

# On the 'Tense' System of Middle Korean Verbs

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## I. Preface

Korean is one of the languages of which little scientific treatment has been done among various Oriental languages. There are few descriptions even on Modern Korean. I dare say there has been made almost no attempt of systematic description of its older phase, i.e. Middle Korean. As to its grammatical description I can mention up only two books: "Grammatical Notes on *Ryong-bi-e-tien-ga* 龍飛御天歌" by Kyōsaku MAEMA 前間恭作<sup>(1)</sup> and "A Study of the 'Humble' and 'Honorific' Forms in the Korean Language" by Dr. Shimpei OGURA 小倉進平<sup>(2)</sup>. To complete the history of the Korean language in its true meaning, we need first to make synchronic descriptions of Modern and Middle Korean. I have long wished to make a systematic description of Middle Korean and as a part of it I have published a few articles on the 'tense' of Middle Korean verbs, namely "On the Perfect Tense of Korean,"<sup>(3)</sup> "On the Past Stem *-de-* of Korean"<sup>(4)</sup> and "On the Intensive Stem of Middle Korean"<sup>(5)</sup>. However, these studies are fragmentary

- (1) *Ryūka Kogo-sen* 龍歌故語箋. *Toyo Bunko Ronsō* 東洋文庫論叢 No. 2, 1925. The *Ryong-bi-e-tien-ga* is a hymn song in praise of the founder of the Ri dynasty, composed in Korean vernacular by DIENG Rin-ji 鄭麟趾 and others in 1445, by the order of the King Sici-jong 世宗 of the Ri Dynasty.
- (2) *Chōsengo ni okeru Kenjōhō Sonkeihō no Jodōshi* 朝鮮語に於ける謙敬法・尊敬法の助動詞. *Toyo Bunko Ronsō* No. 26, 1938.
- (3) "Chōsengo no Kanryōjishō ni tsuite 朝鮮語の完了時稱に就いて" *Tōyōgo Kenkyū* 東洋語研究 No. 1, 1946, pp. 1-17.
- (4) "Chōsengo no Kakogokan 'de' ni tsuite 朝鮮語の過去語幹 de に就いて" *Tōyōgo Kenkyū* No. 4, 1948, pp. 35-58.
- (5) Written in English, *Gengo Kenkyū* 言語研究 No. 16, 1951, pp. 116-125.

and are not sufficient to cover the whole of the 'tense' system. To study on more materials in a wider range is, of course, necessary in discussing the whole of the 'tense' system, but I believe it is useful for making a foundation of future descriptions on large scales to take a bird's-eye view of the 'tense' system on the materials already obtained, mainly on *Uer-in-sieg-bo* 月印釋譜. Now in this article I will expound the tenses of which I have not treated, that is, the Basic stem, Present stem and First Future stem, and will also sketch the 'tense' system as a whole.

'Middle Korean' in this article means the Korean language in the records written during a century and a half, from 1448 when the *Ōn-mun* 諺文, the national script, was created, to 1592 when there were Japanese invasions in Korea. It is the period when various phases of Korean began to be clear, and written records of this period are not very few in number. Therefore, in the history of Korean language, it is an important epoch and the Middle Korean is the starting-point to the study of the Korean before this time—which may be termed as 'Ancient Korean'—and to that of Modern Korean, and the transition thereinto. Among various records which are written in the Korean of this period, *Uer-in-sieg-bo* 月印釋譜 is the richest both in quality and quantity and the description of the language in this record is enough to tell us the state of Middle Korean.<sup>(1)</sup>

## II. General Remarks on the 'Tense' Forms

It would be proper to sketch the morphological characteristics of Middle Korean verbs before discussing the form and usage of 'tense.' It would, of course, be a long description even to summarize the morphology of the verb, but I will try to give a very brief account in so far as the points related to this article are concerned. The most characteristic feature of Korean from the morphological point of view is that there is no distinction between the verb and the adjective, and so I will put them together under the name of the verb. Korean, in the same way as Japanese, is principally an agglutinative language in which the suffixation prevails. Generally speaking, when the suffix or the ending agglutinated to the 'stem,' the 'stem' varies its form according to the kind of the suffix or the ending. Taking for example,

(1) The Roman transcription of the *Ōn-mun* 諺文 in this article is a very mechanic transliteration, so that it may easily be re-transcribed into the original, but it often happens that it does not represent the actual pronunciation. For example, the letter 'ㄱ' is pronounced at the initial position of a word as [k] in Modern Korean and it was probably the same in Middle Korean, but the letter will be always transcribed with 'g.' ('k' represents the aspirated sound 'ㄱ'). Therefore, it is not the phonetic transcription but the transliteration of the *Ōn-mun* with Roman letters for technical need. Tone signs in the old records of Middle Korean are all omitted, too. The neglect of the tone signs is rather vital in a morphological description, but since the principal object of this article lies in the usage, I think it does not mean much.

- (A) gy sur'ui bo-zeve-n narah-en 降服-*hw-zvb-nwira*.

"The countries which have the honour of regarding that vehicle submit (to him)." ('*Uer-in-sieg-bo* I, 26)

The adnominal ending *-n* attaches to the humble stem *-zvv-* in its form of *-zvvv-*, the form accompanied by the vowel *v*, while the final ending *-nwira* attaches to the same stem in its form of *-zvb-*, the form which has no vowel at the end, but in which the last sound of the stem *v* changes into *b*. In other words, the humble stem *-zvv-* varies its form to *-zvb-* or *-zvvv-* according to the suffix or the ending attached to it. These various forms of the stem may be called 'bases' and the variation of the form, 'base inflection.'

Various base-inflectional forms are formularized as 'stem+vowel' and the vowels are usually classified into five categories: zero, *v/y*, *a/e*, *o/u* and *i*. *v/y*, etc. are generally conformed to the laws of vowel harmony. That is to say, when there are hard vowels in the stem, there follows *v*, *a*, or *o* and in the case of soft vowels, *y*, *e* or *u*. The 'stem+0' represents the form in which the stem ending in a consonant takes no vowel according to the following suffix or ending. In the above-cited sentence *zvb-* of *zvb-nwira* is the example of this form. The five base-inflectional forms may be named respectively First Base (+0, abbr. I), Second Base (+*v/y*, II), Third Base (+*v/e*, III), Fourth Base (+*o/u*, IV) and Fifth Base (+*i*, V). In the case of a stem ending in a vowel, first and second bases are of the same form. In case of the verbs ending in *r* there occurs the omission of *r* of the root and the form will be called Omissive Base (abbr. O). The following are the examples:

'*eb-* (not to be, not to exist):

I. '*eb-*, II. '*ebsy-*, III. '*ebse-*, IV. '*ebsu-*, V. '*ebsi*

*dv'oi-* (to become):

I, II. *dv,oi-*, III. *d'voi'a*, IV. *dv'oi'o-*

*sar-* (to live):

I. *sar-*, II. *sarv*, III. *sara*, IV. *sarv-*, V. *sari*, O. *sa-*

Many kinds of suffixes and endings glue to these bases in a definite order. I will explain it more concretely with a few examples.

