso* 'all kinds of work are easy to talk about, but it is difficult to do them'.

To stress the opposition the n o m i n a t i v e with following **229** *nin* is often used pleonastically; *čokhi nin čosso* 'as to goodness, it is good'; *čokhi nin čohina* 'it may be good, but ...'; *kagi nin ka do tora oži nin mot harira* 'as for going, I will go, but I will not return'.

Sometimes this substantive is used with the verb *hada* 'to do', for the sake of emphasis: e.g. *ogi do hago kagi do handa* 'they do both coming and going'.

L o c a t i v e. *nẹhii kagie na do kagesso* 'with you going, I will **230** also go', *ki sarami him segie orä sal čul arasso* 'that man with his strength I thought would live long', *i čhäk nä pogie nin čami ẹpso* 'that book, the way I read it, is without interest'.

231 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 converbum citationis and the word *mari* 'with the words'; *ki̭ i ga mal hagiri̭l i bi̭ene ni̭n kkok ti̭nda go hai̭etta* 'he said that this time it would come out exactly', *ne ga sul mẹkko nōri̭m hagiri̭l čoha hani nambon i̭o kunža ni̭n anira* 'as you are fond of drinking and gambling you are a rake and not a gentleman'.

232 Instrumental. The instrumental case of this verbal sub-stantive 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 *čakčen hada* 'to decide for', 'to decide to do': *ki̭ saram mal hagiro ki̭ži̭mmallo arasso* 'because he told it, I thought it was a false rumour', *i mulgeni̭l sagiro čakčen hai̭esso* 'I have decided to buy this', *isa hagiro čakčen hai̭essi̭mnikka* 'have you decided to move?'

233 Instrumental-locative in *-killä* is used to express the cause or the purpose. The case ending *-llä* 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; *čabok hagillä i̭onse hai̭esso* 'as he confessed, I forgave him', *čal mẹkkillä tẹ čuesso* 'I gave him more because he ate so well', *si̭lhẹ hagillä ki̭ man tuenne* 'as they did not like it, I stopped' (Cf. N.Kor. *äbillä* 'for the father').

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

E.g. *midi̭mi saraŋ ham man katči̭ mot hamnäda* 'faith is not equal to love', *saraŋ hamese tẹ či̭nanan gẹsi ẹpso* 'there is nothing better than love', *kosäŋ hami̭l tora poži ani hago* 'without any regard to the hardship involved', *ki̭re hamiro i̭re hamiro* 'because of this and because of that', *abaži̭kke ku hame (hamä) čumā ko hasidẹra* 'asking my father, he promised to give it', 'when I asked my father, he promised to give it'; *sāri̭m, sālmi* 'the life', *almi* 'knowledge', etc.

235 This verbal noun in *-m* is used in official and legislative language as a final verb (§ 139). From such use the present tense in *-mu*

and *-me* have developed (§ 140). With the exclamative particle *-ā* the promissive is obtained (§ 163). With the enclitically affixed *i̭e* 'having been' and *i̭e ni̭n -si̭e*, the forms in *-mi̭e* and *-mi̭en, -mi̭ense* are recent shortenings (§§ 199, 200).

236 The verb *ida* 'to be' has the noun *im*, and here, as in many other forms of this verb, the stem vowel may be lost after a preceding vowel. The form *podam* besides *poda*, *puthẹm* besides *puthẹ* and some other deverbal words are to be understood as such contractions. Cf. *ki̭rẹm* 'well then, that's that' (< *ki̭rẹ ham*).

237 A word *čak (či̭k)* in the sense 'measure', 'size' (cf. Turk. *čaq* 'measure', Mong. *čagla-ši ügei* 'unmeasurable') is joined to this substantive in *-m* and used with the verb *hada* : *pomži̭k hada* 'to be worthy of seeing', 'to be all right for seeing', *mẹgi̭mži̭k hada* 'to be eatable'. The use and sense of *-čak* is about the same as that of *man* in *pol man hada*, *mẹgil man hada*. Very often the Koreans use here also formations like *poamži̭k hada*, *mẹgemži̭k hada*, without any difference in sense; here, after all, *poam*, *mẹgem* are shortenings of *poa im* and *mẹgẹ im*.

238 This noun in *-m* can be used also in compounds: *midi̭m* 'faith', *midi̭mža* 'a believer', *pom* 'the looking', *pomil* 'work to look after', 'an errand'. This *-m* noun of a verb is much used as object to its verb; e.g. *čam čada* 'to sleep', *kkum kkuda* 'to dream', *sari̭m sāda* 'to live a life', *sallim sallida* 'to feed oneself with', *nōri̭m nōda* 'to play a play', *kori̭m kōda* 'to ferment, to gather pus', etc.

There are many nouns of this type from verbs which are now obsolete: *ari̭m* 'an armful' (cf. Manch. *alimbi* 'to accept', Turk. *almaq*, 'to take'); *pegi̭m* 'the next' (cf. Turk. *eki* 'two').

As there exists an old denominal suffix *-ak, -ẹk*, words of the type *ččari̭mak* 'short' are to be referred to this *-m* noun and thereby to primary verbs (*ččarida* 'to be short').

239 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. *nōlda* 'to play', *nōri* or *nōri̭m* 'a play', *ti̭lda* 'to enter', *ti̭ri* 'entrance', 'the entering', *ti̭ri hada* 'to enter', 'to do entering', *mōlda*

'to drive', *mōri* 'driving', *mal mōri -kkun* 'a horse driver', 'horse-driving man'; *ketta* (pf. *keretta*) 'to walk', *keri* 'street, road'; *čapta* 'to catch', *čabi* 'catching', 'capture', 'handle', *kogi čabi -kkun* 'fish-catcher', 'fish-catching man'; *nopta* 'to be high', *nophi* 'height'; *mantha* 'to be many', *manhi* 'multitude', 'many'; *kipta* 'to be deep', *kiphi* 'the depth', 'deeply'; *tatta* 'to close', *taži* 'sliding wall' (*mi-daži* id.), 'the closing'; *tarida* 'to be different', *tarim, talli* 'difference'; *kilda* 'to be long', *kiri* 'length', *kirim, kirek, kirekči* 'length', *khogiri* 'the elephant' (*kho* 'the nose'); *khida* 'to be tall', *khii* 'tallness', 'stature'; *pappuda* 'to be pressed for time', *pappi* 'hurry', 'quickly'; *süipta* 'to be easy', *süi* (older *süiwi*) 'easiness', 'easily'; *mugepta* 'to be heavy', *muge* (older *mugewi*) 'weight'; *purepta* 'to be enviable', *purewe hada* 'to envy', *pure* 'envy, greed'; *algi* 'a wedge' (Tung. *arki-* '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 *hada* have their adverb in *hi*. E.g. *ka hada* 'to be possible', *kahi* 'possibly', *kadik hada* 'to be full', *kadikhi* 'fully', *kire hada* 'to be so', *kiri* 'in that way', 'so', **etta* 'to be how', *etči* 'how', *kaman hada* 'to be quiet', 'to be still', *kamanhi* 'quietly', *pužaren hada* 'to be diligent', *pužarenhi* 'diligently', 'eagerly', etc.

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

   Here must be mentioned also the adverb and postposition *ēpsi* 'without' from the verb *ēpta* 'to lack', stem *ēps-*.

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 *-ke*) is also used as an adverb, and that a difference in the meaning is felt. While *nophi* 'highly' means 'i n t h e height', *nopke* 'highly' means 'so that it will be high': *sä ga nophi naratta* 'the bird was

flying high', *sä ga nopke naratta* 'the bird flew up high', *manhi megetta*, 'has much eaten', *mankhe megetta* 'has eaten a lot', *khige mal handa* 'they are talking loudly (so that there is much noise)', *talli* 'differently', 'in a different way', *tarige* 'so that the result is different', *namu ppuregi kiphi tire gasso* 'the root of a tree has entered deep, is deep in the earth', *maktäril ttae kipke tirjesso* '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, *katěhi, kakke* 'similarly', *ppalli, pparige* 'urgently', *pappi, pappuge* 'quickly', 'at once', *süi, süipke* 'easily', *erjei, erjepke* 'with difficulty', *nappi, nappige* 'badly, basely', *keilli, keirige* 'indolently', *timuri, timulge* 'seldom', *kahi, kahage* 'possibly', *kadikhi, kadik hage* 'fully', *hemhi, hem hage* 'earnestly', etc.

   4) The verbal substantive in *-o, -u*. The derived noun in *-o* (when   **242** the stem has *a* or *o*), *-u* (when the stem vowel is any other sound) seems in many cases to go back to a formation with a suffix *-ag, -eg*, 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. *karg-i* 'flour', from the verb *kalda* (: *kara* : *kan*) 'to grind', *čaro* 'handle', N.Kor. *tsarg-i* 'the handle', from the verb *čalda* '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: (*tolda* 'to turn around') *toro* 'on the contrary', *toro ie* (written *torohie*) 'on the contrary', (*motta* 'to assemble', 'to collect') *modo* 'all', *to-moži* 'all, together', (*čatta* 'to be frequent') *čažo* 'frequently, often', (v. **ač-* 'to open') *ažo* 'completely', 'entirely', (*matta* 'to meet, to suit, to hit') *mažo* 'opposite, face to face, against', *mažo kada* 'to go to meet', (*nemda* 'to go over, to be too much') *nemu* 'too much, exceedingly', (*turida* 'to circle about, to surround') *turu* 'on all sides, round about', (*mäpta* 'to be acrid, peppery') *mäu* 'awfully, very, exceedingly', (*kjeupta* 'to be unable to, to lack capacity for') *kjeu, kjeu* 'hardly, scarcely, with difficulty', cf. Goldi *keuke* 'hardly', 'not', 'probably not'); (*nilda* 'to increase, to be stretching') *niru* 'continually'; (*milda* 'to shove')

miru 'the space between high and low water mark'; (*parida* 'to be straight') *paro* 'straight, lengthwise, against'; (*ttarida* 'to be different') *ttaro* 'different, differently'; (*kotčhida* 'to make perpendicular') *kotčho, kotčhu* 'upright, perpendicularly'; (*korida* 'to be equal', *koroda* 'to adjust, to make equal') *koro* 'equal, all alike'; (*katta* 'to be in good order', *katčhoda* 'to put in order') *katčho, katčhu* 'complete, in order'; etc.

Secondary verb stems.

243 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-*, *-bi̧-*.

E.g. primary *us-*: *utta* (pf. *usẹtta*) 'laughs', ('has laughed'), *usi̧m, (ui̧m)* 'laughter', but secondary **usi̧p-* in the verb *usi̧pta* (pf. *usi̧wẹtta*) 'is ridiculous' ('was ridiculous'), *usi̧um* 'ridiculousness'.

primary **kis-* 'to be happy', *kippu- (kippi̧-)* 'to be glad', *kikkẹpta* (orig. *kispu-, kiskẹb-*) 'to be happy, to be glad', *kikkẹwẹtta* 'was happy', *kikkeum* 'happiness', *kikkeun* 'happy'.

primary *mit-*: *mitta* (pf. *midẹtta*) 'to believe', *midi̧m* 'belief', *midi̧pta, mippuda* 'to be trustworthy', *mippum* 'reliability', 'trust-worthiness'.

primary *sjẹlh-* 'to feel sorrow', *sjẹrhi̧m* 'sorrow, sadness', *sjẹlpta* (: *sjẹlphẹ* or *sjẹlwẹ* : *sjẹlphi̧n*) 'to be deplorable'.

primary *alh-* 'to cause pain, to be sick', 'to have pain', *ari (arhi̧)*, *arhi̧m* 'pain, sickness', secondary **alph-*: *aphuda, apha, aphun* 'to be in pain', *apphum, aphi̧m* 'pain'.

primary *nạč-* 'to be low', secondary *nạppi̧da, nạppuda* 'to be base, to be contemptible', *nappum* 'baseness', *näppi̧* 'basely'.

Secondary *pappuda* (: *pappa* : *pappun*) 'to be in a hurry, to be pressed', *pappum, pappi̧* 'hurry', derived from a primary **pas-*, (cf. Turk. *bas-* 'to press' and Korean (**pasčak* >) *patčak* 'tightly, as squeezing, exceedingly').

The secondary verb of this type, for instance *ipta, isipta, hapta,* **244** *mẹgi̧pta,* etc., is not used in the declarative, but its converbum perfecti (**iwẹ, *isiwẹ, *hạwa, *mẹgiwẹ*), developed to *io (iu), isso (issu), hao, mẹgi̧o* (N.Kor. *mẹgi̧u*), has entered the conjugation of the primary verb as a p o l i t e f o r m 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 ida* than *har ida, haon ida* than *han ida, hamnan ida* than *hanan ida*. This *hamnan ida* is the same as the literary *hamnaida* and pronounced *hamnäda*, and *hamnan i ida* 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 *-sạ- (-si̧-)* and *-si-* (see below).

Special mention may be made of the verbs with the ending **245** *-kẹpta, -ropta*, which are qualitative verbs and are derived as passives from earlier verbs in *-k- (-ki̧-, -kẹ-)* and *-rạ- (or -r-, -l-)*.

E.g. *kikkẹpta* 'to be glad', *kikkẹum* (Nor.Kor. *kikkẹbum*) 'joy', *kikke* (N.Kor. *kikkẹbi*) 'joy, gladly', cf. *kippuda* 'to be glad' and the primary **kis-* 'to be glad' found in old documents; *mugẹpta* 'to be heavy', *mugeum* 'heaviness', 'weight', *muge* 'weight (earlier *mugẹwi*, N.Kor. *mugẹbi*), cf. *musik hada* 'to be heavy'; *čilgẹpta* 'to rejoice', *čilgẹwẹ hada* 'to show one's happiness', from *čilgi̧da* 'to rejoice, to be fond of'; *pangapta, pangi̧da* 'to be happy'; *čilgẹpta, čilgi̧da* 'to be lasting, to be durable', etc.

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

E.g. *hä* 'damage', *häropta* 'to be injurious', *sä* 'new', *säropta* 'to be new, to start again', *we* (written *oi*) 'single', *weropta* 'to be an orphan, to be single', etc. Here the passive formation is certainly derived from the verb stem (*hairạ-, sairạ-, oirạ-,* or something like that), because there must have been a denominal verb stem from which these qualitative verbs are derived.

2) *-nạ-, -ni̧-*. This suffix is after all a very old element **-nu-, *-ni̧-* **246**
9

for inchoative derivations. There existed a verb *hāda* 'to be big', found in *hār-abi* 'grandfather', *halmi*, *hān-emi* 'grandmother', and many other old compositions; from this verb the language has *hāṇl* '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 participles from a secondary verb in *-nada*.

E.g. *khida* 'to be big', *khin* 'big, *khinada* 'to get larger', *khinan* 'growing big'; *kilda* 'to be long', *kin* 'long', *kinada* 'to extend', *kinan* 'growing long'. In old documents one can find many indications of the past existence of such a secondary verb.

E.g. *insäŋä jehim ie modomi innada* (< *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 *-ṇan, -ṇin* of the present participle of the active verbs. And here we have also to register the imperative *oṇara* (*oṇera*) 'come here!'

247 From this same verb stem with the ending *-ṇa-* the passive stem has been *-ṇab-*, which is lost with some few exceptions. The perfect participle in *-nōn* (earlier written *-nabun, -ṇaon*) is used with the noun *-i*, i.e. in the form we call converbum premissi, of some few verbs, *nä ga paranōni* 'as I hope', 'as I dare to hope', *säŋgak hanōni* 'as I dare to imagine'. The perfect converb is used with the particle *-ra* as the final word of a sentence. E.g. *osigiṛil paranōra* 'I hope for your august coming'. These endings *-nōni*, *-nōra* (for earlier *-naon -i* and *-nao-ra*) are still very much used in letters, but are seldom heard or perhaps not at all used in daily speech.

248 3) *-sa-, -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. *karadä* 'in saying', *karasadä* 'in saying' (used when speaking of important persons),

hao and *haso* (earlier *hawa* and *hasawa*) 'doing', 'saying'. We find this stem formation in *mutčapta* 'to ask respectfully' (**mut--sa-b-*) from *mutta* (: *mure*) 'to ask', and in some other verbs of this type. Later on the secondary verb in *-sa-, -si-* has been used perhaps most frequently when the verb was qualitative. E.g. *kipta* 'to be deep', *kiphio* (earlier *kiphiwe*) and *kipso* (*kipsiwe*), N.Kor. *kipsu* 'being deep'. From this variation *kiphio ∼ kipso megio ∼ mekso* the ending *-so* seems to predominate over the ending *-io*. 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 *poo, hao, io, čuo*, etc., but *mekso, tisso, kipso, čapso, pulkso*, etc., while forms like *poso, hao, iso, čuso*, etc. are rarely heard and *megio, tirio, kiphio, čabio, pulgio* seem to give way for *mekso, tisso*, etc.

