

# Duality in Korean Morphology<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

It is well known that some 60 percents of the entries found in any dictionary of the Korean language are *Han-ja-eo* 漢字語("words of Chinese

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1 In this study Korean forms are transcribed in the Latin alphabet without using any diacritical marks. The equations of the Korean letters with the Latin letters are as follows.

### Vowels

Simple Vowels	ㅏ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅞ	ㅟ	ㅛ
	a	eo	o	u	eu	i	ae	e	oe
Diphthongs	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅠ			ㅞ	ㅟ	
	ya	yeo	yo	yu			yae	ye	
	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ		ㅛ		ㅞ	ㅟ	
	wa	weo	wi		eui		wae	we	

### Consonants

Unaspirated	ㄱ	ㄷ	ㅂ	ㅅ	ㅈ
	g	d	b	s	j
Aspirated	ㅋ	ㅌ	ㅍ		ㅊ
	k	t	p		c
Tensed	ㄲ	ㄸ	ㅃ	ㅆ	ㅉ
	gg	dd	bb	ss	jj
Others	ㅇ	ㄴ	ㄹ	ㅁ	ㅎ
	-ng	n	m	r/l	h

Transliteration/Morphophonemic Transcription. Italicized The modern Korean orthography is a morphophonemic system. That is, the spelling of a form is maintained regardless of changes of realizations in the different phonological environments. (There are some exceptions, however.) Accordingly, transliterations from the Korean spellings may be understood as morphophonemic transcriptions.

Morpheme Boundary. Marked by a hyphen.

Phonemic Transcription. Written between a pair of slants. Syllable boundaries are marked

Characters”) in Korean, or *Sino-Korean* in English, as they have been named by western scholars. In the dictionaries the Sino-Korean (henceforth “SK”) entries are usually accompanied by Chinese characters by which they are easily distinguished from those of Non-Sino-Korean (henceforth “NSK”), which include Native Korean and borrowings from other languages in the historical periods as well as modern times

SK is obviously a major constituent of the Korean language. However, it has been rarely mentioned, or, rather, has been avoided to mention as much as possible, in the grammars of Korean. The reason seems to be quite simple. That is, a number of features of SK are difficult to describe systematically in the same terms defined for those of NSK. For this reason the grammarians have preferred to confine themselves to NSK, while largely ignoring SK.

Although an SK form and an NSK form may be semantically compared each other, their morphological functions are fundamentally different. Accordingly, it can be properly argued that there are two distinctive sub-systems at work in the morphological parts of the Korean grammar: one for NSK and another for SK. In the present study some of the outstanding differences between the two are to be discussed.

## 1. Preliminary Remarks

### 1-1. Sino-Korean and Non-Sino-Korean<sup>2</sup>

SK is frequently misunderstood as “Korean forms of Chinese origin” or “Chinese loan-words found in Korean” not only by foreigners but also by the native speakers of Korean.

It is true that there are found in Korean numerous SK words of Chinese

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by hyphens. Unreleased, neutralized consonants in the syllable-final positions are transcribed in the capital letters, in order to avoid misinterpretations of the actual sounds, if they are represented by /g,d,b/. By the same token, a final /r/ is transcribed in /R/, of which realization is identical with an /l/ to the speakers of English. For those who have a thorough knowledge in Korean, this kind of practice is unnecessary, of course.

Ex. *Transliteration-Morphophonemic Transcriptions/Phonemic Transcriptions/ 'Meanings'*  
 han-ja-eo /han-ja-eo/ 'Sino-Korean', gug-min 國民 /gung-min/ 'the people of a nation', ggoe /ggoD/ 'flower', anj-da /an-dda/ 'to sit down', anj-aseo /an-ja-seo/ 'having sat down', areum-dab-da /a-i-eum-daB-dda/ 'to be beautiful'

2 For a detailed description on SK and NSK, see Ki Joong Song, "Remarks on Modern Sino-Korean," *Language Research* (Seoul National University), Vol. 22, No. 4 (Dec. 1986), pp. 469-501.

origin. However, there is a considerable number of those composed in Korea and in Japan. Especially, the majority of the SK terms for the products of the western cultures and civilizations, including a large number of scientific terminology, have their origins in Japan.<sup>3</sup> Also, there are those consisting of the readings of the characters created in Korea, i. e., Korean-made Chinese characters.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, not all the Chinese loan-words are SK. There are many Korean words of Chinese origin which have been so perfectly naturalized that they cannot be differentiated from the native ones.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, etymology cannot be the factor to distinguish SK from others. What characterizes an SK word is that it consists of a syllable or syllables, each of which is identified with the phonetic representation, or the reading, of a Chinese character. Whether the character was created in China or in Korea does not matter. Neither does the origin of the word: whether it was composed in China, or in Korea, or in Japan. Only the fact that it is currently used in Korean is relevant.

As the case of any other language, there are numerous loan-words found in Korean. Many of those loaned long time ago are hardly distinguished from the native ones, while those of recent times are easily recognized. Among the latter are a large number of English origin frequently heard in modern Korean.<sup>6</sup> From the morphological point of view, these words can be classified with the native ones. This is the reason why the term *Non-Sino-Korean* is used in this study in contrast with *Sino-Korean*.

### 3 Examples

SK words of Chinese origin *bu-mo* 父母 'father and mother, parents', *seo-ja* 妻子 'wife and children', *bu-in* 婦人 'wife', etc

SK words of Japanese origin *sang-dam* 相談 'consultation, counseling', *yag-sog* 約束 'promise', *ib-gu* 入口 'entrance', etc

SK words composed in Japan to translate western concepts *bjeon-hyeong saeng-seong mun-beob* 變形生成文法 'transformational generative grammar', *eum-so* 音素 'phoneme', *hyeong-tae-so* 形態素 'morpheme', *mul-li* 物理 'physics', *hwa-hag* 化學 'chemistry', etc

### 4 Chinese characters created in Korea and SK words containing the readings of them

*jang* 櫥 'storing cabinet' *jang-rong* 櫥籠 'wardrobe', *caeg-jang* 冊櫥 'bookshelf, book cabinet',

*dab* 畚 'water-field' *jeon-dab* 田畚 'dry and water field',

*dae* 垓 'the site or lot of a building' *dae-ji* 垓地 'the site of a building' etc

### 5 Examples *bae-cu* 배추 < Chinese *bai-cai* 白菜 (SK reading *baeg-cae*), *hu-cu* 胡椒 < Chi *hu-jiao* 胡椒 (SK reading *ho-co*), *ga-ji* 가지 < Chi *ja-zi* 茄子 (SK reading *ga-ja*), etc

### 6 Examples *mgkeu* 잉크 'ink', *pen* 펜 'pen', *radio* 라디오 'radio', *tellebyjeon* 텔레비전 'television', *taipweurateo* 타이프라이터 'typewriter', etc

## 1-2. SK Words of Chinese and Japanese Origin

The expression, "the SK words of Chinese origin" or "those composed in Japan" should not be misunderstood as borrowings in the traditional sense. The transmission of words from Chinese or from Japanese into Korean has occurred mainly through the medium of the Chinese characters, not through verbal contacts. In other words, phonetic aspects were not involved in the process of adopting the words either from Chinese or from Japanese. Those verbally adopted belong to the class of NSK.

Although the SK reading of a Chinese character might have its origin in a Chinese dialect of a certain ancient time, its present form is the result of phonetic changes within Korean in the course of long history. The same is true for the reading of the same character in Official Chinese (*Guanhua* 官話), or in Japanese, or in Cantonese. Accordingly, the same characters writing a certain Chinese, Japanese and Korean words may denote the same meaning but the phonetic representations are different from one language to another. For example, the word written in the two characters 國家 denotes the same sense 'nation', but is read *gug-ga* /guG-gga/ in Korean, *guojia* in Official Chinese and *kokka* in Japanese. This situation may be compared with the adoption of Arabic numerals and mathematical symbols by various peoples around the world, who speak different languages. The meanings of such symbols as '1, 2, 3, +, -, =' may be understood the same, but the readings are different from one language to another.

