Generation and Decay of New Words

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1. Foreword

Words change constantly. Sounds of individual words change and when enough of these sound change have accumulated, we witness the entire phonetic system going through a transformation which may also entail a transformation of the grammatical system itself. Change in vocabulary is more noticeable than change in any other aspects of language. While changes in phonetic and grammatical systems are slow, change in vocabulary occurs very rapidly. Words change more markedly in a society such as that of present day Korea, where knowledge increases so explosively and the influence of foreign culture and civilization seems neither controllable nor resistable. Social conditions of contemporary Korea, where phenomenal changes have taken place in society's very structure, have been conducive to rapid and wide-ranging vocabulary change. As society is exposed to new thoughts and knowledge becomes segmented, demand for new words will grow. At the same time, certain systems, thoughts, and things will die out and the words which were used to designate them will disappear as well.

A rapid change in vocabulary entails many problems. First of all, there is the confusion often caused by the intrusion of foreign words that accompany the ideas and objects imported from abroad. Such foreign words are initially incorporated into the indigenous language as loan words but will settle more stably into the language in time. In this process, however, the new words are apt to cause confusion and communication difficulty and to destroy the aesthetic appeal of the

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language. When a country is exposed to political or cultural influences from more than one foreign country, as ours is, the resulting loan words are likely to bring about more confusion and misunderstanding than if a country is subjected to foreign influence from one source only. New words are created within the indigenous language as the need for them arises. What seems significant here is the fact that the problem we face here are similar to those which arise when foreign words are integrated into the language. This situation becomes more marked when a need for inventing new professional or technical words arises. When this happens the need for restoring old/native words or expressions for the sake of purifying the national language becomes more acute. That is, a considerable amount of confusion, discomfort and communicative difficulty is likely to accompany any of these efforts. Therefore, what is there to be done so that the new words created for useful purposes may be accepted and obtain life without too much resistance or inconvenience on the part of the speaking public? What materials should be used and what methods adopted? How should the newly created words be put into circulation once the alteration or purification work has been completed?

It is in light of these issues that we feel a need to promote an understanding of the underlying causes for the creation of new words, the structure of existing new words as well as their chance for obtaining general acceptance.

2. What are ‘new words’?

We will first examine what is meant by new words.

New words include words that have been newly made to represent objects and ideas that already existed or have just come into existence; already existing words that have taken on a new meaning, and loanwords that are borrowed from other languages when ideas and objects are imported from abroad.

Words may be created to describe things and ideas that did not exist before. But new words may also be created to replace certain words that have come to lose intensity or freshness of meaning. In the latter case, we may say that new words are made in order to fortify and refresh the meaning. After the Liberation from the Japanese Occupation, many new words were created in order to purify the national language.

Words that have been added to the vocabulary out of the need to describe new things and ideas newly introduced are too numerous to list. These include all words and those that are new at present. We find some good examples of the words of this group among the words added to Korean vocabulary around the Enlightenment
Period (Late Yi Dynasty Period), which brought many of the influences by western rationalism into national life. Some of the new words were fashioned with native materials while others were borrowed from Japan or China. The following is a list of some of the new words introduced during this period:

yang-eun (aluminum), yangdan (silk), yangmal (socks), yangdong-ı (bucket), yangbaech’u (cabbage), yangsan (parasol), yang-hoe (cement), yang-ok (western style house), etc.

jarahwa (automatic fire bringer)(gas), wonjogyöng (far-lighting mirror)(telescope), yusönggi (voice retaining machine)(phonograph), hwaltongsa Jin (moving photographs)(movies), hwaryunsŏn (fire wheel boat)(steamboat), ch’ölhwan (iron ball)(bullet), sŏjokko (book storage)(library), yukhyŏlpo (six-hole gun)(pistol), inshnhak(study of human body)(physiology), setaehak (study of the times)(sociology), etc.

Out of the words in the second list, words such as ‘jarahwa, yukhyŏlpo, inshnhak, setaehak,’ changed to ‘ggasū (Korean phoneticization of ‘gas’), mangwongyong, chuk-eumgi, yonghwa, kison, tanhwan, tŏsogwan, kwonchong, saengrihak, sahoehak,’ are considerably more accurate and polished descriptions for the objects for which the words were made or borrowed. These are also the words that are currently used in the standard Korean vocabulary. Most of these words, however, originally came from Japan and they were accepted into Korean lexical system without resistance because Korea made its contacts with western culture and civilization through Japan.

Christianity came to Korea from the outside and, as a result, all the words relating to it are new words. ‘pokūm (gospel), hoegae (repentance), serye (baptism), yebae (service), kyohoe (church), sŏngbu (Holy Father), moksa (minister), jangro (elder), sŏngyo (teaching of gospel), etc.’ are all completely new words from the point of view of the Korean lexicon.

Another prominent group of new words are those that came into being as some old words were modernized, which mainly took place in the form of abridgement combined with concentration. Some examples of this group are:

kananhnanhe (year of poverty)———hyungnyŏn
kamyonhnae (year of fertility)———pungmyŏng
kananhnbaram (soft wind or breeze)———mipung

1 The prefix ‘yang’ in these words is abbreviation of ‘sŏyang (the West).’
2 The meanings given in the first parentheses are the literal translations of the Chinese characters that form the words.
‘Yŏnggann’ originally referred to government high officials. Currently, the word is used to signify old men after late middle ages. This is a case of unchanged form but changed meaning. A similar instance is the semantic transformation in such words as ‘yangban,’ ‘hayŏmŏpta or hanmi lifts.’ These words originally meant civil and military government officials and the class to which they belonged, however, now they are simply upperclass’ ‘Hayŏmŏpta which originally meant ‘having nothing to do’ came to mean ‘having no head to think because of too much worry.’ Likewise, ‘kwahajanihada’ and ‘jŏmjanihada meaning ‘not precious’ and ‘not young’ were condensed to ‘kwich’ant’a’ and ‘jŏmjanta’ meaning ‘bothersome’ and ‘demure, respectable,’ respectively.

If we classify the new words by the base from which they are formed, we find there are: words that have entire new roots and words which build on the roots of already existing words.

Among the new words that have been made out of already existing words, complex words and derivatives which come from a new combination of the roots, stems or affixes of old words are the most numerous. Other new words result from abridgement, contraction, alteration of parts of speech, or inversion. Also there are the loanwords.

It is not frequent that brand new words come into being. And even the very small proportion that these occupy in total amassment of new words is made up of either onomatopoeicas or imitative words. During the Korean War, the Koreans saw the American jet fighter for the first time. It was faster than any airplane that had ever flown in Korean skies and it seemed to disappear from sight in seconds making a sound that went ‘ssaecck ssaecck.’ So Koreans named it ‘ssaecck-ssaecck-i.’ When the sailboats or the ferns that used to be rowed with oars came to be powered by motors, they changed not only in shape and scale but also in the sound they emitted when moving. Imitating this sound, Koreans called the boats ‘ttokttak-i’ ‘ttokttaksŏn,’ or ‘tongtong-bae’ (‘bae’ meaning ‘boat’) ‘kkakttuk-i (hot turnip pickle)’ also belongs to this group. The word derives from the sound that is produced when the knife cuts a turnip on the cutting block. ‘-i’ in ‘ssaessaek-i’ ‘kkakttuk-i’ or ‘ttokttak-i’ is an affix that had already existed but ‘ssaeksaek,’ ‘ttokttak, etc’ are new onomatopoeic words. ‘oppa (older brother)’ is a new word that is neither onomatopoeic nor imitative.

Complex words and derivatives that are made by synthesizing old words take up the greatest portion of the entire new word output, and they are also the most constructive. This phenomenon is common to all languages. ‘pulkogi (barbecued beef), karakkuksu (noodles), han’gŭl (Korean alphabet), natmal (vocabulary), etc.’
are new words made through the compound rule, while ‘t’ongjorim (canned food),’ is an example of a complex word through the derivational rule. Two different words ‘jorim (cooking)’ and ‘tong (can, box or other types of containers)’ can be effectively combined to make a new word. ‘match’umbob’ is a combination of ‘match’un (fitting)’ and ‘pob (law, rule)’ by the derivational rule, and ‘sontopaggagi’ is the synthesis of ‘sontopaggagda (to cut the nails) and the affix ‘-i’ by the derivational law. ‘appa (daddy)’ is thought to have derived from ‘ap.’

