

On the -o/u- Stem in the Conjugation of Middle Korean

— Contrasts in Morphology and Semantics —

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1. 1. In Middle Korean literature around the second half of the 15th century, we find the conjugation stem with a vowel o or u as its final, which is never found in the modern system. The author first dealt with this problem in a paper published in March 1958 (OOE [1958]). At the time, Professor Ung HEO (許雄) had published his own paper a month or two before the author's (HEO, Ung [1958]). The following year, Professor Sung-nyeong YI (LEE) (李崇寧) joined in a discussion on this problem with Professor U. HEO (YI (LEE), Sung-nyeong [1959]). It developed into an argument, and the problem of the -o/u- stem became known as the problem of the inserted vowel (morpheme) or prefinal ending -o/u.¹⁾ Since then, many scholars have been interested in this problem, and many papers have been published in the Republic of Korea.²⁾ But in Japan few scholars have shown an interest in the discussions so far.³⁾ Based on these circumstances today, the author would like to reexamine and restate his views on this problem in this paper.

Professor U. HEO asserted that the 'inserted vowel morpheme' should be taken as an ending connected with the first person in the system of the 'personal and subject-object conjugation', and he then continued to develop his theory, as stated in OOE [1968]. Professor Sung-nyeong YI (LEE) argued that the 'prefinal ending' should be interpreted as 'expressing an intention as the volitive form' on the basis of Otto Jespersen's view of 'Notional Moods.' A few years later, Professor Changdon YU (劉昌惇 [1964]) also expressed his opinion, which seemed to have much in common with Professor Sung-nyeong YI's.

In addition, there appeared the opinion that the prefinal ending was for an emotional or impressive mood, as seen in Professor Nam-deok YI (LEE) (李男德) [1970] or Professor Yong-kun KO (高永根) [1981]. There were also others who pointed out that there could be found some similar-

ities between this ending and the conjugated form expressing admiration such as -doda.

There might be found still other theories on the problem. (For the main literature, cf. Jae-yong HAN (韓在永) [1990] pp. 140-1; Joung-han HAN (韓政翰) [1993] pp. 159-60, 146-6, 169-70, 175-6, 178, 180, 182; etc.) Actually in Korea, however, many scholars are rather led to accept volition theories originating from Professor Sung-nyeong Yi's theory.

The author's view is likely to be assumed to have much in common with the 'volitive form' theory. But he does not regard intention as the semantic core of expressions in -o/u- stem forms. In OOE [1958], he classified examples into different groups of usage on the basis of their semantic environment — groups of usage expressing, for instance, intended actions, actions dreamt about, actions to be done under a false belief, the state of affairs understood through religious insights, and so on — and he examined the semantic roles or features of activity carried out in their individual environments. However, he did not consider these individual roles or features in the semantic environment as the meaning of the -o/u- stem. He analyzed relations between those of activities expressed by -o/u- stem forms and their semantic environment. He posited a morpheme -o/u- as an inflectional stem formative, and he assumed its sememe to express an inner subjective action or situation psychologically grasped. The suffix might not necessarily refer to the outer external aspect of the psychological activity which could be observed in the external physical world (OOE [1958] p. 139). The sememe would be able to explain uniquely every usage of the stem form in its semantic environment. This analysis shows that statements using the -o/u- stem forms may reflect the speaker's (the first personer's) intentions, his intuitions or his understanding of the situation depending on the semantic environment regardless of the grammatical person of the actor expressed in the sentence.

1. 2. By the term 'o/u- stem' the author means primarily that found in the conjugated forms listed in row (1.b) in the table below. But in this paper, when necessary he often refers by the same term to both the primary 'o/u-' stem and the '-no- stem' found in row (2.b). In the Middle Korean conjugation system, we find a series of contrasts between those forms with an intervening vowel o or u before the ending (1.b) and those with the directly suffixed ending without it (1.a). Together with another series of contrasts between forms with the suffix '-no-' (2.b) and those with '-nɐ-' (2.a), the author finds parallel semantic contrasts between

these two series and extracts a common morpheme -o/u- from them, analyzing the suffix -no- into the successive morphemes -nɐ- and -o-. Thus he recognizes two series of -o/u- stem forms (1.b and 2.b) in the conjugation of verbs and adjectives, and analyzes the meaning of the common morpheme -o/u- particularly besides that of the stem ‘-no-’. The vowels o and u of the primary stem alternate under the rule of vowel harmony. In contrast to them, the vowel ɐ of the ‘-nɐ-’ and o of the -no- stems are not influenced in principle by the rule and are standardized in their forms. In those forms listed in row (1.a), some endings, when they are suffixed to consonant stems, have alternant forms with a vowel ɐ or ʉ under the rule of vowel harmony. In this paper, those endings having alternating forms are shown by the longer form with the longer part enclosed in angle brackets — for example, - < ɐ/ʉ > n or - < ɐ/ʉ > -n represents the alternating forms -n, -ɐn, and -ʉn. (Morpheme boundaries are shown by “-” or “.”)

- (1.a) -da; - < ɐ/ʉ > -n; - < ɐ/ʉ > -ni; - < ɐ/ʉ > -r; - < ɐ/ʉ > -ri; - < ɐ/ʉ > -ryə
 (1.b) -o/u-ra; -o/u-n, -o/u-ni; -o/u-r, -o/u-ri; -o/u-ryə
 (2.a) -nɐ-da; -nɐ-n, -nɐ-ni
 (2.b) -no-ra; -no-n, -no-ni

The series of contrasts concerning the -o/u- stem are recognized both in their meaning and function. It is true that some verbs have an alternant by tone difference, and in the case of the honorific stem formative - < ɐ/ʉ > si- it has the irregular form - < ɐ/ʉ > sya- for its -o/u- stem form. However it is not desirable to posit other inflected forms freely as -o/u- stem variants, neglecting their behavior in the frame of the paradigm, and so that they should not disturb the contrast. The author wishes to recognize the verbal noun -o/u.m and the inflected forms for introducing a message -o/u.dɐi (including its honorific - < ɐ/ʉ > sya.dɐi) as -o/u- stem forms, although they should be analyzed carefully regarding their meaning and function because they lack a contrasting form to be matched.

1. 3. As we have seen, there are different opinions about the meaning of the -o/u- stem forms. It should be admitted that various analyses could be carried out from different viewpoints under the present circumstances where we have no clues other than the old time contrasts lost in the modern language. Actually, we have many cases of usage where we find it difficult to distinguish their meaning. In the case of forms like these, a schol-

ar might be able to develop his arguments in his own way by presenting a lot of simple short examples. It would be necessary in order to discuss the problem objectively to take up representative examples and analyze them in particular in their semantic environment. In the discussion below the author will try to explain his analysis of typical examples without worrying about repetition.

2. 0. The Middle Korean script is transliterated with Roman letters and some phonetic symbols: lenis consonants as b, d, g, ĵ, s, ʔ and β ('labial fricative'); fortis with p, t, k, č and h; among non-fortis and non-lenis, nasals with m, n, ŋ and guttural with ʔ; so-called 'semi-dorsal' (bànshéyīn: 半舌音) (liquid) with r and 'semi-dental' (bànchǐyīn: 半齒音) ('retroflex voiced fricative') with z; vowels are written with a, ə, o, u, ɐ, ʉ and i; and the semi-vowel [j] with y. The side-dot which represents syllable-tone is shown only when necessary by a subscript numeral '₁' (qùshēng: 去聲), '₂' (shǎngshēng: 上聲) or '₀' (píngshēng: 平聲) according to the number of dots: the notation '₀' is often omitted where it is dispensable. In cases when Modern Korean forms are quoted, they are transcribed in phonetic symbols in italics enclosed in ' '; those in the Korean script are transliterated in italics according to the Romanization system announced by the Korean Government. Alternating vowels under the rule of vowel harmony are shown set apart by a slanted line, and alternating forms of suffixes or endings are shown with a longer variant with the longer part enclosed in angle brackets. Proper names known only by Chinese characters are transcribed according to the Romanization System of the Korean Government. English words needed to translate a Korean word are combined with each other by an underbar(.). The meanings of particles and endings are represented by means of tagged labels in abbreviated designations of grammatical categories in small capitals or typical words representing the meaning expressed, which are all in subscript. Grammatical functions designated by syntactic position are represented by a category of words enclosed in parentheses.⁴⁾

2. 1. Example sentences are quoted with their meanings translated word for word, and the forms discussed are shown underlined with a double straight line (=) when they are in -o/u- stem forms and with double wavy line (≈) when they are not. The underlines are also added to the relevant parts of the original classical Chinese texts (enclosed in square brackets) tagged with Korean particles and enclitics when these

are added to example sentences. In this paper, the author is not concerned with the shape or form of Chinese characters, which has nothing to do with the meaning of Middle Korean expressions.

