

Kurs: Languages of the world
Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft
WS 2003/2004
Dozentin: Dr. Monika Rathert

The Korean language

Torsten Marek
shlomme@gmx.net

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1. Introduction

The main features of Korean (*Chosŏnmal* (조선말) in North Korea, *Hangungmal* (한국말) in the South) are its SOV syntax and agglutinative morphology. As the Greenberg universals predict for SOV languages, Korean adpositions postpone the verb and all modifiers precede the words they relate to. As to the morphology, Sohn99 has some quite impressive examples, the following being one of it:

ka-si-ess-keyss-sup-ni-ta

gone-hon.-past-presumptive-addressee honorific-ind.-decl.

“Somebody (honorable) may have gone”

As can be seen by the morphemes, there are clearly some that do not have any counterpart in Indo-European languages. Also, the use of honorific suffixes strikes, and indeed, their use either to honor the subject of discourse or the audience is a central feature of Korean morphology and syntax, as it is in Japanese.

2. History & Genealogy

2.1 Typological studies

Throughout the history of typological studies of Korean, researchers have not come to a clean decision about its relationship to other languages. The closest related language is (however, not undisputedly) Japanese, although they are not mutually intelligible and more distinct than Germanic or Romanic languages among themselves. In a broader context, many researchers believe that those two languages belong to the Altaic family like Mongolian, Turkic or Manchu languages.

Altaic languages were spoken in Northern (Central) Eurasia (Western Siberia) in the Neolithic (around 5000BC) and ancestors of the Korean nation are supposed to have moved from there to the Korean peninsula and Japan during and after this time.

Korean (and Japanese) share a lot of features with other Altaic languages, like, but not limited to:

- SOV syntax (and its implications by the universals)
- agglutinative morphology
- missing strict distinction between singular and plural forms of nouns
- subject implication by context
- sentence-final sentence type markers (for declarative, interrogative etc.)
- missing affixation for comparative or superlative forms of adjectives
- vowel harmony

It is needless to say that this theory is not unquestioned. Some linguists treat Japanese and

Korean as an isolated family, some connect them to Dravidian languages, some to the Oceanian family.

2.2 Historical development of Korean

There is little to none documentation on old Korean languages, which makes typological studies extremely hard. Only very few documents dated earlier than from the 15th century can be found. In this century, the Hangeul (or Hangeul) alphabet was created, leading to a considerably high number of written material to study.

The most widely accepted chronological overview over Korean language development is (years acc. to the Christian dating scheme):

– **until 0: Prehistoric Korean**

There is proper knowledge of the two languages Pu.ye and Samhan in the Southern parts of Korea. During this time, many features that Korean shared with proto-Altaic got lost, like word final vowels in “kura” (cave, tunnel), which became “kul”

– **0 - 10th century: Old Korean**

The so called time of the “Three kingdoms” with its three languages Sinla, Paekche and Kogurye. Both Sinla and Paekche are closely related, the more distant Kogurye is the language with the most Altaic features. This knowledge mainly comes from the written source “Samguk Sagi”, which consists of a vocabulary of eighty words and shows similarities to Tungus languages as well as to old Japanese.

Also in this time, the first words borrowed from Chinese occur, although they are only restricted to person names, ranks (the title of the king was now “wan”, Chinese “king”) and place names.

– **10th - 16th century: Middle Korean**

The recordings found from the beginning of this period are written with Chinese characters, later, the Hangeul were created, leading to a vast number of sources to study from.

Following the first loaned Chinese words, proper nouns were taken over, thus replacing a huge number of older terms. The number of new words of course triggered changes in phonology and morphology, which were adapted to the new scheme of word structure. But also Mongolian influences can be found (where?).

– **17th - 19th century: Modern Korean**

The end of the Middle Korean period is marked by the Japanese invasion in 1592, that eventually failed in 1598. After that, Korea was under the rule of the Manchu until 1894. The import of Chinese words went on and more phonological changes happened (the voiced fricative “z” disappeared completely, for instance). Also, there were first contacts between Korea and European nations.