In this category, we must note, belong most of the words that have been and are being made of combinations of Chinese characters. Since each syllable in Chinese character words is a separate and independent morpheme, Chinese words that are made by combining more than two characters are to be called complex words whether the combination is achieved syntactically or non-syntactically.

‘huk-baek (black and white), nam-buk (south and north), suji (income and expenditure)’ are, of course, unmistakable example of complex words where two component words have equal semantic weight. But even those words such as ‘wolsok (moon rock), wol-in (moon man), or woljin (moon dust)’ in which the components is subjugated to the other and also words such as ‘sonsaeng (teacher), sakon (event), or tongsaeng (younger brother)’ in which the components are so closely linked with each other that separate component characters no longer maintain their meanings as independent words, being made by the compound rule in their formative process.

‘Mama’ is a word that originally referred to a noble personage, but now it is used to mean ‘smallpox.’ Of course even now in old classics or in some other comparable contexts, the word still retains its original meaning, but in the general modern usage, the last meaning prevailed. So, ‘mama’ is a new word in the present day Korean lexicon meaning ‘small pox.’ ‘kkum (dream)’ is a case in which not a complete but a partial semantic transformation has taken place. Instead of losing its original meaning, it has now come to mean ‘hope’ as well as ‘dream’. Although its usage in the second sense may be considered only figurative, the word ‘ggum’ fullfills the function of a new word when used in such phrases as ‘kkum’i kuda (having a big dream or being ambitious)’ or ‘kkum’il kajora (you should have an ambition),’ where the meaning is quite different from the original ‘dream’. These examples show how already existing words can take on new meaning in addition to their original ones.

As mentioned in the above, ‘kwihajianihada, jomjianhada’ contracted to ‘kwich’anta, jomjanta’, and in the process, they came to acquire entire new meanings. ‘kyongje’ (economy) and ‘suji’ (profit) are contractions of the original
‘kyôngsejemun’ (to rule the world and save the people) and ‘suipjich’ul (income and expenses)’ and came to have radically different new meaning as their forms changed.

Lately, we have seen the appearance of such new expressions as ‘jônjanülburida’ or ‘jônjanülppaenda.’ ‘jônjan’ in these phrases is presumably derived from ‘jônjanhada (jomjan+hada),’ a wrong analysis of the expression ‘jômjanta (not young)’ which is properly the contracted form of ‘jômjiñihada.’ ‘yanjôn’ in such phrases as ‘yanjônültaonda’ or ‘yanjônül ppaenda’ (acting prim or demure) is also a word like ‘jônjan’ which was brought about by inversion.

Loanwords that are borrowed from foreign languages constitute a large category of new words. Among them are such as ‘mal (horse), mok (Chinese ink), kudu (shoes), nampo (lamp), tambac (tobacco) etc.,’ that have become completely native words and are used without any consciousness on the part of the user of their foreign origins. Also such words as ‘kuyökil (nausea), banch’an (side dish), etc.,’ are being used as naturally as if they had been originally native words. ‘demo (demonstration), infle (inflation), date, onepiece (meaning women’s dress of western style), announcer, seminar, dial, lens, page, etc.,’ are examples of loanwords which the user is conscious of as being of foreign origin but can use without any resistance or discomfort. The position of these words in the standard Korean lexicon is as secure as that of original Korean words. ‘Vacance, trouble, trick, number, musical show, leader, test, arbit, rival, cost, volume, gap, etc.,’ belong to the category of words which the use cannot employ without being conscious of their foreign origins and which have not yet settled comfortably into the Korean lexicon as yet.

New words are made either spontaneously by the speaking public by the same language policy administered by the government or by some other programmatic efforts with public aim. The spontaneously made words include those that arise from an actual need to describe new objects and those that are created through people’s desire for fresh expressions to replace existing words whose expression has become stale.

The materials in Korea used in policy or program-oriented word-making are usually the purely Korean words or words of Chinese origin that have become so naturalized that they are not felt to have come from a foreign source. The words that are spontaneously created, on the other hand, draw freely upon Korean, Chinese, and western sources.

Thus the new words produced either win acceptance, become valid Korean words and fall into disuse after a short life, or fail to win people’s support from the
beginning and die out without really having come into circulation at all. Words that are used only for a short time and then die out are usually those favoured by a specific social class.

When these words do not succeed in spreading into other social strata, they are bound to die out.

‘Han’gül (Korean alphabet), tanpatjuk (sweet red bean gruel), karakkusu, tōpbap (Japanese style seasoned rice), etc.’ are examples of the programmed word-making that have succeeded in securing stability in the Korean lexicon while ‘tōtsem (addition), bbaelsem (detraction), banjūn (radius), jūn (diameter), etc’ are new words that have been accepted mostly by younger generation Koreans. ‘pulgogi, kudutakki (shoeshine boy), shinmunpali (newspaper peddler), appa, konghae (air pollution), bankott(half-length coat), obasens (oversensitive), etc.’ are examples of new words that have been made without the aid of any program but have succeeded in gaining acceptance. To this group belong purely Korean words, loanwords as well as words that are syntheses of both Korean and foreign materials.

I have so far attempted to present a definition of new words, and to describe the process which produces them. New words include those in which the roots themselves are newly created, those that utilize existing words, and those that are borrowed from foreign words. I have already noted the fact that among the words that are made from existing words some are made through a new combination, some through an alteration of meaning, and some through abridgement or contraction. I have also mentioned the fact that new words are divided into two categories, those that are made spontaneously and those that are made artificially as part of a program.

3. The Structure of Korean Words

In order to understand how new words are made in Korea and how they fared afterwards, we need first to know the structure of Korean words. The new words are mostly complex words or derivatives. Without comprehending the rules that govern word formation, we cannot possibly perceive how some words succeed in obtaining life while others fail to do so.

We will briefly survey the rules of word formation in Korean language. My purpose here, however, is not to study the rules of word-making in themselves, in my analysis of derivatives or complex words, I will merely differentiate complex words from derivatives on the basis of a primary structural analysis.

When more than two roots or stems are combined to make a word, we call it a
complex word. There are two structures governing the coinage of complex words: syntactic structure, syntactic complex word and nonsyntactic structure, nonsyntactic complex word.

We will now study the structures of the syntactic and nonsyntactic complex words separately.  

(1) Complex Word

i. Syntactic Complex Word

Syntactic Complex Words constitute the major part of the entire output of complex of formation and most of these are indeclinable or declinable complex words, but some are adverbial or adjectival complex words.

a. Indeclinable Complex Word (noun + noun)

This is a case in which two nouns combine to make a complex word. This sometimes occurs through a combination of two nouns of equal weight and sometimes in a combination of two nouns of the modifying and modified relationship.

‘tong-ova (feces and urine), so-twaen (cow and pig), bannat(night and day), etc.’ are the examples of complex words in which the nouns are of equal weight. In such a case, sound changes sometimes occur. For example, ‘kkamagwi = kkachi (crow = magpie) becomes ‘kkamagkkachi’ and ‘mal + so(horse + cow) comes to be pronounced ‘maso.’

Examples of the complex words in which components are combined not in equal capacity but in the relation of ‘modifying’ and ‘modified’ are ‘mulkko (water current), san-ullim (mountain echo), tol-dan (stone bridge), kajuk-tti (leather belt), kyejip-jong (female slave), mōritmal (foreword), etc.’ Among these, such a word as ‘mōritmal (mōritmal)’ obtains ‘saitori(in-between sound).’ That is, the complex word that is formed by a combination of two words, ‘mōri (head)’ and ‘mal (word),’ gains a new sound ‘t’. Some complex words are triply combined as in the case of ‘bal jaeboingk’il (sewing machine operated by the foot). The complex words tend to have a meaning which is not always easily guessed from the meanings of the component words. A good example is such a word as ‘mul-kae (water + dog) (seal).’