[Ex. 1]		'orhn	sonəro	hanər
	【Śākyamuni·NOM】	right	hand·INSTR	the_heaven(·ACC)
gərəčisimyə	'oin	sonəro	sda	gərəčisigo
point_at (HON)·and,	left	hand·INSTR	the_earth(·ACC)	point_at(HON)·and
獅子 mogsoriro	nirəsyadəi	hanər	'ukoa	
lion's_voice·INSTR	says(HON)·QUOTE	the_Heaven	upper·and	
hanər	'arai	na	sbun	<u>尊hora</u> 三界
the_Heaven	under	I	alone	am_holy·STATE all_3_worlds(·GEN)
da 受苦 rəβəini	nai	便安kəi	<u>horira</u>	
all suffering_people(·ACC)	I·NOM	comfortable	will_make·STATE	
həsini		[Weorin Seokbo: 2-38a, b]		
stated(HON)·STATE				

«Pointing with his right hand at Heaven and with his left hand at Earth, Śākyamuni said in a voice like the roaring of a lion, “Holy am I alone throughout heaven and earth. I will relieve all people from their pain who are suffering in all the three worlds.”»

In a famous verse known as the *gāthā* at the time of the Buddha's birth, “Holy am I alone throughout heaven and earth,” the -o/u- stem forms (尊hora: hɛ.ora, horira: hɛ.orira) express his firm assertion or conviction based on his religious intuition.

[Ex. 2]	'ojig	ǰəi məzəmər	'armyən
	only [you]	your own mind·ACC	recognize-if
恆沙法聞goa		無量妙義rər	
a_number_of_instructions·and		an_infinite_quantity_of_truth·ACC	
求ti	'anihə'ya	'ədʉrini	gʉrərsəi
seek_for	without_doing	would_be_obtained·STATE	Therefore
世尊'i	nirəsyadəi	一切衆生'ər	nəbi
Śākyamuni·NOM	said(HON)·QUOTE	every_living_thing·ACC	all_over

<u>bo₂ni</u>		da	如來-s
the_persons_who_watch _(·NOM)		all	Buddha's
智慧德相'er		gəč̣o	duisnənira
wisdom_and_goodness _{·ACC}		thoroughly	are_endowed _{·STATE}
həsımyə	sdo	nirəsyadəi	一切衆生'ei
said _{(HON)·and}	again	said _{(HON)·QUOTE}	every_living_thing _{·GEN}
種種幻化-i		da	如來-s
a_variety_of_visions _{·NOM}		all	Buddha's
圓覺妙心'əi			nanira
spiritually_awakend_magnificent_mind _{·LOC}			appears _{·STATE}
həsini	'i	'aror	diroda.
stated _{(HON)·and}	this _{·NOM}	to_be_realized	is_the_very_thing _{·STATE}
'i	məzəm		'yəhwi'o
This	consideration_in_mind _(·ACC)		standing_away_from_it _{·and_after}
basgwi	butyə		də'oi'yomi
other_ways _{·among}	a_Buddhist_saint _(·COMPLMT)		becoming _{·NOM}
'əbsun dira	[Moguja: 3-a]		
do_not_exist _{·STATE}			

〔但識自心həmyən恒沙法門無量妙義rər不求而得hərini故ro世尊'i云
həsyadəi普觀一切衆生honi具有如來智慧德相'irahəsımyə又云一切衆生'wi
種種幻化-i皆生如來圓覺妙心'irahəsini是知離此心外'yəi無佛可成'ira〕〔牧
牛子: 1-b, 2-a〕

«If you recognized your own mind, a number of instructions and an infinite quantity of truth would be obtained without seeking for them. Therefore, Śākyamuni said that the persons who would watch every living thing everywhere are completely endowed with the Buddha's wisdom and goodness in everything, and he said again that a great number of visions that every living thing would have would be all caught by the Buddha in his spiritually awakened magnificent mind. This is the very thing that should be realized. Apart from this consideration in mind, there is no other way for becoming a Buddha.»

The situations expressed by the underlined forms (bo₂ni: bo.oni;
'aror': 'ar.or; 'əbsun': 'əbs.un) could be distinguished by those having an

enlightened mind, and represent the content of the insights to be obtained only by those spiritually awakened.

[Ex. 3]	nyəi		異見王'i		婆羅提尊者sguui
	In_the_old_days		King_Yigyeon·NOM		Prati_Ārya·DAT(HON)
mudʃə'oa	nir'odəi		'ənwi		'i
ask(HUM)_and	say·QUOTE		which_person·NOM		surely
butyəiŋisgo			尊者-i		nirəsyadəi
Buddha·to_be·POLITE·QUESTION			Ārya·NOM		say(HON)·QUOTE
<u>性</u>			<u>boni</u>		'i
the_true_form(-ACC)			the_persons_who_watch·NOM		surely
butyəiŋida		王'i	nir'odəi		師-i
Buddha·POLITE·STATE		King·NOM	say·QUOTE		Master·NOM
性'urr			bosiniŋisga		
the_true_form·ACC			the_person_who_watch·POLITE·QUESTION		
	modhəsiniŋisga				尊者-i
[or]	the_person_who_could_not·POLITE·QUESTION				Ārya·NOM
nirəsyadəi	nai		佛性'urr		
say(HON)·QUOTE	I·NOM		Buddha's_true_form·ACC		
<u>boŋida</u>			[Moguja: 5-b, 6-a]		
watch·POLITE·STATE					

〔昔'əi異見王'i問婆羅提尊者曰何者-i是佛'iŋisgo尊者曰見性'i是佛'iŋida王曰師-i見性否-iŋisga 尊者曰我-i見佛性honida〕〔牧牛子4-a,b〕

«In the old days, King Yigyeon [異見王] asked and said to Prati Ārya [尊者], “Which person is surely a Buddha?” Ārya [尊者] said, “The person who watches the true form is surely a Buddha.” The king said, “You, the Master, are you the person who watches the true form, or the one who can't?” Ārya [尊者] said, “I watch the Buddha's true form.”»

This dialogue is found a little after the passage quoted in Ex. 2. As for the 'Buddha's true form,' it can be seen by those who have practiced asceticism and attained an enlightened state of mind through their

mind's eye, but cannot be seen by those who are immature and inexperienced. The -o/u- stem form “bo.ni” (bo.ɔni) in Ex. 2 points to the person who can watch every living thing everywhere. In contrast, in the basic stem form “性 boni” (bo.ni) of Ex. 3, it matters only whether the person can do it or not. The distinction between these two examples shows that, in expressing almost the same activities, they need not be expressed with the -o/u- stem forms if they are not concerned with the internal psychological world.

[Ex. 4] 耶輸-i 'i mar durusigo məzəmi
 Yaśa·NOM these words(·ACC) hear(HON)-and_after heart·NOM
 huənhəsyə 前世'ais 'iri
 is_brightened(HON)-and_then the_former_life·LOC·GEN experiences·NOM
 'əjəi bo.n dəs hə'ya jurgubdəβəin
 yesterday be_seen as_if it_were·and twisted_around_and_bound_up
 məzəmi da surədiganur [Seokbo Sangjeol: 6. 9-a]
 heart·NOM in_all vanish_away·and

«Having heard these words, Yaśa [耶輸] felt his heart lightened. Matters experienced in his former life appeared clearly to him as if they were seen the day before, and then his troubles that had twisted around and bound up his heart vanished away.»

Yaśa (耶輸) recalled his experiences in his former life as if he had seen (bo.n: bo.ɔn) those scenes the day before. It is not that he really saw them objectively at that time. The form expresses a mental activity undergone subjectively and psychologically.

[Ex. 5] 師-i nirəsyadəi hən gəryomi
 The_Master·NOM say(HON)-QUOTE a_piece_of cloud·NOM
 nunəi 'isimyən 虛空'əis goji 'əjwəβi
 one's_eyes·LOC exist-if the_empty_sky·LOC·GEN flowers scattered
 dinənira gu 僧'i marsəmai
 fall_down·STATE That_monk·NOM those_words·LOC
 'əni 'uhwi durun
 understood_something·and_then above·LOC cited·RELAT

nyəis		聖人-s	道'ai	
in_the_old_days·GEN		the_saint·GEN	Buddhist_doctrines·LOC	
<u>durwuyan</u>		因緣'i	明白həmyə	ʝyæggo
entered(HON)·RELAT		the_accounts·NOM	are_obvious·and	simple·and
sui'uə	him	bsum	ʝyəgomai	<u>magdi</u>
easy·and	efforts(·ACC)	making(·NOM)	small_quantity·LOC	hindering
<u>'ani hən</u>		'i	公案'er	
without_doing·and		these	themes·ACC	
因hə'ya	hədaga	<u>'aron</u>	godi	
based_on	if	spiritually_awakened·RELAT	a_state_of_mind·NOM	
'isimyən	god nyəis	聖人goa	son	
be_found·if	easily in_the_old_days·GEN	the_saint·with	hand(·ACC)	
ʝaba	hən	dəi	nyərirā	[<i>Moguja</i> : 7-a, b]
grip·and	one	place(·LOC)	will_move_forward·STATE	

〔師-i云一翳-i在眼həmyən空花-i亂墜hənənira其僧'i言下'ai有省hən
上來所擧古聖入道因緣'i明白簡易hə'ya不妨省力hən因此公案hə'ya若有
信解處-imyən即與古聖goa把手共行hərirā〕〔*牧牛子*: 7-a〕

«The master said that if you had a cloud in your eyes flowers hanging in the empty air would be scattered and fall down. The monk hearing those words understood something in his mind. And as the accounts of how the saint cited above entered Buddhist doctrines in the old days were obvious and simple, easy to understand, and as there was found little hindrance to making efforts in those accounts, the man would move forward to the state of mind equivalent to that of the saint only if he became awakened in his mind based on those themes.»