– **20th century: Contemporary Korean**

This century marks some of the darkest chapters for Korea and the Korean language as well. During the Japanese colonial reign (1910 – 1945), Koreans were enslaved as

workers for the Japanese homeland, Korean women were forced into prostitution for the Japanese military (entitled as “comfort women”) and the Korean language was forbidden. After the end of the second world war, Korea was freed and divided into two nations, mirroring the now divided world. In 1950, the Korean war broke out. Eventually, the 38th parallel was established as peace border. Linguistically, there were standardization movements and the establishment of huge dictionaries, as well as new words, now also from Western languages like English.

2.3 Speakers

The total number of speakers of Korean world-wide varies between 72 million (given by Sohn99) and 78 million (by Wikipedia, <http://www.wikipedia.org>), putting it among the top-twenty of the World's languages. Except for the two Koreas itself with 23 million people in the North and 48 million in the South (numbers taken from the CIA world fact book, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>), there are large communities of Korean people in Japan, China, Eastern Russia and the USA, which is the most rapidly enlarging community, due to natural growth and immigration from the homeland. The Koreans in the USA are with about 1.9 million members one of the biggest Asian minorities and, as said by Sohn99, will be the second-largest group next to the Filipinos in a couple of years, larger than the Chinese or Japanese ones. Smaller communities are to be found in the Middle East, Canada, Europe and Australia and New Zealand, where their numbers also increase.

3. Script

3.1 Chinese characters: Hanja

Usage of Chinese characters in Korea is recorded since around the year 0, the earliest development of these characters themselves can be dated back to 1400 BC. Up to 1894, when the government decided to strongly support the use of Hangul script, most official correspondence and literature were written Chinese characters. In North Korea, Chinese Characters were even forbidden in 1949, although this ban could never be enforced due to the ongoing interleaving of Chinese and Hangul in South Korea. There, a set of 1.800 pictograms is taught in school, but the major trends are writing everything in Hangul and obsoleting all the Chinese characters.

Dictionaries list up to 24.000 different characters, which can be of the following groups (examples from Grant79, p. 14ff):

- ~600 simple pictograms like 日 “sun” or 木 “tree”
- ~100 simple relations like 上 “up” or 下 “down”
- ~700 simple compounds, which are complexes of two or more signs, like 東 “east”,

which is composed from sun and tree

- ~21.000 phonetic compounds, which can be ideographic or phonetic, like 饑 “to support”, “to feed”
- ~400 derived meanings, where concrete pictures get an abstract meaning, like 交, which originally is the picture of a sitting person but now means “to communicate”
- ~600 arbitrary meanings, where the original meaning was abandoned, like 來, which was once “growing stalk of grass” and is now the verb “to come”

3.2 Korean script: Hangul

Because of the huge structural differences between Korean and Chinese, Hanja characters are less than ideal for representing the Korean language. Other systems like Itwu existed, that assigned phonetic values to Chinese characters, but in 1440 a group of Korean linguists were ordered to create a native writing system for Korean. The work was finally published in 1443 and classic literature was transcribed into it to demonstrate its practical use. Hangul is a work of deep linguistic analysis of the Korean sound pattern and therefore is very logical. The alphabet has of course evolved over the last centuries and resulted into 19 consonants and 6 basic vowels:

Consonants		
Basic	Aspirated	Tensed
ㄱ (k)	ㅋ (k ^h)	ㆁ (k')
ㄴ (n)		
ㄷ (t)	ㅌ (t ^h)	ㄸ (t')
ㄹ (l)		
ㅁ (m)		
ㅂ (p)	ㅃ (p ^h)	ㅍ (p')
ㅅ (s)		ㅆ (s')
ㅇ (ŋ)		
ㅈ (x)	ㅉ (x ^h)	ㅊ (x')

Vowels					
ㅏ (a)	ㅓ (ø)	ㅗ (o)	ㅜ (u)	ㅡ (ü)	ㅣ (i)