‘soekogi (or so-ūi-kogi) (beef), nun-ūi-kashi (splitter in the eye—something irritating), je-nun-ūi-angyong (one’s own eyeglasses—that each person has his own taste), etc.’ are examples of the complex words that are combined with the auxiliary

3 I have followed in this ‘Hō Ung’s system’
word ‘ūn’ as a medial.

Syntactic indeclinable complex words are very productive ‘jip-bidulgi (house-pigeon), jip-twijim (house-ransacking), jip-saram (house-person-an appellation for ‘wife’ used by the husband), jip-tō (house site), toljip (stone house), sonsure (cart pulled by the hand), sonsukōn (handkerchief), sonjigap (purse), are examples of the numerous complex words that belong to this group. The first words ‘jip (house), tol (stone), son (hand)’ in the examples have almost turned to prefixes, and indeclinable complex words of these kinds can be made nearly indefinitely.

b. Indeclinable complex words (adjective + noun)

‘ígot, jógot, kígot (this, that, it), saema-üll (new village—the name was made to promote a community spirit among residents of different districts in Korea), saehae (new year), isüng (this world), jósüng (the other world), jagunjip (small house—the house of younger brother) känjip (big house—the house of older brother), etc’ are examples of either of indeclinable complex words (adjective + noun) or of indeclinable forms of declinable word + noun complex. The complex words that belong to this group are characterized by the fact that they acquire a new meaning after the compounding.

c. adverb + noun

‘makkal-i (rough plowing), or ‘magu-jabi (acting without discrimination, picking without choosing)’ show how the adverb ‘a (roughly)’ can combine with the verbs ‘kalda (plow)’ and ‘jabta (pick, hold)’ and make derivative nouns.

d. adverb + adverb—noun

‘jalmot (something wrong)’ or ‘jal-jalmot (right and wrong)’ are words that belong to this group.

e. declinable word + declinable word

‘piń-mökda (beg), tolakada (return), naoda (come out), jinakada (pass), ollakada (climb or go up), naeryökada (climb down or go down), il’ösöda (stand up), jilmöjida (shoulder, put on the back), kolokada (walk, walk away), etc.’ are all examples of the complex words of this group. We can see that many of the words in the examples have the suffix ‘ō’ as a medial. Among these words, there are many such as ‘tolakada’ which acquire a new third meaning by the compounding. ‘julöjida, tölöjinda, kköjida (decrease, fall, extinguish respectively)’ are the end becomes a complementary declinable word.

f. adverb + declinable word

‘karojirūda, jalhada, majusöda (cross, do well, stand opposite to each other)’ are

4 See Lee Ik-sōp for analyses of complex words with -jahn, -daggii, -sati, etc (1966)
cases of complex words in which declinable words are combined with modifying to form new words.

**g. indeclinable word + declinable word**

‘kapọpta, mat-itta, pitnada, suọpta, ggụọpta, ggụnada (worthless, tasty, shine, numerous, limitless, end), etc.’ are examples of subject + predicate combination complex words.

‘jang-gađölđa, shijjipkada, bótsamda, bonbadda (marry a woman, marry a man, befriend, emulate), etc’ are complex words that are formed by object + transitive verb’ combination through syntactic structuring. ‘apsọda (walk ahead), twisọda (walk behind), ggotkatda (being like a flower), etc.’ are examples of adverb + declinable word combination complex words that are formed through syntactic structuring.

In addition to the cases we have so far perused, we have instances of complex words such as adverbs ‘ssonsalgach’i (like an arrow that has been shot), nalmada (every single day), tansume (in one breath), tumaọpsi(without a second word) etc’ or indeclinable adjectives like ‘ongat (all kinds of)’ which are formed through various patterns of syntactic structuring.

**ii. Nonsyntactic Complex Words**

Nonsyntactic complex words are a major part of the stock of new words added to Korean vocabulary. Although less numerous than syntactic complex words and not as productive, nonsyntactic complex words are noteworthy for the fact that they are devised specifically to designate things that are new to the culture.

Of declinable words, we can mention ‘orinaerida(go up and down), yọdadda (open and close) etc.’ as examples of the complex words in which two roots first word modify the second.

Of indeclinable words in this group, we may mention the fact that such words as ‘kkọksoe, kambal, mukbat, nụtjam, nụtọwi (clamp, foot-wraper, vegetable field that has been neglected, late sleep, hot weather occurring late in the season), etc.’ in which two roots are combined, but in a way which cannot be explained syntactically There are also such combinations between roots and indeclinable words as we can see in ‘busụbi (drizzle), sandụlbaram (soft wind), jọllumba’i (driple), họltụkkogae (a hill one climbs in short breaths), etc.’

There are adverbial complex words in which two similar adverbs are combined to make one word. Examples are ‘joeda (all), nụlsang (always), kotjal (quite well) and also those which are repetitions of two identical adverbs such as ‘madi madi (word by word), kadak kadak (strand by strand).’

There are also indeclinable complex words that are combinations of adverb of
adverb and indeclinable word. Examples are ‘honjatmal (talk to oneself), saljakkombo (one who is slightly pock-marked), etc.’ This group of adverb + indeclinable word complex word also cannot be explained syntactically.

(2) Derivatives

Although the infiltration of Chinese characters into Korean language diminished the role of the derivative law in terms of word-making, there are still prefixes and suffixes that are considerably productive and the importance of the role of the derivative law is well acknowledged. It is true there are no infixes in the Korean language, but the prefixes and suffixes themselves are notably active in the making of new words. We will examine below some of the more productive affixes.

i. Prefixes

mat—matboli(husband and wife earning living expenses together), matjol(bowling from both sides), matyok (cursing each other), matjanggu (agreeing with another)

tot—totmun (outer door), totshin (overshoes), totboson (oversocks), totjogori (over-jacket), totipta (putting on one piece of clothing over another), totputchida (adding something).

put—p'utkam (fresh or unripe persimmon), p'utkochu (green pepper), p'utkwail (fruit that comes out early in the season), p'utk'ong (fresh beans).

kun—kunshikkul (extra persons at the meal table), kunkotjil (food one eats aside from main meals), kunsal (extra flesh or fat that one has put on), kundarimijil (unnecessary ironing).

han—hankobi (one spell), hanbok'an (the very middle of the street, square, room, etc.), hanbam (the middle of the night), etc.

bot—botkollum (taking a walk or taking trouble without fruitful result), botkot (unnecessary thing), botkich'un (coughing), hot-usum (empty laugh), hottoeda (turning out useless or fruitless). botsomun (false rumour), hototda (hearing incorrectly)

maen—maenson (bare-handed), maenbal (barefoot), man'ip (having eaten or drunk nothing), maenjumok (having no weapon or means except one's fists).

mut—mutson (all the people), mutsana (all the men), mutip (all the mouths)

ch'am—ch'amkiri'um (true oil—sesame oil), ch'ammal (true word), ch'amggae (sesame seeds), ch'ambit (fine toothed comb), ch'amtoeda (being true)

nal—nalkimch'i (kimch'i, the traditional pickled vegetable, that is still very fresh), nalkogi (raw meat), nalkam (unripe persimmon), nalpyorak (disaster one meets very suddenly)
öt—ötnagada (going stray), ötkallida (missing each other on the way from opposite), ötipisūthada (being not sufficiently ripe), söltech’ida (cooking incompletely)

pit—pitnagada (missing the point or the object), pitiddida (missing the step), pitddulda (being not straight)

jit—jitbabda (stamping), jitbusuda (breaking up), jıtikugida (crumpling up), jıtudurida (beating up or pounding)

ch’ŏ—ch’önŏta (pushing in), ch’ŏmŏgida (feeding in great amount or without discrimination or ceremony), ch’ŏddaeda (burning a lot of fuel), chŏbarūda (painting thickly)

As we have seen in the above, prefixes are highly productive, and there is a good chance that many more new words will be made with the help of these prefixes. As Korean society moves farther and farther away from the traditional norm and mode of living, and industry dominates the national life accompanying with it the phenomenal increase of urban population, such prefixes as ‘put(fresh or green)’ stands relatively slim chance of surviving as a common vocabulary. It is also notable that with the active use of Chinese characters, Chinese suffixes made their appearances endangering not only the production of new prefixes but also survival of old ones of purely Korean origin.

ii. suffixes

—bal kitbal (flag), haetbal (sunshine), sōritbal (frost), bitbal (rain), ptbal (blood streaks), nunbal (snow drift)

—j’il sonj’il (straightening or mending), bajj’il (movement of foot like kicking), sŏnsaengj’il (teaching used derogatively), motj’il (nailing)

—i nol-i (playing), mŏk-i (food, especially feed for fish, boids.), nop-i (height), kil-i (length), jŏlddukbal’i (cripple), yukson-i (one who has six fingers)

—i kotkot-i (in every place), jupjup-i (in every house), natnat-i (piece by piece), salmyŏs-i (silently, surreptitiously)

—gi bonbogī (the model to be copied), jullŏmgī (jumprope), jultaragi (a tug of war), naegi (betting)

—gae/ge karigae (cover), ggalgae (mat), nalgae (wing), begae (pillow), jiuge (eraser), jige (A frame), jupge (pincers)

—in usim (laugh), usim (crying), jolim (sleepiness), jam (sleep), nolim (play), kölim (walking), ge-ullim (laziness), midum (faith), kibbūm (joy), koerorum (suffering).