Two facts should be clearly distinguished: one is that a monk understood something in his mind ('a.ni [有省hən]: 'ar.ni) on hearing the master's words, and the other is that he became awakened in his mind ('aron godi 'isimyən [信解處-imyən]: 'ar.ən). The master says that as the accounts of how the saint in the old days mentioned above (durun [所擧: dur.un) entered Buddhist doctrines are obvious and simple and easy to understand, you would be able to arrive at a state of mind equal to that of the saint only if you became awakened in your mind based on these themes. The verb dur- ([擧]) means to raise something in one's

hand. But the -o/u- stem form durun ([所擧]: dur.un) expresses here that he cited something as an example, not that he showed something by ‘taking it up with his hand.’ The -o/u- stem form duruwsyan ([入道]: dur.uwsyan) will be discussed below (Ex. 19).

[Ex. 6]	həma	先後		本末’ər		’adi
	now	beginning_and_end		root_and_branch·ACC		distinguishing_from
modgo	佛道rər			求kojyə		
cannot	Buddhist_doctrines·ACC			wanting_to_seek		
hərin				方hən	namgər	gəjyə
the_person_who_is_going_to_do·TOPIC				square	wood·ACC	by_means_of
duryə’un	gumu	magom		gədhəni		’əsdyəi
round	hole(·ACC)	stopping_up		be_equal_to·in_the_situation		why
kun	錯’i		’aniri’o	həma	方便’ur	
bad	mistake·NOM		will_it_not_be·QUESTION	now	means_to_an_end·ACC	
’adi	modhərsəi	nopən	biŋ’ais		想’ər	
knowing	can’t_do·RESULT	high	a_precipice·LOC·GEN		feeling·ACC	
jizə	ǰəi		murrumur	nai’yə		
have·and_then	by_oneself		stepping_back·ACC	feel_moved·and_then		
butyəs	種性		gučuri			
Buddha’s	goodness(·ACC)		the_persons_who_will_refuse(·NOM)			
hadi	’aniti	’anihəni		həma	ǰəi	
many	not	there_are_not·and_thus		now	by_oneself	
bərgidi		modgo	sdo		他人’uri	
making_enlightened		cannot_do·and_after	moreover		other_persons·GEN	
’an		god	’isyomər	middi		
having_understood·RELAT		the_state(·NOM)	existing·ACC	believing_in		
’ani hə’yə	神通		’əbsunir			
do_not_do·and_then	supernatural_powers(·NOM)		a_person_lacking_it·ACC			
bogo	輕漫’ər	nai’ya		賢’ur		
see_through	contempt·ACC	showing_for_him·and_then		the_wisemen·ACC		

欺弄 <i>hemyə</i>	聖' <i>ur</i>	欺弄 <i>hənəni</i>
make_fools_of_them	the_saints·ACC	making_fools_of_them _(·NOM)
實ro	<i>surpu^{da}</i>	[<i>Moguja</i> : 11-a]
really	feel_sorrowful·STATE	

〔既不知先後本末ko欲求佛道 *hərin* 如將方木 *hə'ya* 逗圓孔也 *-ini* 豈非大錯 *'iri'o* 既不知方便故ro作懸崖之想 *hə'ya* 自生退屈 *hə'ya* 斷佛種性者 *-i* 不為不多矣 *ni* 既自未明ko亦未信他人' *uri* 有解悟處 *hə'ya* 見無神通者 *həgo* 乃生輕漫 *hə'ya* 欺賢誑聖 *hənəni* 良可悲哉 *ra*〕 [牧牛子: 9-b]

«Now, those who are seeking after Buddhist doctrines without distinguishing beginning from end or root from branch are likely to be stopping up a round hole by means of square wood. Why are they not badly mistaken? Now, as they cannot understand the means to an end and they feel as if they were hanging from a high precipice, many of them step back and refuse the Buddha's goodness. And now they cannot make themselves enlightened and, moreover, they cannot believe in other persons having something understood in their mind, and as they see through those lacking supernatural powers, they show their contempt for them and they make fools of those wise men or saints. Facts like these are really felt to be sad.»

People cannot believe in other persons having something understood in their mind (他人' *uri* 'an₂ god 'isyomər middi 'ani *hə'ya* [未信他人' *uri* 有解悟處 *hə'ya*]: 'ar.n), and as they see through those lacking supernatural powers, they show their contempt for them and make fools of those wise men or saints (賢' *ur* 欺弄 *hemyə* 聖' *ur* 欺弄 *hənəni* [欺賢誑聖 *hənəni*]: *hənəni*). The author of the original text in classical Chinese, *Moguja* [牧牛子], feels really sad about these facts (實ro *surpu^{da}* [良可悲哉 *ra*]: *surpu^{da}*). He said neither “*surp-ura*” (or “*surp-ora*”), nor “*sur^{toda}*” (*surh-do.da*), much less “*surpu-nira*”, but simply “*surpu^{da}*” [可悲哉 *ra*] (*surpu^{da}*). He revealed his thoughts. It seems that Hyegak Arya [慧覺尊者] (whose name was Sinmi [信眉]) translated it into Korean in a colloquial style rather than explanatorily. *Moguja* [牧牛子], that is Jinul [知訥], known by his posthumous title National Preceptor Buri-Bojo [佛日普照國師], died in 1210. This was two hundred years and several decades before the translation was published. It should have been well-known among Korean priests in those days that he had been diligent in guiding young monks both as the founder of Korean

Zen and as the founder of the temple Songgwang-sa [松廣寺] on Mount Jogye [曹溪山].⁵⁾

[Ex. 7] 眞實 正 *hən bo'oa* 'aromər 發 *hə'ya*
 Truly right viewing·and knowing·ACC start_from·and_then
 親 *hi* *gu* *masər* *mas bo'a* *ǰəi*
 for_oneself the taste·ACC appreciate·and_then he_himself
 ǰəi *ǰuarginon* *sdahai* *niruomyən*
 personally enjoying·RELAT state_of_mind·LOC arrive_at·if
 'i *məzəm* *dasnən* *sarəməi*
 this(·itself) his_own_mind(·ACC) train·RELAT person·GEN
'anon *godira* [*Moguja*: 21-a]
 to_be_awakened·RELAT is_the_mental_state·STATE

〔發眞正見解 *hə'ya* 親嘗其味 *hə'ya* 自到自肯之地 *hemyən* 則是爲修心人
 'ui 解悟處也-ira〕〔牧牛子: 18-a〕

«Starting from truly right views, acquiring experiences for himself, and arriving personally at the enjoying state of mind, that is the very situation in which a man would be awakened in his mind by training his mind.»

[Ex. 8] 對答 *hodəi* *'an* 後 *'əi* 漸漸
 Answer·QUOTE understood·RELAT after_that·LOC step_by_step
dasnon *bdurdur* *'arpəi* *həma* *gəčō*
 train_oneself·RELAT implication·ACC once·LOC already in_detail
nir'ənər *sdo* 疑心 *'əis* *bdurdur*
 explained·at_the_case still doubt·LOC·GEN attitude·ACC
purdi *modhərsəi* *dasi* *nir'omi*
 dissolving cannot_do·RESULT again explaining·NOM
mudənhəni *nəi* *modəi* *məzəmər* *ǰohi*
 is_reasonable·and_then you·NOM without_fail heart·ACC clean
hə'ya 仔細 *hi* *duruomyə* 仔細 *hi*
 keep·and_then in_detail listen·and in_detail

duuruura [Moguja: 24-a]

listen·IMPERAT

〔答悟後漸修之義rer前已具說'i'ənuur 而復疑情'uur未釋hərsəi不妨重說'ini汝須淨心hə'ya諦聽諦聽həra〕〔牧牛子: 21-a〕

«【The master】 answered. “As you cannot yet dissolve your doubt although I have once explained already in detail about the implications of training oneself step by step after one has understood something in his mind, it would be reasonable for me to explain to you again. You listen to me carefully in detail, keeping your heart pure.”»

It should be noted that two kinds of activities are expressed distinctly: one is the process of practicing asceticism (məzəm dasnən sarəməi [修心人'ui]: dasg.nən) and of being enlightened ('anə [悟後]: ar.n), and the other is that of obtaining the awakened state of mind ('anon godira [解悟處也-ira]: ar.non) and of training his state of mind (dasnon bdurdur [修之義rer]: dasg.non). The latter is represented as the internal mental side of activities which cannot always be seen on the surface. -o/u- stem forms are likely to express internal psychological activities.