In any language a new word is frequently formed by a combination of the existing morphemes or by a designation of a new meaning to an already existing word. A word created in China or in Japan by the combination of the morphemes associated with certain Chinese characters could be borrowed by the Koreans, not the sounds but the way of combining the character-morphemes already existing, or the new meaning designated to a word already used in Korean. This is true even in the cases of characters used phonetically to transcribe foreign words. As a result, the SK sounds of certain foreign names and terms hardly resemble the original ones.<sup>7</sup>

7 For example, in the case of SK *bul* 弗 'dollar', the choice of the character to write the English word was made in Japan (perhaps because the character resembles the reversed shape of the symbol '\$') and has been pronounced /doru/ in Japanese. Once the practice of writing the concept 'dollar' was introduced into Korea, it has been read by the SK reading of the character, /bul/, which has nothing to do with the English pronunciation of the word.

## 2. The Morphemes

### 2-1. Definition

Regarding a morpheme such a definition as “a minimal meaningful unit,” might be still prevalent.<sup>8</sup> During the past few decades, however, there appeared somewhat different definitions. The one by Aronoff(1976:15) reads “A morpheme is a phonetic string which can be connected to a linguistic entity outside that string. What is important is not its meaning, but its arbitrariness.” In the popular dictionary of linguistics, David Crystal (1980:231) defines a morpheme as “the minimal distinctive unit of grammar.”

In Korean forms which can be analyzed for one reason or another, but of which meaningfulness is ambiguous or cannot be detected for certainty, are frequently encountered. Some are unique forms, like the *cran* of *cranberry*, while others occur in more than a few words. They are found in number both in NSK and SK, but with quite different characteristics

### 2-2. Morphemic Analysis

For a practical purpose of morphemic analysis of Korean, a morpheme may be defined as one of the following two kinds:

- 1) A minimal distinctive unit of sounds recurrent in different morphological or syntactical structures, which carries either a constant meaning or a constant grammatical function, or both.
- 2) The residue(s) in a morphological construction, after the unit(s) qualifying the requirements of 1) is analyzed out.

Based upon these definitions, both NSK and SK words may be analyzed. However, in the case of SK there arises a question on the relationship, if any, between a morpheme and the syllable identified with the reading of a character.(See 2. 4. below )

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‘dollar’ Other examples of the same or similar nature -*Bul* 佛 ‘Buddha’(bound form), *Bo-sal* 菩薩 ‘Bodhisattva’, *Ma-tae* 마태(馬太) ‘Matthew’, *Ma-ga* 마가(馬哥) ‘Mark( Marcus)’, *Mi-gug* 美國 ‘America’, *Yeong-gug* 英國 ‘England’ (all above from Chinese), *Dog-il* 獨逸 ‘Germany’(from Japanese), etc

8 See Nida(1949), p 1

### 2-3. NSK Morphemes

Of the two kinds of NSK morphemes defined above, the first one does not raise any problem. Some examples are given below to illustrate the the 'residues'

Ex. 1: *mar-sseum* 'words'(honorific)    *mar* 'words, language'  
       *mom-so* 'in person'(honorific) : *mom* 'body'  
       *nagg-si* 'fish-hook'                *nagg-* 'to hook (fish)'

From the above examples, it is obvious that *mar*, *mom* and *nagg-* are recurrent meaningful units. But, the *-sseum*, *-so*, and *-si* are not found in any other words. They are *unique* forms.

Ex. 2: *i-mam-ddae* 'about this time'    . *i-* 'this', *ddae* 'time'  
       *jeo-mam-ddae* 'about that time'    . *jeo-* 'that'  
       *geu-mam-ddae* 'about that time' : *geu-* 'that'  
       *i-mam-jeog* 'about this time'       . *-jeog* 'time'

The unit *mam* is found only in this kind of formation, i. e. , between a demonstrative and *-ddae* or *-jeog*

### 2-4. SK Morphemes

An SK syllable is the minimal distinctive unit in that it represents the reading of a Chinese character. (That is the necessary requirement of SK!) Certain SK syllables appear to carry constant meanings and/or grammatical functions which are clearly detected, while others do not. To this point, we may regard the SK syllables as morphemes since they meet the conditions as much as an NSK morpheme does.

Ex. 3: *gug-ga* /guG-gga/ 'nation', *gug-min* /gung-min/ 'the people of a nation', *gug-eo* /gu-geo/ 'national language', *a-gug* /a-guG/ 'our nation', *oe-gug* /oe-guG/ 'foreign country', *jeog-gug* /jeoG-gguG/ 'enemy country'

Ex. 4: *ga-ro* 'street', *sam-ga* '3rd Street', *ga-du(-e)* '(at) the street', *gu-du(-ro)* 'orally'(lit. , 'by mouth')

From the examples in Ex. 3, we can easily recognize a unit *gug* meaning 'nation, country' The other syllables combined with it are also frequently found in other SK words with more or less constant meanings. Therefore, each syllable found in the examples in Ex. 3 may be properly regarded as morphemes

From the examples in Ex. 4, we have *ga* with a constant meaning 'street'. The syllables *ro* 'street' and *sam* 'three' are also productive with con-

stant meanings The syllable *du*, representing the reading of the character 頭, is usually found in other SK words with the meaning of 'head', but in this particular combination it does not carry such a meaning It is a word-forming, meaningless particle in Chinese, but not in Korean The same syllable is found in the last example *gu-du* 口頭. The Koreans have merely adopted the Chinese words through the medium of characters Anyhow, since the other element *ga* and *gu* can be analyzed as morphemes, so is the residue *du*.

The problem lies in the SK words consisting of syllables each of which is the reading of a character that does not occur, or rarely occurs, in other words (Ex. 5); which are the readings of characters combined to transcribe foreign names or common words (Ex. 6); and which are the readings of characters whose combinations denote idiomatic senses (Ex. 7).

Ex. 5: *san-ho* 珊瑚 'coral', *po-do* 葡萄 'grapes'.

Ex. 6: *dog-ir* 獨逸 'Germany', *ir-bon* 日本 'Japan', *mong-go* 蒙古 'Mongolia', *ma-tae* 馬太 'Matthew'

Ex. 7. *mo-sun* 矛盾 'contradiction' (lit. , 'spear and shield'), *hyo-si* 嚆矢 'initiator, the beginning' (lit. , 'resounding arrow')

The words in Ex. 5 consist of the readings of the characters which are not found in other words of SK. (Those words found in the dictionaries of Classical Chinese are not necessarily modern SK.) The characters of which readings form the proper names in Ex. 6 are frequently found in other common words with certain meanings. For example, the character *dog* 獨 in the sense of 'isolation, alone', *ir* 逸 'outstanding'; *ir* 日 'sun, day'; *bon* 本 'root, source', *ma* 馬 'horse', and so on However, the meanings of characters have nothing to do with the meanings of the proper nouns, of course. The meanings of the words in Ex. 7 were originally related with the literal meanings of the characters, but the speakers never think of the latter when they use the words. Thus, from the point of view of 'meaning', all the words in Ex. 5-7 are not, indeed, analyzable into smaller units

In a morphological investigation of SK words, there can be two ways of handling. The one is that, strictly based on the definitions given in 2.2. above, the SK words are analyzed into morphemes In this case, those syllables forming only the kinds of SK words given in Ex. 3-4 are treated as morphemes, while those of the kinds of words presented in Ex. 5-7 are not, but merely syllables consisting morphemes Another way is that, regardless of meaning, each SK syllable is treated as a morpheme Accordingly, the SK

words in Ex. 5-7 are analyzed into morphemes as well. In the present study, the latter way of handling is preferred for the following reasons.