Such suffixes as we have listed in the above continue to be used to make new
derivatives. ‘kududdakki, shinmun’ali, sotopggaggi, etc.’ are examples of words made through in process.

Suffixes in causative and passive form words such as ‘-i-, -hi-, -ri-, -gi-’ or, ‘-ropta, -dapda, -sūrōpda’ are also being used continually and as a result, we see the appearance of even such complex and unfamiliar words as ‘kohyangsūrōpda (feel like old home), jomaropta (being uneasy and nervous)’ in our present day literature.

Suffix ‘-hada’ either makes a declinable word by attaching itself to the root as in ‘ggotggothada (being erect), dōtdōthada (being confident, having nothing to be ashamed of), pōntchōkhada (to flash)’ or indeclinable words by linking itself to adverbs as in ‘jhalhada (doing well), mothada (not doing well), tōhada (to add). It may also combine itself with indeclinable words and form such as ‘ilhada (to work, noraehada (to sing), pōthada (befriend).’ This is the most frequently used of all suffixes. Although it is true that such a word as ‘ppiddakkada’ derives from the same etymological source as the word ‘bbiddulada (being crooked, not straight)’ and its variants, the word itself is a new word. There are, besides these, an endless examples of words made with the suffix ‘-hada.’ Other examples are: ‘sōngōhada (to hold an election), tupyohada (to vote), kosuhada (to guard to the end), yōnaehada (to have a love affair), deiūhada (to date), notūhada (to write down), mastōhada (to master), skautūhada (to scout), arībautūhada (to earn money on the side—said of student).’ There is a great tendency to make declinable words by adding ‘-hada’ to loan words, whether they are declinable or indeclinable words, and especially Chinese character words which are characterized by the fact that there is no differentiation between the declinable and indeclinable words in them. As a result, we have many words composed directly of loanwords ‘+hada’. Examples are ‘lovehada, report-hada, contacthada, leadhada, guide-hada’ (although it must be pointed out here that these English words are pronounced in Koreanized phoneticization with similar cases we have examined in the above. Combinations of the Chinese character words of adjective function and ‘-hada’ make such much-used Korean words as ‘kōphada (being in a hurry), akhada (being evil), sōnhada (being good), simhada (being extreme, going too far), sunhada (being gentle or being tame), tokhada (being harsh), etc. Presumably, the rule that governs such word-making as this is the same as what operates in the coinage of such words as ‘bōntchōkhada (to flash), adākhada (being far away).’

When new words are needed in any language, it is most often that attempts are made to produce words through the word-making process of syntactic complex words. Next comes the derivative process. It may be said that this phenomenon has something to do with the fact that Korean is a language with an ideographic
tendency. In order to see this point clearly, we may compare Korean language with English which has a system drastically different from ours. For instance, in English we have these words: throat, deaf, lie, tear, cover, sigh. All these expressions are made up of single words. In Korean, however, these same words are made up of words: mok-kumŏng (neck-hole), kwimŏgŏri (car-block), kŏjt-mal (false-word), nun-mul (eye water), ŏp-kae (covering thing), han-sum (lamentation-breath). What we see here is the fact that Korean language tends to distribute the word meaning in separate concepts.\(^5\) We can also take into our consideration the contrasting important fact that in English the new words adopted into English lexicon since 1960 are mostly single word vocabulary such as frug, clout, close, and grok.\(^7\) In the Korean case, however, it is nearly impossible to find new words that are not complex words or derivatives. Maybe this tendency was one of the factors that made it easy for the Chinese characters to be absorbed into Korean language so widely and deeply making such numerous complex words in combination with Korean words. Aside from the complex words and derivatives, we have other types of new words including those made through decomposition. One process of decomposition takes place with the change of parts of speech as in: shin (shoes)—shind (to put on the shoes), ddi (belt)—ddita (to put on the belt), orae (long)—orac (being long-continuing). Another process is changing single sounds. Examples are: nukda (old in age)—nakda (wear out or be worn out), namda (being left over)—nŏnda (overflowing). Still another process is contraction. Examples of works of this category are: han’guk’nhaheng (The Bank of Korea)—Han’nu, sŏkyukongsa (Petroleum Corp.)—Yugong. Reversion also play a role in word—making. ‘jŏmjanta—jŏmjanŭlburinda’ are examples of words of this category. Some of these word-making processes, however, were utilized actively only in old Korean and are no longer very productive as word-making methods.

The new words that are made by combination of Chinese characters alone belong to the syntactic complex word category entirely. The combination method in this case is not different from the method used in the making of complex words using Korean material except that in the case of Chinese characters, we notice use of such structures as ‘subject + predicate’, ‘object + verb’ or ‘adverb + declinable word.’ That is entire predicate phrases that are being freely employed here.

Examples are ‘ya-sim (depth of night), ok-to (fertile soil), san’gosuryŏ

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\(^5\) See sturlevant (1947), pp 129-132
\(^6\) Han’gukmunhwasatangyet (1967)
\(^7\) Burnhart (1973)
(mountain is high and the river is beautiful), shinch’ulkwimol (appearing and disappearing like a ghost)’ all of which are nominative + predicate combinations, and ‘t’ungsan (mountain climbing), hach’a (getting off from a public conveyance), sŏngjon (winning the war or game)’ which are all verb + object combinations. ‘puksong (sending to the north), namhaeng (coming down to the south), hutoe (retreat), sunjong(obedience), etc’ are adverb + declinable word with an addition of ‘-hada’ or used as they are in the capacity of indicilnable words. The arrangement of the components in these words follows the rule of Chinese grammar but new words that are made with Chinese characters as material can turn an entire sentence or predicate phrase into words. Also, words thus made can be used both as declinable and indeclinable words. Korean was for this reason that a great number of new words have derived from Chinese characters.

Various complex words are being made with a help of the characteristic expediency of Chinese characters which is that they are formed by single syllables each of which is an independent morpheme. ‘sanch’on (mountain and river), ch’omok (grass and trees), juya (day and night), myŏng-am (lightness and darkness), kang-yak (strength and weakness: or strong and weak)’ are examples in which the components are put together in equal capacities while ‘sŏkkyo (stone bridge), ch’ŏngsan (green mountain), pukpung(north wind), ch’o’ga (grass house)’ are examples of the cases in which the components are in modifying-and-modified relationship. ‘kulshin (bending and stretching), myŏngmyŏl (appearing and disappearing), myŏngbaek (clear and plain), onhwa (gentle and harmonious), etc.’ are examples that show us how declinable words can combine with each other in equal or modifying-modified relationship. In traditional Korean, declinable words often combine with the media of suffixes although, there are some cases of direct combining between the stems. The combination of verbs is relatively simpler with Chinese character words.

Many Chinese characters are being used either as prefixes or as suffixes. Some examples are ‘je’ in such words as ‘jeil, jei (first, second)’ and ‘kw’ in ‘kwiguk (your country), kwigyo (your school) (‘kw’ is an honorific)’ and ‘jŏk’ in such words as ‘kukka-jŏk (national), ingan-jŏk (human), hakja-jŏk (scholarly), etc.’