- (B) jëgia-i daseri-*si-non* sdah-er da dore-*sia*,

"(He) makes a round of every territory that he governs,"

('Uer-in-sieg-bo I, 25 a-b)

There are two verbs, *dasvri-* (to govern) and *dor-* (to make a round). The former is accompanied by *si*, an honorific suffix, and *non*, the adnominal form of the present stem in this sentence. The latter takes here the form of the second base *dorv-* and accompanied by *sia*, the third base of an honorific affix *si*. In the example (A), there are two verbs, *bo-* (to see) and 降服-*hw-* (to surrender, to submit to). In the former case, *-zvvv-* of *bo-zvvv-* is the adno-

minal form of the humble suffix *-zv-* and *-zvzv* is its second base, while in the latter case *zv-* of 降服-*hv-zv-* is the first base of the same suffix accompanied by *-nmira*, the final form of the present tense. As is seen in these two examples, the 'honorific'<sup>(1)</sup>—the honorific in its wider meaning including the honorific par excellence and the humble,—and the 'tense' can be considered as two grammatical categories which characterize the form of the verb.

'Tense' thus plays an important role in the formation of the verb. Tense is shown by specific suffixes that, attached to the bases, form the tense stems. Like the so-called 'auxiliary verbs' in the Japanese language, to these tense stems are further added their own endings. There are recognized seven tense stems. I will call them as follows: basic stem or aorist stem, present stem, first future stem, retrospective stem, intensive stem, perfect stem and second future stem. These are not suitable names as will be seen later, but I will use them for convenience' sake in this article.

Basic or aorist stem is the stem to which no special suffix is attached and thus the verb stem remains bare as it is. In the example (A) both *bo-zvzv-n* and 降服-*hv-zv-**nmira* are the forms of the humble stem, but the former is directly accompanied by the adnominal ending *-n* with no tense affix placed in between, while the latter is accompanied by the present stem suffix *-nv-*. The former will be called basic stem or may otherwise be called aorist stem. The rest of the tense stems, on the other hand, have their own particular suffixes. The perfect stem and the second future stem are periphrastic stems.

The present stem is characterized by a suffix *-nv-* and the first future stem by *-r* and *-ri-*, the retrospective stem by *-de-*, the emphatic stem by *-ge-*. The perfect stem and second future stem which are periphrastic stems are characterized by their combination with the verb *is(i)-* (to be). In the former the third base *a/e* of the verb and *is(i)-* are combined and in the latter the coverbial ending *-gyi* and *is(i)-*.

### III. Details on the 'Tense' System

#### (1) Basic Stem

##### I. Morphological characteristics

As stated above, the basic stem is the verb stem accompanied by no specific affix and to each of its five bases is attached an ending directly or indirectly with the interposition of the honorific affix.

(1) For more details of the Honorific in its wider meaning, refer to Shimpei OGURA, *A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language. op. cit.*

Adnominal<sup>(1)</sup> II-n  $\sqrt{tv-}$  (to ride): *tv-n*,  $\sqrt{jiz-}$  (to make): *jizy-n*,  $\sqrt{ebs-}$  (not to exist): *ebsy-n*.

IV-n  $\sqrt{jiz-}$ : *jizu-n* or *jizo-n*,  $\sqrt{hw-}$  (to do, to say): *ho-n*<sup>(2)</sup>.

Final 1) I-da<sup>(3)</sup>  $\sqrt{npri-}$  (to go down): *nari-da*,  $\sqrt{ebs-}$ : *eb-da*.

2) II-nira<sup>(4)</sup>  $\sqrt{jieg-}$  (to be small): *jiegy-nira*,  $\sqrt{nirv-}$  (to tell): *nirv-nira*.

Converbial II-ni  $\sqrt{meg-}$  (to eat): *megy-ni*,  $\sqrt{na-}$  (to produce): *na-ni*.

Honorific affixes come between verb stems and endings.

-si- (glues to II)  $\sqrt{mat-}$  (to smell): *matv-si-da* (final form 1)

$\sqrt{na-}$  (to be born): *na-si-n* (adnominal form)

-zvv- (glues to II or O)  $\sqrt{bo-}$  (to see): *bo-zvvv-n* (adnominal form)

$\sqrt{jer}$  (to worship): *je-zvb-da* (final form 1)

## II. Usage

(A) Among the examples of the usage of the basic stem there are many cases where the stem seems to indicate past events.

1. 西天-yn butie *na-si-n* narah-ini, (*'Uer-in-sieg-bo* I, 30a)<sup>(5)</sup>

"西天 is the country where Buddha was born,"

2. 長生-in 不肖-her-ssei, nem-i na'a *gan-dvr*, 百姓-derh-i nem-er da *jocv-ni*. (I, 41a)

"As 長生 was unworthy of his father, even when another (son) went away, people all followed him."

- (1) In Middle Korean the adnominal ending -n glues to both the second base or the fourth base. According to the study of Mr. Takao OE, a young Japanese scholar of Korean, there is a subtle difference in usage between the two cases. In Modern Korean it glues only to the second base, since the fourth base has disappeared.
- (2) Verb *hw-* had two stems; one is *hvi-*, from which are derived the third base *hw'io-*, the fourth base *hw'io-* and its causative stem *hwii-* (to make one do), and the other is *hw-*, the form where the last -i is lost, from which are derived the first and second base *hw-*, the fourth base *ho-* and the fifth base -hi. Adnominal form *ho-n* in the above example is composed of *ho-* that is the fourth base of the second stem and the affix -n attached to it. There are other adnominal forms of this verb such as *hw'io-n* that is made of the fourth base of the first stem *hw'io* and -n, and *hw-n* which is the combination of the second base of the second stem and -n.
- (3) There are various final forms. The final I-da is a simple final form.
- (4) The final form -nira is originally the combination of -ni- and -ra, of which -ni- is a sort of gerund composed of an adnominal ending -n and -i (thing) and it was used by itself as a final form, but with the change from parataxis to hypotaxis it had come to be used as a coverb. -ra is the final ending of the verb -i(r)- (to be). Therefore -nira primarily meant 'is a thing which is~'. In this sense -nira is also used as a simple final form.
- (5) The following examples are all cited from the *'Uer-in-sieg-bo*. Roman numerals stand for volume numbers and Arabian numerals for leaf numbers. 'a' means the obverse of a leaf and 'b' the reverse.

