

Typological study of world order in languages of the Pacific region (6)

Korean

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0 Introduction

The present work is the sixth installment of my typological study of word order in languages of the Pacific region, following Tsunoda 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c. (Tsunoda 1988 deals with Japanese.)

I am grateful to Mr. Ayahumi Nakajima, a specialist on the language, and to Mr. Cheong Jin-Ho, a native speaker of the language, for providing information and for commenting on the draft of the paper.

1 Name of language

The native name of the language is *Chosun mal* 'Korea language'. Also called *Hankuk mal* 'Korea language'. (See 13 below.)

2 Source of information

Lukoff 1945, Martin and Lee 1969 (often abbreviated as 'M&L'), and Kim 1987, supplemented with information provided by Ayahumi Nakajima and by Cheong Jin-Ho. The notation systems employed by the three published sources differ from one another, and they have been standardized largely in conformity with that used by Kim.

3 Genetic affiliation

Kim (p. 882) notes as follows :— 'Although this view is not wholly accepted by the linguistic community, the majority of Korean linguists and some western scholars seem inclined towards believing' 'the view that Korean is related to the Altaic family'.

constraint requiring that the sentence end with a verb. As long as the sentence obeys this constraint, a permutation of the major constituents in a sentence is permissible; thus the sentence':

- (b) John i Mary eke chæk ül cu-əss-ta.
 John NOM Mary DAT book ACC give-PAST-DECL
 'John gave a book to Mary.' (S IO DO V)

'can also be said in the following ways':

- (c) John i chæk ül Mary eke cu-əss-ta. (S DO IO V)
 (d) Mary eke John i chæk ül cu-əss-ta. (IO S DO V)
 (e) Chæk ül John i Mary eke cu-əss-ta. (DO S IO V)
 (f) Chæk ül Mary eke John i cu-əss-ta. (DO IO S V)

When a given sentence contains both DO and IO, the most usual order is 'S IO DO V', as exemplified by the ex.(b).

Furthermore, regarding the relative order of the constituents other than the verb, Martin and Lee (p.7) state as follows:—'As a general rule, the nearer the beginning of a Korean sentence a word or phrase appears, the less essential it is... The order of such elements as subject, object, time, place, is determined by the emphasis assigned to each; and one thing that makes them less necessary is earlier mention in a context. ... In other words, old information, if repeated at all, comes at or near the beginning of a Korean sentence, while newly supplied information clusters near the verb. If subject and object both offer new information, the object is more likely to come next to the verb'.

7 Adposition

Korean possesses postpositions, but lacks prepositions. Examples of postpositions include:

- (a) Kongwən e park in/at/to 'in/at/to the park'
 (b) Kongwən esə park from 'from the park' (M&L 50)

Additional examples are the nominative, accusative and dative postpositions given in 6 above. Many more examples are given below.

Unlike prepositions of languages such as English, Korean postpositions cannot be 'stranded'. Thus, compare the following Korean sentence with its English translation:

- (c) Hankuk mal ūl muəs ūlo pæu-se yo ?
 Korea language ACC what with learn-HON POL
 'What do you learn Korean with?' (M&L 37)

8 Genitive and noun

The genitive is indicated by postposition *ŭy* 'of'. The genitive phrase precedes the possessed noun. The genitive postposition can be omitted, and this fact is indicated by the use of a parenthesis in the following examples:

- (a) Kim sənsæng (ŭy) chæk i-ye yo ?
 Kim Mr. (GEN) book is-POL POL
 'Is it Mr. Kim's book?' (M&L 11)
- (b) Nuku (ŭy) capci φ-ye yo ?
 who (GEN) magazine is-POL POL
 'Whose magazine is that?'

9 Demonstrative and noun

A demonstrative precedes the noun it qualifies. Examples involving *i* 'this', *kū* 'that (near you)' and *cə* 'that (over there)', respectively:

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| (a) <i>i</i> | <i>chæk</i> | (b) <i>kū</i> | <i>cip</i> | (c) <i>cə</i> | <i>cip</i> |
| this | book | that | house | that | house |
| 'this book' | | 'that house' | | 'that house' | |

Other examples include 'that man' in (a) of 12; and 'this house' in (b) of 14.