[Ex. 9] 止nən

The-Chinese_character_ji·TOPIC

manəda

to_ceilse_from_doing(·QUOTE)

hənən

signify·RELAT

bdurdira

is_the_meaning·STATE

[Foreword to Seokbo Sangjeol: 3-b]

«The Chinese character ji [止] signifies the meaning ‘to cease from doing.’»

[Ex. 10] 羅漢'i

Arhan·NOM

光木 dəryə

Gwangmok·DAT

murodəi nəi əmi

ask·that your mother(·NOM)

sarasir?

is_alive·RELAT

jəi

the_time_when

'əsdən

what_kind_of

行業'ər

deed·ACC

hədənyo

had_done·QUESTION

'ijəi

Now

惡趣'əi

hell·LOC

'isyə

is·and_then

至極

bitterly

受苦 hənəda

is_suffering·STATE

[Weorin Seokbo: 21. 53-b]

«Arhan asked Gwangmok, “What kinds of deeds did your mother do

while she was alive? Now she is bitterly suffering in Hell.”»

Ex. 9 is an explanation of the meaning of the Chinese character ‘ji’ (止) (manɤda: mar.nɤda). In **Ex. 10**, Arhan informs Gwangmok about the present situation of Gwangmok’s mother (受苦 hɛnɤda: hɛ.nɤda). The endings -nɛ.n, -nɛ.ni, and -nɛ.da including the stem -nɛ- express activities in progress which can be seen externally.

[Ex. 11]		sdo		理’yəi
	【The master says】	In_addition		Buddhist_doctrines·LOC
durromi	gurti	harsəi	nəigəi	hɛn 門’ər
entering·NOM	clues·NOM	many·RESULT	you·DAT	one gate·ACC
gɛrɛčyə	nəro	根源’əi		
point_out·and_then	you·INSTR	the_root_of_doctrines·LOC		
dora gagəi	<u>hɛnoni</u>	nəi	sdo	gamagoi
going_back·CAUSAT	do·in_this_case	you·NOM	now	CROWS(·NOM)
’urmyə	gačəi	’urumsorir	<u>durdnɛnda</u>	
caw·and	magpies·GEN	chatterings·ACC	hear·QUESTION	
	nir’odəi	<u>durdnora</u>		nir’odəi
【The monk】	Says·that	【I】hear·STATE	【The master】	says·that
nə’ui	<u>durdnon</u>	性’i	sdo	han
your	hearing·RELAT	the_character·NOM	again	many
sori	<u>’isnɛn</u>	dər	dorəhyə	
sounds(·NOM)	existing·RELAT	a_thing·ACC	look_around·and_then	
<u>durdnɛnda</u>		nir’odəi	’iŋəi	
hear·QUESTION	【The monk】	says·that	this_point·LOC	
nirurə	一切-s	sori’oa	一切	
come_to·and_then	all_things·GEN	sounds·and	all(·GEN)	
分別’ur	da	得di	modhəriroda	[Moguja: 19-a]
clear_ideas·ACC	in_all	getting	can_not_do·WONDER_STATE	

〔且入理多端 hərsəi 指汝一門 hɛ’ya 令汝還源 hɛnoni 汝-i 還聞鴉鳴鵲
 噪之聲麼’a 曰聞 hɛnora 曰汝-i 返聞汝’ui 聞性’i 還有許多聲麼’a 曰到這裏 hɛ
 ’ya 一切聲一切分別’ur 俱不可得’iroda〕〔牧牛子: 16-a, b〕

«[The master says,] “In addition, as there are many clues to enter Buddhist doctrines, I will point out a gate for you and let you go back to the roots of the doctrines. Do you hear crows cawing and magpies chattering?” [The monk] says, “I hear.” [The master] says, “In looking around yourself, do you hear the many sounds that your true character makes in its turn again?” [The monk] says, “Coming to this point, I can neither get to the sounds of anything nor form any clear ideas about them.”»

Roughly speaking, there can be found two groups of verb forms in Examples 10 and 11: one group refers to actions or states observable objectively (受苦 hənəda: hən.nəda; duidnənda [返聞]: duid.nən-da; han sori 'isnən dər [有許多聲]: 'is.nən) and the other to those recognizable internally only through introspection (nərrō 根源'əi dora gagəi hənoni [令汝還源 hənoni]: hən.noni; duidnora [聞hənora]: duid.nora; nə'wi duidnon 性'i [汝'wi聞性'i]: duid.non). As we can see in these examples, including Ex. 3 above, it seems that the -o/u- stem forms are difficult to use in asking a question. Their usage would be understandable if the -o/u- stem expressed the speaker's (the first person's) estimation of the situation.

[Ex. 12] 'irərssəi 般若波羅蜜多呪rər nirənora
 For this reason, Prajñāpāramitā dhāraṇī·ACC [I] will preach·STATE
 həsigo god 呪rər nireśyadəi [*Banya Simgyeong*: 64-a]
 said(HON)·and_after soon dhāraṇī·ACC recite(HON)·that

[故ro說般若波羅蜜多呪 hənora hasigo 卽說呪曰 həsəyadəi] [般若心經: 64-a]

«“For this reason, I will preach the Prajñā-pāramitā dhāraṇī to you,” the Buddha said and recited it soon.»

In this example the master declares his will to preach (nirənora [說...hənora]: nire.nora) the dhāraṇī before reciting it. The expression (nirənora [nirə-no.ra] <-nə.o->), therefore, refers to a psychological activity only recognizable internally. Usage of this kind is likely to be closest in meaning to that of the Modern sentence form ‘-nura(go) (-nora(go)),’ which expresses an action that one is planning to accomplish. Although in the Modern language it is an ending introducing a subordinate clause,

it had a function of ending a statement in Middle Korean.

[Ex. 13]	nyəi	雪山'ai	hən	鸚鵡-i	'isyodəi	
	In_the_old_days	Himālaya·LOC	one	parrot·NOM	lived·in_the_situation	
	'əzi	da	nun	mər'ədun	果實	bda
	the_parents(·NOM)	both	eyes	blind·and_thus	fruits(·ACC)	pluck·and_then
	məgidəni	gʷ	ǰəgʷi	hən	badnimǰahi	
	fed_them_with·then	that	time_of_days·LOC	a_certain	farmer·NOM	
	bsi	bihʷr?	ǰəgʷi	願hodəi	ǰyʷŋsəiŋgoa	
	seed(·ACC)	sowing·RELAT	the_time·LOC	wish·that	living_things·COM	
	'ə'urə	<u>məgurira</u>	hə'yanər	鸚鵡-i		
	join_together·and_then	will_eat·STATE	hoped·in_the_situation	the_parrot·NOM		
	gʷ	穀食'ur	ǰuzə	'əzirər	məgigənʷr	
	the	sereals·ACC	peck·and_then	parents·ACC	feed·under_the_circumstances	
	badnimǰahi	怒hə'ya	gʷmʷrro	<u>ǰəbən</u>		
	the_farmer·NOM	get_angry·and_then	net·INSTR	caught·RELAT		
	dai	鸚鵡-i	nir'odəi	nəm		
	in_the_situation	the_parrot·NOM	say·that	someone(·DAT)		
	ǰur?	bdʷdi	'isirssəi	gəjyə	<u>gəni</u>	
	giving·RELAT	mind·NOM	exist·RESULT	carry·and	go·in_the_situation	
	'əsdyəi	<u>ǰəbnənda</u>	badnimǰahi	murodəi		
	why	catch_me·QUESTION	The_farmer·NOM	ask·that		
	nur	爲hə'ya	gəjyə	<u>ganda</u>		
	whom·ACC	do_in_favor_of·and_then	carry·and	go·QUESTION		
	對答hodəi	nun	<u>mən</u>	'əzirər	<u>'ibadnora</u>	
	Answer·that	eyes(·NOM)	blind	parents·ACC	support·STATE	
	badnimǰahi	goahə'ya	ǰyʷŋsəiŋdo			
	The_farmer·NOM	praise·and_then	living_things·also			
	孝道hərssyə		'irrog	後'əi		
	be_dutiful_to_his_parents·ADMIR		From_now	later_days·LOC		
	疑心	ma'o	gəjyə	gara		
	doubt(·ACC)	cease_to_do·and_after	carry·and	go·IMPERAT		

həni said·and_thus(-STATE)	gu that	鸚鵡nun parrot·TOPIC	如來sigo was_Tathāgata(HON)·and_after
badnimjahən the_farmer·TOPIC	舍利佛'i'o was_Śāriputra·and_after	nun eyes(-NOM)	mən blind
'əzinən parents·TOPIC	淨飯王goa King_Śuddhodana·and		
摩耶夫人'isinira were_Madam Māyā(HON)·STATE		[Weorin Seokbo: 2. 12-b, 13-a]	

«In the old days a parrot lived in the Himālayas. As his parents were both blind, he fed them with fruits which he plucked from trees. At that time, a certain farmer, sowing seeds in his fields, had a wish to share crops with other living things and to eat in a friendly manner among them. The parrot was pecking the cereals and feeding his parents. As the farmer got angry and caught him with a net, the parrot asked, “Why did you catch me when I am going to take them with me and give them to others?” The farmer asked, “To whom are you going to take them?” The parrot answered, “I am supporting my parents, who are both blind.” The farmer praised the parrot and said, “A living thing is dutiful to its parents itself! From now on, take them with you without doubting.” The parrot was the Tathāgata, the farmer was Śāriputra, and the blind parents were King Śuddhodana and Madam Māyā.»