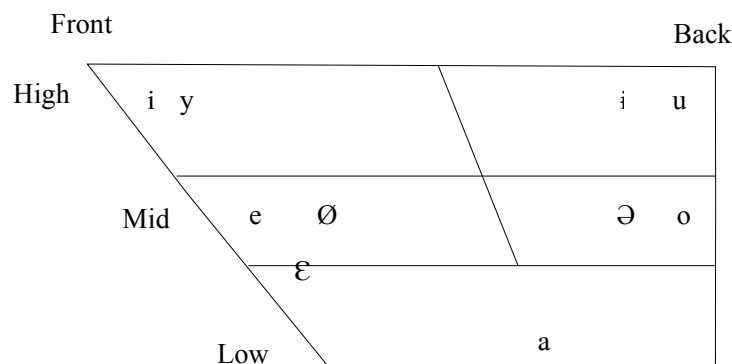
For writing, the basic letters are formed to syllable blocks. The initial position is always to be filled with a consonant, where the \emptyset can be used as a filling sign with no sound uttered word-initially. The medium position can be filled by a vowel or a diphthong (combinations of the vowel signs) and the final position is again filled with a consonant or optionally left empty. An example is 세 (combining s and e) and 울 (u and l), giving 서울 (se.ul, Seoul). There are rules on how the characters have to be laid out, resembling the basic principle of Chinese characters.

In the past, Korean, like Chinese was written top-down/right-to-left, but the order has changed to the (Western) scheme left-to-right/top-down, like Chinese and, ver recently, Traditional Chinese in Taiwan, too.

Since Korean characters are surprisingly little fun to use (the Unicode chart lists 11172 different syllables) for the uninitiated computer user, I used the Yale romanization of Korean Sohn99 also uses throughout his book.

4. Phonology

4.1 Vowels



Every short vowel has a long counterpart, although lengthening is not realised in the script. Nowadays, vowel lengthening is used for stressing and speech rhythm, only older native speakers of Korean use lexically assigned vowel length to tell the meanings of two otherwise identical words apart, like mal [mal] 'horse' and mal [ma:l] 'language'.

The two semi-vowels j and w have the same quality as their vowel counterparts i and u.

4.2 Consonants

Active articulator	Lower lip	Tip and blade of the tongue		Back of the tongue	Vocal cords		
Passive articulator	Upper lip	Teeth and alveolar ridge	Hard palate	Velum	Glottis		
Sound name	bilabial	alveo-dental	palatal	velar	glottal		
Plosives	b	d	ʃ	g		voiced	
	p	t	c	k		voiceless	
	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h			aspirated
	p'	t'	c'	k'			tensed
Fricatives		s	ʃ		h		aspirated
		s'					tensed
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		voiced	
Liquids		l / r	ɻ			voiced	

Hangul realised only 19 consonant symbols, but some phonemes (like ɲ or ɻ) are created by phonological rules, so it is logical to include them into a the consonant chart (in contrast to Sohn99, p. 153).

Phonological rules include (Sohn99, p. 154ff):

- stops are not released in syllable- or word-final position:
- stops become voiced between two voiced sounds (there is only one symbol for the consonant in Hangul)
 - [+consonantal, -continuant, -voiced] -> [+voiced] / [+voiced]_[+voiced]
- [s] and [s'] are palatalized before [i], [y] and [j]. A [j] gets deleted afterwards
 - [+consonantal, +continuant, -sonorant] -> [+palatal] / _ [-back, +high]
 - j -> Ø / [ʃ] _
- [n] is palatalized for before [i] or [j]. [j] gets deleted
 - [+nasal, +alveo-dental] -> [+palatal] / _ [-consonantal, -back, +high]
 - j -> Ø / [ɲ] _
- [l] is changed into the flap [ɻ] (“Spanish r”) between two vowels
 - l -> r / [-consonantal] _ [-consonantal]

- if a sequence of two [l]s is followed by i or j, the second one is palatalized

l -> ʎ / l _ [-consonantal, -back, +high]

Some of these palatalization processes are omitted in newer loan words from English.

4.3 Syllable structure

Syllabification in Korean is rather simple, compared to other languages. The maximal syllable is defined by (Sohn99, p. 160):

CGVC (C: consonant, G: glide, V: vowel)

The minimal syllable is V. Thus, syllable boundaries are always put between two vowels or two consonants. Onset/Code disambiguation is done by giving the onset higher binding “energy”, CVCV will be syllabified as CV-CV, not as *CVC-V.