10 Numeral and noun

'When nouns occur with numerals, classifiers are attached to the numerals almost obligatorily' (Kim p. 894). Thus, the ex. (a) contains a

classifier, but the ex. (b) does not.

- (a) Haksæng tu myəng i iss-ə yo.
 student two CLASS NOM exist-INF POL
 'There are two students'. (M&L 78)

(*Myəng* is the classifier for nouns denoting human beings.)

- (b) Haksæng tul i iss-ə yo.
 student two NOM exist-INF POL 'As above.'

The numeral—plus—classifier in (a) and the numeral in (b) follow the noun. But they can also precede the noun :

- (c) Tu myəng ũy haksæng i iss-ə yo.
 two CLASS GEN student NOM exist-INF POL
 'As above.'

- (d) Tu haksæng i iss-ə yo.
 two student NOM exist-INF POL 'As above.'

Note that, as the ex. (c) shows, when a numeral—plus—classifier precedes the noun, it is joined with the latter by means of the genitive postposition.

11 Adjective and noun

An adjective precedes the noun it qualifies :

- (a) sæ catong-cha (b) hən catong-cha
 new car old car
 'a new car' 'an old car' (M&L 110)

12 Relative clause and noun

A relative clause precedes the noun it qualifies. Korean lacks relative pronouns. The verb in a relative clause takes the modifier form.

- (a) Kū salam i [mæil kongwən e sə sanpo
 that man NOM everyday park in a walk
 ha-nun-ta] salam i-ye yo.
 do-MDFR-DECL man is-POL POL

'That man is the man who takes a walk in the park everyday'.

(M&L 206) (*e sə* 'in')

13 Proper noun and common noun

The proper noun precedes the common noun :

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (a) chinsu | samchon | (b) səul | tæhak |
| (man's name) | uncle | Seoul | university |
| 'Uncle Chinsu' | | 'Seoul University' | |
| (c) pak.yən | phokpho | (d) hankuk | mal |
| (name) | falls | Korea | language |
| 'Pak.yen Falls' | | 'the Korean language' | |
| (e) cosən | yəkwan | (f) han | kang |
| Korea | hotel | (name) | river |
| 'Korea Hotel' | | 'Han River' | |
| (g) tækhüŋg | hösa | (h) kyəngsəng | untongjang |
| (name) | company | (name) | sports field |
| 'Tokhung Company' | | 'Kyongsong Stadium' | |

The family name precedes the given name :

- | | | | |
|---------|--------|--------|------|
| (i) kim | ilsəng | (j) hæ | ung |
| Kim | Ilsong | Huh | Wung |

A title follows, rather than precedes, the name. Examples of *sənsəng* 'Mr./Mrs./Miss' :

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|
| (k) kim | poktong | sənsəng | (l) kim | sənsəng |
| Kim | Poktong | Mr. | Kim | Mr. |
| 'Mr. Kim Poktong' | | | 'Mr. Kim' | |

Other examples of titles or the like plus a name include the following :

- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (m) kim | moksa | (n) kim | sinpu |
| Kim | pastor | Kim | a Catholic father |
| 'Reverend Kim' | | 'Father Kim' | |
| (o) o | üysa | | |
| O | doctor, physician | | |
| 'Dr. O' | | | |

14 Comparison

Expressions of the comparative involve the postposition *pota* 'more than'; adjectives themselves lack a comparative form.

- (a) Kaül i kyəul pota coh-a yo.
 summer NOM winter more than nice-INF POL
 'Summer is nicer than winter.' (M&L 363)

The order is 'Standard of Comparison + Marker of Comparison + Adjective'.

Expressions of the superlative involve a word such as *ce-il*, *kacang* or *kū-cung*, which all mean 'number one, the most.' Again, adjectives lack a superlative form.

- (b) I cip i kacang khə yo.
 this house NOM most big POL
 'This house is the biggest.'