3. 尼樓-nyn 賢-hər-ssei, nai na'a gan-dər, 'abanim-'i na-rer 'orta (-'orh-da) hɔ-si-ni. (ibid.)  
 "As 尼樓 was wise, even when I *was to go out*, Father said to me, 'You may go.'"
4. gy jei za hui der-i cezem na-nira. (I, 42b)  
 "It was just at that time that the sun and the moon *appeared* for the first time."
5. gy 後-ei sda-s mas-i 'eb-go, 'iervy-n sdeg gətə-n sda-s gec-i na-ni, bic-i nury-go mas-i 香氣 jes-deni. gy megy-n 後-ei-nen sery nem 'ebsi'ur 'ir-i na-nira. (I, 42b-43a)  
 "After that the taste of the earth did not exist, a thin skin of the earth like a rice-cake *appeared*, its colour was yellow and it was full of taste and flavour. After people *ate* it, it *happened* that they despised each other."
6. 菩薩-s goh-ai 無色界 'eis 香-'er matv-si-da hon mar do 'isi-mie. (I, 36b)  
 "There is a saying that 菩薩 *smelled* the smell of 無色界 with his nose."
7. 舍利佛 涅槃-hər, jeg-yi 無色界-'eis nun-s myr-i gerevi geti nuri-da hon mar do 'isi-mie. (I, 36b)  
 "There is a saying that, when 舍利佛 entered Nirvana, tears of 無色界 *fell* down like a fine rain,"
8. 無色諸天-'i 世尊-sgyi je-zvb-da hon mar do 'isi-mie, (I, 36b)  
 "There is a saying that 無色諸天 *worshipped* 世尊,"
9. gy jei za 'agi nah-i-rer 始作-hv-nira. (I, 44b)  
 "It was just at that time that (man) *began* to give birth to a child."

(B) a. It is, however, too hasty to conclude that the basic stem indicates the past, because there are no few examples of the basic stem that do not indicate the past. First, verbs with adjectival meanings do not indicate the past at all.

10. 十善-'en 'ier gaj-i-s diəhv-n 'ir-ini, (I, 25b)  
 "十善 means ten sorts of *good* things,"
11. 二禪天中-'ei 光明-'i mes jiegy-nira. (I, 33a)  
 "There is the *least* light in the 二禪天."
12. namjin giejib-i 'eb-go, nɔpɔ-ni nɔsgavv-ni 'eb-deni. (I, 42a)  
 "There were no men nor women, no *noble* men nor *poor* men."
13. 'iervy-n sdeg gətə-n sda-s gec-i..... (I, 43a)  
 "A *thin* skin of the earth *like* a rice-cake....."
14. mɔrgv-n 性 (I, 56b)  
 "*pure* nature"
15. 'abanim-'i na-rer 'orta (= 'orh-da) hɔ-si-ni. (I, 41a)  
 "Father said to me, '(You) are *right*.'"
16. 'ora-n 劫-'ei, (I, 51b)  
 "during the *long* (span of) kalpa,"

17. jegia-爲-*hw-n* mezem-i ha-si-r ssei. (I, 52b)

"As the mind *for* his own self was great,"

In the cases of these verbs with such adjectival meanings as express characters, states and relations, the basic stem plainly tells us the verbal concept itself and it does not imply the sense of time.

b. Verbs which express non-existence do not indicate the past either.

18. der 'ebsy-n bam-ei (I, 26b)

"at the night when there *is no* moon"

19. 阿鼻-nen suir ssezi 'eb-da he-non mar-ini. (I, 29b)

"阿鼻 means 'there *is no* time to rest'."

20. 生死-ai 'ani giesi-nira. (I, 16a)

"He *is (honorific)* not in life and death."

As will be seen later, the verb 'is(i)- (to be, to exist) which shows the presence or existence usually takes the form of the present stem. On the other hand, it is interesting to know that, just as the Japanese *aru* (to be, to exist) is a verb and *nai* (not to exist, there is no~) is an adjective, so 'ebs- (not to exist, there is no~) takes the form of the basic stem rather than that of the present stem.

(C) Even when verbs with 'verbal meanings' take the form of the basic stem, they do not necessarily indicate the past.

21. 色-en bic-ini, 'ergur-yr nirv-nira. (I, 34a)

"色 means a colour and it *denotes* a figure."

22. ....色究竟-ira hw-nira. (I, 34a)

"(It) *is called* 色究竟."

23. 乾闥婆-nen 香 nai mad-m-da ho-n bdyd-ini. (I, 14b)

"乾闥婆 means to *smell* the flavour."

24. 帝釋-yn 西天 mar-ais 釋迦提婆因陀羅-rer jorie nir'o-n mar-ini.

(I, 31b)

"帝釋 is the word *denoting* the Indian word *śakra-deva-indra*, abbreviated,"

25. 人間 do 欲界-iei dy-nira. (I, 32b)

"Human beings also *enter* the 欲界."

26. 'i 'iesys haner-s gajangi 欲心-yr mod 'ichyi-n hen gerb-ini. (I, 32b)

"The beings of these heavens up to the sixth are the group which cannot *leave* 欲心."

27. gy 後-ai za 'oi-ni, 'orhw-ni, 'igyi-ni, gie'u-ni, hor 'ir-i na-nira. (I, 42b)

"After that, happened the *wrong* and the *right* and the *victorious* and the *defeated*."

'oi-ni, 'orhw-ni, 'igyi-ni, and gie'u-ni in the last example are all in the form of verbal noun. They mean 'to be wrong', 'to be right' and so on and

the usage is alike that of infinitive in Indo-European languages. Verbs in these examples are indefinite from the point of the tense.

So far I have reviewed some main points of the usage of the basic stem, where we can recognize two usages which seem to be very different from each other. On the one hand the basic stem indicates the past (A) and on the other it only expresses nature and state of things apart from the axis of time (B). In the case of *hp-* (to do, to say), the basic stem of the verb sometimes means the deed of saying in the past (ex. 3) and at other times the general idea of saying (ex. 22). But these usages of the basic stem are different from each other not because of the difference in the usages themselves but because my approach to the usage of this stem is rather improper.