4.4 Phonological rules

Despite the relative clearness and simplicity of the Hangeul character set, there are a vast number of automatic and lexical sound alternations which have to be learned. One example process, already mentioned before, is the vowel harmony, a core feature of Altaic languages. For defining the harmonization operations, there are three vowel categories: bright, Yang vowels (a, o, ø, ε), dark, Yin vowels (ə, u, e, y) and neutral vowels (i, ɨ). The processes used in vowel harmony are sometimes automatic, sometimes lexically motivated, but many exceptions exist.

Generally, there are three types of vowel harmony, all are progressive (Sohn99, p. 181ff):

- Suffixation harmony

For this type, only [a] and [o] are considered as Yang vowels. For a number of suffixes, two allophones for dark and light vowels exist (-ə/-a: infinitive suffix; -əs'/'-as': past tense suffix; -əla, -ala: imperative sentence suffix). Naturally, the allophone choice is narrowed down by the preceding vowels. Anyway, occurring exceptions lead to the assumption that vowel harmony only affects the syllable directly following the stem.

- Prefixation harmony

This process is extremely rare and limited to a number of words only.

- Lexical harmony

This is limited to lexical groups like onomatopoeic or mimetic words. The aforementioned distinction applies this time, too.

4.5 Prosody

As mentioned before, vowel lengthening is used for stressing today by native Korean

speakers. Also, meaning can be stressed like (Sohn99, p. 196):

ceki cə-ki [cə.gi] 'over there'
ceki cə::-ki [cə::.gi] 'way over there'

Very important are “intonation patterns” of whole sentences, meaning the distribution of pitch levels (on a scale from 1 (low) to 4 (high)). This is significant for the sentence function (like statement, question or order). An intonational sentence consists of one or more intonational phrases, and every phrase has a nucleus and zero or more syllables. An example (Sohn99, p. 198):

eti key-sey-yo?
where go-hon.-interrog.+pol.
'Where are (you) going?'
[#ə (2) .di (2) .ga (2) .se (3).jo: (3) (1) #]

Possible intonation sequences are (i) #2+.31#, (ii) #2+.4# or (iii) #2+.3# (x+ denotes “one or more x”, . is the nucleus).

The sequences (i) and (ii) are utterance-final, (iii) occurs internally.

(ii) is also a typical pattern for yes/no-questions (Sohn99, p. 198):

ecey hakkyo ey an ka-ss-e?
yesterday school to not go-past-interrog.
'Didn't (you) go to school yesterday?'
[#ə (2) .j-e (3) #ha (2) .k'jo (2) .e (3) #an (2) .ga (2) .s'ə (4) #]

5. Morphology

5.1 Word categories

There are different propositions for the different lexical and functional categories of words in Korean. The number varies around ten, this work will use the eight categories defined by Sohn99, p. 203ff. They are all well-known, so only important differences to Germanic word categories will be displayed in detail.

- The nouns are by far the largest class of words. Not only are the many native Korean nouns of all kinds (names, common nouns, defective nouns), but also nearly all loan words, regardless of the original word class, become nouns in Korean.
- The pronouns are not different, but have the special ability of marking the social position of the referred-to person: in plain speech, the second person singular is “ne”, but the

pronoun used in familiar speech is “caney” and even different in other contexts. For a description of the different speech markers, have a look at the inflection section and the syntax part about sentences.

- Numerals can be native Korean words or loan words from Chinese or English. In written language, Arabic character are used
- Verbs are, as in other languages, divided into main and auxiliary verbs, the difference mainly is in inflectional behaviour, which will be covered later
- Korean adjectives do not work like English or German adjectives having the form “subject – copula – adjective”, but are also inflected like verbs (even more, verbs and adjectives are the only inflected categories)
- To modify a noun like using “adjective noun” in English, a modifier from the determiner category is used
- The last category are the particles, which are postpositional functional words. The boundary between a particle and the word before it is not a real word boundary but behaves like a morpheme boundary, for instance phonologically. Syntactic relation, delimiters and conjunctions are part of this class [this class reminded me of clitics, although Sohn99 never calls them like that]

5.2 Derivation

Like in traditional Western morphology, a derivational process is defined as creating a new word from another one. Category change is a sufficient sign for derivation, but not necessary. However, prefixes (like negation prefixes pi-, pul-) may not change the word category and are limited to derivation only (all examples from Sohn99, p. 219ff).