4) *-si-*. This ending may have been the *-i-* factitive of the preceding **249** *-sa-, -si-*, and means now something like 'to d e i g n   t o'. While the polite forms which have been treated earlier are used in the p r e s e n c e 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 a c t i o n o f a n h o n o u r e d p e r s o n himself. E.g. *ogi* 'the coming, the arrival', *osigi* '(the august person's) deigning to arrive', *nä ga wasso* 'I came', *čę ogesso* 'he will come', *erusinne ga osjesso* 'my father has come', *osigesso* 'he will come', *erunne* 'an old man', *erusinne* 'the honoured old man', 'my father', *erunne-da* (*da* for *ida*) 'it is the old man', 'it is the father', *erusinne-sida* (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 »infix» for showing politeness. But this language has no infixes at all, and the difference between for instance *erunne-da* and *erusinne-sida*, *hada* and *hasida*, *mekta* and *meksida*, *han* and *hasin*, *in* and *isin*, 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 *mekso* 'eats', *hao* 'does', very often use *meksjo*, *hasjo* etc., where

the contraction of *mẹksio*, *hasio* is evident. Such forms are used when addressing a man and include a polite »you» as the doer.

250   This same old combination of the suffix *-si-* and the suffix *-b-* is found in that polite form among the volitive formations which is called the benedictive. E.g. *päksjẹŋil phjẹŋan hage hasjosjẹ* '(O Lord,) give peace to Thy people'. Here the origin is the perfect converb from the stem in *-s-ib-* with *sjẹ* added. Instead of *-siosẹ* as highest forms for invocation, the optative of the same polite stem is also used; e.g. *pjẹŋan hage hasipse* 'please give, mayst Thou give peace', *čuopsiosjẹ*, *čuopsipse* '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 *čuda* derived) *čusida*, **čupta*, **čuopta* (earlier *čusapta*), *čupsida*, *čuopsida* and (in *čuopsiosjẹ*) **čuopsipta*.

252   From the verb *ida* the derived *isida* has escaped this tendency for politeness and remained as the present »straight» verb *itta*, *isse*, *issịn*, with the older forms *isjẹ* and *isin*, *issin*. It signifies' simply 'to exist, to be in existence'. The old converb *isjẹ* has been used as a kind of divider of phrases, and, losing its stem vowel, taken over a special function as the present essive particle *sjẹ*. This particle has been mentioned above, in the explanation of the declension of nouns (*čibe* 'in the house', *čibesjẹ* 'as to being in the house, from the being in the house, from the house', *saramịro* 'towards the man', *saramịrosjẹ* 'as to the man', 'from being the talked-about man', *sẹul* 'the capital', *sẹulsjẹ* 'concerning Sẹul', 'as to Sẹul') and also in the chapter on converbs, among which that in *-ko* (converbum presentis), that in *-a*, *-ẹ* (converbum perfecti) and the formation on *-mjẹn* (cv. conditionale) are very often used with this particle.

    Speaking politely the straight verb *itta* is substituted by *kesida*, written *kjẹisida*, original *kjẹi isida*, with the sense 'to dwell', 'to remain'. 'to have the opportunity to exist'.

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

The factitive..

    We have divided the Korean verbs into two classes, the qualitative **254** 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. *marịda* 'to be dry', *mẹlda* 'to be far', *tẹpta* 'to be warm', etc., the factitive has the sense of the corresponding transitive, e.g. *mallida* 'to dry', *mẹllida* 'to enlarge the distance', *teda* (**tewida*) '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. *poda* 'to see' (active), *poida* '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) *-i-*, *-gi-*, *-hi-*,
2) *-u-*, *-gu-*, *-hu-*,
3) *-čhi-*, original *-thi-*, N.Kor. *-thi-*.

    The factitives are therefore to be learnt in each case separately, **255** 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 *-i-*. There are many verbs which historically are such factitives in *-i-* without a shorter variant. E.g. *sugida* 'to kneel', *kidạrida*, N. Kor. *kidạrguda* 'to wait for', *pạrida* 'to let go, to throw away, to lose', *purida* 'to act, to exhibit', *kịtčhida* 'to end, to finish' (cf. *kkịt* 'the end').

Some examples:

A. verbs with vowel stem	the factitive
poda 'to see'	*poida*, *pöda* 'to be seen', 'to show',
	pöida, *pöuda* 'to show'

sẹda 'to stay'
nada 'to go out'

seda, seuda 'to erect'
(naida) näda 'to give out, to drive out'

seda 'to be strong'
phida 'to blossom'
ppada 'to fall out'
ssịda 'to use', 'to write'
oruda 'to ascend'
purịda 'to call'
hirịda 'to flow'
murịda 'to step aside'
murịda 'to be watery, to be soft'
aorịda 'to unite' (v. intr.)

seuda 'to strengthen'
phiuda, phiida 'to make blossom'
ppäda 'to take out', 'to take away'
ssịuda 'to make spend', 'to dictate
ollida 'to lift up, to offer'
pullida 'to be called'
hillida 'to pour out'
mullida 'to postpone, to expel'
mullida 'to make soft'
aollida 'to join, to collect'

B. verbs with consonant stem

the factitive

ẹlda 'to freeze' (v. intr.)
alda 'to know'
salda 'to live'

ẹllida, ẹlguda 'to freeze' (v. tr.)
allida. N.Kor. arguda 'to inform'
sallida, N.Kor. sarguda 'to save, keep up life'

pilda 'to pray, to beg, to loan'
mulda 'to bite'
nẹlda 'to be broad'
tịlda 'to enter'
nịlda 'to be elastic'
mōlda 'to drive'
thịlda 'to twist'
hẹlda 'to pull down'

tolda 'to turn back'

tịtta 'to hear'

tatta 'to run'

kẹtta 'to walk'

pillida 'to lend'
mullida 'to be bitten'
nẹllida 'to broaden'
tịrida 'to send in, to offer'
nịrida 'to draw out'
mollida 'to be chased back'
thịllida 'to be twisted'
hẹllida. hẹlčhida 'to make overturan' or 'to be pulled down'
tollida. tolguda. tolčhida 'to turn something round'
tịllida. tịkkida 'to be heard, to let hear'
tallida 'to gallop (a horse)'
tatčhida 'to run against'
kẹllida 'to lead'. kẹtčhida 'to trip'

ttịltha 'to bore through'
koltha 'to grow less'
nottha 'to set free'

ttịllida 'to get holes'
kollida 'to take the strength of'
notčhida 'to miss, to allow to escape'

kịltha 'to be boiling'
kkịntha 'to break, to cut'

kịllida 'to prepare food'
kkịnčhida 'to be interrupted', 'to be cut off'

tẹpta 'to be warm'
kakkapta 'to be near'

(tẹwida) teda 'to warm'
(kakkawida) kakkaida 'to bring near'

ẹžirẹpta 'to be confused'
čopta 'to be narrow'

ẹžirẹida 'to cause confusion'
čophida 'to narrow down'
čopčhida 'to make narrow'

ssẹkta 'to rot'
nokta 'to melt' (v. intr.)
sokta 'to be deceived, to fall in a trap'
mẹkta 'to eat'
sẹkta 'to mix'
pakta 'to fix'

ssẹgida 'to cause to rot'
nogida 'to melt' (v. tr.)
sogida 'to deceive'

mẹgida 'to feed'
sẹkkida 'to be mixed'
pakhida 'to be fixed'
pagida 'to be stuck in'

nikta 'to be ripe'
makta 'to stop'
mutta 'to bury, to inter'
kotta 'to be straight'
patta 'to receive'
putta 'to pass by'
hẹtta 'to be dishevelled'
holtta 'to rub, smooth' (holth-)

nikhida 'to cook through'
makhida 'to be stopped'
mutčhida 'to be buried'
kotčhida 'to repair'
patčhida 'to give'
putčhida 'to lay by'
hẹtčhida 'to scatter'
holtčhida 'to rub with an instrument'

utta 'to laugh'
ppäatta 'to take by force'
pitta 'to comb'

ssitta 'to wash'

ukkida 'to cause laughter'
ppäakkida 'to be robbed'
pikkida 'to be combed'
pitčhida 'to comb with something'
ssikkida 'to be washed'

pẹtta 'to undress'
čapta 'to catch'
kopta 'to be crooked'
nopta 'to be high'
pạlpta 'to step on'
nẹlpta 'to be broad'
nịtta 'to be late'

kkotta 'to drive in'
ččotta 'to frighten away'
antta 'to sit'
sinda 'to put on one's shoes'
nạmda 'to be more'
čạmda 'to dive'
kamda 'to wind'

kamda 'to take a bath'
olmda 'to move oneself'
kolmda 'to get boils'
kulmda 'to be hungry'

ssitčhida 'to clean with something
pẹkkida 'to undress another'
čaphida 'to get caught'
kopčhida 'to bend'
nophida 'to elevate'
pạlphida 'to be trodden on'
nẹlphida 'to broaden'
nịtčhida, nịtčhuda 'to slacken down'

kkotčhida 'to be driven in'
ččokkida 'to be driven away'
antčhida 'to place down'
sịŋgida 'to shoe'
nạŋgida 'to add'
čạmgida 'to be submerged'
kamgida 'to coil round'
kamčhida 'to turn back'
kamgida 'to give a bath'
omgida 'to transport'
komgida 'to form a boil'
kumgida 'to leave unfed'

256 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 (< alạwi-) 'to inform', arida, N. Kor. arguda 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 alo-, alosi- 'to teach'. It is not clear whether -(g)i- and -(g)u- 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 a old suffix by itself, and corresponds to Turk. -t-, Mong. -či-, Tung. -ti-, -či-, the ending for transferred or transitive action.

As already said under the converbum futuri, the Koreans use **257** also a periphrastic combination of -ke and hada 'to do', 'to make', when the sense is causative, and -ke and tŏida 'to become', 'to turn out as', when the sense is passive, e.g. nopta 'to be high', nophida or nopke hada 'to make high', 'to elevate', pạlpta 'to step on', pạlphida or pạlpke hạda 'to have someone to step on', palphida or palpke tŏida 'to be stepped on', mẹkta 'to eat', mẹgida or mẹkke hada 'to have someone to eat', mẹgida or mẹkke tŏida '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 kuk '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 **258** in the perfect converb and show a stem in secondary -ịl-, -ịr-, which seems to have been an ending for intransitive (neuter, medium) verbs. Such forms are used with following čida 'to come to, to become' (N.Kor. dida). The corresponding transitive is formed either by the same intransitive form and the verb čhida (N.Kor. thida) 'to beat, to hit', or thẹrida (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 -ịl-. E.g.:

ukta 'to be bent in, to be battered', ugẹ žida 'to get battered', ugịrẹ žida id., ugida 'to batter in', ugịrida, ugịrẹ-čhida, ugịrẹ-thẹrida 'to batter'.

pusẹ-žida 'to break, to be in pieces', pusẹ-čhida, puse-thẹrida 'to break something', pusịrẹ-žida 'to fall in pieces', pusịrẹ-čhida, pusịrẹ-thẹrida, pusịrida 'to break in pieces'.

ẹsẹ žida, ẹsịrẹ žida 'to be droll', from ẹtta (ẹsẹ, ẹsịn) 'to be sideways'.

nukta 'to be slack, loose', nugẹ žida, nugịrẹ žida 'to become loose, to slacken down', nugịrẹ-čhida, nugịrida, nugida 'to unharden, to loosen'.

nẹlpta 'to be broad, to be flat', *nẹlbẹ žida*, *nẹlbirẹ žida* 'to become flatter', *nẹlbirẹ čhida*, *nẹlbirẹ thẹrida*, *nẹlbirida* 'to make broader, to flatten' (cf. *nẹpčhi* < *nẹlpčhi* 'the sole fish').

ẹpta 'to turn upside down', *ẹphẹ žida*, *ẹphirẹ žida* 'to fall upside down', *ẹpčhida*, *ẹphirẹ čhida*, *ẹphirẹ thẹrida*, *ẹphirida* 'to bend forward down', *ẹptirẹ thẹrida*, *ẹptirida* 'to bend down'.

nẹmda 'to be over', *nẹmẹ* 'over, beyond', *nẹmẹ žida*, *nẹmirẹ žida* 'to tumble over', *nẹmẹ čhida*, *nẹmẹ thẹrida*, *nẹmirẹ thẹrida* 'to knock over', *nẹmčhida* 'to run over, to transgress', *nẹmnịda* 'to be too pretentious.'

pẹtta 'to take off the clothes', *pẹsẹ žida*, *pẹsirẹ žida* 'to be stripped'.

sukta 'to be bent', *sugẹ žida*, *sugirẹ žida* 'to become bend, to bend oneself', *sugida* 'to bend forward', *sugirẹ thẹrida* id.

kupta 'to be crooked', *kubẹ žida*, *kubirẹ žida* 'to be bowed or bent', *kuphida*, *kubirẹ čhida*, *kubirida*, *kuphirida* 'to bend forward'.

natta 'to be low', *nažẹ žida* 'to be lower', *nažiri negida* 'to look on with contempt'.

259   The suffix *-r-* can also be traced elsewhere, for instance in the verb *phurịda* 'to be green', *phurịn* 'green', *phurịrin* 'greenish', from *phul* 'grass', *kirẹ hada* 'to be so', *irẹ hada* 'to be as this', *čẹrẹ hada* 'to be as that (there)', from the pronouns *ki*, *i*, *čẹ*.

Denominal verbs.

260   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* 'threads', *olkta* 'to tie'.
   pul 'fire', *pulkta* 'to be red',
   *kul (cf. Turk. *kür* 'fatbodied, thick', Mong. *küriji-* 'to be thick', Tung. *kurbẹ-* 'to swell'), *kulkta* 'to be voluminous',
   purẹ žida 'to fall in pieces', *pulgẹ žida* idem.

(sufffix *p*) *nẹlda* 'to spread out', *nẹlpta* 'to be broad',
   pal 'foot', *palpta* 'trample, tread on',
(suffix *u*) *mul* 'water', *murịda*, *muruda* 'to be watery',
   phul 'grass', *phuruda* (*phurulda*) 'to be green',
(suffix *a*) *čal* 'well, enough', *čarada* 'to be sufficient', *možarada* 'to be insufficient'.
(suffix *i*) *ča* 'foot (measure)', *čäda* 'to measure the length',
   ma 'a mill', *mäda* 'to grind',
   hä 'day, sun', *häjẹ hada* 'to be white', *hịida* 'to be white, clear',
   tüi 'behind, after', *tuida* 'to chase, hunt',
   pä 'stomach', *päda* 'to conceive',
   ttịi 'belt', *ttịida* 'to tie on a girdle'.

Derivations of this kind are inherited from past periods of the **261** language, but there are some few endings which are used as living material for building new words. These endings are:

1) *-ropta*, *-rẹpta* (see p. 245),
2) *-sịropta*, *-sịrẹpta* gives qualitative verbs with a sense 'to be worthy of', 'to be apt to', e.g.

   isaŋ 'wonder', *isaŋsịrẹpta* 'to be wonderful'.
   sosa 'tricks', *sosasịrẹpta* 'to be cunning'.
   tẹk 'virtue', *tẹksịrẹpta* 'to be virtuous',
   kkoi 'stratagem', *kkoisịrẹpta* 'to be wily'.
   ssaŋ 'multitude', *ssaŋsịrẹpta* 'to be vulgar',
   saram 'men', *saramsịrẹpta* 'to be human',
   saraŋ 'love', *saraŋsịrẹpta* 'to be lovely', *saraŋ hada* 'to love'.
   pulkta 'to be red', *pulgisịrẹpta* 'to be reddish',
   hịida 'to be white', *hịisịrẹpta* 'to be whitish'.

To the verb in *-sịrẹpta* corresponds a noun with the ending *-sịrẹm* (for **-sịrẹum?*), and this is used with the verb *hada* as a qualitative expression with the same sense, e.g. *isaŋsịrẹpta* = *isaŋsịrẹm hada*, *sosasịrẹpta* = *sosasịrẹm hada*, *pulgisịrẹpta* = *pulgisịrẹm hada*, etc.