As mentioned already, this basic stem has no morphological characteristics whatever, that is to say, it is morphologically indefinite. The same thing might be said of its usage. Of course we cannot decide at once that morphological characteristics correspond to some of those in meaning. But it will be possible to examine the characteristics of usage in relation to morphological features.

To suppose that morphological indefiniteness of the basic stem corresponds to indefiniteness in usage, (indefiniteness here means that the concept of a verb is defined by neither tense nor aspect,) the usages (B) and (C) would be explained very easily. In the case of the verbs with adjectival meanings, their basic stems simply express the nature and state of things without being defined by tense or aspect; that is to say, the concept to be indicated by each verb is presented as it is. In the case of the verbs with so-called verbal meanings in the examples under (C), we may think that they describe general facts by presenting their verbal concepts indefinitely.

If we admit that the basic stem presents its verbal concepts indefinitely, how should we explain the examples under (A) which indicate the past? When we think of meaning generally, we must take into consideration two aspects of meaning. The one is the actual meaning produced by a context which is caused by a certain combination of words. This meaning is peculiar to each context and is entirely individual. I will call it 'contextual meaning'. On the other hand the meaning of a word as a function is not individual and does not depend on each context. It should be common so as to be adapted to many similar contexts. In other words, since the number of linguistic symbols is not rich enough to describe vividly the individuality of the content that is to be communicated in an actual situation, one has to create an individual contextual meaning by using an existing limited number of linguistic symbols, which means in fact that one makes best use of those symbols so that they suggest the content which is to be expressed. This suggestive function of the symbol is the meaning in its true sense of the word and it may be called, in opposition to a contextual meaning, a 'functional meaning'



though it is a tautological expression.

As we understand the meaning thus from the two aspects, we may explain the process of communication as a speaker usually combines words by making use of functional meaning and creates a context, with which he conveys to the hearer a contextual meaning proper for each situation. In this case the concept actually conveyed to the hearer is not a functional meaning as it is, but other motives based on a situation, an experience, an association and various other extra-linguistic factors can be taken into consideration, and therefore the concept includes other motives that are not contained in a functional meaning. The usage (A) now in question which seems to indicate the past will be explained by these other motives that have no direct relation with the function of the basic stem, as follows. The function of the basic stem is primarily to express the verbal concept indefinitely, but because the motive of the past is brought into the context created by the words preceding or following the verb, the basic stem of the verb seems to indicate the past. I will consider the matter with an example under (A).

4. gy jei za hei der-i cezem *na-nira*.

"It was just at that time that the sun and the moon *appeared* for the first time."

This sentence is a part of the description of a cosmogony which tells about the genesis of the sun and the moon. The context of the sentence and the context on a larger scale of the whole description bring us in the sense of the past and on this account *na-nira*, the basic stem of *na-* in this sentence seems to indicate the past. In this context, the motive of the past is necessarily included in the concept of the verb *na-* (to produce) presented indefinitely in the form of the basic stem.

Thus the characteristic function of the basic stem is to present the verbal concept indefinitely. In other words, it is to present the verbal concept as it is, without defining a state or an action expressed in the concept by such motives as tense, aspect or mood. This interpretation of the function of the basic stem will explain the following examples as well.

28. *sa-n* ges jugi-di 'ani hemie, (I, 25b)

"do not kill a *living* thing,"

*sa-n* is the adnominal form of the basic stem of  $\sqrt{\text{sar-}}$  (to live) and *san ges* (a living thing) is an expression made by a simple combination of the concept of existence and that of thing. Of course this combination of words does not include the motive of the past. It does not stress the durative aspect of existence either. In the following examples basic stems express the verbal concept of each verb indefinitely.

29. 主藏臣寶-nen 藏 *gɔzɔm'a-n* 臣下-ini, (I, 27a)

"主藏臣寶 is a subject who *keeps* a treasury,"

30. mer *tw-n* 兵-i..... (I, 27b)

"a soldier who *rides* on a horse-back....."



- 2) I-non     ✓*hw-* (to do, to say): *hw-non*, ✓*meg-* (to eat, to hold in mouth): *meg-non*
- Final
- 1) I-neda     ✓*mat-* (to smell): *mad-nwda*
- 2) I-nenira   ✓*bvrg-* (to be light): *bvrg-nwira*  
                   ✓*dw'oi-* (to become): *dw'oi-nwira*
- 3) I-nora     ✓*'ed-* (to gain): *'ed-nora*, ✓*mwinggv-* (to make): *mwinggv-nora*
- Coverbial     I-neni     ✓*na-*: *na-nwmi*, ✓*'is(i)-*: *'is-nwmi*
- Interrogative   I-nenda   ✓*'ed-*: *'ed-nwda*
- Exclamatory     I-nosda   ✓*hw-*: *hw-nosda*
- Honorific affixes *-si-* and *-zvw-* precede this present stem suffix.
- ga-si-nenira (I, 25b)
- 降服-he-zvw-nenira (I, 26b)

## II. Usage

(A) The first characteristic usage of this stem is that it describes the act which is going on at present.

1. 世尊-s 'ir servorini, 萬里外-s 'ir-'isina, nun-'ei *bo-non-ga* negizevesiosie. (I, 1b)  
 "As I will talk about 世尊, though he is thousands of miles away, please suppose that you *are looking at* him."
2. 世尊-s mar servorini, 千載上-s mar-'isina, gui-'iei *dyd-non-ga* negizevesiosie. (ibid.)

"As I will tell you the words of 世尊, though these words were spoken a thousand years ago, please suppose that you *are listening to* them."

These antitheses of similar construction are taken from 'Uer-'in-cyen-gang-ji-gog 月印千江之曲 which is included in 'Uer-'in-sieg-bo. Both *bo-nonga* and *dyd-nonga* are in the interrogative form but they indicate the actions which are going on. The following example is a translation of a passage in the *Ji-jang-bo-sar-ben-'uen-gieng* 地藏菩薩本願經.

3. 一切諸佛菩薩 'oa 天龍鬼神-'er *bo-nwnda*? (XXI, 13b)

"Are you *looking at* all the Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas and the deities?"

This is the question *Shakyamuni* 釋迦牟尼佛 asked of *Manjusri* 文殊菩薩. The original Chinese text reads as follows: 汝觀是一切諸佛菩薩及天龍鬼神. In this case also *bo-nwnda* indicates the now proceeding act of looking at things.

(B) This stem is used not only to describe the act that is going on but to explain about things that actually exist or that is supposed to exist actually.