Noun -> noun:

oy- 'only'	oy-atul 'only-son' (native)
swuh- 'male animal'	swuh-kay 'male dog' (native)
-aci (diminutive)	kang-aci (dog-) 'puppy' (native)
cen- 'entire'	cen-seykey 'the whole world' (native)
tay- 'great'	tay-kacok 'big family' (native)
-ca 'person'	kwahak-ca (science-) 'scientist' (Chinese)

For noun-to-noun derivation, different affixes to be exclusively used with either Korean or Chinese words exist. This is not true for other processes, simply because there are very few loan words in the other categories, as laid out before.

Verb -> noun:

'act of, thing' suffix: proposed UR /ki/; k->zero / C+_
 pel (to earn) + /ki/ -> peli 'money making job'

po (to see) + /ki/ -> pok 'example'

-po 'thing' wul-po (cry-) 'cry-baby'

Adjective -> noun:

'having x quality' suffix: proposed UR /ki/, k->zero / C+_

chwuw (cold) + /ki/ -> chwuw-i 'coldness'

khu (big) + /ki/ -> khu-ki 'size'

Verbal clause -> noun:

'act of, thing' suffix: proposed UR /ki/, k->zero / C+_

kwi-kel (ear-hang, compound) + /ki/ -> kwi-kel-i 'earring'

hay-pala (sun-gaze, compound) + /ki/ -> hay-pala-ki 'sunflower'

The citation form of verbs is always verb+ta, the stem can not stay alone under any circumstances (examples from Sohn99, p. 224ff).

Verbal prefixes:

sel- 'insufficiently': sel-cwukta (to die) 'be half alive'

Verb -> verb:

-ttuli (intensifier): kkay-(to break)ttulita 'to smash'

Adjective -> verb:

-chwu (causative suffix): nac-(low)-chwuta 'to lower'

There are also other processes (like deadverbial derivation) and the ZERO verbalizer (as Sohn99) calls it, which essentially is a conversion process that changes nouns into verb roots.

Adjective and adverb derivation function accordingly and are omitted for the sake of brevity here.

5.3 Inflection

As mentioned earlier, inflection is almost exclusively limited to adjectives and verbs (except for the plural suffix -tul for nouns, which also behaves like a particle in some environments). Inflectional suffixes follow derivation. The types of inflectional suffixes

are:

– non-terminal suffixes

These suffixes are used for honoring the subject, marking tense and aspect and modality (all these will be covered in the syntax part)

– sentence enders

The three different types of sentence enders are used for marking sentence type (declarative, interrogative, propositive, imperative), mood (indicative, retrospective, requestive) as well as honoring the listener/audience. The honor/speech level also influences the sentence type suffix, making this a portmanteau morph, which reflects one of the six speech levels (intimate, familiar, blunt, polite, deferential, plain).

Special sentence enders can also be used to relate a sub clause to a main clause, like '-ci-man' (but, although) '-taka' (and then) or '-ki' (and also).

5.4 Compounding

This is the most widely used process for creating new words from lexical ones. Three types exist, sub-compounding (the major type in German and English, modifier + head), co-compounding (enumeration of two or more words, forming a new one) and argument predication (verb and object). Often the meaning of the new compound is created metaphorically. The different kinds of compounding can be applied iteratively in random order, forming new, longer words. Unlike derivation, native and Chinese words are not restricted to go together only with words from the same language. Some compounding rules are different for argument predication with a transitive root; while Korean compounds of this type follow the OV scheme of the language, compounds with Chinese words follow the Chinese VO syntax. This is one more sign for the overwhelmingly huge influence of Chinese on Korean (60% of the lexical words are Chinese!). Some examples (from Sohn99, p. 245ff) are:

Native nouns, subcompounding:

kho-s-mul	(nose, water)	'nasal mucus'
mul-s-kay	(water, dog)	'seal'

Native nouns, co-compounding:

non-path	(rice field, dry field)	'farm'
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Native noun and determiner:

ce-sung	(that, world)	'the world of the dead' (germ.: Jenseits)
i-sung	(this, world)	'this world' (germ.: Diesseits)

Chinese nouns, co-compounding:

chen-ci	(heaven, earth)	'universe'
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pu-mo (father, mother) 'parents'