First, native speakers, with some educations, perceive each SK syllabic unit as a phonologically fixed form, regardless of the actual realizations in different word-formations and regardless of meaningfulness. For example, the syllabic unit *gug* in Ex. 3 above is realized as /guG/, /gu-g-/, /gung/, /gguG/ and so on in actual speeches, but the native speakers identify the reading of the character only with /guG/. Each syllable, although its meaning is ambiguous in the particular word, consisting the examples in Ex. 5-7 above is also understood by the native speakers as independent syllabic unit. That is how *dog-ir* 'Germany' is recognized as /doG/ + /iR/, rather than /do-gil/ in accordance with the actual realization. The SK syllabic unit, involved with the reading of a character and perceived as a fixed independent form by the native speakers, must be explained in a certain linguistic term, if not a morpheme

Second, it is theoretically possible to differentiate the meaningless 'residues' found in the words in Ex. 3-4 above from the meaningless 'syllables' in those of Ex. 5-7. However, apart from the theoretical, or artificial, explanation, it is difficult to find any other reasons to argue that the former are regarded as morphemes while the latter are not.

Third, morphology is fundamentally an analytic study. By handling each SK syllable as a morpheme, we can observe the characteristics of SK word-formations more analytically and synthetically. We can analyze all SK words into the syllabic units, of which existences are clearly recognized, and look into the formational differences found among from them. From an analysis of such a word as presented in Ex. 5, we can conclude that one of the characteristics of SK word-formation is the existence of those consisting of unique morphemes only. If they are considered to be unanalyzable and, therefore, to be single morphemes, there is no chance to compare them with those of the residue morphemes.

For these reasons, it seems to be more effective, and reasonable, for a morphological investigation of SK, to define a morpheme to be the syllable which represents the reading of a Chinese character.



### 3. Phonological Differences between NSK and SK Morphemes

#### 3-1. The Formation of a Morpheme

An NSK morpheme consists of a single consonant, or a mono- or multi-syllables. However, all SK morphemes are mono-syllabic

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{NSK Morpheme} \dots\dots \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{(C)(SV)V(C)(C)} \\ \text{(C)(SV)V(C)|(C)(SV)(V)(C)|(C)(SV)(V)(C)| \end{array} \right. \\ \text{SK Morpheme} \dots\dots\dots \text{(C)(SV)V(C)} \end{array}$$

C:consonant, SV:semi-vowel, V:vowel  
|, syllable-boundary, ( ) { } : optional

Of the 19 consonantal phonemes in Korean, all are differentiated in the intervocalic positions; in the initial positions, 18 of them, all but /ng/; morphophonemically, in the final positions of morphemes, 16 of them, all but /dd,bb,jj/ Besides, 11 double-consonants exist in the final positions (Phonologically, only 7 consonants are differentiated in the final position of a syllable, before a pause or a consonant, other than /n,m,r,h/.)

C|V-V (19) --- g,k,gg,d,t,dd,b,p,bb,j,c,jj,s,ss,n,ng,m,r,h

C|/# (18) --- g,k,gg,d,t,dd,b,p,bb,j,c,jj,s,ss,n,m,r,h

V (9) --- t,e,ae,eu,eo,oe,u,o,a

SV (2) --- y,w

C|/# (16) --- g,k,gg,d,t,b,p,j,c,s,ss,ng,n,m,r,h

CC|/# (11) --- gs,bs,nj,nh,rg,rm,rb,rs,rt,rp,rh

Ex 8: Single Consonants. -m (verb-to-noun derivational suffix); -n (past participle suffix), -ss- (past suffix), etc Mono-Syllbles. *nun* 'eye', *ko* 'nose', *ib* 'mouth', *son* 'hand', *pal* 'arm', *bal* 'foot', *i-* 'this'(bound form), *geu-* 'that' (bound), *jeo-* 'that'(bound), *na* 'I', *neo* 'you', etc. Multiple Syllables: *meori* 'head, hair', *dari* 'leg', *haneul* 'heaven, sky', *abeoji* 'father', *eomeoni* 'mother', *jeong'eori* 'sardin', *domado* 'tomatoes', *ta'ipeu'a'iteo* 'typewriter', *ellebe'iteo* 'elevator', etc

The last two examples are of course borrowings from English. They are analyzed in English into three morphemes each, i. e. , *type-writ-er* and *el-evat-or*, but the borrowings in Korean are single morphemes

### 3-2. Restrictions of Phonemes in SK Morphemes

On the mophophonemic level, *dd, bb and jj* do not exist at all and *k, gg* and *ss* occur in only one or a few morphemes in SK. However, on the phonological level they occur in the non-initial positions as the results of sound-changes.

Ex. 9: Phonological /dd, bb, ss/ found in SK: *mur-ga* /muR-gga/ 'price', *ir-deung* /iR-ddeung/ 'first class', *heon-beob* /hun-bbeoB/ 'constitution', *sang-jang* /sang-jjang/ 'certificate of a prize'. SK morphemes with /k, gg, ss/: *kwae*快, 'energetic', *ggig*喫 'to drink, to smoke', *ssang*雙 'pair', *-ssi* 氏/ssi/ 'Mr, Mrs. Miss, etc.'(an honorific appellation).

In the syllable-final positions of SK morphemes, the kinds of consonants existing are limited to six: *g, b, ng, n, m*, and *r*. Neither are there any of the final double-consonants.

### 3-3. Alternations of Phonemes

Both in NSK and in SK alternation of a phoneme, consisting a part of a certain morpheme, is frequently observed. There are different types of alternations of phonemes:

- i) phonologically-conditioned alternations without exceptions,
- ii) phonologically-conditioned alternations limited to a particular form or forms, and
- iii) alternations by non-phonological reasons.

#### Type 1. *Phonologically-Conditioned Alternations without Exceptions*

To this type belong such phonological phenomena as tensification, assimilations, neutralization, and so on.

##### 1) a tensification

Following unreleased stops, all stops, affricates and sibilants are tensified without exceptions

Ex 10. *gug-bab* / guG-bbaB / 'rice with soup', *gat-da* / gaD-dda / 'to be identical', *ga-ss-da* / gaD-dda / '(One) went.', *ggoc-jip* / ggoD-jjiB / 'flower-shop' etc

##### 2) an assimilation

$g \longrightarrow ng / -m/n$

Ex. 11: *gug-mul* /gung-mul/ 'soup', *gug-min* /gung-min/ 'the people of a nation', *gyeog-nyeon* /gyeong-nyeon/ 'every other year' etc.

##### 3) a neutralization (not present in SK)

d,t,s,ss,j,c → D / -#

Ex 12: *nad* /naD/ 'grain', *nat* /naD/ 'single unit', *nas* /naD/ 'sickle', *nay* /naD/ 'daytime', *nac* /naD/ 'face'

4) avoidance of the liquid in the initial position

Since the liquid /r/ is not phonologically allowed in Korean, the initial /r/ of SK, originated from /l/ in Chinese, is changed into /ϕ/ before a /y/ and /i/, and into /n/ before other vowels

Ex. 13: *ryang-jiri* /yang-jiR/ 'good quality', *u-ryang* /u-ryang/ 'of good quality', *ri-sang* /i-sang/ 'ideal', *do-ri* /do-ri/ 'reason, duty'. *rae-ir* /nae-iR/ 'tomorrow', *i-rae* /i-rae/ 'since', *ro-in* /no-in/ 'old man', *ron-mun* /non-mun/ 'thesis', *i-ron* /i-ron/ 'theory'.