(4) New Words imported from the Outside

The loan words in Korean are of Japanese, Chinese, and western sources. It may be that the case of the words that are made with Chinese characters are part of the Korean language instead of being foreign, but we may still call them loan words for the reason that their origin certainly is foreign. Another reason for deeming the
Chinese character words foreign is that the grammatical structure of these words is not that of Korean words but retains the grammatical characteristics of Chinese words. We may see this in such words as ‘hasan, tungs, yashm, etc.’ For these reason, new words made with Chinese characters should be discussed in the same place as other new words of foreign origin.

It is natural that foreign words should be introduced to a nation when it is exposed to alien cultures. The only remarkable fact in the case of Korea in terms of new-word making is the fact that Chinese influence has been so long and sustained thoroughly. The situation, of course, was prompted by the fact that Koreans considered China as a more advanced country than Korea. In the case of English, on the other hand, the relatively large influence it has made on Korean lexicon is owing to the fact that although the period of contact with the culture was not very long, Koreans have absorbed western thoughts and customs rapidly as they began to move toward the western mode of modernization. Since both Chinese and western cultures were considered by the Koreans as superior to their own, a kind of linguistic snobbism played a role in the making and spreading of new words with foreign backgrounds and as a result, more than half of Korean vocabulary is made up of Chinese characters and large numbers of words are borrowed from English.

As international relationships have become intimate, distance between countries shortened and also as professional knowledge has become generalized, there is a possibility that foreign-origin words will increase even more than before.

When a foreign culture or civilization comes into a new country, names of foreign things hardly accompany. On the contrary, words are invented by the natives to describe the new thing arriving with the foreign influence. Even when foreign words are borrowed for the description of foreign things, they are usually translated before they become absorbed into the native lexicon. This is how ‘gas’ become ‘automatic fire bringer,’ revolver, ‘sixhole gun,” coffee, ‘black tea’ and sociology, ‘study of the times.’ Such words as ‘hwan-ö-gi (word-changing instrument telephone), ‘wonjogi (far-seeing instrument telescope) and ‘pihaengsŏn (flying ship arship) are cases in which foreign words were first translated into Korean before they were accepted.

In using Chinese-oriented words or phrases, too, the Koreans at first adapted them to Korean grammar as we can see in such documents as imshinsŏgisŏk (stone-engraved document from Silla Period) or to Korean phoneticization such as can be found in hyangga (collection of Silla Dynasty poems). As the population of Chinese scholars increased and people became evermore used to the Chinese characters, however, new words were created using Chinese characters as a base material. The
output of such words is almost unlimited. English, too, has passed through several stages of acclimatization, and the stage, as we have it now, in which the original pronunciation is used. As a result, now we even have such words in an English form but, in a sense, original as only Korean, as back-number, work wear, oversense, home service, etc.

Whether it is borrowing of the original foreign words or their translated counterparts, it is inevitable that the words will be borrowed when new object come into the country from the outside world. These words such as ‘kongja, nonō, chungyong (Confucius, The Analects, The Doctrine of the Golden Means),’ ‘date, lens, announcer,’ ‘jōn’gi (electricity), jadongch’ a (automobile), kyohoe (church), yebeae (service)’ were borrowed sometimes directly in the original form or in translated forms as necessity dictated it seems natural enough in this context.

There are instances, however, when foreign words are borrowed although there already are words to describe the things for which the foreign words are being borrowed. In these cases, what prompts the coinage of new words of foreign material is a kind of a pedantic impulse that has its origin in a longing and reverence for more advanced cultures and civilizations. Or sometimes, words might be created to replace the original words that have come to lose their freshness of meaning. There are other times when new words are made, because those which already exist lack precision and adequacy as descriptions of what they are supposed to represent. ‘ch’ön (thousand), paek (hundred), san (mountain), etc.’ have replaced the original Korean words, ‘zăm’in, on, moe, etc.: ‘cement’, ‘leader’, ‘note (meaning notebook)’, and ‘cook’ have taken the place of ‘sugyŏl or sŏmyŏng’, ‘yangheo’, ‘jidoja’, ‘kongchaek’, and ‘suxsu or yorisa’, Or they are being interchangeably used with the latter.

It is well known that Koreans had a great reverence for Chinese learning in general. For this reason, the Chinese-origin words, which at first were used side by side with the original Korean words with the only difference pedantic overtone, they came to replace gradually the Korean words altogether. If not, they settled as the nobler expressions to be distinguished from the original Korean words to which a less elevated denotaton was ascribed.

‘kil-toro (road), tari-kyoryang (bridge), nulgŭi-nonn (old man), etc.’ are some of the examples that show how Korean words were differentiated from the more distinguished Chinese character words. ‘kil’ refers generally to all kinds of passways: mountain path, and other narrower and rougher passways. ‘toro,’ on the other hand, is used to signify a well-made, wider road. ‘kyoryang’ means a bridge that is built by the modern technological method and is not used to refer to such
crude devices as rough and narrow wooden calling an old man without ceremony, while ‘noun’ is an honorific word. ‘Kyejip(woman), na-i (age), ssaum (combat) all respond to ‘yọja, nyọn, chọnjaeng’. ‘Chọnjaeng’ (war) has larger scale in meaning than ‘ssaum’.

The case of ‘abọji-puch’in (father)’ is somewhat different from those mentioned in the above, however. In this case, since ‘abọji’ cannot be depreciated, ‘puch’in which is made up of Chinese characters and is theoretically more respectable and honorific came to denote unfamiliarity and became a favored word for public use while abọji, which sounds more affectionate and intimate, is favored in the familial contexts.

‘hae-taeyang (sun), saetpyŏl-kimsŏng (Venus),’ present a different case. ‘hae’ and ‘saetpyŏl’ are used in informal conversations or writings, while ‘taeyang’ and ‘kimsŏng’ are used as formal and learned terms. People say, ‘haega ddagapta’ or ‘marue pyŏt’ti ułłatta’ (sun is hot. maru is heated up by the heat of the sun). But they never say ‘taeyang-i-ddagapta’ or ‘marue taeyang-i tūgŏpta.’ Also, it is said, ‘saetpyol kattru agiijui nundongja’ (the baby’s eyes that are like Venus), but it is never said ‘kimsŏng gattu agiijui nundongja.’ This probably is because the phrases made with Chinese characters are less familiar in quotidian surroundings, and also because they failed to gain multiple meanings. ‘kinjangjuk (long tobacco pipe), taech'ŏngmaru (main wooden floored hall in traditional Korean architecture), ch’ŏgajip (wife’s home or family), naksumul (water falling from the eaves), yŏkpeup (in front of the railway station), myŏndokal (razor), mushiboda (look down on), mojiddŏk (Japanese rice cake), bazahoe (bazar + hoe)’ are the instances that we can mention in support of the above analysis. ‘jang, ch’ŏng, ka, su, jŏn, dŏ, shi, mojji, bazar’ in above phrases are kinds of loan words, and for that reason, native words of the same meaning are added at the ends and we end up with two words combined, one foreign and the other native, words with identical meanings. ‘nakyŏp (falling leaves are falling)’ are a similar case. In the case of ‘bazar-hoe,’ ‘hoe (meeting)’ is added to ‘bazar’ because the latter word by itself cannot be associated quickly enough for Korean mind with the idea of people gathering.

The reason why the waiter and other serving men in restaurants and hotels are called ‘bboi (boy)’ is that the word ‘boy’ was originally absorbed only in a limited context by the Koreans instead of being received in its diverse meaning.

Let us look at the following passage: Although Christmas is near, we do not have snow. This means that winter is warm this year. Miss Lee turns the handle of her sewing machine as she always does in her shop in which not a piece of coal briques is burning let alone an oil stove. This is Kukdo Dressmaker’s where narve women
come looking for new style. In this short passage, we have six English words: Christmas, stove, miss, machine, naive, style. The underlined English words should be given a Korean phoneticization as in the cases of similar examples of English words incorporated into Korean to be mentioned hereafter. If we exchange these with the Korean equivalents: 'sŏngtanjŏl, nanro, yang, jaebongŭl, ch'ŏnjinhan, maepshi.' We then come out with a totally different nuance for the passage. As we can see in this example, the attempt to use foreign words for fresh impression often results in semantic differentiation.