3) *-tapta* 'to be like, to be of the nature of', e.g. **262**
   saramdapta 'to be almost human',

araŋ 'beauty'(?), *araŋdapta* 'to be beautiful',

(n)*je* 'the rules of courteousness', *njedapta* 'to be polite',

činsil 'truth', *činsildapta* 'to be reliable',

(n)*janban* 'gentleman', (n)*jaŋmandapta* 'to be noble, gentlemanly',

saraŋ 'love', *saraŋdapta* 'to be amiable',

263 4) -*kęrida*, -*kīda*. This ending is found used after all kinds of onomato-poeic words expressing movements or sounds. This ending has the same function as the following

264 5) -*täda* (probably *-tajida?* or perhaps *-tańida*). Both are used after onomatopoeic words without any special stress on the ending and with the onomatopoeic word used only once and stressed. As well as this, the onomatopoeic word is also used twice and then the verb is obtained by using *hada* 'to do'. Some few examples among hundreds:

tilsęŋgida, tilssęŋgęrida, tilssęŋdäda, tilssęŋ tilssęŋ hada 'to be unsettled'

sugiŋgida, sugiŋgęrida, sugiŋdäda, sugiŋ sugiŋ hada ' to whisper',

suktęgida, suktęgęrida, suktęktäda, suktęk suktęk hada 'to hold secret councils',

phallaŋgida, phallaŋgęrida, phallaŋdäda, phallaŋ phallaŋ hada 'to flutter',

phullęŋgida, phullęŋgęrida, phullęŋdäda, p. p. hada 'to rattle',

alliŋgida, alliŋgęrida, alliŋdäda, a. a. hada 'to skip for joy',

sillukkida, sillukkęrida, silluktäda, s. s. hada 'to be unsteady',

čębęgida, čębęgęrida, čębęktäda, č. č. hada 'to grate (as shoes on sand)'

tilkhiŋgida, tilkhiŋgęrida, tilkhiŋdäda, tilkhiŋ tilkhiŋ hada 'to shake, to rock','to scold',

čalgiŋgida, čalgiŋgęrida -däda, č. č. hada 'to gnaw loudly',

ččalkkakkida, ččalkkakkęrida, -täda, čč. čč. hada 'to spank',

tiŋssalgida, tiŋssalgęrida, tiŋssaldäda 'to annoy, to pester'.

Notes about the use of some of the verbs.

265 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.

First of all the three verbs *ida* 'to be so and so', *isida* 'to be, to exist' and *hada* 'to do, to say, to be', which are so frequently used that they all merit the name of auxiliary verbs.

1) *ida*. It has already been mentioned (§§ 193, 223) that since the **266** 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-dę, so-dęra* 'it was an ox', *so-dę-n goro* 'because it was an ox', *so-dęn-ži mar idęn-ži* 'it may be either an ox or a horse', *ol-se* 'opportunity to come', *olseda* 'he comes' ('it is his opportunity to come'), *ol ję-n ži > olliŋži* 'whether he might come', *hajękk e* 'in order to have done', *hajękkę-n maniŋ* 'was to have done, but . . .'; **im ję nįn* 'if it is': *so-m-ję-n, somjęn* 'if it is an ox', *so-da ga > sodaga* 'while it is an ox', *io* (politely said) 'is', *saram io* 'it is a man', *mękke jo* 'it is to eat', *mękči-o* 'eats, I think' (orig. *mękči io*); *męgę jo* 'eats', *ka jo* 'goes' (*jo < io* 'is).

This capacity of the verb *ida* to lose its *i-* and sometimes to change it to -*j-* 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, idę*, etc. has been shortened to -*kęn, -kędę,* etc.; *męktę-n pap* 'the food one then ate', *mękkędęn* 'if I should eat', *mękken pap* 'the food that was for eating'.

2) *itta*. This verb joined to the perfect and future converbs forms **267** the compound tenses and also loses its stem vowel, e.g. *itta* 'to be', *issę-tta* 'has been', *ikke-tta* 'will be', *ikkę-ssę-tta* 'was to be', etc. This loss of the stem vowel is also found elsewhere when the verb *itta* has been unstressed e.g. *orä* 'long ago', *orä-tta, orä-sso* 'it is long ago'. See also the particle -*sę, -sję* for original *isję* (§ 252), the particle *siri* after the future converb (§ 253).

3) *hada*. This is the most used verb in the whole language, since, **268** 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 hạda* (< *mal-sạda*) with *malsam* (< *mal-sạm*) '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?», »how 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 converb of a qualitative verb, *hada* expresses 'to think it...' (*čoha hada* 'to think it good', 'to approve', *ak hajẹ hada* 'to think it bad', 'to disapprove'; also: *kkama hada*, *kkamatha* 'to be quite dark', etc.). With the future converb *hada* means 'to make' (*čokhe hada* 'to make it good', 'to improve', 'to repair', *mẹkke hada* 'to feed', 'to compel to eat'). With the noun *man* 'amount' has been formed *man hạda*, now *mantha* 'to be many', and there are many other verbs which seem to be old contractions with *hada*. Of the negative particles *mot* 'not, not possible', *an*, *ani* 'not, unwillingly', *mot hada*, *ani hada*, are used like the English 'do not' as a negative auxiliary; *mẹkči mot handa* 'I don't eat', *mẹkči ani handa* 'I do not wish to eat', besides *mot mẹṇṇinda*, *ani mẹṇṇinda*. Of these, *ani hada* is usually shortened to *antha*, *ani hadẹ* to *anthẹ*, *ani hago* to *ankho*, *ani hagẹ* to *ankhe*, but *ani han* to *anin*, *ani hajẹ* to *anäi*, 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 *ā*, *ẹ̄*. 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. *mẹgillā hada*, *mẹgillāda* 'to mean to eat, to want to eat', *mẹgirā hada*, *mẹgirāda* 'to say: eat!', *mẹgimā hada*, *mẹgimāda* 'to promise to eat', *mẹgimā haži ani hada*, *mẹgimažantha* 'not to promise to eat', *mẹkčā hada* 'to say: let's eat', *mẹkčāda*, *mẹkčāžantha*, etc.; *kirẹ hada* 'to be so', *kirẹhan*, *kirẹn* 'such', *ẹttẹ hada*, *ẹttẹ han*, *ẹttẹn* '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?*), *čhẹrẹ* 'like, similar to' and *čhẹrẹm* idem, *puthẹ*, *puthẹm*, '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 pretence to fullness or exactitude. Such are for instance:

4) *čida* (*žida*), N.Kor. *tida* (*dida*) 'to become'. This verb is used after nouns, but most frequently after verbs in the perfect converb, to express an intransitive and inchoative verb. It is so frequent that of some verbs only this composition with *žida* is used, e.g. *čappa žida* 'to fall backwards', *ttẹrẹ žida* 'to fall down', *purẹ žida* 'to be broken'. These three are used without the declarative forms, which should be ***čappida, *ttẹlda*, *putta* (or *pulda?*). From intransitive verbs a verb in the sense »to be more and more» is obtained. **269**

karịda 'to divide'	*kalla žida* 'to be divided, split'
thịda 'to burst'	*thẹ žida* 'to burst',
kkẹkta 'to break' (tr.)	*kkẹkkẹ žida* 'to become broken, be broken'
ẹpta 'to turn down'	*ẹphẹ žida* 'to fall upside down'
čẹlmda 'to be young'	*čẹlmẹ žida* 'to become younger'
mulkta 'to be watery'	*mulgẹ žida* 'to become thinner'
pokta 'to roast, to parch'	*pokka žida* 'to be roasted'
salmda 'to cook'	*salma žida* 'to become riper'
pulkta 'to be red'	*pulgẹ žida* 'to redden'
ẹdupta 'to be dark'	*ẹduwẹ žida* 'to darken'

One finds the indirect imperative *žira* 'it be!' used after the perfect converb, and also *žẹ ida*, especially in older usage. The combinations *žẹ hada* (cf. *čoha hada*) 'to mean it to become', in the sense of 'to desire, to wish that it may become', is also used.

E.g. *phjeŋan han kodesę süiję žę ida* '(my prayer is) may he rest in this peaceful place', *joŋ han įiwęni töję žę ida* 'I want to be a good physician', *sogjęŋii nun tęrę palga žira han dįl, ętči palga žigesso* 'if one merely says 'be bright' to the eyes of a blind person, will they?', *mękko žę haja talla-go hajęsso* 'I wanted to eat and asked for it'.

Of this *čida* '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. *čhęndaŋe kago žigo* 'my wish is to get to Heaven', *joŋmi poŋthaŋ mękko žigo* 'would that I had some dragon flesh and phoenix soup to eat', *kjęŋsaŋ kamsa hago žigo* 'oh, that I might be the Governor of the Kjengsang Province'.

270 5) *čhida* and *thęrida*. 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 *čhida* of the factitive verbs. It is possible that *čhida* (N.Kor. *thida*) and *thęrida* are variants of the same kind as the 'endings' -*kęrida*, -*kida* or -*purida* and -*puda*. Where *čida* is used to form an intransitive expression, *thęrida, čhida* form with the perfect converb the corresponding transitive.

Intransitive	Transitive
ppada 'to fall into water', *ppa-žida* 'to drown'	*ppa čhida*, to drown (tr.), *ppa-thęrida* 'to drown (tr.)
nęmę žida 'to fall over'	*nęmę thęrida* 'to throw over'
munhę žida 'to collapse'	*munhę thęrida, munhę čhida* 'to break up'
ččigę žida 'to fall over'	*ččigę thęrida* 'to fell'
pusę žida 'to break' (intr.)	*pusę thęrida* 'to break' (tr.)
kękkurę žida 'to fall upside down'	*kękkurę thęrida* 'to overturn'
hęthę žida 'to be spread about'	*hęthę thęrida* 'to spread about'
hęthirę žida 'to become dishevelled'	*hęthę čhida. hętčhida* '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. *phuŋ čhida* ('to beat wind') 'to exaggerate', *talk čhida* ('to beat fowls') 'to keep fowls', *jęp kęrim 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 **271** continue', 'to go on' or if the preceding verb expresses motion, this *kada* is used almost as a pleonasm.

E.g. *pissada* 'to be expensive', *pissa gada* 'to be more and more expensive', *pähoda* 'to learn', *pähwa gada* 'to go on learning', *kkįlda* 'to drag', *kkįrę gada* 'to drag along', *nada* 'to go out', *na-gada* idem, *tolda* 'to turn around', *tora gada* 'to go back', 'to return' (in polite speche: 'to die', still more polite is *tora gasida*), *hada* 'to do', *haję 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', *kažę gada* 'to take away', *kažę oda* 'to bring', *irę gada*, *irę oda* 'to arise', *čina gada* 'to pass', *čina oda* 'to pass in this direction', *töida* 'to turn out, to become', *töiję gada, töiję oda* 'to become'.

In the ending -*toda* used in exclamations in the same sense as the declarative in -*ta* (*hadoda* or *hada, töidoda* or *töida*) we have probably not the verb *oda*, but an old contraction of *ta* and *ida*, original **wida* 'to be'. The verb *oda* is identical with the Manchu and Tungus verb *oda* 'to become', while Korean *čida* 'to become' is identical with the Manchu -*ži*- and Gold. *did*- 'to come'.

8) *nada* 'to emerge', factitive (*naida*) *näda* 'to drive out', are usually **272** 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', *ttįda* 'to rise', 'to float

up', *tte̜ nada* 'to start', *ire̜ nada* 'to rise', *činada* 'to pass', *činäda* 'to experience, complete, celebrate', (*po* 'wrapped parcel'?) *ponäda* 'to send, to forward'.

After nouns *nada* has the general meaning 'to form', 'to appear', 'to be produced'.

E.g. (*nok* 'the rust') *nok nada* > *noŋnada* 'to rust, to become rusty', (*ttam* 'sweat') *ttam nada* 'to perspire', (*je̜kče̜ŋ* 'anger') *je̜kče̜ŋ nada* 'to become angry', *je̜kče̜ŋ näda* 'to make angry', 'to cause anger', (*pul* 'fire') *pul nada* > *pullada* 'to start burning', *pul näda* > *pulläda* 'to set on fire'.

Cf. Manchu *žafambi* 'to take', *žafanambi* 'to go to take', *žafažimbi* 'to come to take', etc. and Tungus *ičere̜n* 'sees', *itnaran* 'goes out to see' and also Manchu *umijaha* 'worm', *umijahanambi* 'to become worm infested', *suihe* 'the ears (of wheat)', *suihenembi* 'to form ears, be in ears'.

273 9) *tuda* 'to lay down', 'to put', 'to place', 'to let alone',
10) *notha* 'to leave free, to let go' and
11) *ne̜tha* 'to put in'.

They are all three p e r f e c t i v e verbs, i.e. they are used to indicate the s t a b l e   r e s u l t   o f   t h e   a c t i o n meant by the preceding verb.

E.g. *omgida* 'to transport', *omgje̜ notha* 'to leave it transported', *mohida* 'to gather', *moha notha* 'to have ... convoked', *ssida* 'to write', *sse̜ notha*, *sse̜ tuda* 'to write down, to register', *sse̜ ne̜tha* 'to check, to register', *iltha* 'to lose', *irhe notha* 'to lose definitely'; *te̜pta* 'to cover', *te̜phe̜ nokho* 'leaving it', 'what ever it may be'.

The expression *ki̜man tuda* or *koman tuda* 'to leave it at that much' is the Korean expression for 'to cease, to stop'. E.g. *koman tusio* 'please leave it!'

274 12) *poda* 'to look', 'to see'. This verb is used transitively also in the sense of 'to try': *ka poara* 'try to go' (and 'please go and see'), *ibe̜ poara* 'try the dress on you', *čhägi̜l ilge̜ poassi̜mnikka* 'have you tried to read the book?'.

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'; *tte̜re̜ žil 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 converb *poa* 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 that with the sense of 'than' (*i ge̜t če̜ ge̜t 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 *patčhida* 'to offer, to give'. The **275** verb *patta* is sometimes used pleonastically to indicate that the action is for the benefit of the subject himself. E.g. *ssida* 'to write', *sse̜ patta* 'to receive the occasion of writing', but *kapta* 'to pay', *kapha 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*, *čuopta*, *čusida*) and *patčhida* 'to **276** make to receive', *ti̜rida* '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. *phulda* 'to set free, to loosen', *phure̜ patta* 'to get it free', *phure̜ čuda* 'to give it free, to liberate', *phure̜ nottha* 'to let off, to leave it in freedom', *phure̜ žida* 'to become unfastened, to be loose', *phure̜ the̜rida* 'to have it to be freed', *me̜kta* 'to eat', *me̜ge̜ čuda* 'to eat (at the will of another), *alda* 'to know', *ara čuda* 'to recognize, to admit', *allida*' to let know', *allje̜ čuda* 'to publish', *li̜tta* 'to hear', *ti̜re̜ čuda* 'to lend an ear', *tōpta* 'to help', *tōa čuda*, 'to give help', etc.

15) *kažida* 'to take with one, to hold'. Of this verb the present **277** converb *kažigo* 'holding', 'in holding' is frequently used pleon-

astically. E.g. *phjorịl sa kažigo tịrẹ kada* 'to enter having bought the ticket (and holding it)', *ẹdẹ 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 converb as an auxiliary verb to signify 'totally'. E.g. *itta* 'to forget', *ižẹtta* 'has forgotten', *ižẹ perida, ižẹ-pparida* 'to forget totally', *iltha* 'to lose', *irhẹ barida, irhẹ ppurida* 'to lose irrevocably'; *saroda* 'to burn' (tr.), *saroa-barida* (*salwa b.*) 'to burn up' (v. tr.).

279 17) *mẹkta* '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 be beaten', and 'to eat scoldings', 'to eat money'). E.g. *jok mẹkta* (> *joŋ-mẹkta*) 'to eat insults' = 'to be abused'; *tẹwi mẹkta* 'to eat heat' = 'to have a sunstroke'; *nā mekta* 'to eat age' = 'to get old'; *nä mẹkta* 'to eat smoke' = 'to be stupid'; *he mẹkta* 'to eat emptness' = 'to lack constancy', *kịrẹ mẹkta* 'to grasp at'; *čusjẹ mẹkta* 'to grab', *aŋsim mẹkta* 'to have a discontented nature' (*aŋsim* 'angry mind').

280 18) *töida* 'to become', 'to turn out as', is used with the future converb to substitute a verb in a passive sense; e.g. *mẹkke töida* 'to be eaten', 'to become eaten', *palpke töida* 'to be stepped on'; but it is also used with other verbal forms. The verb *töida* is an active verb (present indicative *töinda*), not a qualitative verb as is *čida* (present *čida*, never *činda*).

The word which expresses what or how a thing becomes, what turns out, has in Korean the particles *-i* or *ga*, e.g. *i gẹsi čohịn gẹsi töinda* 'this will be a good affair', *kị sarami puža ga töjẹtta* 'he has become a rich man'.

281 19) *sipta*, *sibuda* (stem *sib-, sibu-, siphị-*) 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 converb. E.g. *mẹkko sipso* 'I like to eat (really: 'eating would be agreeable', 'eating is the

suitable thing'). The verb *sipta* is often used with the substtive *tịs, tịt* (postpositional nouns, p, 225, No 11). E.g. *ol tịt sipta* (*ol tịt hada, ol tịs-ida, ol tịt 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 **282** of *-či* in all volitive formations instead of *ani* and *mot* 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 mara* (»knowing, not knowing») 'how to talk about the knowing', *kịrẹkho 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. *kallā go mallā go handa, kallak 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.

'I spoke to my father', 'I told it for the sake of my father', *tožek anthe čugęsso* '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: *ankhan* 'the inner room', *anphat* 'the in and out of . . .', *tonan* 'interval, during', *uran* 'the yard' (= *ul* 'the fence' and *an* 'inside') and in *anhä* 'the wife', *anhak* 'woman'.