15 Auxiliary verb and main verb

The auxiliary verb follows the main verb. The auxiliary verb carries inflection for tense, etc. and the main verb generally takes the infinitive form, the gerund form, the suspensive form, or the adverbative form, depending on the auxiliary verb concerned. Auxiliary verbs can generally be used as main verbs as well. Some of the auxiliary verbs are listed below. (For each of them, (i) the form of the preceding main verb, and (ii) the meaning that the 'auxiliary verb' has when used as a main verb, are indicated in the parenthesis.) *pwa* 'try...ing' (infinitive, 'see'); *mal-ə* 'stop...ing' (gerund, 'stop'); *hanta* 'causative' (adverbative, 'does'); *iss-* 'progressive' (gerund, 'is, stays'); *hæ* 'causative' (adverbative, 'does, is'). (To be more precise, *hæ-* consists of *ha-* 'do' and *-i* 'causative'.) Examples follow:

- (a) Pak sənsæng i yəp pang e sə kongpu ha-ko
 Pak Mr. NOM next room in lesson do-GRND
 iss-ə yo.
 is-INF POL

'Mr. Pak is studying in the next room.' (M&L 125)

- (b) Ppalli siksa lül kkuth-næ-ko
fast meal ACC stop, finish-STEM-GRND

mal-əss-əss-ci yo.
finish-PAST-RETR-SUSP POL

'I finished up my meal in a hurry.' (M&L 305)

- (c) Na nün tongsæng hanthe pap ũl mək-ke
I TOP younger sibling DAT food ACC eat-ADVBTV

hæ-ss-ə yo.
CAUS-PAST-INF POL

'I made/had/let my little brother (or sister) eat his (or her) food.'
(M&L 289)

16 Adverb and verb

As was noted in 6 above, the position of adverbs is not rigidly fixed — provided that they precede the verb.

- (a) Uli nün cikūm muəs ũl hæ yo.
we TOP now what ACC does, is doing POL

'What are we doing now?' (M&L 37)

- (b) Cənyək e nün əmə-nim kwa kachi
evening in TOP mother-ESTEEMED with together

kongwən e sə sanpo ha-se yo.
park in a walk do-HON POL

'In the evening, (he) takes a walk with his mother in the park.'

(M&L 39)

- (c) Hankuk mal ũl cal ha-se yo ?
Korea language ACC well do-HON POL

'Do (you) speak Korean well?' (M&L 37)

Further examples of adverbs and adverb phrases include 'everyday' and 'in the park' in (a) of 12; 'in the next room' in (a) of 15; 'fast' in (b) of 16; 'now' in (a) of 20; 'home' in (a) to (g) of 22; 'at home' in (a) of 23; and 'within fifteen minutes' and 'fast' in (a) of 24.

17 Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify. They include *kkwæ* 'very, quite', *acu* 'very, indeed', *taætān hi* 'very, quite', *cham* 'very, quite', *nəmu* 'too, excessively'.

- (a) Onül cham təpsūmninta.
 today very warm 'It is very warm today.' (Lukoff 105)

18 General questions

Korean has a number of ways to form general questions, depending on the style employed. These methods involve one or more of the following: — (i) sentence-final question 'particle', (ii) verb morphology, and (iii) a rising intonation. Examples follow.

In the formal style — which involves the verbal suffix *-sūpni/-pni* 'formal' — declarative sentences employ the suffix *-ta* 'declarative', while questions employ *-kka* 'question'. Thus, compare:

- (a) Ka-pni-ta.
 go-FRML-DECL 'I go.' (adapted from Kim 892)
- (b) Ka-pni-kka ?
 go-FRML-Q 'Do (you) go ?' (adapted from Kim 892)

Replacement of the declarative suffix *-ta* with the question suffix *-kka*, accompanied by a rising intonation, produces general questions.

In the plain style, one of the ways to form general questions is to use the modifier form of a verb and the sentence-final question 'particle' *ya*, accompanied by a rising intonation. (Modifier forms of verbs are also used in relative clauses; see 12.)

- (c) Ka-nūn ya ?
 go-MDFR Q 'Do (you) go ?' (M&L 330)

In the plain style, general questions can also be formed by means of the verbal suffix *-ni* 'plain style question', e. g. (b) of 22 below.