We see that 'kangdo (robber) (theiving by violent means) connotes singlehanded crime while 'gaeng' (gangster) is used to imply cases in which guns or cars are mobilized for the crime or a group robbery. This is another instance of semantic differentiation by choice of native or loan words. The rule here seems to be that words that come from the outside tend to have a narrowly limited meaning. We can see this, for instance, in the usage of the word 'miss.' At some time, 'miss' began to replace the word 'ssi' which was the customary honorific tag word after the name of a maiden. Just as it was with the cases of other names with differing standings except maybe children. 'Miss' changed to 'yang,' later, however, and then there came a time when 'miss' began to be used in calling or referring to unmarried women with secretarial jobs or some other office jobs. When a native word adopts multiple meanings and this becomes ambiguous semantically, the word sometimes goes through a differentiation phenomenon with the help of Chinese words or phrases. Thus, 'kajalbuda (compare)' branched into 'bigyo'hada (to compare)' and 'unyuhada (to describe by metaphor),' and the native Korean word 'kwak'iri'da (being in fault because of exessiveness)' branched into three Chinese character words 'kwagyŏkhada (to become angry too suddenly or too easily),' kŏphada (rash), and 'shimhada(to be too extreme).'

Chinese words replaced native Korean words and penetrated deep into Korean language partly due to the fact that Chinese words have fewer syllables. As we have examined earlier, Chinese words are more economical and convenient than Korean words. However, in such cases as 'aessūda—noryŏkhada (to put in effort), metda—tamdanghada (to take over the responsibility of), ggoeda—yuhokhada (to seduce or allure), ggok—kipilko (without fail), mollae—pumillie (in secret)' we see that the words (second group) made with Chinese characters have more syllables.

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8. The underlined English words should be given a Korean phoneticization as in the cases of similar examples of English words incorporated into Korean to be mentioned hereafter.
Generally, in the case of indeclinable words, the Chinese-oriented words are shorter, in the case of declinable words, we have them longer and more multiplying-syllables than their purely Korean equivalents. It may be guessed, however, that the general feeling that Chinese words are shorter may have made it easier for the Chinese-oriented words to penetrate so deeply and rapidly into Korean language.

Another reason for the rapid infiltration of Chinese characters into Korean lexicon is that it is easy and efficient to make new words with the help of the Chinese characters. The single word 'san (mountain),' for instance, has made so many Korean words ('sankol (mountain valley), santoeji (wild boar), sanshin (mountain god), sanjang (mountain villa), kosan (high mountain), myongsan (mountain famous for scenic beauty), etc.') that it is impossible to mention them all. It is not as if the Korean word for mountain 'moe' is incapable of making as many new compound words. The proof is that we have countless compound words made with the word 'moe': 'moeptal (mountain slope), moeari (mountain echo), moekol (mountain valley), moekisik (the foot of the mountain), moebong'uri (mountain peak), etc.' Also, we are aware of the active rule in compound word making in Korean language; therefore, there is no actual need to borrow Chinese characters in order to create new words. The one most feasible explanation for the presence of so many Chinese-oriented complex words in Korean lexicon seems to be that as characters words increased and complex words made with native materials decrease, complex words utilizing Chinese characters began to proliferate and perhaps gave the speaking public a false impression that those words were more convenient to use than their own Korean equivalents.

From the latter part of Late Korea Period, contact with Japan became frequent and as a result, Japanese words of Chinese characters began to serve as material for making new words in Korea.

'annae (gude), ingu (population), t'ahap (negotiation), ch'uwol (passing), etc.' are some examples of the new words made under the Japanese influence. The characters used in these words, however, were pronounced in Korean phoneticization and became part of the Korean lexicon.

(5) Structure of New Words

'New Word' includes the existing words that have gone through semantic change and those borrowed from foreign languages. In another respect, new words include those that have been made by reconstructing existing words or by cutting part of the existing words and giving them different forms, and those that have been made entirely new.
Part of the new words are made through spontaneous process, while others are made systematically through programming. About the words that are made spontaneously, it is not possible to know who the creators of these words may be. But those that are made by policy or programming have definite creators.

The spontaneously made new words have power to spread widely without prompting, those made by policy or programming need special methods for propagation.

Spontaneously made words include these made with purely native material, those of Chinese characters, those made with words borrowed from English and those that have combined all of these.

Relatively, new words made with purely native materials are such as: ‘shinmunpali, kududaggi, pulkogi, appa, tōpbab, koyoropda, jomaropta, etc.’ These are all made with native materials and by the word-making rules of Korean language. ‘tōpbab’ is a case of combination of verb stem and noun as ‘kkōksoe’ and ‘mukbat’ are. This may be a highly unproductive method of word-making, but the words made are widely used as we can see in these instances: kogitōpbab (seasoned rice with meat), twigim tōpbab (seasoned rice with fried things), chang-ō tōpbab (seasoned rice with eel). ‘jomaropta’ is made by combining the root of ‘jomajomahada (very uneasy and nervous)’ and ‘-ropda just as ‘hwich’ōngida’ is a combination of the root of the commonlly used familiar word ‘hwich’ōngōrida’ and ‘-ida.’ Both words are quite commonly used nowadays. ‘kū (he); and ‘kũnyō (she)’ at first were used by some particular individuals (or rather novelists) but came to settle down as accepted and widely-used vocabulary probably because a need for such appellations was commonly felt by presentday Koreans. ‘nae-ūm(smell)’ is sometimes used in place of ‘naemsae,’ the standard word for ‘smell’ for poetic purposes but has failed to be adopted by the general speaking public. ‘nae-ūm’ was probably made by lengthening the first syllable of the original word ‘naemsae,’ but possibly because there seemed no apparent reason to change the word for the new one except perhaps in making poetry for the change of sound, it did not come into common use.

Mine workers named ‘cable car’ ‘sorigaech’a (eagle car)’ but the word did not circulate out of the mining community. The reason may be that the only occasion on which the general public can see the cable car is at sightseeing sports, and on account of its commercial association, the foreign word ‘cable car’ was felt to be more effective in attracting the general customer’s attention. The word ‘sorigaech’a’ did not spread because it is not easy for most Koreans to see the eagle with their own eyes often enough for the word to call up adequate associational intimacy.
Some laborers call the bulldozer ‘ddangch’a (the earth car),’ but the word did not sufficiently catch the fancy of the general public to settle into Korean lexicon and the word ‘bulldozer’—in its Koreanized pronunciation ‘bulldozer’—became the standard word. The words ‘nyŏ’ in ‘kŭnyŏ’, ‘ch’a’ in ‘sorigaech’a’ and ‘ddangch’a’ are Chinese character words, but they have so completely been Koreanized that there is no consciousness on the part of the Korean speaking public about their foreign origin. From ‘baramkki-ita (being flirtatious),’ the moderners have made the word ‘kkiga-ita’ by cutting off the head ‘baram (wind).’ The word is still used only as a slang or a cant but serves as a valid example of work-making by abridgement. This is the same as ‘Viet Cong’ shortening into ‘Cong’ in English. In the 1980 November issue of Korean version of Readers’ Digest, there was an article entitled ‘Bird: The Most Perfect naltil (flying frame).’ The word ‘naltil’ in this title has its origin in someone’s writing of protest against the inadequate coinage of new words on the basis of purely Korean materials. The person who came out with this protest had questioned if we could call ‘bihaenggi (airplane)’ a ‘naltil’ because bihaenggi is not a purely Korean word but is made of Chinese characters. But in the title mentioned above, the word ‘nalteul’ is used naturally enough as a modifier of ‘bird,’ the flying machine. Although one cannot say as yet of the word has succeeded in obtaining life as a Korean word or not, at least, we may concede that if it continues to be used adroitly as it was in the case of the title of this article mentioned above, it may in time obtain life and settle into the Korean lexicon as standard vocabulary. It is possible that the word found its place in the consciousness of the Korean speaking public just because of its controversial reputation during the period of public debate over its adequacy or inadequacy as a word for everyday use. In the 1981 October issue of ChosŏnIlbo (a daily newspaper), the following phrase appeared in an article about the stock market situation: ‘palja (the one who wanted to sell) increased in number but there was no saja (the prospective buyer) ’ Here, the words ‘palja’ and ‘saja’ are used as ‘the stocks 1/2 put out to sell’ and ‘the stocks that were sold.’ It is too early yet to predict whether or not these words will be stabilized as Korean vocabulary with the meanings ‘things to sell’ and ‘things to buy,’ but they certainly are good examples of verb conjugation making nouns of specific meaning.