4. 無壽-i 對答-hodei: '實-ro 地獄-i 'is-nmingida'. (XXI, 25a)

"無壽 answered, 'Truly *there is* a hell'."

*'is-nmingida* is analysed as *'is-nwmi-ngida*, *-ngida* of which is a 'humble'

ending. Therefore *'is-nwñi-ngida* is the polite way of saying *'is-nwñi-ra*.

5. 'i 四天王 do 須彌山 heri-'iei *'is-nwñira*. (I, 31a)

"These 四天王 *live* halfway up Mt. Sumeru."

In both of the above examples, the italicized verb stems describe respectively a hell and 四天王 as actually existing.

An interesting fact about this verb of existence is that, while *'is(i)*-(to be, to exist) takes the form of the present stem, *'ebs-* (not to exist) takes the form of the basic stem. The following antithetic examples may well serve to show this fact.

6. *'ebsy-n* des hodei (I, 36a) "It seems there is not, but....."

7. *'is-nwñ* des hodei (ibid.) "It seems there is, but....."

The periphrastic perfect stem that has this *'is(i)*- is so composed by making use of the motive which is in the concept of this verb.<sup>(1)</sup> The following phrase which often appears in the notes of *'Uer-'in-sieg-bo*,

8. 'arai sagie*'is-nwñira*. (I, 37a etc.)

means 'there are *actually* some explanations below' and the meaning comes from the combination of the perfect stem *sagie'is-* and the present stem *-nw-*. The following is the translation of 未來劫.

9. 'ani *'oais-nwñ* 劫 (I, 506)

"the Kalpa which *has not yet come*"

*'oais-nwñ* is the combination of the perfect stem *'oa* (< *'o-* 'to come') and the present stem *'is-nwñ* and is used as a present perfect in the narrow meaning.

There are no verbs of existence in the following examples but the verbs here can be explained in the same way.

10. da jei *meg-non* bdyd-yro de'oi'ia nanenira. (I, 32a)

"Everyone is born according to the will that he *bears* in himself."

11. 無想-'en mezem-ai *meg-non* 'ir 'ebsyr ssi-ra. (I, 34a)

"無想 means 'that which *bears* nothing in mind'."

12. 梵王-s han 百姓 *sa-nwñ* hanerh-ira. (I, 32b)

"(It) is the kingdom where the people of 梵王 *live*."

(C) This stem is also used to describe the present state of things as easily analogized by the usage (B).

13. 鐵圍山-'i nei 天下 basg-yi dur'e 'isgo, gy basg-yi sdo 鐵圍山-'i dur'e *'is-nwñi*, du 鐵圍山-ssezi 'edyvyn sdah-ai 地獄-'i bere *'is-nwñira*. (I, 28a-b)

"鐵圍山 surrounds the four worlds and the outside of it *is surrounded* again by 鐵圍山, and in the dark part between the two 鐵圍山 *lie* the hells *in a row*."

Both 鐵圍山 and the hell are imaginary things but in this fictitious world of the book they are described as real. This will be explained in the like manner.

(1) cf. my article, "Chōsengo no Kanryōjishō ni tsuite". Tōyōgo Kenkyū No. 1, 1946.

14. 帝釋-*i* ga'ondei 'uidu-hw'ia 'is-nmira. (I, 31a)  
 “帝釋 *is the chief* among them.”

(D) The present stem indicates a durative aspect as well.

15. 'ije-i 百千萬億那由他不可說劫-ei senjei 菩薩-*i* dw'oi-'ieis-nmira. (XXI, 19a)  
 “(He) *will be* a Bodhisattva from now till 百千萬億那由他不可說劫.”  
*dw'oi-'ieis-nmira* is *dw'oi-'ie-is + nmira* that is the perfect stem + the present stem as the example 9, but in this case this combination indicates the durative aspect.

(E) This stem is also used to describe habitual acts.

16. 象兵-*yn* gerecie ssahom-ai byri-nwn gokiri-'o. (I, 27b)  
 “象兵 *is an elephant that (they) train and use* in battles.”  
 17. 畜生-en sarein-ei jib-yisie ci-nwn jiungseing-ira. (I, 46b)  
 “畜生 *is an animal that a man keeps* at his house.”

(F) There is a case in which this stem describes the phenomena that happen without fail under certain conditions.

18. nei-輪王-*i* 七寶千子-rer dusi-neni, 'siesi-r nar-ai 七寶-i haner-rosie nera 'o-nmira. (I, 26a)  
 “四輪王 *has* 七寶千子 and on the day of his enthronement 七寶 *comes down* from the sky.”

四輪王 is needless to say an imaginary person. 'o-nmira in this sentence describes the phenomenon that happens infallibly at the time of his enthronement. It must be noted that here *sie-si-r* (to rise up) which means 'to ascend the throne' is a future stem (-r).

19. gy sur'ui bozeven narah-en 降服-ha-zwb-nmira. (I, 26b)  
 “The countries which have the honour of regarding that vehicle *submit* (to him).”

In the above example the usage is the same as in the example 18. It means the countries that regard the vehicle submit without fail. The submission is not taking place in actuality but the passage conveys the idea that whenever the vehicle appears it happens, and there is no doubt about it. *bo-zwv-n* that indicates the condition is, by the way, a basic stem.

(G) The present stem is used for a generic description.

20. 'i nei haner-er 無色界四天-ira hw-nmira. (I, 37b)  
 “These four heavens *are called* 無色界四天.”  
 21. 小乘-*yn* 聲聞緣覺-er gajwbi-nmira. (I, 37b)  
 “小乘, i.e. the small vehicle, *illustrates* 聲聞 and 緣覺.”

22. 阿脩羅-nen haner 'anira *hw-non* bdyd-ini, (I, 14b)

"阿脩羅 means not being a heaven."

23. 乾闥婆-nen 香 nai *mad-nwda* hon bdyd-ini, (ibid.)

"乾闥婆 means 'to smell a flavour'."

What must be noticed here is that *hon* (a basic stem) in the last example is used just in the same sense that *hw-non* (a present stem) in the example 22 is used. (cf. ex. 23 in the usage of the basic stem) That a present stem is used just in the same sense as a basic stem is seen in the following example.

24. jei *meg-non* bdyd-yro (I, 23)=jei *megu-n* bdyd-yro (ibid)

Both of them mean "according to the will one has in oneself." This example shows that the present stem and the basic stem have a common area in their ranges of usage. The reason shall be discussed later.

(H) As already mentioned Korean adjectives are much the same as verbs from the view-point of morphological characteristics and it is more convenient to treat them as verbs. When they are used in purely adjectival meanings they seem to have no present stems. However, sometimes they *have* present stems and in these cases they include motives of change.