In the polite style, which involves the sentence-final 'particle' *yo* 'polite', one of the ways to form general questions is simply to use a

rising intonation. Examples include (a) of 8 ; (c) of 17 ; and :

(d) Ka-se yo ?

go-HON POL 'Are (you) going ?' (M&L 104)

19 Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This inversion does not occur.

20 Special questions

Interrogative words occur in the position in which the equivalent words would occur in the corresponding declarative sentences. Special questions, too, have a rising intonation.

(a) Uli nŭn cikŭm əti iss-ə yo ?

we TOP now where exist-INF POL

'Where are we now ?' (M&L 23)

(b) Nu ka sənsæŋ i-ye yo ?

who NOM teacher is-POL POL

'Who is the teacher ?' (M&L 12)

Further examples include 'what with' in (c) of 7 ; 'who of' in (b) of 8 ; and 'what' in (a) of 16.

Recall that in the formal style the verbal suffix *-kka* occurs in general questions. In fact, it occurs in special questions as well. Thus, compare (b) of 18 with :

(e) əti ka-pni-kka ?

where go-FRML-Q 'Where do (you) go ?'

Similarly, in the plain style the sentence-final question 'particle' *ya* occurs not only in general questions, but also in special questions. Thus, compare (c) of 18 with :

(d) əti ka-nŭn ya ?

where go-MDFR Q 'Where do (you) go ?'

21 Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

This inversion does not occur.

22 Negative sentences

Korean possesses three morphemes to indicate negation: the adverb *ani/an* 'not', the adverb *mos* 'not possibly, not at all', and the verb *mal-* 'do not'. The two adverbs are used in declarative sentences and in questions, e. g. (a), (b), (c), (f), (g), while the verb is used in propositive and imperative sentences, e. g. (d), (e).

There are three ways to form negative sentences. First, the adverb *ani/an* or *mos* occurs immediately before the verb, e. g.:

- (a) Cip e an ka-n-ta.
house to NEG go-*n*-DECL 'I do not go home.' (Kim 896)
- (b) Cip e an ka-ni ?
house to NEG go-PLAIN STYLE QUESTION
'Don't you go home ?' (Kim 896)
- (c) Cip e mos ka-n-ta.
house to NEG go-*n*-DECL 'I cannot go home.' (Kim 896)

Second, the verb *ma-* 'do not' behaves rather like an auxiliary verb, and it is preceded by the 'main verb'; the latter takes the suspensive form (*-ci*), e. g.:

- (d) Cip e ka-ci mal-ca.
house to go-SUSP NEG-PROP
'Let's not go home.' (Kim 896)
- (e) Cip e ka-ci mal-la.
house to go-SUSP NEG-IMPERA
'Don't go home.' (Kim 896)

Third, the verb *ha-* 'do' is used rather like an auxiliary verb. It is preceded by the adverb *ani/an* or *mos*, which is in turn preceded by the 'main verb' in the suspensive form, e. g.:

- (f) Cip e ka-ci ani ha-n-ta.
house to go-SUSP NEG do-*n*-DECL
'I don't go home.' (Kim 896)
- (g) Cip e ka-ci mos ha-n-ta.
house to go-SUSP NEG do-*n*-DECL

'I cannot go home.' (Kim 896)

(Note that the use of *ha-* 'do' for negation is reminiscent of the parallel use of the verb *do* in English, e.g. *I do not go home*. Korean exhibits the order 'Main verb + NEG + Auxiliary verb', while English demonstrates the reverse order, 'Auxiliary verb + NEG + Main verb'.

23 Conditional clause and main clause

The conditional clause precedes the main clause, e.g.:

- (a) Pi ka o-myən, cip e iss-kess-ə yo.
rain NOM come-COND house at stay-FUT-INF POL
'If it rains, I will stay home.' (M&L 147)

24 Purpose clause and main clause

The purpose clause precedes the main clause. The verb in a purpose clause is either in the adverbative form (*-ke*) or the projective form (*-tolok*). E.g.:

- (a) Sip-o pun an e kal su iss-ke
fifteen minute in,inside so that one can is/are-ADVBTV
wuncən ūl ppalli ha-sio.
driving ACC fast do-FRML-IMPERA
'Drive (lit. do driving) fast so that we can get there within
fifteen minutes.' (M&L 296)

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