Lately, we notice that such words as ‘yunina, tt’amina, kkotsaem, saerobon, etc ’ are being used as brand names of commercial goods. These are cases of adverbial, adjectival, terminal adverbial phrases of verbs being used as names of goods, and this method of word-making is utilized quite frequently these days. It also points to the fact that now, there is a higher rate of word-making with native Korean words
than before. Some more examples of words made with purely Korean materials are: ‘han-ǒl (one sprit—refers to national sprit), hantō (one common site for living), aram (one armful), yǒlǎm (opening), all used in recent times in naming babies.

Words made with Chinese characters are so great in number that it is impossible to list them all. In fact, most of the newly made Korean words are formed with Chinese characters at least partially ‘kosoktoro (highway), kokatoro (overpass), hwanggyŏngch'ŏng (Office of Environment), etc’ are instances of latest word coinage of this category. Words made with Chinese characters are often of Japanese origin. ‘ch’urisosõl (detective story), is a word of Chinese characters at first glance, but it has been imported (from Japan quite recently. There are cases in which words are made from the materials in Chinese classics. These are not many, but such recently coinage as ‘yushin (used to signify the political renovation movement propagated under late Korean president Pak)’ is one such example. The reason why there are so many new words made with Chinese characters may be summarized as follow:

1) Each character in Chinese-oriented words contains an independent morpheme which makes a flexible and free combination of Chinese characters in making complex words possible. This is made especially easy by the fact that Korean words have a tendency to emphasize the semantic contents of words.

2) Such a syntactic structuring as ‘verb + object’, ‘subject + predicate,’ or ‘adverb + predicate’ can easily become words of about two syllables. With the addition of ‘-hada’, these words also can be used as declinable words or as indeclinable words. Since words made with Chinese characters without such addition of ‘-hada’, these words also can be used as declinable words or as indeclinable words. Since words made with Chinese characters without such addition are free from any fixed specification of parts of speech, it is all the more convenient to make new words with them.

3) Since words of purely native origin are often used for quotidian and informal usages and for that reason have many circumstantial meaning attached to them (emotional meaning included), they are not convenient material to make complex words for the purpose of describing new concepts. Chinese characters, however, are different on that point. Most of the Chinese characters do not create the kinds of circumstantial complications that purely Korean origin words do, because they are not close enough to the everyday living of Koreans. For instance, the word ‘tte (group)’ has a derogatory meaning in such words as ‘todukdde (gang of robbers) or ‘ddegŏri (gang)’ and has an auxiliary meaning.

‘Disorderly grouping’ in such words as ‘kogirde (a group of fish), sŏngyang-udde
(a band of jackals) The Chinese equivalents for the Korean word 'dde' which are 'kun' in Korean pronunciation, however, are free from any such auxiliary implications and so are more convenient for new word.

4) Although in the case of declinable words, the words with Chinese characters tend to get longer in contrast with the cases of indeclinable words because of the addition of the suffix '-hada,' moreover, compared with the Korean words of the same meaning, they do not offer any advantage in economizing syllables. Still, Chinese characters are favoured because as separate words, words made with Chinese characters are sometimes shorter and are more efficient and flexible than native Korean words.

For the reasons I have pointed out in the above and also on account of the pedantic psychology involved, many new words of Chinese origin have been and are being made thus suppressing the opportunity for new words of native origin to appear. At present, most of the newly made words are formed either totally or partially with Chinese characters. It is, however, not often nowadays, that phrases from Chinese classics are borrowed for word-making. Also, there is a high possibility that Chinese characters that have more than one meaning will be used for the strongest of its multiple meanings. For instance, the character 'ko' used to have more than one meaning as we can see in such words as: 'koch'al (study and examine), koryō (to consider or consideration), ko-an (thought, idea), sukko (to think deeply or deep thinking), sago (thought), etc.' on one hand and 'songo, kobi.' But at present, the word is used only for the former meaning, and it is predictable that the word will not be used for word-making in its second meaning. When ordinarily native speaker undertakes an unconscious morphological analysis, it tends to analyze the morpheme with higher frequency usage more easily and comprehend it. Also, it does not like one word form to have many meanings.

There are words made with English as material. 'Egg fry (fried eggs), whisky tea, sign book, home dress, peanut cream (peanut butter), expander (an exercise tool), leisure boom (fashion for enjoying leisure activities), are some of the examples. These are words made with English words, but they only exist as standard vocabulary in Korean. There are words like 'expander' that have been made by the derivativational rule of English language. Also there are such words as 'colon (Korean + nylon), permaron (permanent + nylon) vinapolo (Venus + Apollo) that are made by contraction and combination.

10 See Nam Kwang-Il (1970) pp. 176-182
Because of the movement for cleansing the national language of Japanese remains, there have in recent times been no new words made with Japanese material. Such words as 'match'umbob (spelling), moksong (appetite), saeng-ssal (uncooked rice), oeguk-saram (foreigner)' are cases of combinations between Korean and Chinese characters. 'coat-kit (the collar of coat), bus-pyo (bus ticket), party-bok (party wear), timak-pro (music program), sports-jongshin (the spirit of sports) are instances of combination among Korean, Chinese characters and English words.

The planned word-making that the Korean government has undertaken as a policy was connected with the so-called kukosunhwaundong (purification of national language movement), which was instituted in order to prevent excessive use of Chinese character words. Chinese character words are changed into native Korean words to avoid misunderstanding and confusion that could arise from a mechanical transcription of Chinese character words into the Korean alphabet. Also, there was the movement for cleaning up the national language of Japanese influence after the Korean Liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. Under the circumstances, the material of planned word-making is naturally pure Korean and of those Chinese characters that are so familiar to Koreans that they have almost become part of the Korean language.

The promoter of planned word-making has been individuals and groups with special motivation for purifying the national language and the government. In 1948, Korean government launched a language purification movement under the directorship of the Ministry of Education The Committee for purification of the National Language which was formed by the ministry set upon changing the Japanese words that had infiltrated into purely Korean words. As a result, a 36 page pamphlet entitled, "Restoring the National Language" was made in 1962 again under the government supervision. Special Investigating Committee for han'guljonyong (using Korean only) was set up and energetically started a campaign for changing Chinese character words into pure Korean words. The result was publication of the first through fifth issues of Hoebo, the committee's official magazine, which was later revised and printed in one volume under the title: Dictionary of Easy Words (1967). Since 1964, the government has installed a Language Purification Committee in each of its ministries which has resulted in publication of a dictionary of technical words made up of purely Korean words. In 1977, the Council for purifying the National language was formed within the government. Its major program was to change into pure Korean the difficult loan words, Chinese-oriented words that are either too difficult or too characteristic, and
Japanese derived Chinese character words. The result of this effort was published as the First Volume of the Materials to be Used for Purifying the National Language.

As campaigns to clean up or purify the national language were repeated, the campaigns sometimes felt obliged to make new words when there were not suitable words in existing vocabulary to replace the words of foreign origin. Also, the individuals or groups that engaged themselves in purifying the language or in propagating the use of pure Korean have also created some new words. ‘han’gul, natmal (word), hojsori (vowel), tasoni (consonant), mach’impyo (period), swimpyo (comma), irmis (noun), umjissi (verb) etc.’ are words that were made by scholars after the Enlightenment Period. ‘Ch’aekggoji (book rack), tongjonm, karakkakusu, topbab, etc.’ are words made with pure Korean material in order to replace such Japanese words as ‘hondate, kansumse, donburi, etc.’ ‘banjum, jirum, allim (anouncement), dalligi (racing), etc’ are pure Korean words that were made to replace the Chinese character words of the same meanings such as ‘ban’gyoeng, jikkyoeng, tongju, kyongju, etc.’ The words of this group are all words that were made with made with a definite purpose and now are either settled or are in the process of settling into the Korean lexion.