3) *aphe*, *aphiro* (earlier *alphai*, *alphęro*) 'for, before, in the front of': *san aphiro watta* 'he came along this side of the mountain', *san aphe* 'before the mountain', *ki aphe* 'before that, earlier', *čip aphirosę* 'in front of the house'. The stem is originally **alph*, corresponding to Turkish *alp* 'foreman, forefighter, hero' and Mongol *albagut* 'the nobles', Turk. *alpaut* id.

4) *are*, written *arai* 'under, beneath', is now used also as nominative: *aränni* 'the lower teeth', *aräe* 'on the underside', but is originally the locative of a noun *al* 'the underside', still found in *čibal* 'the place under the house', *päal* 'the stomach'. The instrumental is *allo* and means 'downwards, upside down'. This word corresponds to Turkish *al* in *altin* 'under'.

5) *ue* (*uhęi*, *uhįi*), *uiro* (*uhiro*, *uiru*, *uuru*) from *u* 'over, up, above, on', found in many compounds: *ussaram* 'a high class man', *unni* 'the upper teeth', *utčęgori* 'upper garment', 'outside jacket', *upsi* 'extra seed', etc. The word *u*, older *ug* and *uŋ*, found in *čibuŋ*, *čibu* 'the roof', corresponds to Tungus *u* in *uile* 'over, on', *uiski* 'upwards', *uir-*, *ugir-*, 'to lift up'.

6) *so* 'inside, heart' and *sok* id.; *soe*, *soge*, *soiro* 'in, within', are regular formations from the still used nouns *so* and *sok*.

7) *kkit* 'end, tail, aft', is used as a regular substantive and as a postposition in the locative and instrumental in the sense of

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CHAPTER III

Postpositions and adverbs.

283 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.

284 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) *anthe*, *anthiro* 'for, before, in the presence of, under the eyes of, by, to, in regard to, owing to'; *abanim anthe mal hajęsso*,

'behind, after'. It seems to correspond to Goldi *kita*, *kitta* 'the stern of a boat'.

8) *kat*, *ket*, found in compounds and meaning 'the outside' or 'the side' of: *pakkat*, *pakket* 'the outside', *ket tōlda* 'to turn the outside to', 'to be uncongenial, to be unfriendly', *ket-por-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. *qačar*, *qačir* '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: *nä kjethe sānan saram* 'the man who lives with me', *san kjethiro* 'towards the mountain, in the vicinity of the mountain', *kaŋ kjethiro katta* 'he went to the river, he went in the direction of the river'.

10) *jephe*, *jephiro* 'at the side of, beside, by, near, with', seems to be an original *jep* 'sides, ribs': *nä jephe sānan saram* 'a man who lives with me, under my protection', *abanim jephe sao* 'I live with my father', *san jephe käčeni hirinda* 'a rivulet flows alongside or under the shade of the mountain'. The Tungus *äpti* 'rib', Mongol *epčigün* '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: *tuičip* 'the back house', *čiptui* 'the back of the house', is used in the locative *tuije*, *tüije*, *tüje*, and instrumental *tuijiro*, *tüjiro*, *tuuru*, in the sense of 'behind, in the back of'. This word *tui* is identical with Goldi *dui* (*duile* 'behind'). Earlier this *tui* was also used in the sense of 'North' and *alp* in the sense of 'South'. *Tuije* and *aphe* are now mostly used in a purely local sense: *mun tüije* 'behind the door',

mun aphe 'before the door', *san tüije* 'on the other side of the mountain', *san aphe* 'on this side of the mountain'. In other senses, temporal or other, the Chinese words *hu* 'after' and *čen* '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 **patk*, is used in compounds, but as postposition or adverb only in locative *pakke* (earlier *patkai*) and instrumental *pakkiro* (earlier *patkaro*) in very varying senses: *čip pakkiro kasso* 'he went out (of the house)', *i pakke tarin gesi manso* '(besides this) there are many more', *i mal pakke nin tā palkso* 'except this word all is perfectly clear', *i put pakke ēpso* 'have you no pens besides this?', *mun pakke* 'outside the door', *čogom pakke ani kidarjesso* 'he didn't wait but a little'. Except in purely local sense, the Chinese word *we*, written *oj* (Chinese pronunciation *wai*) 'the outside', is now preferred: *i weje* 'beside this, over this, above this'.

14) *kkaži*, *kkeji*, *kkat*, *kket* 'up to, until and including, till': *iptä kkaži* 'until now', *ilbon 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*, *kkažuŋ* is used, but these are, according to UNDERWOOD, not elegant; *kkažu* seems to be a compound with *u* 'over' ('till-up').

15) *katči*, N.Korean *kathi* 'similar to', 'as, like': *na wa katči* 'like me, together with me', *nūn katči* 'as snow, like snow', *uri katči* 'just as we, like us, with us', *če čhäk kwa katči kirimil 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* : *kathin*) 'to be similar, to be the same'. The substantive *katči* also means 'similarity' and 'in a similar way'.

16) *kaži* 'sort, kind', *hangaži* 'one sort, likewise, also, in the same way'. Like *hangaži* also *hande* (*han tai* 'one place') and *hamkkii* (*han pkii* 'one time') are used. The word *kaži* is the *i*-noun of a verb *katta* (: *kaža* : *kažin*) 'to be in order', factitive *katčhuda*, *katčhida* 'to put in order'. This word *kaži*

'order, kind, sort' has been taken over by the Manchu language (*hačin* 'order, sort') and Tungus (e.g. *tar-gačin* 'such, of that kind').

17) *kkiri* 'among, amidst'. GALE has in his dictionary *kkiri* 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 *kilda* 'to be long' and *kiri* means '(along) the whole line of'. The double consonant *kk* is a remaining genitive gemination. E.g. *uri kkiri* 'among us, in our group', *uri kkirie*, *uri kkiriro* 'among us'.

18) *čuŋe*, N.Kor. *tjuŋe*, *tuŋe* 'amidst, in, between', is the regular form of the Chinese word *čuŋ* 'the mid, the middle part'.

19) *tai*, pronounced *te*, *de*, or its genitive gemination *tte*, is a Chinese word meaning 'place, substitute'. It is mostly used in the instrumental; *ittäro* 'instead of this'. The compound *tai-sin* (translation »substitute-body»), 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 *täbiri*, *täbiru* 'instead of'.

20) *tai* 'accordance, concordance', in the instrumental *täro*, 'in accordance with, so as, like', is used after nouns as a postparticipial noun (No 8). E.g. *ittäro*, *idäro* 'like this, as this', *maldäro* 'according to the word', *ttil ttäro* 'according to the possibility, as possible' (cf. Manchu *mutere teile*, *mutere i teile* 'according to possibility).

21) *ttan* 'from', in for instance *čip ttan* 'from home', *saram ttan* 'from a man', *ittan* 'starting here', is a noun *tan* 'border, limit, hem' and can be declined regularly: *čettane* 'by there', *čettanese*, 'from there, from that side'. The double initial consonant is a remaining genitive gemination. To this *ttan* seems to correspond the Turkish word *jan* 'side' and the old-Turkish ending *-dajan*, *-danjan*, *-dandan* (*oguzdajan* '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) *-ttawi*, *-ttai* 'like, as': *ittawi* 'like this', *saram-ttawi* 'like a man, worthy of a man, human'. Here we find the genitive gemination

and a word *tabi*, the *i*-noun of the word *tapta* 'to be becoming', or 'worthy of', which was treated above under the heading denominal verbs, *saram-dapta* 'to be human', *janban-dapta* 'to be noble, to be gentlemanly', etc.. With this *tabi*, now pronounced *-ttawi*, cf. Turkish (Uigur) *taby* '-mässig'.

23) *taim* '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 *taime* and the instrumental *taimiro* are used in the sense 'after'; *i daime* 'after this, next to this', *i mal taime* 'after this word', *i mal taimiro* 'following this word, after this word'. To the verb **tag-* cf. Turkish *jagu-* 'to be near, to follow' (*jaguq* 'near') and Tungus *daga* 'near, close to'.

24) *čherem*, *čherom*, *čhero*, N.Kor. *thjeri*, 'like, as, complying with, compared with', seems to be the instrumental of a noun* *thje*, now lost, together with *ham* (*čherem* from older *čheru ham*), cf. *podem*, *puthem*.

25) *kwa* (after consonants) and *wa* (after vowels), N.Kor. *kwa*, *gwa* 'with, together with, and': *mal kwa so* 'horses and cattle', *so wa mal* 'cattle and horses', *na wa kathin* 'similar to me, like me, as I', *ne wa tarinda* 'it is different with you, differing from you'. It is not clear whether this original *kwa* is a noun or a verb, but apparently it is identical with the Tungus ending *ku* in possessive adjectives: *asiku* 'married' (*asi* 'wife'), *kiseku* 'happy' (*kise* '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 *ča-* 'to sleep'. It is often used like the Tungus *žarin*, Goldi *žarun*, Manchu *žalin* '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.

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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 čę poda nao* 'this is better than that'; also *podam* and *podę*: *saŋnjęn podamin čogom naa* 'a little better than it was last year'; *pogo*, see below.

ida, -da 'being', 'while': *čibe-da* 'while being at home'; this -da seems to be very much used before the verb *poda* 'to look', to indicate the direction: *näję-da poda* 'to look out (-side); *tirę-da poatta* 'looked inside'; *čhję-da* 'upwards', *narję-da* 'downwards', etc.

b) words in -go

hago (abbreviated *kho*) 'doing', 'saying', gives an expression for 'a n d', 'even so' or 'together with': *na hago ne hago kagesso* 'I and you will go';

malgo 'avoiding', and *ępko* 'lacking', used in the sense of 'without', 'except': *ton ępko katta* 'he went without money', *horaŋi malgo čimsäŋi* 'all animals except the tiger'; besides *ępko*, also *ępsi* is used;

kažigo 'carrying', 'having', in the sense of 'with (a thing)': *čohịi kažigo watta* 'he came with some paper', *ton kažigo katta* 'he went away with the money';

tarigo 'leading', *mohigo*, *mosigo* 'following', in the sense of 'with (a person)': *anagi ahä tarigo wasso* 'the woman came with the child', *sensäŋ mosigo oo* 'he comes with the teacher';

pogo 'looking on', 'in the face of', see below *poa*.

c) words in -a, -ę. 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.

sję, *sę* 'being' (after all cases except the genitive and the accusative). This form of the verb **isida* (now *itta*) 'to be' has been discussed under the chapter »Cases» and called the essive particle.

ssę 'using', used in the literary language after the instrumental case; e.g. *himssę*, *himirossę* 'by force', 'with all one's mind' (*ssida* 'to use').

tęrę, *tęrję* (*dęrę*, *dęrję*) 'turning towards', used to indicate the object if it is a person, or the objective with verbs with the sense »to say», »to ask»: *abanim dęrę pirętta* 'I asked it of my father', *na dęrę* (*na pogo*, *na anthe*, *na aphe*, *na tä haja*, *näge*) *jok hanan ja*, 'do you scold me?', *ki saram dęrę kidarira kko hajęra* 'say to him that he may wait'. The verb *tęrida* does not seem to be used, but *tęrję* is explained as corresponding in sense with the Japanese verb *mukau* 'to face', 'to turn towards'.

puthę, *pithę* (also *puthęm*, *pithęm*) 'passing through', 'via', very much used in the sense of 'from', 'starting from', 'counted from', e.g. *atčham puthę* 'from the morning', *ilbon puthę* 'from Japan'. (*putta* 'to pass by', 'to ply', 'to touch on the way').

tębirę 'holding the hand', 'leading', in the sense of 'together with (a person)' from *tębilda* 'to hold in the arms'.

kažę 'keeping', 'holding (a thing)', 'with', like *kažigo*.

aolla 'including', 'with' (*aorida* 'to unite'), *aoro* id.

ēwę 'around' (from *ēuda* 'to surround'): *ēwę ssago sęsso* 'standing close around'.

kalba, *karwa* 'together with' (cf. Mong. *qolba-*).

tullę 'around', 'about' (*turuda* 'to circle around'); *turu* id.

kkę 'through' (*kkęda* 'to press oneself through').

kęnnę 'over', 'to the other side of'; *kkę gęnnę* 'through' (*kęnnęda* 'to pass over a river or a mountain').

čina 'passing by', 'by', 'after': *näil čina* 'after tomorrow', *sęul čina* 'after Seul', 'having passed Seul' (*činada* 'to pass').

kęsarję, *kęsillę* 'transgressing', 'against' (the laws, the customs, the intentions) (*kęsarida* 'to transgress', 'to go against', 'to be opposite').

nęmę 'over', 'more than' (*nęmda* 'to pass over', 'to come to the other side') and

nama 'over', 'above', 'beyond' (*namda* 'to be left over').

maža 'meeting', 'against' (*matta* 'to meet')

čotčha 'following', 'after', 'as a consequence of', 'from' (the verb *čotta* 'to follow after', 'to chase').

(*kwa*) *mitčhę* 'united with', 'touching', 'arriving at', 'as far as', 'up to', 'and' (*mitta* 'to reach', 'to arrive at' in the same sense as the Japanese word *ojobu* and the word *ojobi* 'and'). The form (*kwa*) *mit* in the sense of 'and' or 'together with' also exists.

poa 'in regard to', 'for the sake of', 'concerning', 'towards', 'to' (a thing or a person); also *pogo* and *poda, podam: na pogo mal hajętta* 'he said to me', *i il poa sängak hajętta* 'he thought about this affair' (*poda* 'to see', 'to look').

malmäama 'in consequence of', 'because of' (*malmäamda* 'to arise from', probably *malmä* and a verb *amda*).

taŋhaja 'concerning', 'about' (*taŋ hada* 'to concern').

inhaja 'because of' (*in hada*).

wihaja 'for the purpose of', 'for the sake of', 'in regard to' (*wi hada* 'to regard with favour', 'to honour').

tähaja 'in the face of', 'for the reason that', 'because' (*tä hada* 'to be opposite', 'to face').

The last four (*taŋ, in, wi < ui* and *tä < tai*) are Chinese words, all others are verbs of Korean origin.

d) words in *-i;* the only one is *ępsi* 'without' (*ępta* 'to lack', 'to be absent'), N.Kor. *ępko* 'id'.

The adverbs.

286 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 adverbially.

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 converbs 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 converb (*-ke*), 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 quasiwords 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 *anhi*) and

2) *mot* (cf. *mō-* in *mo-žarada* 'to be insufficient', *mo-psįda* 'to be of no use' = 'to be impossible, to be bad' and *možilda* 'to be bad' from *čarada* 'to be sufficient', *ssįda* 'to use', *ęžilda*, N.Kor. *ędir-* 'to be kind, to be good').

The use of these words has been already treated above; see con-verbum negationis, § 206 and also § 268.

Where the negation is referred to the noun we usually find a periphrase with the verb *ēpta* 'to lack, to be not existing' or a Chinese expression, i.e. a Chinese compound with 1) *pul, pu: pulpẹp hada* 'to be illegal', *pulman hada* 'to be unsatisfied' (*man* 'complete'), *puǯirẹn hada* 'to be diligent', *pudoŋ* 'not the same' (*toŋ* 'the same, likewise'), 2) *mu : mubjẹŋ hada* 'to be sound', (*pjẹŋ* 'sickness'), *muraŋ* 'an eunuch' (*laŋ, naŋ* 'testicles'), *mubẹp* · 'lawlessness', *mumat* 'insipid' (Korean *mas* 'taste') or, more seldom, 3) *pi : pisiŋ pisok* 'neither bonze nor layman', *piin* '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.

Adverbia localia.

289 Here we have to do with case formations of nouns, among others also those 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. *ẹdä* (*ẹdįi*) 'where', originally 'what place', *kaondä* 'in the middle' (*kaot* 'the middle'). On the other hand, the words *are, arä* 'under', 'beneath' and *ore, orä* 'long ago' 'since long' are locatives (of *al* and *ol*), but used mostly as nominatives, also in compounds (*arätčip* 'the under-house, the house below', *orägan, oräkkan* 'a long time').

Adverbia temporalia.