25. 如意珠寶-nen der 'ebsyn bam-ei 虛空-'ai der-mien gy naras gejang-'an nas geti *bvrg-nwira*. (I, 26b)

"When 如意珠寶 is hung in the air in a moonless night, the borderland of the country *becomes light* as if in the day-time."

26. 'i haner-derh-i nob-di'os mogsum-i 'ora-nwiri. (I, 34)

"The higher these heavens are ascended, *the longer* their life *becomes*."

27. 二禪天-'eisie myr-i na'a 'arai gedeg-he'iais-daga, myr do 'eb-nwira. (I, 49b)

"From 二禪天 water comes down and the ground is full of water, but by and by even the water *disappears*."

*bvrg-* and 'ora- are adjectival roots and mean respectively 'to be light' and 'to be long,' and 'ebs- means 'not to exist' and this is a semi-adjectival root. (cf. p. 14) In the above examples they are used in the form of the present stem and they describe the changes into the states of things their adjectival roots respectively mean. If this slight change in meaning of roots is caused by the function of the present stem or not, is still to be solved. Because the present stems in the above three examples may be explained under the usage (F). *bvrg-* for instance might mean 'to become light' as well as 'to be light' as an adjectival root. In fact in the following line *bvrg-* is used in the form of the retrospective stem.

28. jygjahi 天地 gejang 震動-hego, 三千大千 narah-i da gejang *bvrgdera*. (II, 36a)

"Immediately heaven and earth shook severely and thousands of countries all became quite light."

By the way it may be because of their contexts that prominent motives of 'change' are seen in examples 25, 26 and 27.

(I) In the following examples is found an exceptional usage of the present stem, apparently in the sense of present perfect.

29. *mysyg-yr* 'ed-*nwnda*? (I, 36b)  
"What *have* you *got*?"
30. *nai mom* 'ed-*nora*. (ibid.)  
"I *have got* my body."
31. 釋迦牟尼佛-*i* .....苦樂法-*yr* 'ar-'*ei hws-i-nosda!* (XXI, 9a)  
"釋迦牟尼佛..... *has taught* 苦樂法!"

(J) The following are cited from the *Bag-dong-sv* 'En-*hpi* 朴通事諺解 that was written a little later than 'Uer-'*in-sieg-bo*.

32. 'edei *ga-nwnda*? (Vol. I, 8a)  
"Where *are* you *going*?"
33. 小人-*i* 禮部-*yi ga-nora*. (ibid.)  
"I *am going* to 禮部."
34. 'enei sdah-*er* hiang-he'ie *ga-nwio*? (Vol. I, 8b)  
"To what country *are* you *going*?"

Here present stems are used to describe the deeds that will be done in near future. In this sentence in 'Uer-'*in-sieg-bo*,

35. *gyzei mwingga-nora* jib jizi-rer cezem-heni, (I, 44b)  
"(I) began to build a house to *do*.....(?)"

the meaning of *gyzei* is not clear, but it is supposed from the context that *gyzei mwing-gvr-* (which literally means "to make *gyzei*") will mean to have sexual intercourse. Be that as it may, this is one of the examples in which the final form *-nora* indicates the deed that will take place in future.

So far I have discussed main usages of the present stem and have seen there is a great variety there. It is impossible to induce some homogeneous functions from these variform usages. It might rather be dangerous to do so when we take into consideration the fact that such grammatical forms as this tense form come to have some new functions which are deviated from their original functions in the course of their development through the medium of various secondary motives. However, it might not be meaningless to find out a basic function from various examples and to make clear some derivative functions in relation to the basic one.

As in case of the present stem a definite affix *-nw-* is added to an indefinite verb stem from the morphological stand-point, so in meaning, it is supposed, some definite element is added to an indefinite verbal concept. In

the above examples those that are used in the basic linguistic situation, that is, in the form of the dialogue, are examples 3, 4, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and examples 1 and 2 may be considered in the same way. These examples can be classified according to their usage; namely A(1, 2, 3), B(4), I(29, 30, 31) and J(32, 33, 34). All these examples except B(4) describe the scenes that are actually taking place. Sentences under A(1, 2, 3) describe the actions that are actually being performed or that may be considered to be so, while those under I(29, 30, 31) describe the actions that have been done, and those under J(33, 33, 34) the actions that *are going to* be performed. Each one of these examples defines each action in relation to each own situation. This might be a basic function of the present stem if not an original function. Since the relation with the linguistic situation is one of the important functions of the language, it is natural that the relation with actual situation comes out in some way or another.

The actual situation contains various motives. An actual existence is an existence as a fact. So the things that do not exist in actuality, if they are thought to be facts, can be described as things that actually exist. Hell does not exist, but 無毒 in the example B(4) tells about the existence of hell as a fact. Thus on the basis of factuality the use of the present stem is extended to such cases as B and C. The reference to the actual situation shows the durative aspect of the actions that are being performed in the situation. The example D(15) describes a state that continues for innumerable years (百千萬億那由也不可說劫). Usage E in which are described habitual things will have some connection with usage D. Usage F is interesting. Things described here have no direct connection with actual situations and they are not habitual deeds, either. But they describe things that happen without fail under some conditions and so what are explained there are also considered as facts. This is also true in the case of the usage H.

As already mentioned, the basic stem and the present stem are used for generic descriptions and in some cases the first future stem is also used for this purpose as will be explained below. This duplication is caused by the fact that since there is no special grammatical form for generic description, the basic stem, the present stem and the first future stem can be used in its place. It might be said that while the basic stem is used for this purpose because of its indefinite presentation of verbal concept, the present stem is used because of its indication of factuality.

### (3) First Future Stem

#### I. Morphological characteristics

This stem is morphologically characterized by the suffix *-r* or *-ri*. Being different from other stems, the first future stem does not take the adnominal



word-ending *-n* but it takes the suffix *-r* in its adnominal form. The suffix *-r* is often accompanied by a laryngeal plosive (ʔ) as is seen in the following examples.

*ssahor*ʔ jegyi (I, 26b)

涅槃-*hwr*ʔ jegyi (I, 36b)

*morror*ʔ god-ira. (I, 37a)

Sometimes, instead of the laryngeal plosive the consonant next to the suffix *-r* becomes the corresponding 'thick sound' (*doin sori*)<sup>(1)</sup>.