Type 2. *Phonologically-Conditioned Alternations Limited to Certain Forms.*

1) case-suffix morphemes

The initial sounds of the case-suffixes alternate. The alternations are conditioned by the sounds immediately preceding: whether a vowel or a consonant

Ex. 14:	V-	C-
	Nominative - <i>ga</i>	- i
	Accusative - <i>reul</i>	- eul
	Comitative - <i>wa</i>	- gwa
	Dative - <i>e</i> / <i>ye</i> /	- e

2) irregular predicate-stem morphemes

Certain stem-finals alternate conditionally. Compare the following two examples

Ex. 15:		
<i>gub-da</i> /guB-dda/ 'to bake'	<i>gub-da</i> /guB-dda/ 'to be crooked'	
<i>gub-go</i> /guB-ggo/	<i>gub-go</i> /guB-ggo/ 'having been'	
'having baked and ...'	crooked and ...'	
<i>gub-eoseo</i> /gu-weo-seo/	<i>gub-eoseo</i> /gu-beo-seo/	
'having baked'	'having been crooked'	
<i>gub-euni</i> /gu-wu-ni/	<i>gub-euni</i> /gu-beu-ni/	
'as one bakes'	'as one is crooked'	

The stems of the two verbs are the identical *gub-*. But, the stem-final consonant of the left one alternates conditionally: /B/ before a consonant, and /w/ before a vowel, while the stem on the right does not change. Those

of the one on the left are known in Korean grammar as ‘irregular verbs’ and the one on the right, ‘regular’. There are several types of irregular verbs found in Korean

3) final double-consonants

A certain stems possess double consonants in the final position, both of which are realized only when followed by a vowel. Otherwise, one of the two disappears

Ex 16: *anj-da* /an-dda/ ‘to sit down’, *anj-aseo* /an-ja-seo/ ‘having sat down’, *marg-da* /maR-dda/ ‘to be clear’, *marg-aseo* /maR-ga-seo/ ‘having been clear’

Type 3: *Alternations by Non-Phonological Reasons.*

1) a tensification

Following an open syllable, a stop or an affricate is normally voiced (phonologically ‘unchanged’). But, in a certain formations, it becomes tensified. Compare the following examples:

Ex 17: *t-gwa* 二課 /i-gwa/ ‘Lesson 2’; *t-gwa* 二課 /i-ggwa/ ‘Section 2’, *jeong-ga* /jeong-ga/ 政街 ‘world of politicians’; *jeong-ga* /jeong-gga/ 定價 ‘price’, *sa-beob* 司法 /sa-beoB/ ‘administration of justice’ *sa-beob* 私法 /sa-bbeoB/ ‘private law’.

Although alternations are common both in NSK and SK, in SK they are in principle not allowed with the exception of the cases of Type 1 above. The tensified forms of Type 3 are understood as a kind of Type 1 tensification.

The alternations may be properly explained by the conception of ‘morphophoneme’ in the traditional sense, or that of ‘systematic phoneme’ proposed by the transformational grammarians.<sup>9</sup> That is, in order to handle those partially different forms, which the native speakers recognize as variations of the same form, a morphophoneme may be set up for the alternating phoneme. Of the three types of alternations above, the application of the conception of ‘morphophoneme’, for a practical purpose, may be useful for those of Type 2 and Type 3.<sup>10</sup>

9 For a brief introduction to ‘morphophoneme’ and ‘systematic phoneme’, see Hyman(1975), pp 79-82

10 It is noted that the modern Korean orthography does not reflect the alternations belonging to Type 1, with the exception of the “avoidance of initial liquid sound,” and Type 3, but those of Type 2

### 3-4. Contractions

In NSK contractions by the deletions of phonemes are very common. But in SK contractions are not allowed. If a contraction occurs in an SK form, it is no longer considered SK.

Ex. 18. NSK *i a't* > *i yae* > *yae* 'this child'; *mueos-eur* /mu-eo-seuR/ > *mueo-r* /mu-eoR/ > *mweor* /mweoR/ 'What?(accusative).

Ex. 19. SK : *ryug-weor* > *yu-weor* 'June', *sib-weor* > *si-weor* 'October', *jong-yong* > *jo-yong* 'quietness'

The contracted forms *yu*, *si* and *jo*, found in Ex. 19 are not identified as variations of *ryug*, *sib* and *jong* respectively.

## 4. Differences in Morphological Functions between NSK and SK

### 4-1. Syntactic Unit: The Object of a Morphological Investigation

*Morphology* is often defined as "the study of the structure or forms of words." In Korean, however, "the study of the structure or forms of syntactic units" seems to be more proper, instead. The reason is that the concept of 'a word', however ambiguous but in the commonly accepted sense of 'a free form', can be applied only onto nouns and a small number of adverbs. The other 'parts of speech', in the conventional sense, are all bound forms and complexes of morphemes. Therefore, the term 'word' might be misleading if it were used to denote the units with differing functions in a Korean sentence.

A sentence in Korean is made up of a certain number of *syntactic units*, each of which, in turn, consists of *morphemes*. The *grammatical function* of a syntactic unit may be called the *syntactic function* and that of a morpheme within a syntactic unit, the *morphological function*. The two kinds of grammatical functions are clearly distinguished each other, although some of the noun-modifiers display both a syntactic and a morphological functions. The present study is *not* concerned with the syntactic functions.

After all, if a morphological investigation has something to do with the mutual coherences of morphemes in a linguistic unit, in Korean the structure of a syntactic unit is the natural object to look into.

#### 4-2. Conventional Classifications of Morphemes

Morphemes in Korean can be classified in the conventional ways: *free and bound*, *lexical and grammatical*, and *full and empty*

*Free forms* are those that display detectable meanings by themselves and are considered to be 'words'. In Korean free forms are found only among from the noun-roots (nouns) and a small number of predicate-modifiers (adverbs). Morphemes of all other classes are bound. Morphemes making up the roots and root-modifiers, either free or bound, are *lexical forms* and those of root-suffixes, *grammatical forms*. Morphemes with detectable meanings, by themselves or in conjunction with other morphemes, are *full forms* and those without detectable meanings, *empty forms*

Besides, it is useful to classify the Korean morphemes into *unrestricted*, *restricted* and *unique forms*. An unrestricted form can be joined with any form with a suitable morphological function and a suitable meaning, while a restricted form is found with a limited number of morphemes. A unique form is found only in one complex

#### 4-3. Functional Classes of Morphemes

Syntactic units in Korean are classified into four categories: *nominal*, *predicative*, *adjectival* and *adverbial*. A nominal or a predicative unit is composed of at least two morphemes: a root and a *suffix*. The adjectival and adverbial units may consist of single morphemes, i. e., the 'pure' noun-modifiers (adjectives) and predicate-modifiers (adverbs), or complexes of roots and suffixes like the nominal and predicative units

In case a syntactic unit consists of multiple morphemes, it includes one or more *roots* and one or more *suffixes*. The root may be modified by a modifier morpheme, i. e., a 'prefix' in the conventional term. The structure of a syntactic unit, then, can be simplified as follows:

Syntactic Unit  $\longrightarrow$  (M) + (R) + R + (S) + S

M . Modifier

R . Root

S . Suffix

( ) . optional

The minimum requirements of a syntactic unit is a root and a suffix, of which the latter designates the syntactic function of the unit. (See 4. 5. 6. and 4. 5. 7. below.)

There are two classes of morphemes for each of the three categories: *nominal* and *predicative*. Thus, from the point of view of *morphological functions*, there are six classes of morphemes present in Korean.

Categories	Nominal	Predicative
Roots	Noun-Roots	Predicate-Roots
Root-Modifiers	Noun-Modifiers	Predicate-Modifiers
Root-Suffixes	Noun-Suffixes	Predicate-Suffixes

#### 4-4. Categorical Uniformity of the Morphemes in a Syntactic Unit

The component morphemes of a syntactic unit must belong to the same category, either *nominal* or *predicative*. That is, a noun-root is joined with one or more noun-suffixes, which may be modified by a noun-modifier. Also, a predicate-root is followed by one or more predicate-suffixes, which may be preceded by a predicate-modifier. The exceptions against this rule are: 1) all free noun-roots may function as noun-modifiers as well in the formations of complex roots (see 4. 5. 1 below), 2) there are a small number of *restricted* forms that display double functions (see 4. 5. 3 - 4. 5. 5. below), and 3) in case a noun-root is designated a predicative function --or a predicate-root, a nominal function--by a suffix, the latter is of course followed by the suffixes of the category newly admitted.