Here again, we find those activities grasped internally (məgurira: məg.ʉrira; gajyə ga.ni: ga.ɔni; 'ibadnora: 'ibad.nora) and actions or states visible and observable externally (jabən dai: jab.ən; jabnənda: jab.nən-da; gajyə ganda: ga.n-da; nun mən: mər.n). As the speaker (the first personer) expresses his own inner activities by means of -o/u- stem forms in this example, it could be also understood that he put his intentions into his words.

[Ex. 14] sdo Again	僧'i the_monk·NOM	歸宗和尚sgwii Upādhyāya_Gwijong(HON)·DAT	
mudjə'odəi asked(HUM)·that	'əsdə həni what_kind_of_person(-NOM)	'i on_earth	
butyəiŋisgo Buddha·POLITE·QUESTION	宗'i Gwijong·NOM	nirəsyadəi said(HON)·that	nai I·NOM

'ijəi nədəryə nir'oryəni'oa nəi 信ti
 now you·DAT going_to_say·in_the_situation you·NOM believing_in

'ani hərga ǰədnoṛa [Moguja: 7-a]
 don't_do·doubtful [I] be_afraid_of_doing·STATE

〔又僧'i問歸宗和尚hodəi如何是佛'o宗云我今'ai向汝道horyəni'oa 恐汝
 -i不信hənora〕〔牧牛子: 6-b〕

«Again, the monk asked Upādhyāya Gwijong, “What kind of person on earth is a Buddha?” Gwijong said, “Now I am going to say, but I am afraid that you will not believe me.”»

The use of nirənora (nirə.nora) (Ex. 12) and 'ibadnora ('ibad.nora) (Ex. 13) might be understood as representing intended actions. ǰədnoṛa (〔恐...hənora〕: ǰəd.nora) in this example refers only to the speaker's (the first personer's) state of mind and does not represent an action intended as well as duɔdnora (duɔd.nora) (Ex. 11), though both two express inner activities. nir'oryəni'oa (〔道 horyəni'oa〕: nirə.oryə(-hə).ni'oa) would be analyzed as representing an inner activity more deeply grasped since it contains the ending -ryə.ni'oa, which signifies an activity about to be done.

[Ex. 15] 婆羅門'i 安否 mudgo nir'odəi 舍衛國'ai
 Brahmaṇa·NOM ask_after·and_after said·that Śrāvastī·LOC

hən 大臣 須達'ira hori
 one Cabinet_member Sudatta called_person(·NOM)

'isnəni 'arəsiniṇisga 護彌
 exist·in_the_situation knowing(HON).person·POLITE·QUESTION Homi(·NOM)

nir'odəi sori sbun duɔdnora [Seokbo Sangjeol: 6. 14-b]
 said·that of_his_name only(·ACC) [I] hear·STATE

«Brahmaṇa, having asked after Homi, said, “In Śrāvastī there is a man called Sudatta. Do you know him?” Homi said, “I know him only by name.”»

Homi [護彌] answered as the result of his introspection into his

own mind that he had heard of Sudatta in Śrāvastī. There can not be found any factor of an intended action as well as in the case of duudnora (〔聞hənora〕: duud.nora) in Ex. 11.

[Ex. 16]	səihən		觀行'ai	
	The_third·TOPIC		training_meditation_on_oneself·LOC	
nazaga	sagyomini		nir'odəi	səi性'ai
go_ahead·and_then	to_analyze·in_the_situation		say·that	three_true_forms·LOC
səi	無性觀'er		syəi'yomini	hənahən
three	no_nature_views·ACC		to_establish·in_the_situation	the_first·TOPIC
duru	hyəi'yə		<u>jabnon</u>	性'ai 相
widely	measure·and_then		grasping·RELAT	nature·LOC shape
'əbsuən	觀'er		ǰizomini	nir'odəi
non_existing·RELAT	view·ACC		to_create·in_the_situation	say·that
dyəi	god		空'ira	'əru 生滅
that·NOM	namely		is_vanity·STATE	Exactly living_and_dying(·NOM)
'əbsuənira				[<i>Banya Simgyeong</i> : 44-a]
non_existing·STATE				

〔三'ən就觀行hə'ya釋'ini謂於三性'ai立三無性觀'ini一'uən於徧計所執性'ai作無相觀'ini謂彼-i既空'ira無可生滅'inira〕〔般若心經: 42-b〕

«The third is to analyze and understand about yourself by advancing to meditation training. It is said that the task is to establish three 'no-nature' views in three true forms. The first is to create the view that recognizes shapeless aspects in contrast to the common nature which widely measures and grasps everything around you. It is said that it is, namely, vanity itself. It is exactly that there is found nothing that lives or dies.»

The phrase “duru hyəi'yə jabnon 性” is a word-for-word translation of 〔徧計所執性〕 (commonly written as 〔遍計所執性〕): «the nature which widely measures and grasps everything». Here the translator has rendered the mental nature of people to grasp 'anything as it was shaped' in the Korean words “jabnon 性” (〔執性〕: ǰab.nōn), in accordance with the Buddhist concept of “遍計所執性”. Viewed from the notion of “All is vanity, vanity is true form 〔色卽是空, 空卽是色〕” in the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, the nature is a cause of delusion in ordinary people and must

be abandoned, for it could develop into an illusion on the basis of which wrong ways of activity could be carried out.⁶⁾ The phrase should be understood as an expression internally interpreted for ordinary people's actions carried out on the basis of their delusion.

[Ex. 17]	衆生'ən	煩惱rər	mod	bsurə
	a living thing·TOPIC	worldly_passions·ACC	unable_to	sweep·and
	bəryə	'iri	'isirssæi	dyohən
	throw_away·and_then	some_jobs	exist·RESULT	good
	<u>jizun</u>	因緣'uro		後生'ai
	have_done·RESULT	cause_and_result·INSTR		the_future_life·LOC
	dyohən	mom	də'oi'o	məjun
	happy	body	to_become·and	evil
				'ir
				deed(·ACC)
	<u>jizun</u>	因緣'uro		後生'ai
	have_done·RELAT	cause_and_result·INSTR		the_future_life·LOC
	məjun	mom	də'oi'ya	sarrag
	unhappy	body	to_become·and	living·and
				jugurag
				dying·and
	hə'ya	gʷji 'əbsi	受苦hægəni'oa	
	to_do·and_then	endlessly	distress_himself·in_the_situation	

[Weorin Seokbo: 2. 16-a.]

«Being unable to sweep away worldly passions and having jobs to do, living things will have happy living in a future life as the result of good deeds they have performed, or will lead an unhappy life as the result of evil deeds they have done, and they will be distressed endlessly in living and in dying themselves.»

[Ex. 18]	modin	'ir	<u>jizun</u>	dasəro
	evil	deed(·ACC)	have_done·RELAT	effect·INSTR
	餓鬼畜生地獄'ai		ga'a	namyə
	the_Hell_of_hungry_ghosts_and_beasts·LOC		go_to·and	be_born·and
	modin	'ir	bogo	dyohən
	evil	deed(·ACC)	look_at·and_after	good
				'ir
				deeds(·ACC)

dasgɛninɛn		漸漸	
persons_who_practiced·TOPIC		one_after_another	
東西北洲'oa		四王	
East, _West, _North_Continents·and		Cātur-mahā-rāja-kāyikā	
忉利天'əi	ga	nani ⁷⁾	[<i>Weorin Seokbo</i> : 1. 46-b]
Trāyastriṃśāh·LOC	go_to·and	be_born·in_the_situation	

«Those that have done evil deeds will be born in the Hell of hungry ghosts and beasts on account of the effect of their past behaviour, and those that have practiced good deeds looking at evil actions will be born one after another in the East, West, and North continents and successively among the Cātur-mahā-rāja-kāyikā and Trāyastriṃśāh.»