受苦-*hwr* ssarem-i (I, 29b)

This fact may mean that the 'thick sound' was accompanied by a laryngeal plosive. The suffix *-ssvi* which indicates the reason usually attaches to the future adnominal form *-r* and becomes either *-rʔssvi* or *-r-ssvi*. This mark (ʔ) has the same function as that of genitive case. As the genitive case is used to combine a noun with a noun, so this mark is used for the adnominal form of the verb that combines a verb with a noun.<sup>(2)</sup>

The future adnominal form *-r*, when *i* is attached to it, makes the verbal noun ending with *-ri*, just in the like manner as the adnominal form ending with *-n* makes, with *i* at the end, a kind of the verbal noun which means 'something to do so-and-so' or 'something that has done so-and-so.'

*megu-ri* (something to eat, something that can be eaten) (I, 45a)

This stem takes the form of *-ri-* when it is not adnominal. The *-r*(ʔ) or *-ri* attaches to the second or the fourth base.

What follows are the main forms of the first future stem.

Adnominal	1)	II-r(ʔ)	√ <i>hw-</i> (to do, to say): <i>hwr</i> (ʔ)
	2)	IV-r(ʔ)	√ <i>mory-</i> (not to know): <i>morror</i> (ʔ), √ <i>hw-</i> : <i>ho-r</i> (ʔ)
Final	1)	II(IV)-rira	√ <i>daʔv-</i> (to be exhausted): <i>daʔv-rira</i> , √ <i>ha-</i> : <i>ho-rira</i>
	2)	II-riroda	√ <i>goti-</i> (to correct): <i>goti-riroda</i>
Interrogative	II-riʔie	√ <i>bui-</i> (to be vacant, to be vain): <i>bui-riʔie</i>	
Exclamatory	II-r ssie	√ <i>derev-</i> (to be dirty, to be filthy): <i>derevy-r ssie</i>	
proverbial	II-rini	√ <i>hw-</i> : <i>hw-rini</i>	

## II. Usage

(A) The first thing noticeable in the usage of this stem is its indication of the things that will happen in future.

1. 'iri hemien 賢劫-*i daʔv-rira*. (I, 49a)

“賢劫 *will be exhausted* if you do this way.”

(1) The *doin sori*, i.e. thick sound, is the consonant articulated with glottal tension. It is, and was, spelt with the duplication of the consonant letter. E.g. the 'thick sound' of *s* is represented with the double *s*, i.e. *ss*.

(2) This fact was noticed by Mr. KIM Sugyeng 金壽卿, one of the excellent linguists in present Korea.

2. 'iri 火災-hen 後-'ei sdo 世界 'ireis-daga, dasi 成住壞空-he'ia sdo 火災-hw-rini. (I, 49b)  
 "Thus, after it will have been burnt down, the world will be again established, and in the meantime (the world) will become fixed, inhabited, collapsed and vacant, then again *it will be burnt down*."
3. dases cahi-n 彌勒尊佛-'i na-si-rira. (I, 51b)  
 "At the fifth time 彌勒尊佛 *will be born*."

(B) This stem sometimes indicates something that is expected to happen according to destination.

4. siesir nar-ai 七寶-i haner-rosie nera 'onenira. (I, 26a)  
 "On the day of his enthronement 七寶 comes down from the sky."  
 This is about the enthronement of 四輪王, which is destined to happen.
5. 諸天-derh-i 阿脩羅 'oa ssahor' jegyi garh-ai hen sdah-er 旃檀香 beremien jygjahi 'amgenenira. (I, 26b-27a)  
 "When 諸天 fight against 阿脩羅, if they apply 旃檀香 on the injured parts (of their body) by swords, the injured parts are cured at once."
6. 舍利佛涅槃-hw' jegyi 無色界-'ieis nuns-myr-i gerevi geti nerida hon mar do 'isimie. (I, 36b)  
 "There is a saying that, when 舍利佛 enters Nirvana, tears of 無色界 fall down like fine rain."

Such events as the battle between 諸天 and 阿脩羅 and the death of 舍利佛 might have to be described with the basic stem as the events happened in the past. However, from the other point of view they can be described with the first future stem as they are thought to be destined to happen. The word *jegyi* (at the time when.....), by the way, is always preceded by the future adnominal form as is seen in the above two examples.

7. gyngegyi 受苦-hwr ssarem-i 各各罪-'ei jiegyimie kum-yro 劫數 ryr dinainen. (I, 29b)  
 "People who suffer pass there the different number of Kalpa according to the degree of their sin."

The word *gyngegyi* (there) denotes 'hell' here and 受苦-hwr here may mean 'who are doomed to suffer'.

(C) This stem also indicates the possibilities of things.

8. 十方世界-'iei do sdo gajrbiri 'ebsysini. (I, 52a)  
 "There is nobody who may possibly be compared with (him) in 十方世界, either,"
9. sana'er meguri-r bui'ie 'oni. (I, 45a)  
 "(He) reaped things that can feed (him) for three or four days."

(D) This stem shows ability.

10. henah-i 'edire jymyn sarem-er *dang-hwri-rssei*. (I, 28a)  
 "As he alone is as *able* as a thousand men,"
11. 'irehen bdyd-yn 聲聞緣覺-*ei morror* 'ir-ir-ira. (I, 37a)  
 Such an idea *cannot be recognized* by 聲聞緣覺."
12. henah-*ei* mezem-en suvi *goti-rieni'oa*, moden mezem-en sbarri mod *goti-riroda*. (I, 51b-52a)  
 "(We) *can* easily correct a false way of thinking of one person but *cannot* reform that of many people at once."  
*goti-rieni'oa* is the same as *goti-ri-*eni'oa** = *goti-ri-*geni'oa** and *-geni'oa* is a concessive coverbial ending.

(E) This stem is also used for generic description.

13. sery '*ebsi'ur* 'ir-i nanira. (I, 43a)  
 "It happened that they *looked down upon* each other."
14. 高山-*ira hor* moi-h-aisie naneni. (I, 27a)  
 "(It) comes out of a mountain that *is called* 高山."
15. gy 後-*ei* za 'oini, 'orhi, 'igyini, gie'i-uni *hor* 'ir-i nanira. (I, 42b)  
 "After that, *to be* wrong, right, victorious or defeated happened."

It is worth our notice that the word *hor* in this example is used entirely in the same meaning as the adnominal forms of the basic stem *hon* and *hon*, the adnominal forms of the present stem *hwnon* and *hwnon*. (cf. p.30)

(F) This stem also indicates things that are imagined or supposed.