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:

ẹnže N 'when' ('what time'), *ẹnže-dẹnži* 'anytime, always'
ilčịk N, *ilčịgi* I 'early'

atčham, atčhịm 'in the morning', *atčhame* L id.
naže L 'at noon'
nažu N (*nač-u*) 'in the afternoon'
pam N, *pame* L 'at night'
čjẹnjẹk, čjẹnẹk N (*čjẹ* 'down', *njẹk* 'direction') 'in the evening'
onal N 'to-day' (probably *ol* 'this', 'right this', *oltha* 'to be right')
orhä N 'this year' (*hä* 'year')
ẹžẹkkịi, ẹžẹ N 'yesterday' (*kkịi, pkịi* 'time')
kịžẹkkii, kịžẹ N 'the day before yesterday'
näil, mjẹŋil 'to-morrow', *nämjẹŋil* 'after to-morrow'
morạ̈ 'the day after to-morrow' (probably L)
kịmnjẹn 'this year', *nänjẹn, mjẹŋnjẹn* 'next year'
čaŋnjẹn 'last year', *čäžaŋnjẹn, kịrẹkkịi* 'the year before last', *kịgịrẹkkịi* 'three years ago'
ttä ttä, ttä ttäro 'some times', 'from time to time'
iptä 'now-a-days', *čẹptä, kịptä* 'at those times' (*ptä, ttä*)
kot N 'immediately' (*kot* 'place' cf. 'on the spot')
akka (written *ạ-skạ*) 'some minutes ago' (*kkạ* 'occasion')
pajahịro (I.) 'then, at that time'
palsje, polsje (*pẹlsje*) 'already' (*sje* essive particle)
mẹnžjẹ 'earlier, already earlier' (*čjẹ* from v. *čida*), N.Kor. *manžẹ*
inže (*iže*) 'now', (Chin.) *čịgịm* 'now, at present' (Tung. *tikin* id.)
mak 'just now', *sibaŋ* (Chin.) 'now'
njēthä, jēthä 'since of old, up to now' (*njēt* 'old', *hä* 'year')
orä 'long ago, since of old, from old'; *oräkkan* 'a long time'; *orä-ži* (< *iži*) *an haja, oräžanä* 'not long ago'
miri 'beforehand'
ažik 'still', 'yet', *ažik ani* 'not yet', *ažikkẹt* N 'still, up to the present time, until now' (**kkẹč* 'till, until')
ttẹk 'just then'
nō (*noo*) 'still, continuously, as earlier'
nịl, niru 'continuing, always' (v. *nịlda* 'to stretch)
säro 'again', *särohi* id. (*sä* 'new', *säropta* 'to be new')
matčham 'just then'
mažamak 'at last, in the end'
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āi I, *āe* L, *āsie* L 'in the beginning, at first' (*si* 'time')

tịdäe L, *tịdäje̜* 'then, subsequently' (*tịt?* 'off, apart')

tasi (Chin.) 'another time, again'

hịni (*hin hi*), *tägä*, *täžje* 'usually', 'generally'

kakkịm, *čažo* 'often' (Chin. *kak* 'every', *kịm* 'now')

hänjoŋ (Chin.) 'usually'

ponnä (Chin.) 'from the beginning, until now'

ilsaŋ, *haŋ-saŋ*, *čoŋsi* (Chin.) 'always'

kịlphi 'three years later', *kịgịlphi* 'four years later' etc. etc.

Here may also be mentioned some verbal formations, e.g. (*čažo* and) *čakko*, *čakku* 'frequently, often, repeatedly', *itta ga*, *itta* 'by-and-by', 'after a while', *tịmulge* 'seldom, rarely', etc.

Adverbia qualitatis et modi.

291   Under this heading come the two different nominal formations of the verb, i.e. the noun on -*i* and the future converb 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',

süi, *süipke* 'easily',

am 'certainly', 'of course'

āmā 'perhaps', 'probably'

hok 'perhaps', 'or perhaps', *man-il* 'perhaps'

keu 'hardly', 'scarcely',

čharhari 'rather'

ttok 'just', 'precisely'

kkok 'exactly', 'firmly',

čham 'really', 'truly',

sinsillo, *činsillo* 'in fact',

we̜n hi 'eagerly', 'willingly',

čje̜llo, *čae̜n hi*, *sisaro* 'spontaneously', 'of itself',

e̜se̜, *e̜llịn*, *e̜lphịt* 'quickly', 'at once',

pje̜llo 'separately', 'specially',

čjok hi, *čjok hage*, *ne̜ŋne̜k hi* 'enough',

te̜dä, *te̜däge* 'slowly',

če̜kke, *če̜gi* 'slightly' (*če̜kta* 'to be few')

talli, *tarige* 'differently',

phe̜k, *tädan hi* 'very', 'strongly',

pure̜ 'purposely',

ke̜že̜, *ke̜že̜e* 'gratis' (< *kị-že̜* 'that shape', 'so as it is')

čhin hi 'personally',

nje̜nžịsi, *sogịro* 'secretly',

kamanhi, *kaman hage* 'quietly',

nịŋ hi 'ably', 'competently',

ke̜žịsi, *ke̜rige* 'falsely',

časehi 'carefully', 'distinctly'

čosịmhi 'with forethought',

kịphi 'suddenly',

ppalli, *pparige*, *sokhi*, *pappi*, *pappuge* 'quickly', 'hastily',

pulgabul 'by good or bad', 'necessarily',

e̜kčiro, *čie̜gịro* 'by force',

mäu 'awfully', 'very' (*mäpta* 'to be acrid'?)

ožik, *ožak* 'even so, only; but', 'the very', 'very' (< *ol* + *čak*)

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',

tto 'more', 'again', (v. *ttada* 'to attack, to go on', cf. Tung. *hatama* 'again', 'near'),

te̜ 'more' (in nominal compounds *te̜t*, e.g. *te̜kke̜ri* 'exaggeration', *te̜mmul* 'water above the ice'); used in comparisons: *te̜ me̜lli* farther', *te̜ čarige*, *te̜ čalli* 'shorter', *te̜ khịda* 'to be bigger'; *te̜-ok*, *te̜uk* 'all the more',

tẹl 'less'; like the preceding word, used in comparisons: *tẹl mẹlli* 'less far', 'not so far', etc. (v. *tẹlda* 'to lessen'),

manhi 'much' (*mantha* 'to be much', *mankhe* 'so that it will be much'),

kẹun-gẹun, kẹwi 'almost, nearly'

čhä (čhai) 'all', 'entirely', 'by a little'

čom, čogom, čokkom 'a little'

hāmā 'mostly' (an old verb *hāda* 'to be big'),

hā 'too', 'too much' (perfect converb of the same verb),

kwahi, kwa hage 'too',

kažaŋ 'mostly', very,

ažo 'entirely',

modo, tomoži 'in all', 'totally' (= skor. *to* 'all' and v. *motta* 'to gather'),

sẹro 'mutually' (an old verb **sẹlda* 'to be mutual'),

hollo, honža 'alone' (N.Kor. *habullu, habun-ža,* from a verb *habu-,* cf. *han* 'one'),

ōnža 'in all' (N.Kor. *obun* 'all'),

koro, korige 'equally', *kororo, korosẹ* 'all alike' (*korida* 'to be alike', *koroda* 'to adjust'),

timulge 'seldom', etc. (*timulda* 'to be scarce'),

nẹmu 'too much'.

There must perhaps be mentioned here expressions like *sẹisjẹ* 'three in company', *nẹisjẹ* 'four in all', 'all four', etc., where we have the essive particle.

CHAPTER IV

The uninflected words.

Among the different kinds of *adverbs* we have already met with **293** many words which show no kind of inflection and which themselves cannot be derived from a more simple stem word (e.g. *phẹk* 'very', *čal* 'well', *tẹ* '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 **294** are *ka* with its variants *ko, kä* (dial. *kje, ke*), *ja* with its variants *jo, ji, i* and the combination *kaja, kaj.* 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 querry **295** after the participles, has evidently been a substantive in the sense 'fact' or 'thing', e.g. *kallanži mallanži morigesso* 'I can't know whether he has gone or not', *kalčindä < kalči-in-dä* 'when he went', 'when one was to go', *kalčira do < kal či-ira do* 'in going', 'even if one is to go', v. Postparticipial nouns, § 225, N:o 6.

296 3. Among other particles there is the c o n n e c t i n g 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. *sō desu ga* 'so it is, b u t'), and on the other to the Goldi and Olcha 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 determinating *i* is used after consonant stems. (This *i* is, as explained above, originally a pronoun for the third person. E.g. *sęi* 'the three', 'three of them', *nāi manhįn saram* 'an aged man','his-age being-many man').

297 4. The particle *nįn* has been called above the e m p h a t i c p a r t i c l e; cf. Tungus *nun* 'if', 'as to'. It has the variants *įn* (after preceding consonant) and *nan* (after preceding vowel) and in some dialects *įnį* and *-n*. 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 converbum presentis and converbum perfecti, and it has entered as an essential part in the endings *-mįęn* (< *-m ię nįn*) and *-kędęn* (< *-ke idę nįn*) of the conditional and hypothetical converbs.

298 5. Further we have the particle *to, do* (N.Kor. *tu, du*) 'also', 'too', which we have called t h e a u g m e n t a t i v e p a r t i c l e and which corresponds to the particle *da, dä* in the Tungus, Mongol and Turkish languages. E.g. *na do nę do* 'both I and you', *hanā do ępso* 'there isn't even one', 'there is nobody', *sibaŋ ka do kị saramịl mannal su ępso* 'even if you go now, you are not able to meet him'; *amori poa do morịgesso* 'however much I may look on it, I can't find it out'; *amori poassę do* 'how much ever I have looked on it'.

299 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 saramā* 'you there', *i nomā* '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* (*čumā* 'I will give then', *męgimā* 'I will eat'), in the preventive form in *-llā* (*męgįllē* 'look out, he will eat it') and also in the converbum admissi, where *-ā* is united to the ending of the perfect participle (*issįnā* 'be it as it may', *onā* 'although he comes') and the indirect imperative (*męgirā*); *kįrjā* (< *kįrę ja!*) 'that's so!' 'yes!'

300 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 (*hadęra* 'he does there', 'he did then', *hajęttęra* 'one has done', etc.) and after the participles (*hananira, hanira, harira*). It is a common rule to use it in the strong or impolite imperative (*hajęra* 'do!', *poara* 'see!', 'look!' and the type *ikkęra* 'be!', *kagęra* '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 gęsi* 'that which is called a lamp', *Pag-ira hanan saram* 'the man who is called Pak', *sapkwa-ra hanan gęsịl uri ga poža-ra hao* 'we say *poža* for what they call *sapkwa* (hat)'. It is used also before the particle *do*: *čohįn-ira do* 'although it is good'; *kalči-ra do* 'even if he goes', *kalčirā do, kalčira hä 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.

301 8. The particle *ok, uk* is used in the words *tęok* 'all the more', *pirok* 'for instance', *ttok* 'just', 'precisely', *amo žoro-ok, amožorok* 'by any means' and in the endings *-torōk* (converbum efficiendi) and *surōk* (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 particle *oq, ök : bän-ök* 'just I, even I', *ol-oq* 'just that'.

302 9. When from the participle in *-nan* (*hanan*) and in *-n* (*čohįn*) we have special indicative forms (*hane* 'does' and *čohe* 'is good'), we probably have the same element as in the regressive in *-e* (*hade, mękte* side by side with *hadęra, męktęra*). 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.

303 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, -mui*.

304 11. The particle *ja* with the sense »only (that)», »just that», which in old documents is sometimes written *ńa*, sometimes *sa*, may originally be two different words, and is perhaps not identical with the vocative particle *ja*. E.g. *hunnjẹnẹ-ja olla kagetta* 'the following year then (I am sure not earlier) he will go to the country', *inžẹ-ja kjẹriri ikko wassimneda* 'only now have I a little leisure and have come', *samgjẹnẹ-ja čadẹra* 'only when it is the third watch does he go to bed'. This *ja* is also used after the present and perfect converbs (scil. *-ko-ja, -kosjẹ-ja, -a-ja, -asjẹ-ja*); after the present converb it is an emphasizing particle and after the perfect converb, this emphasis results in the meaning 'only that' ,which amounts to 'must'. E.g. *sul mẹkkosjẹ-ja ẹtči hagetta* 'drinking brandy so, what will it be', *ẹttẹ hadẹnži (ẹttẹ-thẹnži) ka-ja haja* 'in any case I must go', *ča, 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 converb.

305 12. The particle *sjẹ*, which we have called the e s s i v e particle, is in fact an abbreviated *isjẹ*, the perfect converb of *isida*, later *isida*, now *itta* 'to be'. We have found this used after some cases of the noun, after present and perfect converbs and also after the ending *-mjẹn*.

306 13. Also the instrumental particle *ssẹ*, found after the instrumental case, is a perfect converb (*ssida* 'to use', *ssẹ* 'using').

307 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 hajẹra* 'tell him to go', etc. The use of this particle has been mentioned under the desiderative, promissive and indirect imperative.

308 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. *čokho-na* 'really, it is good', *čham, mal čal hago-na* 'really, he talks well', etc. It is chiefly used after the present converb and is sometimes found without a vowel (*hagon, ikkon*); the ending of the converb is here often *-ku* instead of *-ko* (*haguna, hagun*). When we find *kon, kun* used after the perfect participle (e.g. *čohingun*) it is to be understood as an abbreviation of the verb *ida* 'to be' (*čohingun* for *čohin igon*).

The Interjections.

The Koreans very often use different kinds of exclamatory **309** 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-itta*), *atčha* (*a-haža*), *apta, aptana* (*a-ipta*),

aja, ai, ai-go, ägo, ä, ägona 'Oh!'

e, etta, era, eja 'Oh, stop!'

o, oha, oja (expression of fear)

a, e (expression of surprise)

in 'What do you say!'

ja 'Listen!' or 'Stop that!'

ča, če 'Well!', 'Yes!'

jē, njē, onjē, onjā '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 expres- **310** sions for different feelings or outbursts of interest.

As such are used:

čham 'Really!', *ha čham* idem.

kilsẹ 'So!', 'So it is!', 'Yes!'

ęgjo 'How bad!'

ęlsa 'How nice!', *ęlla* (by small children)

wen 'What!', 'How!', 'Not at all!'

pudä, pudi̧ 'I beg, I pray!' 'Sure!'

ani 'No!'

čęgi (< *čę igi*) 'Ugh!'

Some examples:

aigo, čhiwęra 'oh! it's cold!'

hęę, ki̧ jambani tora gatta-n mar io 'do you say he is dead?'

atčha, čal mot hajękkona 'dear me! I have done wrong'

apta, pęlsę ižȩ bęrjętta-n mar io 'now, have you already forgotten it!'

atta, ki̧ saram čham mari̧l čal hagona 'oh, how well he talks, really!'

aptana, ki̧ saram 'oh, what a man!'

onja, kekčjęŋ mara 'oh, don't worry about that!'

ha, čham čęi̧m pogenne 'oh, now I see it for the first time!'

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 *-kęrida, -kida* and *-täda.*

Some examples:

sugi̧n sugi̧n hada 'to whisper'

phallaŋ phallaŋ hada 'to flutter'

tallaŋ-dallaŋ hada 'to rattle'

allaŋ-allaŋ hada 'to flatter, to pretend to admire'

tęŋsil-tęŋsil hada 'to cut capers, to frolic'

tesuŋ-tesuŋ hada 'clumsily'

tębuk-tębuk 'in tufts', 'in bunches'

tębęk-tębęk 'stupidly, clumsily'

tęphul-tęphul 'flying up and down'

talmak-talmak 'shaking, rattling'

tamssak-tamssak 'squeezing'

sęllęŋ-sęllęŋ 'cool'

ni̧llim-ni̧llim 'quickly'

tām tām hada 'to have the mouth closed' (*tami̧lda* id.)

ttan ttan hada 'to be firm'

thi̧n thi̧n hada 'to be strong'

phi̧ęn phi̧ęn hada 'to be smooth, to be plain' (skor. *phi̧ęn* 'plain')

pi̧ęn pi̧ęn hada 'to be fair, to be all right'

tti̧t tti̧t hada 'to be hot' (*tti̧da* id.)

kät kät (*käkki̧t, kkäkkät*) *hada* 'to be clean' (*kąi-* id.)

čwal čwal 'flowing', *čol čol* id.

tęŋ dęŋ hada, toŋ doŋ, tęŋduŋ tęŋduŋ h. 'to drum'

ssęk ssęk 'very, much'

ogi̧l ogi̧l 'congregating, in swarms'

umi̧l umi̧l 'in swarms'

oksil oksil hada 'to move in swarms'

ugi̧t ugi̧t 'turning inwards, beaten inwards' (*ukta* 'to batter in')

ami̧l ami̧l 'indistinctly, almost hidden' (sinokor. *am* 'hidden')

omi̧l omi̧l 'gumming (in eating)'

ęži̧l ęži̧l 'dizzily, giddily'

adi̧k adi̧k 'giddily'

ękpak ękpak 'uneven, pricky' (as from smallpox)

ęllek ęllek 'in spots, pitted'

allak allak 'in (big) spots, variegated'

ęktęk ęktęk 'variegated'

ęlsuŋ ęlsuŋ 'multicolored, variegated'

ęlsuŋ tęlsuŋ 'with irregular spots'

ęlmęŋ ęlmęŋ 'full of holes'

akpak akpak 'full of bigger holes'
ęlgi ęlgi 'tangled', *ęlgi sęlgi* 'in many ways tangled'
ęngįm ęngįm 'on all fours'
ęŋ ęŋ 'crying', *ęŋ-ęŋ-gęrida* 'to bawl, to cry'
ęŋkhįm ęŋkhįm 'with long strides'
säŋįl säŋįl 'laughing'
sęngit sęngit, sęngil sęngil, sįngil sįngil 'grinning'
sillok sillok, sällok sällok 'twitching, pulling'
silkhim silkhim 'unwillingly'
sältĕuk sältĕuk 'sideways, askew'
ssigįn ssigįn 'panting, with a gasp'
sidįk sidįk 'halfdry'
sidįl pudįl 'partially half dry, partially dry, warping'
orok ĉorok 'in (uneven) lumps'
užil pužil 'boldly'
uri buri 'imposing, majestic'
uręŋ uręŋ 'sounding deep and full'
udun udun 'idiotically, stupidly'
ędun ędun, adun adun 'stupid' (Skor.)
walkhak walkhak 'precipitately'

Note. We have the old Instructive in:
ĉip ĉibi 'in every house', 'every house'
nal nari, nanari 'every day'
tal dari, tadari 'every month'
hä häi 'from year to year', 'every year', etc.
etc, etc.