At any rate, the rule of categorical uniformity is in principle effective. Thus, the formula presented 4. 3. above can be rewritten as follows.

$$\text{Syntactic Unit} \longrightarrow \begin{cases} (\text{NM}) + \text{NR} + (\text{NR}) + \text{NS} + (\text{NS}) \\ (\text{PM}) + \text{PR} + (\text{PR}) + \text{PS} + (\text{PS}) \end{cases}$$

N : Noun, P : Predicate  
R : Root, M : Modifier, S : Suffix

Another uniformity of the classes of morphemes is found in the formations of complex roots. A complex root is composed of, in principle, either only with the forms of Non-Sino-Korean or only with those of Sino-Korean. Thus, the formation of a complex root may be written as follows:

$$\text{Complex Root} \longrightarrow \text{R} + \text{R} + (\text{R}) + \dots \longrightarrow \begin{cases} \text{NSK-R} + \text{NSK-R} + (\text{NSK-R}) \dots \\ \text{SK-R} + \text{SK-R} + (\text{SK-R}) \dots \end{cases}$$

R : Root, NSK : Sino-Korean, SK : Sino-Korean

There are, however, a limited number of SK forms which have been naturalized such a degree that they function as both SK and NSK. (See 4. 6. 2 below)

As is to be discussed below, all SK forms are basically noun-roots with morphological functions quite different from those of NSK forms. Therefore, NSK and SK are sharply differentiated in the formations of complex roots. There are no pure predicate-roots, noun-modifiers and predicate-modifiers found in SK. The root-suffixes do not exist at all in SK. Since the aim of this study is to present the distinctions between NSK and SK morphemes, the classes lacking in SK are not discussed in detail, but briefly mentioned.

#### 4-5. NSK Morphemes

NSK morphemes are found in all of the six classes Morphemes in a class may be further classified *free* and *bound*, *full* and *empty*, and *unrestricted*, *restricted* and *unique*. In principle an NSK morpheme belongs to only a class. Only a limited number of morphemes function two ways. (See 4 5. 1 and 4 5 3 - 4 5 5 below.)

##### 4-5-1 Free Noun-Roots

Free morphemes are found among from the noun-roots and the predicate-modifiers However, not all the noun-roots are free (See 4. 5 2. below.) All free forms are unrestricted

Ex 20 *bab* 'steamed-rice', *bori* 'barley', *ddeog* 'rice-cake', *gogi* 'meat', *gug* 'soup', *so* 'ox,cow', *ssar* 'rice'

All free noun-roots are full forms They may form complex noun-roots with other noun-roots. In that case, a free noun-root may function as a nounmodifier That is, any free noun-root can have the morphological function of a noun-modifier

Ex 21' *bab-ssar* 'rice for steamed-rice', *bori-bab* 'steamed-rice with barley', *ddeog-ssar* 'rice for rice-cake', *gogi-gug* 'meat soup', *so-gogi* 'beaf', *so-gogi-gug* 'beaf soup'.

In the complex roots in Ex 21, all the first forms are regarded to be modifiers of the following forms.

##### 4-5-2. Bound Noun-Roots

The bound noun-roots construct complex roots together with the preceding forms, either noun-roots or noun-modifiers. The bound noun-roots are



classified into three categories: unrestricted, restricted, and unique

The unrestricted forms are preceded by adjectival and, rarely, nominal syntactic units. Because they are felt semi-free with full meanings, the Korean grammarians have named them 'imperfect nouns'. The number of unrestricted noun-roots is relatively small, but their frequencies of occurrences are high

Ex 22: *-bun* 'person'(honorific), *-de* 'place', *-ddae* 'time', *-ddaemun(-e)* 'because of', *-geos* 'thing, matter', *-gos* 'place', *-jjeog* 'time', *-jjog* 'direction'

A small number of restricted noun-roots are found.

Ex 23: *-garyang* 'about (quantity)'. *se-gae-garyang* 'about three items', *baeg-myeong garyang* 'about a hundred persons', *-heui* (plurality). *neo-heui* 'you' (pl.), *jeo-heui* 'we'(pl. deprecative); *-jeu'eum* 'about the time': *i-jeu'eum* 'about this time', *geu-jeu'eum* 'about that time', *-har jeu'eum* 'about the time of doing -'.

Unique noun-roots are rarely found. Three examples are given in Ex 1 above.

#### 4-5-3. Predicate-Roots

All predicate-roots are bound, so that they are necessarily followed by predicate-suffixes to form syntactic units

Ex 24: *ga-* 'to go', *o-* 'to come', *neom-* 'to cross over, to overflow'; *bbargah-* 'to be red', *norah-* 'to be yellow', *joh-* 'to be good'

Formations of complex predicate-roots by the combinations of two or more predicate-roots were historically possible, but not in modern Korean. As a result, a certain predicate-roots have become restricted root-modifiers. In other words, they do not function independently as a predicate-root in modern Korean.

Ex. 25. *na-ga-* 'to go out' (\**na-* 'to go out'), *na-o-* 'to come out', *na-dor-* 'to go about' (*dor-* 'to turn around'); *nae-jjoc-* 'to force out' (\**nae-* 'to take out', *jjoc-* 'to chase'), *nae-mor-* 'to drive out'.

The first forms *na-* and *nae-* in the complex roots were unrestricted roots in the past, but in modern Korean they are restricted to a few complexes.

Normally, to form a complex root with two predicate-roots, the first form must be accompanied by a suffix *-a/eo* or others

Ex 26 *deur-eo-ga-* 'to go inside', *doi-a-bo-* 'to look back', *neom-eo-ga-* 'to go over',

A small number of predicate-roots and noun-roots are identical with comparable meanings. They should be properly treated as different morphemes be-

longing different classes

Ex. 27: *an* 'inside': *an-* 'to embrace'; *bae* 'belly': *bae-* 'to conceive, to be pregnant'; *bis* 'comb': *bis-* 'to comb', *ddi* 'band, belt': *ddi-* 'to belt'; *sin* 'shoes': *sin-* 'to put on shoes or socks'

A certain predicate roots function as noun-to-predicate derivational suffixes. That is, a noun-root becomes a predicate-root with the addition of those predicate-roots. (See 4. 5. 6. below.)

Ex 28: *ɪ-* 'to be'. *saram-ɪ-da* '(One) is a man.', *gat-* 'to be alike': *saram-gat-da* '(One) seems to be a man. '; *ha-* 'to do' *saeng'gag-ha-* 'to think of' (*saeng'gag* 'thinking'), *ir-ha-* 'to work' (*ir* 'work')

#### 4-5-4. Noun-Modifiers

In Korean 'pure', or 'original', noun-modifiers are small in number. The majority of noun-modifiers are derived from other classes. Noun modifiers are bound forms with full meanings. They are classified into unrestricted and restricted. Those unrestricted forms can function as syntactic units by themselves.

Ex 28 Noun-Modifiers Unrestricted: *ɪ-* 'this', *geu-* 'that', *jeo-* 'that', *sae-* 'new', *heon-* 'old, used', *eoneu-* 'which?', *museun-* 'what?'

Ex 29: Noun-Modifiers Restricted: *cam-* 'real, pure': *cam-mar* 'real words', *cam-ggae* 'sesame-seed', *gaj* 'just': *gaj-semur* 'just twenty (years of age)'; *han* 'big, large': *han-gur* 'wide road', *han-sum* 'a deep sigh'; *han-* 'the best of time': *han-yeoreum* 'high summer', *han-naj* 'middle of the day-time'.

#### 4-5-5. Predicate-Modifiers

Predicate-modifiers are also classified into unrestricted and restricted. Unlike noun-modifiers, unrestricted predicate-modifiers are free forms. Therefore, they appear to be freer in grammatical functions. Their basic function is modification of the following predicate, but modification of another modifiers, either noun- or predicate-, and syntactic units are frequently found. On the other hand, the restricted forms are those modifying the conjoined predicate-roots.

Ex. 30. Predicate-Modifiers Unrestricted: *cam* 'really', *deo* 'more', *jar* 'well', *god* 'immediately'

Ex 31: Predicate-Modifiers Restricted: *ci-* (a sense of 'pushing with a force'): *ci-mur-* 'to push up with force' (*mur-* 'to push'), *ci-ddeu-* 'to open up eyes fearfully' (*ddeu-* 'to open [eyes]'), *sae-* (a sense of stroger color): *sae-bbargah-* 'to be deep red' (*bbargah-* 'to be red'), *sae-ggamah-* 'to be jet

black'(ggamah- 'to be black').