16. 大乘-*yn* 世界 basg-yi do 'ohirie 法性色-*i* 'isgeni, 'i 四天-*i* hengas da bui-ri-*ie?* (I, 37a)  
 "大乘 has its 法性性 even outside the world, and *could* all the 四天 become vain?"  
 'To become vain' in this sentence is a supposition against reason.

(G) This stem expresses an intention.

17. 釋迦菩薩-*i* sberri 成佛-kei (=hegei) *ho-rira*. (I, 52a)  
 "(I) *will* work so that 釋迦菩薩 will soon attain Buddhahood."
18. gy jegyi 釋迦菩薩-en 衆生濟度-*hor* mezem-i hasirssei, (I, 52b)  
 "Since at that time 釋迦菩薩 wished very much *to save* all the being,"

Reviewing these various uses of this stem we notice that the characteristic feature of this stem is its function to describe things not as they are in actuality but as they could be, as they should be or as they must be. From this basic function are derived various other uses such as a use to indicate the future, a destination, a possibility, an ability or an intention, and therefore to indicate the future tense is apparently not its primary function. The basic

function of this stem being as such, the reason why this stem has a generic use as well as the basic stem and the present stem might be clear now. Namely, this first future stem is also used for generic description because the things in the generic description are also thought to be such things as *possibly* happen.

#### IV. Conclusion

I have discussed the uses of the basic stem, the present stem and the first future stem, and have also referred to the retrospective stem *-de-* and the emphatic stem *-ge-*. It might mean that I have outlined the tense stems of the Middle Korean verbs. Besides these stems there are the perfect stem and the second future stem as periphrastic stems. The latter stands for the future tense in Modern Korean but in Middle Korean the indication of the future tense was no more than a germ.

庶幾-nen *gyrehu-gyis-go* beranora henon bdyd-ira. (Introduction, 6a)

“庶幾 means to wish to be so.”

三寶-ai naza ga *byd-gyis-go* beranora. (ibid. 6b)

“.....wish to go and get to the 三寶.”

In these two examples the second future stems are used rather in the optative mood. Morphologically, the second future stem is composed by first base and an adverbial ending *-gyi* with the verb *‘is(i)-* (to be, to exist).

Like this second future stem in the periphrastic use, the perfect stem in the periphrastic use was but of the secondary importance in Middle Korean. The primary importance was not placed on it until the time of Modern Korean when it composed a new tense system. The other five stems compose an old tense system which is still surviving in Modern Korean but seems to be gradually giving its way to the new system.

The coexistence of the old and the new systems has brought in a queer unsystematic feature in Modern Korean. In Modern Korean usually the perfect stem is used to indicate the past. However, the basic stem is still used in the adnominal form. For instance in the case of the verb *ga-* (to go), its final form is *gass-da* that is derived from the perfect stem *ga‘isda*. On the other hand the adnominal form of *ga-* takes the form of the basic stem *ga-n* and not either *gassy-n* or *gass-nyn*. In the same way *-geiss-* that was derived from the second future stem *-gyi‘is(i)-* is usually used to indicate the future, but in its adnominal form the first future stem *-r* is used. In Modern Korean the periphrastic form *-go‘iss-* is often used to indicate the progressive aspect, for instance *ha-go‘iss-da* (is doing). However, this form is scarcely found in Middle Korean and in its stead the present stem was used. (cf. The present stem, usage (A) 1-3)

One of the characteristics of the new tense system is its periphrastic use with the verb of existence *‘is(i)-*. This fact might mean the drift of the

dominant principle underlying the system itself. Therefore it may be necessary to investigate the principle that underlies the old tense system.

To begin with, the word 'tense' in its original meaning is apparently improper to this grammatical category in question of the Korean language. Because, though this grammatical category is treated under the name of the 'tense', when its various uses are studied carefully, many of them are found to be in no relation to tense. However, some of these uses can not be explained from the point of an aspect, either. In general, language has by nature two phases: it describes the structure of the content itself on the one hand and it explains the attitude of the speaker to the content on the other. The content of what is to be described may sometimes be communicated without the help of the direct linguistic forms, by the context or other means based on the linguistic situation in its wider sense. On the other hand it is true that the form of expression depends upon the speaker's points of view. In the latter case would be found the dominant principle underlying the old tense system.

As already mentioned the basic stem has no specific suffixes and it presents the concept of the verb indefinitely. This stem is the foundation of the other tense forms. The other tense forms are composed by their own specific suffixes agglutinated to the basic stem. These suffixes add some definition to the concept of the verb. The definition seems not to be concerned about the things themselves which the verb describes but about the attitude of the speaker toward the things. The function of the emphatic stem is to put some stress on the things that the verb describes. It will be more proper to say that the emphasis is placed rather on the attention of the speaker to the things than on the description of the things themselves. The function of the present stem is to refer the things to an actual situation. The first future stem sets the things in a possible situation, and the retrospective stem, in a situation in the speaker's experience. The concept of the verb is thus defined by the attitude of the speaker toward the things. In other words, this part of the Korean grammar might rather be in the category of mood than that of tense.<sup>(1)</sup>

The primary principle of the old tense system being thus understood as the attitude of the speaker toward the things he describes, the reason why any of the three stems, the basic stem, the present stem and the first future stem, was used for generic description may be easily explained, namely the basic stem was used for that purpose because of its indefiniteness, the present stem of its factuality and the first future stem of its possibility. It is nothing strange, therefore, that there is no difference in the contextual meaning among the generic description by one and those by the others.

(1) In his unique work, *Dōshi-jisei no kenkyū* 動詞時制の研究 Study of the (English) Tense, Prof. Ikki HOSOE 細江逸記 reached essentially the same conclusion. I should surely have referred to this remarkable study had there been more space.

From this old tense system has been engendered a new tense system, the basic principle of which is in the state of things themselves. The perfect stem which indicates various sorts of combinations of some actions and states of things—especially the states of the things resulted from some actions, the second future stem that indicates the transfer from the state to an action and the progressive form that shows the coexistence of the state of things and an action, these in the new tense system focus on the state of the things, that is, *how* the things *are* and not on the attitude of the speaker toward the action or the state of things. In other words, in the new system the point is in the description of the things themselves apart from the speaker's subjective view. Here the phase of the aspect eventually comes up onto the surface and this is only natural since the substance of the aspect is *Aktionsart*. In this case also tense plays but the part of secondary importance. It is of course too abrupt to draw a decisive conclusion about the change from the old tense system to the new one without further positive studies. However, it may be safe, at least, to say that the change of the main point of the tense system from the subjective 'mood' to the objective 'aspect' is one of the greatest changes of the Korean language in these five hundred years.