A few sentences may show their use:

Nunsębįl ĉĉįngut ĉĉįngut, ibįl ppitĕuk ppitĕuk handa 'he twitches his eyelids and moves his lips'
ĉhol ĉhol hirįnan muri sul sul narįę ganda 'the river flows turbulently and beats downwards strongly'
ęžę pame ĉhoŋįl thaŋ thaŋ nōthęra 'last night they shot off guns repeatedly'
ĉjosu ga ĉjęm ĉjęm na gadęra 'the tide has gone out little by little'

sęro mäk mäk hi podęra 'they looked at each other, not recognizing'
pada ga maŋ maŋ haja kai ępso 'the sea stretches out, boundless as space'
pap ĉak ĉak męgęra 'eat moderately!'
nunbaŋuri hįl hįl nallidęra 'the snowflakes came sweeping down'
mure ori ga toŋ toŋ ttęttęra 'the duck went on bobbing up and down in the water'
parami punikka namukkįtĕi hįitĉhaŋ hįitĉhaŋ hadęra 'as the wind blew, the branches of the trees lashed backwards and forwards'
nabįiga phęl phęl nalla gadęra 'the butterflies flew fluttering away'
pami tömįęn pįęri panžak panžak hao 'when night comes, the stars twinkle'
kį haksäŋi ĉhoŋmįęn haja pähon gęsįl ĉul ĉul öodęra 'that student is bright and recites his lesson fluently'.

CHAPTER V

Word formation.

N o u n s.

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.

N o u n s   w i t h   s u f f i x e s.

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, -ęk, -k* : *thęr, thęręk* 'hair' (*jaŋ thęri, jaŋ thęręgi, jaŋ thęlgi* 'sheep wool'); *ttįl, ttįręk* 'courtyard'; *ka* 'boundary, border', *kaak hada* 'to border on'; *nal* 'raw, uncooked', *narak* 'unhulled rice'; *tol, torok* 'stone', *tolžä, tolžäjak* 'a small stone'; *kęmęk,* 'black' (*kęmda* 'to be black'); *kiręk, kirękči, kiri* 'the length' (*kilda* 'to be long'); *nęlbękči* 'the breadth' (*nęlpta* 'to be broad'); *nębęk* 'flat' (*nępta* 'to be flat'); *pusękči, pusįręk, pusįręgi, pusįrękči* 'offal, crumbs' (*pusida* 'to crumble'); *piręk-čil hada* 'to ask for

alms, to beg', *piręk-čaŋi* 'a beggar' (*piłda* 'to pray, to beg'); *karak, karakči* 'ring'; *sak* 'price, wages' (*sada* 'to buy'); *čhak* 'closely, firmly' (*čhada* 'to grasp firmly', *čha gada* 'to arrest').

Perhaps we have to count among these also *säak* 'a young woman' (*sä* 'new'), *anak* 'a wife', *anakne* (*anaŋne*) 'wife' (*an* 'inside', *ankhan* 'the inner room', 'the wife'). But as to *murip, muriphak* 'the knee', the vowel makes difficulties, and the word is perhaps a compound as probably is *nimaphak*, (= *nima, nimä, nimaŋi*) 'the forehead'. The ending *-ak* seems to be sure in *ččarim, ččarimak* 'short' (*ččarida* 'to be short'), *pusįręm, pusilmęk* 'a boil'.

315 2) *-kä (-ke), -ä (-e)*: *nalgä, nallä* 'the wing' (*nalda* 'to fly'); *tolgä* 'whirlwind' (*tolda* 'to turn round'); *ssagä* 'a wrap' (*ssada* 'to wrap in'); *pjęgä* 'a pillow' (*pjęda* 'to lean the head against'); *ssige* 'a veil' (*ssida* 'to cover the head'); *čige* 'a hod' (*čida* 'to carry on the back'); *čipke* 'a pincer' (*čipta* 'to pinch'); *tępke* 'a bed cover' (*tępta* 'to cover').
karä (older *kalgä*) 'a spade' (*kalda* 'to dig'); *karä* 'a millstone' (*kalda* 'to grind'); *kallä* 'a branch of a family' (*karida* 'to divide'); *magä* 'a stopper, cork' (*makta* 'to stop, close'); *kure, kulle* 'a bridle' (*kulda* 'to treat'); *ppallä, ppalgä* 'the wash' (*ppalda* 'to wash'); *ssire, ssiręgi* 'sweepings, dust' (*ssilda* 'to sweep'); *norä* 'song', *nori* 'play', *norim* 'amusement' (*nolda* 'to amuse oneself'); *sorä, sori* 'sound'; etc.

With this type of deverbal noun seem to be analagous words like *kol, korä* 'valley' and *jęrim, jęrimä, jęlmä* 'fruit', where the ending *-ä* (original *-ai*) is apparently joined to a noun.

316 3) *-či*. This ending seems to be denominal, e.g. *kirekči, nęlbękči, pusįrękči*, etc. (see above); *abaži, abanim, abä, abi,* 'father'; *ęmęži, ęmęnim, ęmi* 'mother'; *aguŋi, aguŋži* 'the stove'; *paži* 'the trousers' (cf. Goldi *pa* 'trousers', 'liver'); *pęlgi, pęlge, pęlgęži, pęręži, pęlgäŋi* 'insect'; *jagä, jagaži* 'the nape of the neck'.

4) *-aži*. This ending is a diminutive termination, for instance in words like *kääži* 'a pup' (*kä* 'dog'), *soaži* 'a calf' (*so* 'a cow'),

maaži 'a colt' (*mal* 'horse'), *tojaži* 'a pig'; *mogaži, mok* 'the neck'; *son-mogaži, son-mok* 'the wrist'; *pagaži* 'a half gourd, used as a vessel' (*pak* 'the gourd'); *mugęži* 'remains', *mugi, mukči* id. (*mukta* 'to remain, to stay'); (*laŋ-* >) *naŋ-ttęręži* 'a precipice' (*ttęlda* 'to fall'); *namaži* 'remainder, surplus' (*namda* 'to remain').

It is possible that the endings *-či* and *-aži* are of the same origin, but it is also possible that in *abaži, ęmęži* we have an original *-či* and in some other words an original *-adi, -di*.

318 5) *-ari, -ęri, -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. *thęk, thęgęri* 'the chin'; *tiŋ, tiŋęri* 'the back'; *poŋ, poŋari* (*poŋori*) 'the top, the head'; *tęŋ, tęŋęri* 'a lump', *hilktęŋi, hilktęŋęri* 'a clod of earth'; *mugi, mugęri* 'remainder', 'shorts'; *mithę* 'under', *mithęri* 'sandals'; *tolmaŋi, tolmaŋari* 'a stone block'; *haŋ, haŋari* 'a jar'; *tok, toguri, tokkuri* 'a pot', 'a bottle for brandy'; *padari* 'the bumble bee' (Mongol. *batagana* 'a fly'); *sadari, sadaktari* 'ladders' (Mongol. *šatu* 'ladder'); *tothori* 'an acorn' (*toth* 'pig'?); *soŋi, soŋori* 'the bunch'; *tagari, tägari, tägä* 'the head (of a slaughtered animal)'; *męguri* 'the edible frog' (*mękta* 'to eat'); *muŋi, muŋuri, muŋęri, munčhi* 'a ball, a round thing'; *thęŋ* 'empty, wide', *thęŋęri* 'wideness' (cf. Turk. *täŋiz* 'the ocean, the sea'); *tan* 'alone', *taŋari* 'a single piece'; Chinese *čoktu*, Korean *čoktu, čokturi* 'a kind of hat'; *aguri* 'mouth, snout' and **ak* in *akpuri* 'snout' (*puri* 'nose'), (cf. Turk. *agyz* 'mouth'); Chinese *ku*, Korean *kui, kuiri* 'the oats'; Chinese *akpo*, Korean *akpo, akpari* 'a bad fellow'; etc.

319 Here we have also to reckon with *kęri* 'a thing, a piece', derived from *kęs* 'thing', 'piece', and probably earlier *kęsęri, kęhęri*. 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 *-ęri* may be supposed in the words *tiŋdęri* 'the back' and *poŋdori* 'the head, the top'.

6) *-aŋ, -ęŋ*. Deverbal formations are: *nijęŋ* 'the straw thatch' **320** (*nitta : niję : niiŋ* 'to lay side by side, to arrange'), *niphjęŋ* 'the dress' (*niphida* 'to dress'). Perhaps also in N. Kor. *piręŋ, piręŋgure* 'the beggar', *piręŋbaŋi* 'a poor beggar'.

From nouns are derived: N.Korean *kodjaŋ* 'a place' (*kot, kod-i* 'place'), *kęmdjęŋ* 'darkness' (*kęmda* 'to be black'). On dialectical differences depend N.Korean *naraŋ* 'country', *ttaŋ* 'earth', *padaŋ* 'the sea', *madaŋ* 'each', etc. against S. Kor. *nara, tta, 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) *-aŋi, -ęŋi* : *kuri, kuręŋi* 'snake', 'a serpent'; *koi, koja, konja,* **321** *kojaŋi* 'the cat'; *ttikkä, ttikkaŋi* 'clothes taken apart for dyeing' (*ttitta : ttirę : ttirin* 'to pull to pieces'); *pathaŋi* 'a jar'; *nuręŋi* 'a yellow dog' (*nuruda* 'to be yellow'); *nima, nimaŋi* 'the forehead'; *palgaŋi* 'the carp' (cf. Turkish *balyq* 'fish').

8) *-agi, -ęgi*. This ending is difficult to get clear because *-a, -ę* may **322** belong to a secondary stem and thus only *-gi* should be the ending; on the other hand *-i* may be the determinative ending and the real suffixes should then be *-ak, -ęk*. *Ssirẹgi* 'sweepings', *ssirę* 'sweepings, dust' (*ssilda* 'to sweep'); *niagi* 'a story, a tale' (? *nida : niję : nin* 'to connect, to continue'); *oragi* 'a thread in weaving' (*ori* 'strings', 'band', *ol* 'the threads of warp and woof'); *kurẹgi* 'a hero' (? *-kure* in *piręŋgure* 'a beggar'); *ppigi, ppirẹgi* 'the buds of reed grass'; *mikkuri, mikkuraži, mikkuragi* 'the lamprey', *mikkuräŋi* id.; *močhori, močhoragi* 'the quail'; *namu, namo, (namak), namkkagi* 'the tree, wood'.

9) *-gi*. This ending, which is the termination of the verbal sub- **323** stantive and signifies the action or the state expressed by the verb, seems also to be used in concrete nouns. E.g. *pogi* 'an example', 'something for show' (*poda* 'to see'); *nagi* 'a native of': *sęul-lagi* 'a native of Seul'; *muripčigi* 'clothes that reach down to the knees' (*čida* 'to fall down'); N.Korean *tshigi-tshä*, S.Korean *čhe, čhje* 'a sieve'; *čaragi* 'a grown-up' (*čarada* 'to increase in size'); *nägi hada* 'to lay a wager' (*näda* 'to emit, to give out').

324 10) *-ami*, *-emi*, *-mi*. From the verbs we have *kkuremi*, *kkuri* 'a wrapper, a ball of twine' (*kkurida* 'to wrap', 'to wind'); *elgemi*, *elmeni* 'a coarse sieve' (cf. Turkish *älgäk* 'a sieve'). Perhaps also words like *melmi* 'seasickness' and *pilmi* 'reason', 'cause', *narami* 'the length' (*nalda* 'to run lengthwise').

325 11) *-ttä*, *-tä* : *hje*, N.Korean *še*, *šettä* 'the tongue'; *pä*, *pättä* 'the stomach'; *tin*, *tintä* 'the back'; *če*, *če*, *čettä*, *čettä* 'the beginning'. This ending is quite obscure and may be a shortened composition; one can hear both *pättä* and *pättägi*, *koktä* and *koktägi* 'the mountain' (see below *thak*, under the compounds).

326 12) *-gak*. In North Korean, 'to mow hay' is *pida* or *pigak-čir hada*; this gives a word *pigek* with the sense 'sickle', where we should have a deverbal ending *-gak*. The word *čugek* 'a rice ladle' (cf. *čuda* 'to give') is possibly a second example.

327 13) *-i*. 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 noun which in one sense or another are connected with a verb. E.g. *sari* (*sarim*) 'the life', *čabi* 'the handle' (*čapta* 'to take, to fetch'), *čhai*, *čhä* (*ap-čhä* 'the front place in a two man chair', *tui-čhä* 'the rear handles of a chair', *čhada* 'to grasp firmly'); *čhai*, *čhä* 'full-size', *čip-čhä* 'as big as a house' (*čhada* '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* : *emeži*, *emi* 'the mother'; *abaži*, *abi*, *äbi*, N. Korean *abä* (*aba-i*) 'the father'; *až-abi*, *aži* 'the uncle'; *ei* 'mother (of animals)'. This kind of diminutive is known in other Altaic languanges as well.

328 14) *-kki* (? *-ski* or ? *-tki*). This ending is not clear; we have the few examples *säkki* 'youngster, young animal' (*sä* 'new'), *thokki* 'hare, rabbit' (Chin. *tho* id.) and *tokki* 'an axe' (probably from *tol* 'the stone, the hammer'; according to Prof. OGURA 'the axe' is in fact called *tol* and *tok* in some dialects).

329 15) *-im* is found as a denominal ending in *teim* 'the surplus' (*te* 'more'), *čheim* 'the beginning' (*če*, *čhet* 'the first').

16) *-t* (original *-s* and *-t*). From most of the qualitative verbs there **330** is a form in (written) *-s* used in connection with the verb *hada* : *pulgit pulgit hada* 'to be reddish', *hiit hiit hada* 'to be whitish', *nurut nurut hada* 'to be yellowish', *ttit ttit hada* 'to be hot', *kät kät hada* 'to be clean'. Here is a suffix *-s, and the same suffix is perhaps also to be found in the formations *pulgisirepta*, *hiisirepta*, etc., where the ending *-r-op-* is the formative of a secondary verb stem. To this *-s* correspond among others the Tungus verbs in *-sse-*: *bu-* 'to die' and *busse-* 'to be sick to death' and the deverbal nouns in *-s* in the Mongolian language. The Tungus ending *-sse-* 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 *hada* 'to do, to say' (< *he-* << *se-*).

Besides this *-t* (original *-s*) there is another ending *-t* which is found in denominal formations, e.g. *te* 'more', *tet* 'the second one, one more' (cf. Mongolian *det* 'vice', as in titles); *čhe*, *čhet* 'the first, number one'; *he* (*hetek*) 'uselessly, vainly', *het* (*het-ket*), '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) *-ii*, *-ui*. Such an ending can perhaps be supposed in examples **331** like *nabii*, *nabuni* 'butterfly', *čju*, *čjudii*, *čjuduni* 'the muzzle of animals'; *homi*, *homii*, *homäni* 'a weeding hoe'; *agui*, *agii* 'strength (as in strong drinks or poison)', cf. Turk. *agu*, Mongol. *ag* id. Whether this ending is a special ending or perhaps an abbreviation (*čjuduni* is perhaps shortened to *čjudii*), is difficult to decide without special study.

Composition of nouns.

The Korean language has a trait which distinguishes it from **332** 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) -hįi, found as a kind of plural sign: nę 'thou', nęhįi 'you'; čę 'that', čęhįi 'those, they'; a 'child', ahįi, ahä 'children' and 'child'.

2) -čja (Chin.), 'person': puža 'the rich man', kiža 'that fellow, he', (nimža) imža 'the owner, the master', 'my own beloved', etc.; see Postparticipial nouns No. 20 § 225.