Even if the good or bad fortune of a man's life depends on the deeds he had done (ĵizun 因緣 : ĵiz.un) in his former life, it would not be reasonable that he had intentionally performed his deeds for the sake of his fortune in a future life. He is brought to his fortune in the future according to the goodness or evilness of the deeds he has performed in his previous life. He might not have any clear thoughts about his deeds which have been done intentionally or otherwise without being able to sweep away his worldly passions. The crucial point is to have the belief that a man will be rewarded with good fortune in the future if he accumulates good deeds and will be punished for evil behaviour. Moreover, it should be understood that his good or bad fortune in this life depends on his own good or evil deeds performed in a previous life and is an outcome of their effects (cf. **Ex. 10**). It is taught that the connection between causes and effects brings about the man's ups and downs in a future life. The -o/u- stem form ĵizun (ĵiz.un) should be understood here as expressing the man's internal activity grasped through the Buddhist insight into their connection, which is beyond the ordinary knowledge of daily life.

2. 2. The -o/u- stem form of the honorific stem suffix - <ɸ/ʉ> si- is - <ɸ/ʉ> sva-, and both of them can take the ending -n (- <ɸ/ʉ> sin, - <ɸ/ʉ> svan) for the function of introducing relative clauses. The stem form of the latter is the same form as that found before the suffix introducing a quotation: nirɸ.sva.dɛi in contrast to the plain -o/u- stem form nir'ɔ.dɛi. The ŋɸ- stem suffix and the no- stem, which is the -o/u- stem form of ŋɸ-, are added immediately after to the honorific - <ɸ/ʉ> si-, as

follows.

- < ɸ/ʉ > si-nɸ.n - < ɸ/ʉ > si-nɸ.ni - < ɸ/ʉ > si-nɸ.da
 - < ɸ/ʉ > si-no.n - < ɸ/ʉ > si-no.ni - < ɸ/ʉ > si-no.ra etc.

[Ex. 19] gʉʉ 僧'i marssəmai 'ani
 That monk·NOM those_words·LOC understood_something·and_then

'uhʉi durun nyəis 聖人-s
 above·LOC cited·RELAT in_the_old_days·GEN the_saint·GEN

道'ai durusyan 因緣'i
 Buddhist_doctrines·LOC entered(HON)·RELAT the_accounts·NOM

明白həmyə jyəggo sui'uə [Moguja: 7-a, b] (cf. Ex. 5)
 are_obvious·and be_simple·and be_easy·and

[其僧'i言下'ai有省həni上來所舉古聖入道因緣'i明白簡易hə'ya] [牧牛子: 7-a]

«The monk, hearing those words, understood something in his mind. And as the accounts of how the saint in the old days mentioned above entered Buddhist doctrines were obvious and simple, easy to understand,....»

[Ex. 20] nir'odvəi 奇異ta 奇異ta 'i
 said·that Incomprehensible! Incomprehensible! This(·NOM)

觀音-s 理'yəi durusyan
 Avalokiteśvara·GEN Bddhist_doctrines·LOC entering(HON)·RELAT

門'isini nai dasi nə dəryə
 be_the_gate(HON)·in_this_case(·STATE) I·NOM again you toward

mudnoni nəi nirəra [Moguja: 19-a, b]
 ask_about·in_this_case(·STATE) you·NOM say·IMPERAT

[曰奇哉奇哉ra此-i是觀音-s入理之門'isini我更問你hənoni 你道həra] [牧牛子: 16-b]

«The master said, “Strange! It’s strange! This is the very gate whereby Avalokiteśvara entered Buddhist doctrines. I will ask you about it again. You explain!”»

Ex. 19 is part of **Ex. 5** cited above. **Ex. 20** is part of the text following **Ex. 11**. In **Ex. 19**, the master emphasizes the accounts of how a saint in the old days entered the Buddhist doctrines (道'ai durru^usy^an 因緣 [入道因緣]: dur.u^usy^an), and in **Ex. 20** he tells the meaning of the gate through which Avalokiteśvara entered Buddhism (理'yəi durru^usy^an 門 [入理之門]: dur.u^usy^an). The word durru^usy^an (dur.u^usy^an) in these cases does not express the simple objective action of entering, but signifies the internal psychological activity of engaging in Buddhist doctrines while seeking religious enlightenment or a state of mind spiritually awakened. It is an abstract activity grasped internally which is practiced in wishing for something spiritual. The gate is invisible and impassable for those who have not yet attained to a faith or enlightened mind equal or equivalent to that of Avalokiteśvara. The action of asking (mudⁿoni [問.həⁿoni]: mud.noⁿi), which the master is going to do, would also be grasped internally only by the master himself. These activities are all grasped internally as psychological subjective activities though they are not always observable objectively.

However, this morpheme as the conjugational stem formative does not express merely those activities that are not observable objectively. It must have also represented many actions which ordinary people performed in their daily life. In those cases, the expressions would have been used when a speaker wanted to pay special attention to the inner psychological aspect of an action. There are some cases where an internal psychological activity would have been expressed in conjunction with the externally observable aspect of the action, though it would be hard to distinguish inner psychological activity from objectively observable action because of the complete loss of formal contrasts in the modern language.

[**Ex. 21**] 世尊-s 道 'ir'u^usy^an
 Śākyamuni·GEN Buddhist_doctrines(·ACC) accomplished(HON)·RELAT
 'irəi 'yaŋjərər guryə 'ir'uzəbgo
 work·GEN circumstances·ACC describe·and accomplish(HUM)·and_after

[Foreword to *Seokbo Sangjeol*: 5-b]

[繪成世尊成道之迹həzəbgo] [釋譜: 序. 5-a]

«We humbly describe the circumstances of how Śākyamuni accomplished Buddhist doctrines, and...»

Suyang Daegun [首陽大君] (one of the titles of the prince who succeeded later to the throne and called himself Sejo [世祖] (1417-1468, reigned 1455-1468)) explains that the book *Seokbo Sangjeol* (『釋譜詳節』) describes the circumstances of how Śākyamuni accomplished the Buddhist doctrines. He tried to explain that Sejong [世宗] (1397-1450, reigned 1418-1450) was describing the process and results of Śākyamuni's accomplishment ('ir'usyan 'irəi 'yaŋjə [成道之迹]: 'ir'u.syān) in paying attention to the spiritual side of activity.

[Ex. 22] 念hodvəi 'i 月印釋譜nən 先考
Thinking·that this “Weorin_Seokbo”.TOPIC my_late_father_(NOM)

ji₂z_usyān₁ gəsini 依然hə'ya 霜露'ai
written·RELAT a_thing·and_thus as_before frost_and_dew·LOC

'ai'oatyə de'ug suirhə həvora [Foreword to Weorin Seokbo: 16-a]
being_worried·and_then still_more sadder I_feel·STATE

[念此月印釋譜nən先考sini依然霜露'ai慨增凄愴həvora] [月釋: 序. 15-b]

«Thinking that this “Weorin Seokbo” was written by my late father, I am worried about it and feel sadder than usual even now when there is frost or dew.»

“My late father” [先考] here means Sejong [世宗]. The expression ji₂z_usyān₁ might mean that Sejong had intended to write, for the *Weorin Seokbo* was written (ji₂z_usyān₁ gəsini [所製sini]: ji₂z_usyān₁) by Sejong in memory of the queen consort Soheon [昭憲王后] (1395-1446). But in fact he intended to hold a memorial service for his late wife, not to write the book itself. The reason that the -o/u- stem form ji₂z_usyān (ji₂z_usyān) was used in place of ji₂z_usin (ji₂z_usin) would be that Sejo [世祖] wanted to describe his father's action from the inside and the expression should be interpreted as signifying his father's deep consideration for his wife.

By the way, we have the same word form in the beginning of the Heuibang-sa text (喜方寺本) of the translated *Hunmin Jeong-eum* (〔訓民正音諺解]), although in the corrected version (〔校正本]) of the text belonging to Seogang University Library this passage is illegible because of bad damage to that part of the page.⁸⁾

[Ex. 23]	製nən	guir	ḡjizurssini
	Je [製].TOPIC	sentence(.ACC)	writing_thing·and_thus.
御製nən	nimguom	ḡjizusyan ₁	guirira
Eoje [御製].TOPIC	the_king(.NOM)	written·RELAT	sentence·STATE

[*Hunmin Jeong-eum*: 1-a]

«The [Chinese character] je [製] means writing sentences, and eoje [御製] means sentences that the king wrote.»

Here the king (“nimguom”) means Sejong [世宗王] and “ejoje” [御製] means that he wrote sentences himself. It is not explicitly stated in **Ex. 23** that he did it himself, but it should be understood as implicitly implied in the -o/u- stem form “ḡjizusyan” (ḡjiz. usyan₁). What he intended to do was not to write sentences themselves, but to express his intention or desire through writing those sentences. It should be interpreted as indicating that the king wanted to write them by considering something in his mind. An interpretation like this would be hardly approved at a glance. However, it would be accepted when we consider the fact that the -o/u- stem forms such as “nir’o.dəi” (**Ex. 3** [*Moguja*: 5-b]) and “nirə syadəi” (**Ex. 12** [*Banya Simgyeong*: 64-a]) of the verb nirə- «to say» introduce the content the speaker wants to say and that “’isy.o.dəi” (**Ex. 13** [*Weorin Seokbo*: 2.12-b]) of the verb ’is <i>- «to exist» was also used as a function word for introducing recollections relevant to the episode on a parrot (“hən 鸚鵡-i ’isyodəi”: ’isi.o.dəi).