Chinese noun + Korean noun:

chang-sal (window, strips) 'lattice'

Native noun and intransitive verb:

kep-nata (fear, come out) 'be/get scared'

kil-tulta (road, enter) 'get used to'

6. Syntax

6.1 Sentences

As already said, verbs and adjectives (together forming the predicate class) mostly function similarly. However, adjectives are limited to appearance in declarative and interrogative sentences and can not be made progressive. Predicates can be intransitive (including reciprocal or passive constructions), transitive (taking one object) or ditransitive (taking a direct and an indirect object). Like in Japanese, transitive verbs can only have animate subjects, exceptions being personifications or metaphores reserved for poetical or literary use mostly.

Sentences can either be simple or complex, the latter meaning that a sentence has at least one embedded sentence which itself can be complex or simple. Sentences can have, as mentioned with the sentence enders in the morphology section, have different types (declarative, interrogative, propositive, imperative), which do not show structural differences, as their type is solely marked by suffixation. The most simple sentence is one consisting of an inflected intransitive predicate with optional modifiers like (Sohn99, p. 277):

Kim-kwun i mikwuk eyse kyoswu ka tyo-ess-e.

Kim-Mr *nom.* America in professor *nom.* become-*past-decl.+pol.*

'Mr Kim became a professor in America'

A transitive sentence is (Sohn99, p. 288)

Mia ka cha ka iss-eyo.

Mia *nom.* car *nom.* exist-*decl.+pol.*

'Mia has a car.'

Embedded clauses are also marked by special sentence enders. The main types are:

- Conjunctive clauses, which are used for coordination (and, but, or) or subordination

(conditional, cause, intentive etc.)

For instance, one allomorph of the and-coordination is -mye (Sohn99, p. 305):

nam un kaypangkuk i-mye puk un phyeysoykwuk i-ta.
south *contr.* open nation be-and north *contr.* closed nation be-*decl.*

'South Korea is and open nation and North Korea is a closed nation'

There are a lot of types for subordination clauses with a great number of sentence end suffixes which are left out for brevity.

- Relative clauses used to modify the head noun. There are not any relative pronouns, the connection is entirely established by the suffix. The most common type of a relative sentence is the “proper” type with the suffix -(u)n (Sohn99, p. 310):

nay ka manna-n yeca
I *nom.* meet-*rel.* woman

'The woman whom I met'

- Complement clauses for modifying the predicate of the embedding sentence. Again, a vast number of suffixes with different allomorph exist to create constructions like “so that”, “habitually”, “nearly”, “intending to” and many others, used in connection with special (most auxiliary) verbs
- Nominalized constructions that slightly resemble English gerunds. One possible suffix is -ki (“act of”), a common example (Sohn99, p. 319):

pi ka o-ki sicak.kay-ss-ta
rain *nom.* come-*nom.* start-*past-decl.*

'It started raining'

- Quotative clauses, which can be used similar to complements, because they are closely connected to the main predicate. A structural difference is that the sentence ender of subclause is a main clause ender followed by the quotation particle “ko”. Moreover, quotation clauses are not bound to the tense of the main clause. The more common type is indirect quotation, which is limited to verbs of reporting or perception. The speech level in this embedded sentence is always neutral, not taking any politeness suffixes at all. In spoken language, the quotation particle is often left out; if the main sentence has a (semantically) simple verb like “say”, it can also be omitted, as in (Sohn99, p. 325):

apeci nun na hanthey kongpuha-la ko—ha-sy-e
father *contr.* me to study-*imp.* quote say-*hon.-decl.+pol.*

'My father tells me to study'

The stray suffixes from the deleted main verb are patched onto the quotation clause so that the sentence type is not lost..

The Korean case system is particularly rich compared to English or German, but I will only display it very briefly, because a rich case system is not uncommon at all, concentrating on the more unique features of Korean like honorifics.

As in most other languages, there are nominative case (usually the subject), genitive (possession et al.), accusative (direct object of transitive verbs), dative (indirect object of ditransitive verbs), static locative (place and time), dynamic locative (occurs with activity verbs), goal, source (occurs with verbs of movement), direction, instrument, function, ablative (directional and instrumental use), comitative and connective (connecting two nominals), comparative (Korean, like other Altaic languages, lacks adjective suffixes for comparison) and vocative. All these cases are realized by particles.