3) čjaŋ, čjaŋi (Chin.) is very much used to indicate the craft or trade: not 'brass', notčaŋi 'the maker of brass goods'; sin 'shoe', sinžaŋi 'the shoemaker', čil-kiṛit 'earthenware, crockery', čil-kiṛitčaŋi 'the potter'; tam 'the wall', tamžaŋi 'the plasterer, wallmaker'; täžaŋi, täžaŋžaŋi 'the smith'; kui-męgi 'the deaf', kui-męgeri or kui-mękčaŋi 'the deaf person'; tiŋ-gop 'the hunchback', tiŋ-gop-čjaŋi 'the humpbacked person'; apčjaŋ 'the foreman'; tüižaŋ 'the last man'; kęp 'fear', kępčjaŋ, kępčjaŋi 'the hare-hearted man'. The same Chinese word has also entered the Turkish language, where we have söz 'word', sözčäŋ, kkir. sösčäŋ 'wordmaster, orator', öjränü 'the learning', öjränüčäŋ 'apt to learn', etc.

4) nim (Chin.?) is used after names and titles of honoured persons: abanim 'the father', ęmęnim 'the mother', hjęŋnim 'elder brother', son, sonnim 'the guest', sęnsäŋ, sęnsäŋnim 'the teacher', 'mister', sinim 'colleague, you' (used between monks of the same sect), hānanim 'God' (hānal 'heaven'), etc. In daily speech this -nim is very often shortened to -ni and abani, ęmęni also to aban, ęmęn.

5) -nom is used in a contemptuous sense: tožęk 'a thief', tožęŋnom, id.; čap (Chin.) 'various, mixed', čamnom 'a low fellow'.

6) -kun (Chin.) is used in names for workmen: il 'work', ilgun 'a worker', norim 'play', norimgun 'a player', kjo 'a palanquin', kjogun 'a palanquin bearer'; mori 'the drive' (molda 'to drive'),

morikkun 'the driver, the coachman', etc. This is to be kept apart from -kun (Chin.) 'royal person', e.g. nimgun (imgun) 'the Ruler, the Emperor'.
Also su, sju (Chin.) 'hand' is found in names for workmen or professionals: moksu 'carpenter' ('wood hand').

7) -kuręgi is used to show contempt: ton 'money', tonguręgi 'a money lover'; kękčęŋ 'worry', kękčęŋguręgi 'an anxious person' and 'a cause of anxiety'; pap 'food', papkuręgi 'a food lover, a great eater'.

8) -paŋ 'the chamber' and -paŋ 'the poor person', two Chinese words which seem to have been mixed and given the ending -paŋi : sjębaŋ (sję 'writing utensils'), 'secretary, mister, Mr' (kim-sjębaŋ 'Mr Kim'); anžinbaŋi 'a lame person, a cripple' (anžin 'sitting'); allaŋbaŋi 'a flatterer' (allaŋ allaŋ hada 'to pretend to admire'); piręŋbaŋi 'a beggar' (pilda 'to beg').

9) patčhi 'an actor'; norimbatčhi, norimbaŋi 'a clown', norimžaŋi, norimgun 'a gambler' (nolda 'to play').

10) ne, *naį 'man', an old word now replaced by saram and used only in compounds, especially as a sign of the plural: pumo 'the parents', pumone id.; njęphjęnne 'a woman' (Chin. nję 'woman' phjęn 'side'), namphjęnne 'a man' (nam 'man', phjęn 'side'); taŋsin 'you' (taŋ 'to touch', sin 'body'), taŋsinne id. or plural; saramdille, saramnedįl (see under Declension, § 82).

11) katčhi 'value, worth', is mostly pronounced -atčhi; sipčęn-atčhi 'worth ten sen'; il węn-atčhi 'of the value of one yen'.

There is an ending -atčhi, 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'; imsjękkan 'dining room'; ankkan, ankhan 'the inner room, the women'; čamkan 'a space between, a little while'; sigan 'the period of one hour' (si 'hour'); oräkkan 'a long time' (orä 'long ago').

13) -kęri 'thing, piece' (from kęs, see above, § 319) is much used in concrete nominations: tęt 'more', (tęt-kęri) tękkęri 'exagger-

ation'; *amsu* 'cheating', *amsugeri* 'a trick'; *sip-čen* 'ten sen', *sip-čen-geri* 'a ten sen piece', also 'something worth ten sen'; etc.

From this *keri* are to be kept apart *keri* 'road' (*ketta : kere : kerin* 'to walk') in *tugeri* 'a crossroad' (*tu* 'two'), *samgeri* 'crossroad' (Chin. *sam* 'three'), etc., and *keri* 'hangings, strings' (*kelda : kere : kēn* 'to hang up') in *angjengeri* 'the ear-strings of spectacles' (*angjen* 'spectacles'); *apkeri* 'breast strap of a horse', *okkeri* (< *os-keri*) 'horizontal pole to hang clothes' (**os* 'clothes')

14) -*čhai*, pronounced *čhä* 'size' (see above, § 327): *čip-čhä* 'as big as a house, the size of a house' (*čip-čhä katta* 'to be like a house'); this -*čhä* 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'; *mallo, mallani, mallothagi* 'the ridge of a mountain'; *kkok, kkoktagi* 'the top of a mountain'; etc.

16) -*ča*, an old word which seems to have meant 'condition' or 'state': *kiže* 'so as it is', 'gratis'; *honža*, N.Kor. *habundza* 'alone, single'; etc.

17) -*ran*, -*rani* (Chin. *lan*) 'beast' is found in some names for wild animals: *ho* (Chin.), *horani* 'the tiger'; *siren, sireni* 'the wolf', etc.; perhaps also *hwarani* 'sorcerer'. Here we have the ending -*lan*, -*lan* of the Turkish and Mongolian names like *arsalan* 'lion', *qablan* 'tiger', *sirtlan* 'hyena', etc.

18) -*čil* 'work': *panil* 'needle', *panižil* 'needlework', *panižil hada* 'to sew'; *no* 'rudder', *nožil hada* 'to row'; *pida, pigakčil hada* 'to mow'; *māl* 'word', *mālčil hada, māčil hada* 'to gossip'; *ttäm* 'a patch for a hole', *ttämžil hada* 'to mend, to patch'; *njok, jok* 'scoldings', *njokčil hada* 'to scold'; *ppallä* 'wash', *ppalläžil hada, ppalda* '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', *sözčil* 'the slanderer', etc.

19) *teni, teneri* 'a heap': *papteni* 'a lot of rice', *hilkteni, ttandeni* 'a heap of earth', etc.

20) *mani, manari* 'a round piece', 'a ball': *al* 'an egg', *almani*, id. *almandeni*, id.; *nun* 'eye', *nunal, nunal-mani* 'the eyeball'; *tol, tolmani* 'a stone'.

21) *ket* (*kes*) 'thing, piece': this word seems to be of the same value as a simple ending for forming concrete names: *su* 'masculine', *am* 'feminine', *sukhet* 'a male', 'a he-', *amkhet* 'a female, a she-'; *sekkin* 'mixed', *sekkinget* 'a mixture', *he* 'empty', *hekket* 'vanity, a worthless thing'. This word is used after all participles to denote not only the visible thing as the object or result of an action but also the action itself. We have here something corresponding to the English ending -ing: *pat kānan get, pat kal ket, pakkalket* 'farming, agriculture'; *čamkan čanan get, čamkan žanget* 'the sleeping a little while, a nap'; *ani halsu ēmnin get* 'necessity'; etc. On the use of this word see Postparticipial nouns, No 17.

CHAPTER VI

The structure of the sentence.

333   *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. *kanda* 'he goes, they go', or 'I go', 'we go'; *palkta* 'it is bright'; *saram ida* '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 converbs 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 **334** 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 **335** 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*.

336   *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.

337   *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.

338   *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 handa* 'he works', *il handa hao, il handa go hao* 'he says that he works'. The middle polite form of the verb, which ends in *-o* 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 hamnida hao* may be used. Instead of using *hao* in the sense of 'to say', the noun *mal* 'speech' is very largely used; e.g. *handa han mar-io* (*handan mar-io*) 'the word is: he works', 'he says he works'. This use of the word *mal* 'speech' is quite common.

339   *Oratory 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 Seul to study' may be constructed as follows: 'if you ask why he has gone

to Seul, it is for study', or 'if you ask where he has gone to study, it is to Seul', e.g. *ki i ga edäril kanan go hani, seuril kao* 'if you say where he is going, he goes to Seul'; *ki sarami elgori we kirin go hani pjeni tirese kiresso* '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 **340** (see postparticipial nouns § 225), the Koreans can unite a sentence with a following sentence. For the same purpose the numerous converbial 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 modulation in the voice and the meaning of each converb. That is why the language feels no need for conjunctions. Sometimes the converb may be in some way repeated, using a verb like *kire hada* 'to be so'. E.g. *ton ikki nin issina (issina kirena) ki saramiige nin čuži ani hagesso* 'money I have, but (even so) I do not give it to him', *čansaril čal hana (kirena) namnin tonin epso* 'he does business well, but (nevertheless) he has nothing left over'. It is the verb *kire hada* (*kiretha*) 'to be so', 'to do so', which in its different converbial 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. *jenžani itči manin il hal su epso* 'the tools are there, but I cannot work'; *ki saramil orakko hajetči manin (or hajetta manin, hajekken manin) ani one (or one kirje)* 'I have told him he should come, but he does not (doesn't, so it is)'. The word *man*, with the emphatic particle, *manin*, is used after the declarative form in *-ta* and also after the indecisive in *-či*, but most literary and probably most correct is to use it after the participle, like other postparticipial nouns.

341   *Two negations*. The negation in Korean is strong enough used alone, and if we have two negations, the sense is strongly positive. E.g. *kirękhe ani hamjęn mot tögęsso* 'if one doesn't do so, it will not come out all right', the sense is »one must do so»; *igęsin ęnži an haži anso* 'this is not to be put not over', the sense being 'this is really good', 'this is certainly best'.

342   *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 converbs 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 converb in -*a*, -*ę* has been used from the oldest times as substitute for other forms, and it is this converb from the passive stemformation (i.e. originally -*w-a*, -*w-ę*) which has created the middle polite verbal form in -*o*, now used as the most convenient and sufficiently polite way of ending a sentence.

343   *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

ägi, ägi, ęrin ägi,	Baby, baby, my small baby,
kkamil kkamil kusil nuni,	your twinkling pearl-eye,
tapphul tapphul kęmin męri,	your forest-like dark head,
ętči kiri ęjęppun-ja?	how are you so charming?

thabak thabak kiiję wasę	When you come on all fours
ändo kathin ipsullo-ssę	and with your cherry-like lips
pängit pängit usimjęnsę	when you smile your lovely smiles,
ęmma ppäme ip mačhune.	mother will kiss you on your cheeks.

II

čaža, čaža, čanin-gunā,	Sleep, sleep, he is sleeping,
uri ägi čal do čanda.	our baby sleeps so nicely,
inža toŋ-a, kimža toŋ-a,	silvery child, golden child,
sjumjęn čjaŋsju pugui toŋ-a.	with long life, great age, riches and rank.

inil čumjęn nęril sal ka?	Can one buy you by giving silver,
kimil čumjęn nęril sal ka?	can one buy you by giving gold?

kukkae nịn čuŋsin toŋi,
pumoịige hjoža toŋi.

For the country a noble boy,
for the parents a faithful son,

hjęŋžeịige ūä toŋi,
il-ka čhinsjęk hwamok toŋi,

for the brethren a brotherly son,
for the family and relatives an harmonious son,

toŋnä paŋnä jusin toŋ-a,

for the village and the house a renewer,

täsan katčhi kussegera.

be strong as the great mountain!

hahä katčhi kipko kipke,

Be deep (in feeling) as the rivers and the sea!

jumjęŋ čhjęnha haja poža,
čal do, čal do, čal do čanda,
uri ägi čal do čanda.

Be renowned over the whole world!
Gently, gently, gently sleeping,
my baby is sleeping sweetly.

III

paŋa, paŋa, mul-paŋa ja,
khuŋ khuŋ ččinnịn mul-paŋa ja,
nęịi himi čaŋ hago-na,
phokpho katčhi ssonnan mure.

Mill, mill, watermill!
Strongly pounding watermill,
your strength is powerful
in your cascade-like splashing water.

ttęrę-žinịn koŋi sori
süil-sä ępsi ollimjęnsę
han sęm, tu sęm ččịję näni
päg-ok kathịn hịin ssal ilse.

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.

i ssal ččịję muęt hal ka?

What is there to do after pounding this rice?

jęnži-mäe kara näję,

To grind the grain in the horse-drawn mill,

čhäro čhjęsę karu haja,
allak tallak mul tịrjęsę,

to sift it with sieve to flour,
to mix water in it,

kōpke kōpke pịžę näję
ččjęl ččjęl kịllịn kirịm soge
masi ikke čēžę näję
sāksse saŋe kōiję nōtčha.

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

kaža, kaža, nōllję kaža,
tüi-doŋsane nōllję kaža,
kkot to ttago sop-kop nōlkjęm
kjęmsa kjęmsa nollję kaža.

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.

pok-sun-i nịn sākssi nägo

The Happy-girl we choose as bride,

īppuniro sillaŋ sama

the Beautiful we make the bride-groom,

kkot kwa phurịl mowattaga
čami ikke nōra poža.

we gather flowers then and grasses
and we try to play interestingly.

V

čjęnim-ā, mal tịrịso!
kairi kiphę-žjęnne.
i kail kagi čjęne
kịdä ęlgol pogo žigo!

My love, listen to my words!
The autumn has passed deep,
but before this autumn passes out
I want to see your face.

sonmok mažo čabara!
sanịro do olla pogo
ękke ękke makkennūra!
mullo do kęnnękkena!

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.

hānari nopta khęna,
katčhi nalmjęn nažịlse-go,

They say the heaven is high —
when we fly together, it is low.

2

ttaŋ kkịtĕhi mẹlda khẹna,

katĕhi kamjẹn kakkaptänä.

i mõm do kuŋịl-lännē,

ĕjẹnim tto han kuŋịl-lässo.

ẹnị-ttaŋ ẹnị-kode-n-dịl

tu mom tul tä ẹ̄pke-sso?

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. Jagobi kị abi sonnorịt hadẹn tta kot Kanaan ttae kẹ hani

2. Jagobịi sạžjẹgi irẹ hanira. Josebi sipĕhil sjee hjẹndịl gwa
hạmkkịi jaŋịl ĕhini, kị ttäe ạhära tu sjẹ mo Pilhạịi adạl gwa
Silbạịi adạllo tẹbịrẹ katĕhi ittaga ĕehịi ĕal mot hạnạn gesịl abịịige
ko-hạdẹni.

3. Isịraeri Josebịl nahịl ttäe nai imịi nịlgịn goro jẹrẹ adạl poda
tẹ sạraŋ hạja ĕhäsäk osịl ĕiẹ niphinạn-žira.

4. kị hjẹndịri abi ga modịn hjẹnžjẹ poda Josebịl tẹ sạraŋ hamịl
pogo müiwẹ hạja tẹbịrẹ hwaphjẹŋ han marịl hạl su ga ẹptẹni.

5. Josebi kkumịl kkugo modịn hjẹŋžjẹịige nijagi handä hjẹndịri
tẹuk müiwẹ hạdẹra.

6. ĕehịige nirạdä: »ĕhjẹŋ-khẹn-dä naịi kkum kkun gesịl tịrisio!

7. uri ga pathesjẹ koksik-tanịl mukkịmä, nä tanịn nirẹ-na sego,
nẹhịi tanịn naịi tanịl tullẹ sẹsjẹ ĕel hạdẹra» hani,

8. kị hjẹndịri kạrạdä: »ne ga uri waŋi töigennạn-ja? urirịl tasạri-
gennạn-ja?» hago kị kkum gwa kị marịl inhạja tẹuk müiwẹ
hạdẹni,

9. Josebi tasi kkumịl kkugo kị hjẹnịige nijagi hạja kạrạdä: »posio,
nä ga tto han kkumịl kkumä, hä ṿa tạl gwa jẹl-han pjẹri näge
ĕel hạdẹra» hago

10. i kkumịro puhjẹŋịige ko-hạl ttäe abi ga kkužižje kạrạdä: »ne
ga i kkum kkun gẹsi muẹs-in-ja? na wa ne mo ụa ne hjẹndịri
kwajẹn ttae ẹptäjẹ nege ĕel hagennạn-ja?» hani

11. kị hjẹndịrin sịigịi hạdöi ožịk abi nịn kị marịl ĕhaŋnjẹm hạdẹra.

12. hue kị hjẹndịri Segeme kasjẹ abịịi jaŋ tterịl ĕhil sä

13. Isịraeri Josebịige nirạdä: »ne hjẹndịri Segemesjẹ jaŋịl ĕhiži ani
hạnạn-ja? ĕa, nä ga nẹrịl kịịige ponär-ira» hạni kạrạdä: »mä
ga jẹgịi innäda»,

14. kạrạdä: »ne ga kasjẹ hjẹndịl gwa jaŋ tte ga ta ĕal innạn ga pogo
tora wa näge ko-hạra» hago tịdäjẹ Hebịron kolĕĕagiesjẹ ponäni
Josebi Segemịro kadaga

15. tịresjẹ paŋhwaŋ hạdẹni hogi manna kạrạdä: »ne ga muẹsịl ĕhan-
nạn-ja?»