#### 4-5-6. Noun-Suffixes

In a traditional Korean grammar, the noun-suffixes are classified to form a part of speech, which is sub-classified into 'cases' and 'special cases'. There have been various discussions on the proper ways of handling the nounsuffixes. The following way of approach is different from others.

In a sentence in Korean, an isolated root or a complex root does not convey a *sentential meaning*, i.e., the meaning of the unit in the context of the sentence.<sup>11</sup> It must be connected with another syntactic unit in order to be 'meaningful'. The inter-connections between the syntactic units are established and defined by the suffixes. (The pure root-modifiers do not need suffixes to display syntactic functions) In other words, the syntactic functions of the roots are designated by the suffixes. Therefore, the suffixes can be primarily classified by the syntactic functions they designate to the roots. There are also found suffixes which add meanings to the roots, but not the syntactic functions. A certain suffixes carry both functions and meanings, while others do not display any meaning but functions only. Therefore, 'meaning' can be another factor to classify the suffixes

The noun-suffixes, then, can be classified as follows:

#### 1) Suffixes of Which Primary Functions are Designation of Syntactic Functions to the Roots:

- i) Nominal-Function Designators : *-i/ga, -eur/reur*
- ii) Adjectival-Function Designators : *-eui*
- iii) Adverbial-Function Designators : *-e, -eseo, -ro, etc*
- iv) Predicate-Function Designators : *-i-, -ha-, -gat-, etc.*

#### 2) Suffixes of Which Primary Functions are Addition of Meanings to the Roots:

- i) honorific sense : *-ggeseo, -gge*
  - ii) topic-marking sense : *-eun/neun*
  - iii) solitary sense : *-man*
  - iv) equality sense : *-do*
- etc. etc

There can be a long discussion regarding the above way of classification. Since it is not the subject of the present study, no more details are given

<sup>11</sup> 'Sentential meaning' should not be confused with the 'grammatical meaning' found in the linguistic books

here. However, a few remarks should be made. The examples, *-i-*, *-ha-* and *-gat-*, in 1)-iv) above are predicate roots by themselves. (See 4. 5. 3. above) They can be attached directly (i. e. without a suffix) to the noun-roots and produce complex verbal roots. That is, they can be understood as *noun-to-verb derivational suffixes* in the traditional sense. However, in the traditional grammars of Korean, they are hardly treated as derivational suffixes, but generally as predicate-adjectives. Out of them, only *-i-* has been often regarded as a suffix of nominal-conjugation or as of a predicative-case. In a way, the Korean grammarians have been preoccupied by the basic conceptions of the terminology, 'case' and 'predicate-root'. For them, it is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine the grammatical functions of a 'case' and 'predicate-root' found in the same form. As long as we stick ourselves to the traditional notion of a 'case', i. e. , something like "a linguistic unit defining the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence," it is indeed hard to treat the predicate-roots as noun-suffixes. One way of overcoming the problem is that presented here. That is, the noun-suffixes in Korean are not viewed as cases, but as *the designators of syntactic-functions*. Then, those predicate-stems found as noun-suffixes can be categorized as 'predicate-function designators' pralleling with those of other syntactic functions.

The noun-suffixes belonging to the second category above, with the exception of the first one, 'honorific sense', are commonly known as 'special case-suffixes', because of their unexpected functions. That is, they are found not only after noun-roots, but also after predicate-modifiers (adverbs) and adverbial syntactic units. They replace the suffixes designating nominal and adjectival functions, but attached to the suffixes designating adverbial functions. This fact suggests that, *the suffixes designating nominal and adjectival functions are pure grammatical forms with little meanings, that can be replaced by those with meanings and, also, frequently omitted. Whereas, those designating adverbial functions carry meanings as well, so that they cannot be replaced or omitted.* A further discussion is needed on this way of understanding the noun-suffixes, but is not presented in this study.

#### 4-5-7 Predicate-Suffixes

The predicate-suffixes can be classified in the same manner as that of noun-suffixes

##### 1) Suffixes of Which Primary Functions are Designation of Syntactic Functions to the Roots

1) Nominal-Function Designators : *-gi, -m*

- ii) Adjectival-Function Designators : *-eur, -eun, -n, -neun*
  - iii) Adverbial-Function Designators : *-a/eo, -ge, -ji, etc.*
  - iv) Predicate-Function Designators : *-da, -yo, -ja', etc.*
- 2) Suffixes of Which Primary Functions are Addition of Meanings to the Roots.
- i) honorific sense : *-si-, -seubm-*
  - ii) past tense : *-(a/eo)ss-*
  - iii) future tense : *-gess-*
  - iv) passive sense : *-hi-, -i-*
- etc. etc.

#### 4-6. SK Morphemes

Whereas an NSK morpheme falls in one of the six functional classes presented 4.3. above, all SK morphemes are basically *noun-roots* with morphological functions quite different from those of NSK noun-roots. The particular functions of SK forms, unknown in NSK, may be properly described as “*adaptations* of the grammatical functions of (Written) Chinese for the morphological structures of Korean.” That is, a characteristic function of the SK forms may have its origin in Chinese, but it is not exactly identical with the latter. Also, it must be remembered that the remnants of the Chinese grammatical features are found only in the morphological formations, never in the syntactic functions.

##### 4-6-1 Distinctions

The outstanding differences between NSK noun-roots and SK forms are as follows:

##### 1) The Noun-Root Nature

From the point of view of morphological function, all SK forms are basically noun-roots. Thus, only the noun-suffixes can immediately follow SK forms. An SK form or a complex of SK forms must be accompanied by a noun-suffix designating the predicative function, in order to constitute a part of a predicative unit. The most frequently appearing noun-suffix designating that function is *-ha-*, which by itself is also an NSK predicate-root in the meaning of ‘to do’. (See 4.5.3 and 4.5.6 above)

Ex. 32. *dab* 答 ‘answer’ *dab-ha-* ‘to answer’, *haeng-bog* 幸福 ‘happiness’ *haeng-bog-ha-* ‘to be happy’; *jeong-ci* 政治 ‘politics’; *jeong-ci-ha-* ‘to do politics’; *myeong-ye* 名譽 ‘honor, fame’; *myeong-ye-rob-* ‘to be honorable’, *hon-jab* 混雜 ‘being in disorder’. *hon-jab-ha-* ‘to be in disorder’ *hon-jab-seureob-* ‘to

be in disorder’.

## 2) Multiple Functions of a Morpheme

Other than the free forms, all the bound-lexical-nominal forms in NSK display one of the two morphological functions, either that of a modified (nominal) or that of a modifier (adjectival). The bound noun-roots presented in Ex. 22 above are always *the modified* and the noun-modifiers in Ex. 28-29 above are always modifiers. An NSK bound-lexical form cannot have both functions

An SK bound form, on the other hand, is found both as a modifier and as a modified in the formations of complex roots. The SK morphemes *gug* ‘nation, country’ and *ga* ‘street’, presented in Ex. 3-4 above, appear as the first elements, i. e. , as the modifiers, in some complexes and as the second elements, i. e. , as the modified, in the others.

This is also true for the SK forms with predicative-nominal functions. A form appears to be something like a verbal-form in a certain SK words, a noun-root in other words and a modifier still in other words, as *Verb Root* + *-ing/-ed* form (*gerund* or *participles* in the traditional senses) in English. (See 2 below, also )

Ex 33: (r)*ib* 立 ‘setting up, standing, establishing’: *gug-rib* 國 | ‘national establishment’ ( ‘nation’ + ‘establishing’), *sa-rib* 私 | ‘private establishment’ ( ‘self individual’ + ‘establishing’), *hwag-rib* 雜 | ‘firm establishment’; *ib-gug* ‘establishing a nation’, *ib-jang* | 場 ‘standing position’ ( ‘standing’ + ‘place’), *ib-an* | 案 ‘drafting’ ( ‘setting up’ + ‘proposal’)

*dae* 大 ‘being large, being big’: *dae-gug* | 國 ‘big country’, *dae-hag* | 學 ‘college’ ( ‘big’ + ‘learning’); *hwag-dae* 擴 | ‘enlargement’ ( ‘enlarging’ + ‘large’), *geo-dae-* 巨 | ‘huge’ (bound); *dae-so* | 小 ‘the large and the small’.