6.2 Mood, tense and aspect

As said in the morphology part, sentence enders also have a slot for mood, which can be indicative, requestive, retrospective (which implies past and tells of the speakers perception or experience, but is not used for reporting or telling stories) or suppositive.

For tense and aspect realisation there are two suffix slots at the verb, which can both be filled with -(a/e)ss. If only one is filled, the tense is past or perfect, if both, past-past or past perfect, none can be one of non-past, present, present progressive or future. The distinction is then made exclusively by adverbials.

6.3 Passive and causative

These constructions are built using derivational suffixes. The occurrence is limited to a certain number of words, and while passive is usually an intransitive verb a subject and an agent, a causative is a verb with one or more objects and a subject.

Passivation is done by making the subject the agent, replacing the predicate by its passive form and changing the object into subject, like in Sohn99, p. 368):

swunkyeng	i	ku	totwuk	ul	cap-ass-ta	(active)
police	<i>nom.</i>	the	thief	<i>acc.</i>	catch-past-decl.	

'The police caught the thief.'

ku	totwuk	i	swunkyeng	hanthey	cap-hy-ess-ta	(passive)
the	thief	<i>nom.</i>	police	by	catch-passive-past-decl.	

'The thief was caught by the police'

We see the addition of the passive suffix to the verb and the by-particle hanthey (informally used for animate agents). There are other particles, like kkey (humans only, deferential), eykey (animate, formal) or ey (allowing inanimate agents). Normally, the passive is

preferred to be used with animate subjects, although a passive construction is not always possible (from semantic context).

Causatives do not describe affectedness like passives, but the process of evoking a wanted behaviour or action in/with somebody or something else. A new (super-)subject is introduced, replacing the old subject, which becomes an object of the also introduced verb, which has to be a causative one. Causative construction are divided into short and long forms. The short form takes the suffix -ita and has a direct meaning (die -> causative -> kill), while the long form with -key ha is indirect (die -> causative -> cause to die). Both forms are highly productive.

An example for short (simple) causative (Sohn 9, p. 376):

ai	ka	os	ul	ip-ess-ta
child	<i>nom.</i>	clothes	<i>acc.</i>	wear-past-decl.

'The child put on the clothes.'

nay	ka	ai	eykey	os	ul	ip-hy-ess-ta
I	<i>nom.</i>	child	to, <i>acc.</i>	clothes	<i>acc.</i>	wear-make (dress)-past-decl.

'I dressed the child.'

The simple form has the semantic feature of presupposing the existence of the acted-upon objects, which the long (complex) form has not (resembling the meaning of the verb ha included in the suffix, which can also mean 'create').

6.4 Politeness and honorifics

As mentioned before, honorifics are used to express politeness on the one hand to a referred person (regardless of subject, object or other sentence function) and the addressee of the utterance. A consequence of this is that saying a sentence without having any command of one's own social relation to those two kinds of people is impossible.

Referent honorifics are suffixes added to the nouns and less important compared to addressee honorifics, which can be expressed on various ways:

- pronoun usage

When talking to anybody but a child or younger adult, the first person pronoun “ce” is used, otherwise “na”. The second person shows a broad variation, from “elusin” (used for male persons over sixty years) and “tayk” (towards a stranger) to “tangsin” (towards a subordinate or between partners) and some more like “ne” (towards children)

- address terms

Unlike English or German, many terms can be used to address people, including nearly

all professional titles and kinship terms. The address terms can be suffixed to express social relation and politeness level

– speech levels

As mentioned already in the morphology section, there are six speech levels used two different people

- plain speech is used towards all children (defined by age), grandchildren, children (in family terms), younger relatives in general and between close friends
- intimate speech is used by small children towards their family members or very close friends
- familiar speech is used towards any “inferior” adult or adolescents, but is obsoleted today
- blunt speech is mainly used by older speakers, but becomes less and less used today, mostly because of its very impolite implication
- polite speech is the most popular level nowadays and used throughout daily communication by male and female speakers
- deferential speech is used only towards highly superior adults and in religious contexts. This speech level can be freely intermixed with polite speech

Literature:

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