It is true that we can find some errors in the Heuibang-sa text (喜方寺本) of the translated *Hunmin Jeong-eum* ([訓民正音諺解]) in contrast to the corrected version of the text belonging to Seogang University Library,⁹⁾ but there would not be any great difficulty in reintegrating the damaged part of the latter with the same word form as that found in the former (cf. Note 8).

The word form discussed is found in the inserted note on “ejoje” [御製] and therefore it has no direct connection to any other part of the text. But in content it has a correlation with the following part of the text.

[Ex. 24]	nai	’irər	爲hə’ya	’ə’yəsbi	nəgyə	sairo
	I·NOM	this·ACC	for_the_sake_of	pitifully	feel·and_then	newly

suumur	'yæduurb	字rær	<u>mæingænoni</u>
twenty	eight	letters·ACC	create·and_thus
saræmmada		hæi'yæ	suβi nigyæ
every_person(·ACC)		cause_to_do·and_then	easily learn·and_then
narro	bsumæi	便安kwæi	hægojyæ hær?
every_day	using·LOC	convenient	to_make·so_as_to_do wanting·RELAT
sdæræminira		[<i>Hunmin Jeong-eum</i> : 2-b, 3-b]	
only_one_thing	·STATE		

〔予·i爲此憫然hæ'ya新制二十八字hænoni欲使人人'æro易習hæ'ya便於日用耳nira〕 〔訓民正音諺解: 2-b, 3-b〕

«I take pity on them on account of this, and create newly these 28 letters. I only want to make everyone learn them easily and let him use them conveniently in his daily life.»

“To do something with a wish, a consideration or an intention in mind,” “to have a dream, a delusion or a conviction of doing something,” or “to grasp or discern something spiritual as a religious attainment” — various activities like these seem to have nothing to do with each other. But we can find among them the common feature of describing the activity from inside with an emphasis on their psychological nature. They could be unified in light of this interpretation.

2. 3. Nowadays we often hear the phrase “virtual reality,” which was never heard in the 1960's. It makes us go through an imaginary experience influenced by artificial images of surroundings constituted and constructed in a virtual space through computer technology. The imaginary experience may also be a psychological subjective activity, but the meaning expressed with -o/u- stem forms has nothing to do directly with a virtual world. An -o/u- stem form is used without setting up any conditions under which the activity should be carried out. The activities expressed are carried out in a real world, not in an imaginary or supposed situation. They might not be always observable externally, but they are real for the speaker, that is, they are grasped psychologically and subjectively as real experiences. The form expresses a thought about an event or state encountered as an internal activity or a psychological aspect of an activity from the speaker's (the first personer's) point of view.

2. 3. 1. The author's interest and research on the -o/u- stem began when he had some doubts about Dr. Shimpei OGURA's opinion that it expressed humbleness in the speaking attitude of the first person.¹⁰⁾ The opinions mentioned above — that it is 'an ending of the personal and subject-object conjugation' (U. HEO), 'an ending expressing an intention as the volitive form' (S.-n. YI (LEE)), 'an ending for an emotional or impressive mood' (N.-d. YI (LEE), Y.-k. KO), or the like — are all different from each other, and are likely to have nothing in common. The author, however would like to find something like a common thread among them, including Dr. S. OGURA's views, in comprehending how the speaker himself came to grips with his situations. For the facts or activities expressed with -o/u- stem forms are characterized by the speaker's own thoughts or interpretations. Facts or activities we can read between the lines of the context would be understood differently depending on our way of looking at the situation. But we could understand that an underlying activity would appear differently due to the surrounding conditions. By turning our attention to the psychological aspect of the activity, we can get closer to the speaker's viewpoint and comprehend his considerations about the activity he expresses. The author analyzes the meaning of the -o/u- stem suffix in this context as a morpheme 'grasping and expressing a psychological subjective activity,' which is distinguished from an ordinary action done daily without inner mental processes.

3. 1. In recent years, some scholars have questioned why the -o/u- stem forms vanished so simply without a trace. The author assumes that the main cause of change was the successive weakenings of the phonological form of endings, which made their contrasts unclear and caused them to vanish from the conjugation system of Korean verb-adjectives. These endings were the adjectival, the conjunctive and the statement forms which appeared at the end of clauses and sentences. Attention should also be paid to the tendency to place them at weak positions in the flow of the sentence rhythm and intonation in regard to their constructional function. The processes of the phonological weakening of endings and the disappearance of their contrasts may be assumed to have occurred approximately in the following manner.

3. 2. The function of the -o/u- stem could be grasped between the mutual contrasts in regard to the stem vowel -o/u- as the marker: the unmarked are - < ㅅ/ㅍ > - and -ㅈ- stems, and the marked are -o/u- and -no-.

(- < ㅍ/ㅑ > - signifies the conjugation base without a stem suffix, -no- is the combination of -nɸ- and -o/u- (*-nɸ.o-).) Among these, the contrast between -nɸ- and -no- would have been conspicuous in meaning and would have played a central part in the contrasting system. It is also a well-known fact that these stems were often used suffixed with a series of adjectival endings (-n, -ni, etc.).

Among these stem suffixes, those beginning with a consonant, that is, -nɸ- and -no-, were not subject to the rule of vowel harmony and their stem vowels were fixed in principle in their regular forms. Therefore, we should take into account the fact that the vowels in these forms could have had a wider range of variable articulation than those in other forms. Considering the matter in this way, we could understand the reason why the Middle Korean conjugated forms such as *-zɸb.nɸ.ni.ŋi.da changed to the modern form ‘- < suu > mnida’ and so on. In short, the vowel [ɸ] of the -nɸ- stem was going to be weakened in the environment between two [n]’s to its narrower and more advanced variety. A phenomenon like this would have been taking place also in the environment between an [n] and a homogeneous plosive like the form -nɸ.da. Thus the stem -nɸ- would in the end have changed into the form *-nuu-.

3. 2. 1. At this stage, the system of contrasts concerning the -o/u- stem would not have received any influence from these phenomena. But at the next stage, when the vowel [o] of the -no- stem in identical environments was weakened to [ɸ] and the stem form became *-nɸ-, the system of contrasts would have been greatly affected. The ending -no.ra had no strong internal factor to be weakened in itself. But on the basis of the fact that the endings -no.n and -no.ni changed into the new forms *-nɸ.n and *-nɸ.ni respectively, a new form *-nɸ.ra would have been introduced. The two forms -no.ra and *-nɸ.ra would have been used in parallel at that time, and they would have contrasted with the ending *-nuu.da, which was a descendant of -nɸ.da. As the vowel -o/u- as the marker of contrast disappeared in these endings and lost their support, its function as marker might have been weakened, and the contrasts between the series of endings with simple -o/u- and -< ㅍ/ㅑ >- stems might also have possibly become somewhat unclear.

3. 2. 2. This state of affairs including the contrast between *-nɸ.ra (<-no.ra) and *-nuu.da (<-nɸ.da), would have been maintained for some time. But the vowel contrast between the two stems *-nɸ- and *-nuu- hap-

pened to fit in with the scheme of contrasts in vowel harmony. The two series of forms **-nɔ.n* (<-no.n), **-nɔ.ni* (<-no.ni), etc., and **-nu.n* (<-nɔ.n), **-nu.ni* (<-nɔ.ni), etc., affected by the framework of vowel harmony, came to be taken as sets of alternants to be paired under its rule. As a result, they lost the contrast in their meaning and emerged as new sets of conjugated forms, from which the modern forms of those endings originated.

Even if the form **-nɔ.ra* (<-no.ra) changed into **-nu.ra*, the contrast between **-nu.ra* and **-nu.da* (<-nɔ.da) could have been maintained. However, the foundation of their contrast had already been lost and **-nɔ.ra* (<-no.ra) itself would have lost its function as a statement form. **-nɔ.ra*, together with -no.ra, is assumed to have developed into new usages like **-nɔ.ra(go)* (-nora(go)), **-nɔ.ra(myən)* (-nora(myən)), **-nɔ.ra(ni)* (-no.ra(ni)), etc., and to have changed into a conjunctive ending which introduced a subordinate clause and signified an activity one planned to accomplish, as we can see in the modern form ‘*nura* (go)’.

At this stage, the new form **-nɔ.da* would also have been formed alongside **-nu.da* (<-nɔ.da) as its counterpart in regard to vowel harmony. These two forms became more heavily weakened to the modern forms seen, for example, in forms like ‘*ha-n.da*’ «to do» and ‘*mɔg-nun.da*’ «to eat». Changes like these would have been caused by the actual articulation of **-nɔ-* and **-nu-* respectively in **hɔ.nɔ.da* and **mɔg.nu.da*. In the first stage both of them must have been weakened to a long syllabic [n:] before the homogeneous plosive, and in the next stage, they were still further weakened to a consonant [n] as seen in **hɔ.n.da*, etc., when they were suffixed to a vowel-stem like **hɔ-* «to do». But when they were suffixed to a consonant-stem like **mɔg-* «to eat» they must have maintained syllabicity, and, reinforced with an intrusive (or anaptyctic) vowel, they would have changed respectively into the form **-nɔn-* or **-nun-*, as seen in **mɔg.nun.da*, etc.