## 3) Verbal-Noun-Roots and the Functional Meanings

In a complex noun-root of NSK, the inter-relations between the member morphemes are either modifier-modified relations (subordinations) or those of equal status (coordinations). In a complex there cannot be a morpheme with a function and meaning of the predicate-verb of the other member(s).

However, in a number of complex noun-roots of SK there are found morphemes with the *functional meanings* of a verbal-noun. They are the readings of the characters, which have the syntactic function of a predicate-verb in Written Chinese, or of which readings in Chinese may have that function in Chinese. The speakers of Korean understand the functional meanings of those forms something like ‘verbal-nouns’ or ‘gerunds’. Also,

remnants of the syntactic structure of Chinese are present in the morphological structure of SK. As a result, such an order seemingly 'Noun + Verb', or 'Verb + Noun', or 'Verb + Adverb', which is unknown in Korean, is found.

Ex 34: *gug-rib* 國立 'national establishment' ('nation' + 'establishing'), *gug-yeong* | 營 'state management' ('nation' + 'managing'); *ib-gug* 入 | 'entering a nation' ('entering' + 'nation'), *ae-gug* 愛 | 'patriotism' ('loving' + 'nation'); *gae-gyo* 開校 'opening of a school' ('opening' + 'school'), *gae-hwa* | 花 'flower blossom' ('opening' + 'flower'), *gae-jang* | 場 'new opening of a place' ('opening' + 'place'), *ib-dang* 入黨 'getting a membership of (a political) party' (lit, 'entering' + 'party'), | 校 *ib-gyo* 'entering school' ('entering' + 'school'), *cug-so* 縮小 'reduction' ('reducing' + 'small'), *yeon-jang* 延長 'extension (of time or a thing)' ('lengthening' + 'long').

#### 4) Bound-Full Noun-Roots, Pseudo-Noun-Roots

Numerous SK bound forms with full meanings are frequently misunderstood by the speakers of Korean as free forms. They may be properly described as 'semantically free but functionally bound'. Many of them are classified even in the dictionaries as 'nouns', i. e., 'free forms'. Some of the examples frequently encountered, especially in the forms of official records, are as follows.

Ex 35: *bu* 父 'father', *mo* 母 'mother', *nyeon* 年 'year', *weor* 月 'month' ('moon'), *ja* 子 'son, children'.

#### 5) Homophonic Morphemes

In the largest dictionary of Chinese characters published in Korea, about 41,000 characters are registered<sup>12</sup> Of course, not all of them are used to write the SK forms. It is generally estimated that about 3,000 characters cover over 95% of the SK forms. In order to write the rest, mostly personal names, about 10,000 additional characters are needed. The total number of characters are classified into about 550 SK syllables.<sup>13</sup> Nearly a hundred of them are those which are readings of the characters created to write native Korean syllabic sounds lacking in SK, such as *gas*, *geos*, *ggeut*, *neuy* and so on, and those which are hardly found in SK and, therefore, not recognized as SK syllables. Therefore, the number of differing syllables practically present in

12. Jang Sam-sig 張三植, *Han-han dae-sa-jeon* 漢韓大辭典

13 The number of SK syllables, i. e., the readings of Chinese characters in Korean vary from one dictionary to another, ranging from about 460 to about 550. In Jang Sam-sig's, 551 kinds of syllables are registered.

SK is some 450.

Since thousands of characters are represented by about 450 syllables, there are naturally many homophonic forms represented by a syllable. For example, syllable *ga* represents such characters as 家 'house, a professional', 價 'price', 可 'being right', 加 'adding', 假 'being false', 街 'street', 歌 'song', 暇 'leisure' 嘉 'being good' and so on; and syllable *sa*, 社 'company', 事 'affairs, matters', 思 'thought', 四 'four', 士 'gentleman, officer', 使 'messenger', 史 'history', 沙 'sand', 師 'teacher', 死 'death', 絲 'thread', 私 'private', 寺 'temple' and so on, all of which are not rarely found in SK words. (The meanings given to the characters are those the most frequently conveyed in Modern Korean)

Furthermore, a syllable representing the reading of a single character often denotes more than a single meaning. For example, the syllable *ja* representing the reading of the character 子 conveys the different meanings as follows.

Ex 36.

i) 'son' : *ja-son* 子孫 'descendants' ('son and grandson'), *ja-nyeo* 女 'siblings' ('son and daughter'), *jang-ja* 長 'the eldest son' ('big son'), *ceo-ja* 妻 'wife and son' (id);

ii) 'sage': *Gong-ja* 孔 'Confucius', *Maeng-ja* 孟 'Mencius', *No-ja* 老 'Lao-tzu',

iii) an empty form adopted from colloquial Chinese particle : *nam-ja* 男 'man', *yeo-ja* 女 'woman', *eui-ja* 椅 'chair', *mo-ja* 帽 'hat', *i-ja* 利 'interest', *gwa-ja* 菓 'cooky' and so on.

#### 6) SK Morphemes, the Sememic Units

The above five features are the most outstanding characteristics of SK morphemes, which are lacking in NSK. Because of the very existence of such features, classification of NSK and SK morphemes on the same basis is difficult, if not impossible at all. And, such a classification might not be very useful for the understanding of the morphological structures of Korean

As was discussed in the sections under 4. 5. above, an NSK morpheme carries *basically a single morphological function* by which it can be classified into one of the six classes. It may have a constant meaning, but the meaning is not the primary factor for its categorization.

An SK morpheme, on the other hand, displays *basically multiple functions*. Moreover, the syllabic unit representing the reading of the same character frequently conveys differing senses, not to mention the homo-



phonic syllables representing different characters.

Therefore, an SK morpheme must be set up primarily on the ground of the sememe, i. e. , the identical meaning shared by the functionally different units (See Ex. 34-35, above.)

#### 4-6-2. A Classification

As mentioned above, all SK morphemes are basically nominal. However, they may be classified into three classes largely based upon the functional meanings, which are related with those in Chinese and which the native Koreans identify. The three classes are:

- 1) Nominal Forms,
- 2) Predicative-Nominal Forms, and
- 3) Modificatory-Nominal Forms.

In each class there are morphemes that have been naturalized. That is, there are SK forms which function both as SK and NSK.

#### 4-6-3. Free Nominal Forms, Free Noun-Roots

SK morphemes are basically bound. However, a limited number of SK forms (about a hundred) are free. They are those of which the comparable meanings are not found in native Korean free forms. That is, if a native free form with the same meaning exists, the SK form is bound and if not exist, the SK form is free.

Ex 37.

NSK	SK	Meaning
<i>haneul (F)</i>	<i>ceon (B)</i>	'heaven, sky'
<i>ddang (F)</i>	<i>ji (B)</i>	'the earth, ground'
<i>abeoji (F)</i>	<i>bu (B)</i>	'father'
<i>eomeoni (F)</i>	<i>mo (B)</i>	'mother'
<i>nara (F)</i>	<i>gug (B)</i>	'nation, state'
<i>ggoc (F)</i>	<i>hwa (B)</i>	'flower'
<i>saram (F)</i>	<i>in (B)</i>	'man, person'
<i>hana (F)</i>	<i>ir (B)</i>	'one'
<i>dur (F)</i>	<i>i (B)</i>	'two'
<i>ses (F)</i>	<i>sam (B)</i>	'three'
<i>X</i>	<i>baeg (F)</i>	'hundred'
<i>X</i>	<i>ceon (F)</i>	'thousand'
<i>X</i>	<i>beob (F)</i>	'law'
<i>X</i>	<i>byeong (F)</i>	'bottle'

X	<i>byeong</i> (F)	'disease'
X	<i>caeg</i> (F)	'book'
X	<i>cang</i> (F)	'window'
X	<i>deog</i> (F)	'virtue'
X	<i>deung</i> (F)	'lantern, lamp'
X	<i>mun</i> (F)	'door'

X . non-existence, B . bound form, F . free form

The SK free forms are naturalized to the extent that they function like any other NSK free forms. That is, they are not affected by the second 'rule of uniformity' described 4. 4 above. In other words, they can form complex roots not only with SK forms but also with NSK forms.