16. kạrạdä: »naịi hjẹndịrịl ĕhannoni ĕhjẹŋkhẹndä ĕẹhịi ga ẹdäsjẹ
jaŋịl ĕhinạn ga? näge ko-hạra!»

17. kị sạrạmi kạrạdä: »ĕẹhịi ga jẹgịisjẹ tte nannạn-ira, nä ga kịịi
marịl tịrịni, Todanịro kaža» hạdẹra. Josebi hjẹndịrịl ĕotĕha-ga
Todanesjẹ mannạn-žira.

18. Josebi ažịk sẹro kakkahi kažị mot hạja hjẹndịri mẹllisjẹ pogo
ĕugigirịl hạmkkịi kköi-hạja

19. sẹro malhạdä: »i kkum ĕal kkunạnžja ga onda.

20. ĕa, ĕugjẹ kudẹnịe tẹnžigo ak han ĕịmsäŋi ĕaba mẹgetta hạža!
tto han kị kkumi ẹttẹkhe töil kẹsịl porira» hagẹnịl

21. Njubeni tịkko kị sonesjẹ ku-hạja närja hạja kạrạdä: »uri ga kị
säŋmjẹnịn sjaŋ-hạži malĕa!» hago

22. tto nirạdä: »kị phirịl hịllịži malgo tịre innạn kudẹnịe tẹnžigo
sonịl täži malĕa!» hạni tägä kị sonesjẹ ku-hạja näjẹ kị abigero
tolljẹ ponärja hạm-irẹra.

23. matĕhạm Josebi nirịmä kị hjẹndịri osịl pẹkkini kot nibettẹn
ĕhäsäk os-illẹra.

24. Josebịl ĕaba kudẹnịe tẹnžini kudẹni ga püịjẹ muri ẹptẹra.

25. tịdäjẹ anžjẹ ịmsigịl mẹktaga nunịl tịrẹ pomä han tte Isịmael
ĕoksjogi Killịadịro pịthẹ wa muri jaktärịl molgo hjaŋ
mulphum gwa juhjaŋ gwa mol-jagịl sikko Ägubịro narjẹ kago-
žjẹ-hagenịl

26. Juda ga hjęnžeįige nirądä: »aorįl čugigo ķį phirįl įnnik hąmjęn mųęsi juik hąr-io?

27. Isįmael sarąmįige phalgo sonįl täži malča! čę nịn uri ao jo, uri kol-jug-ira» hani hjęnžedįri tįttęra.

28. Midįian čoksjogįi sjąngo ga ķį kodįro činąnąn-žira. hjęndįri Josebįl kudęniesję kkiįrę näję įn i-sim-njąnįl pakko Isįmael sarąmįige Josebįl phani ķį sjąngo ga Josebįl tarigo Ägubịro kan-ira.

29. Nįubeni kudęnįro tora-ga kęgįi Josebi ęmnąn gęsįl pogo osįl ččikko

30. tora wa aodịrịl pogo kąrądä: »ąhä ga ępsịni na nịn ędäro kal ka?» hani

31. čęhịi ga Josebịi osįl kažję-daga su-jęmsorịl čaba ķį phiro ose mutčhigo

32. sarąmịl ponäję čhäsäk osịl kažigo abige naa-ga kąrądä: »uri ga i gęsịl ędęssịni adąrịi os-in ga? posjosję!»

33. abi ga algo kąrądä: »nä adąrịi os-iroda, pandąsi ak han čịmsäni čaba męgęssịni kwajęn Josebịi momi ččikkjetta» hago

34. Jagobi tịdäję čągịi osịl ččikko herie kulgin pöiro mukko adąrịl üihąja jęrę narịl ägok hani

35. modin adąl gwa modịn ttąri nirę na üiro hądöi üirorịl patči ani hago kąrądä: »nä ga čihae nąrję adąrịige kagi kkąži ägok hąr-ira» hago abi ga üihąja thongok hądęra.

36. Midịian sarąmi Josebịl tarigo Ägube nirịrę Paroịi sinha siwidä čjąngwan Podịibaịige phanira.

Gospel of St. Mark, Chapter IV.

1. Jesukķiisję tasi pada-gaesję kąrąčhisini, hęda hạn muri ga mohję tịlgęnịl, päe orịsja padae ttę anžisimä modịn muri nịn pada kjęt ttae sjęnnan-žira.

2. Jesui jęrę-gąži irịl pijuro kąrąčhisini, kąrąčhisil ttäe nirąsadä:

3. »tịrịl-ži-ęda! ssirịl ppurịnąn sarąmi ppurirję na-gasję,

4. ppuril sąi tęrę nịn kil kae ttęrę-žimä sä ga wasję čuę mękko,

5. tęrę nịn hịlgi čęgịn tolžak pathe ttęrę-žimä hịlgi kipči ani hąmịro kot ssagi na-ona,

6. hä ga toda ččoin-žịk ppulhịi ga ępsę marịgo,

7. tęrę nịn kasi-dęmbul soge ttęrę-žimä, kasi ga čaramịro kịi-uni makhję jęlmärịl mätči mot hago,

8. tęrę nịn čohịn ttae ttęrę-žję čaramä phụnsjęn hạni, kjęlsil hạmi hok samsip pä do töigo, njuksip pä do töigo, päk pä do töinạn-ira» hạsigo,

9. tto nirąsadä: »küi issę tịrịl-žja nịn tịrịl-ži-ęda!»

10. Jesukķiisję hollo kjesil ttäe hąmkkịi innąn sarąmdịl-gwa jęldu čježa ga ķį jęrę pijurịl mu'čąoni

11. nirąsadä: »hanạnim narąịi omjo hạn gesịl nęhiige nịn čudöi öi inịige nịn modịn gęsịl pijuro hąmịn

12. čęhịi ga pogi nịn poa do aži mot hago tịkki nịn tirę do kkädątči mot hage hạm-ini čęhịi nịn torikhję čöi sja hạmịl ędịl ka turjęwę hạnạn-ira» hạsigo

13. tto kąrąsjadä: »nęhịi ga i pijurịl kkädątči mot hạl-či-n-dä ęttękhe modịn pijurịl algęnnan-jo?

14. ppurinąn-žja nịn torịl ppurinạn kęs-ini

15. to ppurin kil kae innạn-žja nịn torịl tịrimä Sadani kot wasję mąame ppurin torịl ppäannạn kęs-io

16. tto i wa kątči tolžakpathe ppurin kode innạn-žja nịn torịl tịkko kot kippịge padịna

17. soge ppuri ga ępsę čamkan kjęndädaga toịi jęngoro hwannạn-ina phippagịl tạn hạn-žịk kot sịlhję-parịm-io,

18. kasi-dęmbul kaondä ppurin kode innạn-žja nịn torịl tịridöi

19. sjesjanịi njęmnję wa čärịi joksim gwa tarịn mul-jogi tịrę wa ķį torịl maga kjęlsil-čhi mot hage töim-io,

20. čohịn ttae ppurin kode innạn-žja nịn torịl tịkko pada kjęlsil hạgirịl hok samsip pä do töigo, njuksip pä do töigo, päk pä do töim-in-ira» hạsidęra.

21. tto kąrąsjadä: »sarąmi tịnburịl kattaga mal arä-na, phjęnsạn arä-na tugęnnan-ja? tịngịęn ue tuži an-khęnnan-ja?

22. tägä sumịn-gęsi tịrę nąži animi ępko kamčhoin-gęsi natha nąži animi ęmnạni,

23. küi ga issę tįrįl-čja nįn tįrįl-či-ęda!»

24. tto kąrąsjadä: »tįnnįn gęsįl samgara, nęhįi ga nąmįl hjearinąn hjearimįro nęhįi do hjearimįl padįl kęs-in-ira. tto nęhįige tę čurini

25. tägä innąn sarąmįige nįn tę čugo ęmnąn sarąmįige nįn innąn get-to ppäasįr-ira.»

26. tto kąrąsjadä: »hanąnimįi nara nįn sarąmi ssirįl ttae tęnžim gwa kąthįni,

27. pame čago naže nirę namä ssi ga nasję čaradöi ęttękhe töin žurįn aži mot hanąn-ži-ra.

28. ttai sįsaro jelmärįl mäžimä čhęime nįn ssagi namję taime nįn isagi töįgo lį kue nįn isage ųanžęn-han lo'sigįl irunąni

29. jęlmä nigįl ttäe nįn kot nadįl ssįnąn kęsįn kędul ttä ga nirįm-ini-ra.»

30. tto kąrąsjadä: »uri ga hₐnąnimįi nararįl ęttękhe pi hąmję tto musąm pijuro-ssę piju hạl ko?

31. matči kježa ssi hąn algwa kąthįni ttae simįl ttäe nįn tta ue modįn ssi čjunę čjeil čęgin kęs-irodöi

32. simįn hue nįn čarasję modįn namul čjunę khįgo tto hąn khįn kaži ga nasję koŋ čjunę nąnąn sädįri kį kįnįre kit tįrinąn-ira.»

33. Jesui tto i kąthįn jęrę pijuro čjęhįiga ara tįnnąn-däro torįl malsąm hasigo

34. tto piju ga ani-mjęn malsamįl ani hasigo taman honža kjesil ttäe nįn kį čežaiige modįn gęsįl phurę nirąsidęra.

35. kį nari čjęmulmä Jesui čeža darję nirąsjadä: »uri ga kęnnę phjęnįro kaža» hasini

36. čęhįi ga murirįl ttę-namä Jesui kįžję päe kjesin däro möisigo kani tto tarįn pädįri issę kątči häŋ-hal sä

37. kwaŋphunį khįge nirę-namję mulgjeri ttüįję päe tįrę oni päe kądįk haja-židęra.

38. Jesui komuresję pjęgä hasigo čumįsidęni čežadįri kkäumję kąrądä: »sjęnsäŋnim-iję, uri ga čukke töin gęsįl tora poži anisi-näkka?» hani

39. Jesui kkäję paramįl kkužįžisimję pada darję nirąsjadä: »čąm čąm hago kojo hạra!» hasini parami kįtčhigo ąžo čan čan hagęnįl

40. ie čežąiige nirąsjadä: »ętči nęhįi ga musjęwę hanąn-ja? nęhįi ga ažik to midįmi ęmnąn-ja?»

41. čęhįi ga simhi turjęwę sęro mal haja kąrądä: »čę ga nu-igie param gwa pada-ra do sjunžjoŋ hanąn-ja?» hadęra.

Gospel of St. John, Chapter III.

1. parisä-gjo-in čjunę Nigodemo-ra hanąn sarąmi issįni Judä kwanwęn-ira.

2. i sarąmi pamä wasję Jesuril pogo kąrądä: »Nappi-ję, uri ga sjęnsäŋkkįisję Hanąnimkkįiro pįthę osin sjęnsäŋ in-žul anäda. Hanąnimi hamkkįi kjesiži ani hasimjęn sjęnsäŋįi häŋhasinąn ižjęgįl amo sarąm do haži mot ham ini ida.»

3. Jesui tädap haja kąrąsjadä: »činsillo, činsillo nege nirąnoni: sarąmi kędip naži ani hąmjęn Hanąnim nararįl poži mot hanąn-ira.»

4. Nigodemo ga kąrądä: »sarąmi nįlgimjęn ęttękhe nagessįmnäkka? tu-bęn ęmi pä soge tįrę-gattaga nal su issąmnäkka?»

5. Jesui tädap hasjadä: »činsillo, činsillo nege nirąnoni: mul gwa sjęnsinįro naži ani hąmjęn Hanąnim narae tįrę gaži mot hanąni

6. juksinįro nan gęsin juksin io, sinįro nan gęsin sin ini

7. kędip na-ja hagetta hanąn marįl kįįįhi njęgiži malla!

8. parami imįiro pulmä sorärįl tįrę do ędäsję omję ędäro kanąn-ži aži mot hanąni sjęnsinįro nan sarąmin ta irę han-ira.»

9. Nigodemo ga tädap haja kąrądä: »ętči irę han iri ikkessąm-näkka?»

10. Jesui kąrąsjadä: »ne ga Isįraerįi sjęnsäŋį töįę irę hạn irįl aži mot hanąn-ja?

11. činsillo, činsillo nege nirąnoni: uri anąn gęsįl mal hago pon gęsįl čįŋę hadö nęhįi ga uri čįŋgerįl patči ani hanąn-doda.

12. i sjęsjaŋ irįl mal haję do mitči ani hagędįn, hamįlmję hanąl irįl mal hąmjęn nęhįi ga ęttękhe mikkennąn-ja?

13. hanąllosję narję onžja pakke hanąre olla kanžja ga ępsįni i nįn hanąre innąn inža-n-ira.

14. *Mose ga kwaŋaesję päamįl tįn gęt katchi inža do tto tįllję-ja harini*

15. *muron nugu-dęnži čęril midįmjęn jęŋsäŋįl ędįr-ira.*

16. *Hanąnimi sjesjaŋįl i čhęręm sąraŋ hasja toksäŋžąril čusjęssini nugu-dęnži čęril midįmjęn mjęlmaŋ hąži ankho jęŋsäŋįl edįr-ira.*

17. *Hanąnimi kį adąrįl sjesjaŋę ponäsin gęsi sjesjaŋįl čęŋčöi hasirję hanąn gęsi anio, kį adąllo sjesjaŋįl kuwęn hasirję hanąn gęs-ira.*

18. *čęril minnąn sarąmin čöirįl čęŋ hąži ani hago mitči ani hanąn sarąmin palsję čöirįl čęŋ hajęssini i nįn Hanąnimįi toksäŋžąįi irhįmįl mitči ani hąm-ira.*

19. *pitchi sjesjaŋę nim-hadöi sarąmi če häŋ-hanąn iri ak-hamįro pit poda ęduun gęsįl tę čoha hani i gęsi čöirįl čęŋ-han gęs-ira.*

20. *agįl häŋ-hanąn sarąmin ta pitchįl müiwę hąja pitchįro oži ani hanąni i nįn kį hanąn iri čhäŋmaŋįl pol-ka turjęwę hąm-io,*

21. *čilliril čonnąn sarąmin pitchįro onąni i nįn kį hanąn iri Hanąni-mįl him nibę häŋ-han gęsįl natha nägo čę hąm-ira» hasidęra.*

22. *i hue Jesu wa čęžądįri Judä ttaro kasję katchi kęgįi nju-hamję sjerjęril čugo*

23. *Johanįn tto hąn Sallem kakkaon Änonesję sjerjęril čuni kęgįi muldįri manhįn jengo-ra sarąmi wasję sjerjęril padįni*

24. *ttäe Johani ažik įge kačhiži ani hajęnnąn-ži-ra.*

25. *Johanįi čęžą hąn Judä-inįro tęburę kjęlljęrįl in-hąja pjęlloni töijęttęni*

26. *Johanįige wasję kąrądä: »Nappi-ję, Jodan-kaŋ pakkesję sjęnsäŋ gwa katchi issę sjęnsäŋkkįisję čįŋgę hadęn sarąmi sjerjęril čumä sarąmi ta kįriro kadę-ida.»*

27. *Johani tädap hąja kąrądä: »manįl hanąresję čuži ani hasimjęn sarąmi amo gęt-to padįl su ęmnąn-ira.*

28. *čęnę nä ga mal-hagirįl: »na nįn Kįrisįdo ga an-io, kį apsję ponän sarąm-ira» hąn marįl nęhįi ga čįŋgę hąl gęs-ini-ra.*

29. *sinbuįige čjąŋga tįnįn sarąmin sillaŋ-ini, sillaŋįi čhingu ga sęsję tįttaga sillaŋįi sorärįl tįrįnžik khįge kippę hanąni, irę hąn naįi kippįmi čhjuŋman hąn-ži-ra.*

30. *ki nįn hįŋ hąję-ja hagekko na nįn söi-hąję-ja hąl-či-ra.*

31. *uriro pithę osini nįn manmul ue kjesin-ži-ra. ttaesję nani nįn*

ttae sjok hani, kį mal hanąn gęt-to ttae sjok hago hanąllo osini nįn man mul ue kjesini

32. *kį ga pogo tįrįn gęsįl čįŋgę hadöi čįŋgę pannąni ga ęptoda.*

33. *kį čįŋgęrįl pannąni nįn Hanąnimi čhąm töisida hąja inįl čhjęnnąn-ira.*

34. *Hanąnimįi ponäsini nįn Hanąnimi sjęnsinįl halljąŋ ępsi ču-sjęssįmä Hanąnimįi malsąmįl hasinąn-ira.*

35. *abažikkįisję adąrįl sąraŋ hasja manmurįl ta kį sone čusjęssini,*

36. *adąrįl minnąn sarąmįige nįn jęŋsäŋi ikko adąrįl mitči ani hanąn sarąmin jęŋsäŋįl ętči mot hago Hanąnimįi činno hasimi kį ue innąn-ira».*

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