On the other hand, the -no- stem forms would have lost their original functions in everyday language. But we should be cautious about the fact that they could have survived for some time as expressions in refined and poetic diction.

3. 3. Among simple -o/u- stem forms which did not have the morpheme -nɔ-, we can find some irregular forms. Some basic words like bo- «to see», o- «to come», ga- «to go», na- «to go out, to come out», etc., took a specific tone instead of the vowel o or u. On the other hand, the

honorific stem *-si-* took the form *-sya-* instead. In short, the form of the simple *-o/u-* stem is not uniform. The contrast would have been supported by the parallel contrast between the two stems *-no-* and *-nɐ-*, which were marked and unmarked respectively in regard to the *-o/u-* stem.

When the descendants of the two stems **-nɐ-* (<*-no-*) and **-nu-* (<*-nɐ-*) merged into one stem whose phonological alternants they came to be, it would not have been the case that the simple *-o/u-* stem would have been affected directly by this change. But the contrast between the simple *-o/u-* stem and its unmarked counterpart would have been isolated in losing its support in the underlying system. The *-o/u-* stem would have then found it hard to maintain its original meaning and function. Even if it could have maintained them for some time, it would very likely have gradually gone out of use.

Among the *-o/u-* stem forms, the endings *-o/u.dɐi* and *- < ɐ/ɯ >* *sya.dɐi*, which were used most frequently to introduce the contents of speech, fell into disuse, partly because the verb *nirɐ-* «to say» underwent a change of meaning (modern form '*iruu-*' «to inform, to tell tales»). The descendants of the Middle Korean nominal ending *-o/u.m* are found in the modern language as the closing form of itemized expressions like '*ha.m*' «doing» ('*ha-*' «to do»), or as the petrified expression '*< ɯ > m.u ro*' «since, as, due to» or the like, used in literary language. The stem vowels *-o/u-* would have been easily weakened and merged into those unmarked *- < ɐ/ɯ >* - respectively.

3. 3. 1. As for the endings *- < ɐ/ɯ > n*, *- < ɐ/ɯ > ni* and *-o/u.n*, *-o/u.ni*, they expressed the accomplished state after an activity even when suffixed to a verb. Another ending, *-o/u.ra*, in contrast to the unmarked counterpart *-da*, mainly signified the impression of intuitive thought. As they all expressed little movement in their original meaning, the distinction in regard to the *-o/u-* stem would have had a tendency to become unclear when they lost their systematic support. Looked at in this way, the loss of the simple *-o/u-* stem which had no *-nɐ-* suffix in itself would have been mainly due to the collapse of the contrasting system.

3. 4. The author assumes in this way that the loss of the *-o/u-* stem would have been mainly caused by the weakening of the marker vowel *o* of the *-no-* stem and the collapse of parallel contrasts in regard to the marker *-o/u-*, although there are still other problems to be discussed. As the process of changes discussed above would have tended not to appear

in literary data, it might be assumed that they began and were underway at a comparatively early period.

Notes

- 1) (p. 1) On their discussion, cf. OOE [1968] p. 349, Note 2. Their papers published for the discussion were reprinted in their respective books. Cf. HEO, U. [1963], pp. 122–252, and YI (LEE), S.-n. [1966], pp. 127–235.
- 2) (p. 1) For contributions so far, see the bibliographies attached to the following articles: HAN, J.-y. [1990] pp. 453–441; HAN, J.-h. [1993] pp. 159–60, 164–5, 169–70, 175–6, 178, 180, 182, etc. See also JUNG, J.-y. [1997], SEO, T.-I. [1997].
- 3) (p. 1) Cf. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ed. [1997]. But it must be noted here that the original Japanese version of this paper (OOE [2002]) was written on the advice of the late Professor Dr. Rokurō KŌNO (河野六郎) (1912–1998). Professor Dr. Rokurō KŌNO was one of the few scholars in Japan who had been interested in this problem since the author looked to him for guidance in his graduation thesis, 1954. Cf., KŌNO, Rokurō [1964]: *A Historical Survey of the Study of the Korean Language in Japan* <*A Report of the Investigating Committee on Literature for Asia and Africa, No. 65*>, p. 9 (*Collected Writings of Rokurō KŌNO, 1* (Heibonsha, Tokyo, 1979), p. 586.).
- 4) (p. 4) For example, the labels ‘(HON)’ and ‘(HUM)’ are used respectively for honorific and humbleness stems (suffixes), and ‘·POLITE’ for the politeness ending. The conventional abbreviations for case notions and topicalization such as ‘·ACC’ and ‘·TOPIC’ are used as tagged labels added to the word meaning. The items below are to be understood similarly: ‘·ADMIRE’: admiration; ‘·CAUSAT’: causative; ‘·QUESTION’: question; ‘·QUOTE’: quotation; ‘·RELAT’: relative clause marker; ‘·STATE’: statement; ‘·IMPERAT’: imperative; ‘·WONDER_STATE’: wonder statement.

The main sources for this paper are represented as follows: ‘*Seokbo Sangjeol*’: *Seokbo Sangjeol* [釋譜詳節], Vols. 6, 9, 13, 19 (National Library, Korea); ‘*Weorin Seokbo*’: *Weorin Seokbo* [月印釋譜], Vols. I, II, with ‘Forewords’ to *Seokbo Sangjeol* and *Weorin Seokbo* and with ‘*Hunmin Jeong-eum*’ (Translated) [訓民正音諺解] (Seogang University Library), *Weorin Seokbo* [月印釋譜], Vol. XXI (Seoul National University Library); ‘*Banya Simgyeong*’: *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra* (Translated) [般若心經諺解] (Seoul National University Library); ‘*Moguja*’: *Moguja Susimgyeol* (Translated) [牧牛子修心訣諺解] (Seoul National University Library).

- 5) (p. 12) On Moguja, whose name was Jinul, see Government-General of Korea, ed. [1939]: *A Korean Biographical Dictionary* (Central Department, Government-General of Korea, Seoul), pp. 1918–9; Editorial Office of the Large Biographical Encyclopedia, ed. [1972]: *A Large Encyclopedia of Korean Biography* (Shingu Munhwa-sa, Seoul, Korea), p. 914; NUKARIYA, Kaiten (忽滑谷快天) [1930]: *History of Zen Buddhism in Korea* (Shunjūsha, Tokyo), pp. 181–2; KAMATA, Shigeo (鎌田茂雄) [1987, 1993]: *History of Buddhism in Korea*

- 〈*Oriental Series* ①〉 (University of Tokyo Press), p. 180.
- 6) (p. 20) In OOE [1958], the author discussed this on p. 138 quoting the commentary from *Dictionary of Buddhism* (KŌKŌDŌ (浩々洞), ed., Mugasanbō, Tokyo, 1909), and on p. 140 in Note 7 quoting the explanation from *A Dictionary of the Study of Buddhism* (Raishun TAYA (多屋頼俊), Enichi ŌCHŌ (横超慧日) and Issai FUNABASHI (舟橋一哉), eds., Hōzōkan, Kyoto, 1955). Moreover, in the *Large Dictionary of Buddhistic Terms* (NAKAMURA, Hajime (中村元), ed., Tokyo Shoseki Co., Ltd.) we can find under the entry ‘henge-shoshū-shō’ [遍計所執性] (Vol. II, p. 1212) the following comment: “‘henge’ [遍計] means a wrong understanding. It means thereby bounded nature [所執性]. Nature fallen into delusion. Thing deluded in itself. An attachment strongly felt by the undecided mind that observes and considers everything. One of the Three Natures. [The rest omitted]”
- 7) (p. 21) According to the Buddhist view of the world, there are four continents in the sea around Mount Sumeru [須彌山]—East, West, South and North. In the South Continent we live this life. The Four Heavens (Cāturmahā-rāja-kāyikā [四王天]) are located more than halfway up Sumeru and the Trāyāstrimśāh [忉利天] are located high above its summit.
- 8) (p. 25) Cf. OOE [2001], pp. 712–714, esp. p. 714, fn. 7.
- 9) (p. 26) CHUNG, Y.-ch. [1972]: The Bibliographical Introduction, pp. 373–389, esp. pp. 380–381. *Weorin Seokbo, Vols. I, II (Facsimile Edition)* 〈*Material on Ancient Korean Culture, No. 1*〉 (Institute for Human Sciences, Seogang University, 1972).
- 10) (p. 27) OGURA, Shimpei [1938]: *A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language* 〈*The Toyo Bunko Publications, Series A, Vol. XXVI*〉, pp. 173–184, and p. 17 (The Toyo Bunko, Tokyo). See OOE [1958] p. 124.

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