Ex. 38:

SK Free Forms	Complexes with SK	Complexes with NSK
<i>caeg</i> 'book'	<i>caeg-pyo-ji</i> 'book-cover'	<i>caeg-ddu'ggeong</i> 'book-cover'
	<i>ir-gi-caeg</i> 'diary book'	<i>iyagi-caeg</i> 'story book'
<i>cang</i> 'window'	<i>cang-mun</i> 'window'	<i>cang-sar</i> 'window-frame'
	<i>yu-ri-cang</i> 'glass-window'	<i>gyeob-cang</i> 'double-window'
<i>byeong</i> 'disease'	<i>byeong-dong</i> 'ward'	<i>byeong-arh-t</i> 'being ill'
	<i>pye-byeong</i> 'lung-disease'	<i>nun-byeong</i> 'eye-disease'

4-6-4. Bound Nominal Forms, Bound Noun-Roots

Bound nominal forms are the most typical and the most numerous SK morphemes (See Ex. 37 and elsewhere above.) Among them there are found a limited number of naturalized forms which function like the NSK bound noun-roots presented in 4 5. 2. above. They are frequently found among the classifiers

Ex 39. *-gae* 個 'item', *-si* 時 'o'clock', *-ceung* 層 'story, floor (of a building)', *-dong* 棟 'building'.

All the above classifiers may be preceded by the adjectival forms (i. e. , noun-modifiers) of native numerals, i. e. , *han-*, *du-*, *se-ne-*, etc. , or by SK numerals, *ir*, *i*, *sam*, *sa*, etc. However, the meanings expressed are often

different each other.

Ex 40:

With NSK Numerals	With SK Numerals
<i>han-gae</i> 'one item'	<i>ir-gae</i> '(merely) one of (many)'
<i>han-si</i> 'one o'clock'	<i>ir-si(-e)</i> '(at) one time'
<i>du-ceung</i> 'two-story (building)'	<i>i-ceung</i> 'the second floor'
<i>se-dong</i> 'three buildings'	<i>sam-dong</i> 'Building No 3'

Examples of complex noun-roots with the above SK morphemes are as follows:

Ex 41: *byeor-gae* 別個 'another, different', *gae-in* 個人 'individual', *gae-seong* 個性 'individual character, personality'; *han-si* 限時 'limited time', *si-gan* 時間 'hour', *gye-ceung* 階層 '(social) hierarchical classes', *ceung-gye* 層階 'stairway', etc

#### 4-6-5 Predicative-Nominal Forms

As mentioned in 4. 6. 1. /3) above, the existence of the *functional meaning* of a predicative sense in the morphological structure in Korean is a remnant of the grammatical features of Chinese. The functional meanings of those forms are not clearly realizable in Korean, but may be understood by the following types: (NF: nominal form, PNF: predicative-nominal form, MNF: modificatory-nominal form)

- 1) NF + PNF . NF is the subject of PNF. (rare)
- 2) PNF + NF . NF is the object of PNF.
- 3) " " . PNF modifies NF
- 4) PNF + MNF or MNF + PNF : MNF modifies PNF
- 5) PNF + PNF . Meanings of both forms are involved.

Ex. 41: Type 1): *gug-rib* 國立 'national establishment' ('nation' + 'establishing'), *gug-yeong* | 營 'state-owened' ('nation' + 'managing'); *sa-rib* 私立 'private establishment' ('private' + 'founding'), *sa-seor* | 設 'private establishment' ('private' + 'establishing'), *sa-yong* | 用 'private use, non-public use' ('private' + 'using'). .

Type 2): *geon-gug* 建國 'mauguaration of a nation' ('constructing' + 'nation'), *ib-gug* 入 | 'entering a nation' ('entering' + 'nation'), *ae-gug* 愛 | 'patriotism' ('loving' + 'nation'); *gae-gyo* 開校 'opening of a school' ('opening' + 'school'), *gae-hwa* | 花 'flower blossom' ('opening' + 'flower'), *gae-jang* | 場 'new opening of a place' ('opening' + 'place'), *ib-dang* 入黨 'joining a (political) party' ('entering' + 'party'), *ib-weon* 入院 'hospitalization' ('entering' +

(hospital) institution')

Type 3) *dae-gug* 大國 'big country' ('being big' + 'nation'), *so-gug* 小國 'small country' ('being small' + 'country'), *jeong-ga* 定價 'regular price' ('deciding' + 'price')

Type 4). *coe-dae-* 最大 'the biggest' ('the most' + 'being big), *coe-so-* | 小 'the smallest' ('the most' + 'being small'), *coe-sin* | 新 'the newest' ('the most' + 'new'), *gi-seong-* 既成 'already established' ('already' + 'completing'), *gi-hon* 既婚 'married' ('already' + 'marrying'), *gi-jon* | 存 'already existing' ('already' + 'existing'),

Type 5). *dae-so* 大小 'big and small' ('being big' and 'being small'), *geon-seor* 建設 'construction' ('constructing' + 'installing'), *cur-ib* 出入 'going in and out' ('going out' + 'coming in'), *gae-tong* 開通 'opening to traffic' ('opening' + 'going through'), *gae-si* 開始 'opening, beginning' ('opening' + 'beginning')

#### 4-6-6. Modificatory-Nominal Forms

Any SK form can be a modifier of another form in a complex root formation. Especially those of predicative-nominal forms convey frequently modificatory functions (See 4. 6 5 above.) However, there are a small number of SK forms which appear almost always as modifiers. They were modifiers in Written Chinese and the corresponding Korean forms are modifiers also

Ex 42. *coe* 最 'the most': (See Type 4 in Ex. 41 above); *gi* 既 'already' (See Type 4 in Ex 41 above), *gag* 各 'each': *gag-ja* | 者 'each person, each one' ('each' + 'person'), *gag-gag* | | 'each other', *gag-gug* | 國 'each country'; *jae* 再 're-, again': *jae-hon* | 婚 're-marrage', *jae-hoe* | 會 're-union, meeting again', *jae-saeng* 're-birth'.

#### 4-6-7 Quasi-Modifiers and Quasi-Suffixes

Korean grammarians are often vacillated by some of the SK forms frequently encountered, which look like prefixes and suffixes. In many grammars of Korean, they are treated as productive prefixes and suffixes. Examples are as follows:

Ex 43: *Prefix-Like*: *bur* 不. (negative sense) *bur-ga* | 可 'unacceptable', *bur-ga-neung* | 可能 'unable', *bur-myeong-hwag* | 明確 'unclear'; *bi* 非 (negative sense) *bi-neung-ryur-jeog* | 能率的 'inefficient', *bi-saeng-san-jeog* | 生產的 'unproductive'; *mu* 無 (a sense of 'non-existence'): *mu-seon* | 線 'wireless', *mu-yong* | 用 'useless', *mu-eu-sig* | 意識 'unconsciousness', *cong* 總 (a sense of

'total, all together'). *cong-ryeog* | 力 'total energy', *cong-hwa* | 和 'total harmony', *cong-dong-weon* | 動員 'total mobilization', etc

Suffix Like. *jeog* 的 (adjectival). *gong-jeog* | 公 | 'official, public', *sa-jeog* 私 | 'private', *jeong-sin-jeog* 精神 | 'spiritual'; *hwa* 化 (a sense of '-zation'). *dong-hwa* 同 | 'assimilation', *hyeon-dae-hwa* 現代 | 'modernization', etc

The above forms are frequently misunderstood as prefixes and suffixes in Korean, but they are not. They are not different at all from the other typical SK forms. They are not the assimilated forms which can function as NSK as well, nor are they the modificatory SK forms which function as modifiers only. The only difference is that they occur frequently in Modern Korean

### Conclusion

SK constitutes a major part of the Korean language. The SK forms are, however, quite different from those of NSK in their phonological formations and morphological functions. Therefore, for an effective description of the morphological parts of the Korean grammar, it is necessary to handle the two distinctive classes separately.

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