Words such as ‘hojsori, tasoni, topbab’, were made by a highly unproductive method of word-making but were still able to succeed while such words as ‘tongjonm, karakkakusu,’ were at first too unfamiliar for the Korean speaking public to accept without resistance. Now they have, however, almost completely replaced their predecessors ‘kansumse,’ and ‘udong.’ The reason why these words could be accepted in spite of their strangeness was that their acceptance was helped by a nationalistic atmosphere of Korean society at the time of their making. The significant fact that we can learn from these instances of new words is that even words that appear alienating, inconvenient, and uncomfortable at first stand a good chance of survival and propagation if they are assisted by appropriate circumstances. This phenomenon also eloquently confirms the spontaneity that operates in language preference. The movement for restoring the national language, as explained before, started as a campaign to purify the national language of the remains of Japanese infiltration. Such words as koppu (cup), however, were retained in their Japanese pronunciation probably because they had become too familiar to the Korean ear and tongue. But lately we notice that the pronunciation of the word is rarely used. People are now pronouncing it either as ‘cup’ or ‘jan,’ the Korean word for ‘cup.’ This may be because of the direct importation of words from the west along with many loan words, especially those of English origin. Still, there is ample room for supposing that it is a result of the nationalistic enthusiasm which
expressed itself centrally in an impulse to purify the national language of whatever Japanese residue it might have retained. Also, we can deem this happening as a further evidence of the arbitrariness of language preference. We can be certain from there instances that even if it is a planned word-making, a proper motivation could make it acceptable and even desirable for the public of a country. We may remember how awkward words like ‘ch’aryöt (Attention!), swiöt (At ease!)’ sounded when they were first made to replace the Japanese words for them. The joy and deep emotion Koreans experienced just after the Liberation made such purely Korean and highly awkward-sounding words as ‘optryöppötch’ö (arm-strengthening exercise) acceptable to the Korean speaking public and the word along with many other equally problematic words made its successful entry in Korean lexicon.

Such words as ‘jirũm, banjirũm, tõhagi, ppaegi, etc.’ are still strange and uncomfortable words to Koreans over middle ages, we are more accustomed to their Japanese or Chinese counterparts. And yet, they are the most natural sounding words to younger Koreans to whom the Chinese and Japanese-oriented terminologies that their elders use are far more strange and uncomfortable. We can see in this the proof that purely Korean words are stronger in terms of survival power because of their ties with the reality of Korean society and also because the new words made through planned movements have had their chance leave their own creative marks on the national language.

On the other hand, however, the effort to eliminate such Japanese-oriented Chinese character words as ‘chumun (order—as in buying something), ipku (entry), baegi ip (distribution), etc’ so that such purely Korean words as ‘mach’im, tǔlmok, nonajugi, etc.’ might take their place was not very successful. In fact, the new words of purely Korean material failed to gain life in these cases. The cause for the failure probably lies in that although the words ‘chumun, ipku, etc.’ came from Japanese, they were being pronounced in Korean phoneticization instead of in their original Japanese pronunciation ‘rinshing, chumun, irikuchi, etc.’ and the Korean speaking public did not consider them to be among the residue of Japanese occupation of their land. This may be compared significantly with the fact that ‘chaikkoji, tongjionm, karakkuksu’ and many other words of similar nature had so easily replaced such Japanese-oriented words as ‘handate, kansseume, udong, etc.’ which had retained their Japanese pronunciation. In the *Dictionary of Easy Words*, ‘pumshin’ was listed as ‘aroem’ or ‘yöchtum; these words are not new, however, but have been in existence from older period and this is why such word as ‘pumshinhada’ is being used along with ‘aroeda’ and ‘yöchtupta.’ The noun form of these words, that is, ‘aroem’ and ‘yöchtum’ are not however in common use as yet.
Although 'mach'um' was suggested for the Chinese-Japanese word 'chumun,' the word is only used almost exclusively in such commercial phrases as 'mach'umot (ordered clothes) or mach'umyangbok (western suit made at order)' Otherwise, the Japanese-oriented word 'chumun' is still used widely. In the case of the ready-made or quick-tailored clothes, the reason why merchants preferred the word 'mach'um', to 'chumun' is not that they were so much more nationalistic but that they felt by instinct that words or phrases that derived from the quotidian phraseology of the Korean public such as 'ot-nil-mach'unda (ordering clothes to be made at the tailor's or dress-maker's)' or 'kuduniil mach'unda (ordering a pair of (or, a pairs of) shoes to be made at the shoemaker's )' would be more appealing to the customer. Therefore, the case is that of spontaneous creation of new words.

Since the 1948 movement for restoring the national language, there have been government campaigns between 1962 and 1963, and between 1976 and 1977. These movements aimed at converting as many as possible of Chinese-character words, Japanese-oriented words, and western words or phrases into purely native Korean words or phrases. The point of these campaign foreign origin words but to replace them with those Korean words already in existence and in common usage. It may be noted, however, that the object of substituting native words for Chinese character words including the Japanese-oriented Chinese character words and the western loan words were not successful.

'Ch'eryuhada—mömürada, jiniphada—dülkada, jujihada—turualda, jüii—soksem, etc.' show how linguists tried to replace existing Chinese character words not by something entirely new and unfamiliar but by something old and traditionally pure. At present, both Chinese character and native Korean words are being used simultaneously. It may be said, however, that the old native Korean words or expressions are gaining force over the 'Chinese character words and in that respect, the movement for purifying the national language has been a success. This is the same with the English loanwords such as: ranking—sunwi, list—mokrok, guide—annae, rule—kyuch'ik, collar—kt, chance—kihoe, nationalism—minjokju-ŭi. These pairs of words also coexist at the present point of Korean linguistic evolution. From these instances, we may say that if the use of purely Korean words and expressions is encouraged instead of mixed-origin words, it will not be difficult for native Korean words and phrases to replace the foreign-borrowed words almost completely. Minjokju-ŭi, of course, is merely a translation of the Englishword 'nationalism,' when a foreign word is translated before it comes into another cultural setting, the result is likely to turn out as coexistence of the original and the translated forms of the word.
It is somewhat different, however, in the cases of purely Korean-origin words that replace the Chinese character words (including those borrowed from Japanese) because either there are no Korean words to replace or whatever Korean words there may have been became extinct. This is the same with other foreign origin words. The words of this group fare differently from those that coexist with Chinese character words of foreign origin. Some examples of such successful new words are: 'kanpan (signboard)—borampan or borampaee, suseshikpyŏnso (flush toilet)—mulssispersyŏnso or soyangshikpyŏnso (Western style lavatory), amshijang (black market)—ggamakshijang, etc.'

There are some exceptions, however. They are such new words as 'padŭmpyo' for receipt, 'nim' for 'ssi' (Koreans use both honorifics after names of almost anybody regardless of sex and age although very young people are generally excepted), 'biot' for raincoat, 'nasadolligae' for screwdriver, that have been accepted without much resistance on the part of the speaking public.

From these instances, we may deduce that new words cannot replace old ones not only because of resistance to new words. As pointed out already, it is true that words are not too easily replaced by new words that have been made through a conscious planning. But we have witnessed through the results of the movement for 'restoring the national language' that a great number of Japanese-oriented words could be very easily replaced with pure Korean words without any resistance on the part of the public. We can observe such an instance in the case of the Japanese-origin word 'sennuki (bottle opener)' which was replaced not by the new Korean word made and recommended by the government, 'magaepokki', but by 'byŏngttagae' which was spontaneously made by the people. Thus points to another significant aspect of linguistic evolution. When the newly-made words contain problems to be overcome, they can be superseded by other new words which are more suitable and convenient. The problems involved may be discrepancy in meaning, inadequate method of word-making, or waste in terms of length, all of which could avoided through invention of another word or expression.

In the case of 'sudang (wage)—ŏmsak,' 'sak' implies wage for physical labour as we can see in such expressions as 'sakbanŭjil (working as seamstress), banŭjilsak (wage for seamstress), pumsak (wage for various jobs involving physical work).'</sudang,' however, connotes payments connected with office work, that is payments for mental works 'kunmu (group dance)—ttech’um' is another such case. That is, it is another case of discrepancy in a match between the form and content of a word 'kun' and 'tte' do not have the same connotations. Likewise, the attempt to replace the English loanword 'mascot' with the purely Korean words 'op' or 'jikim' also
presents problem because ‘op’ is an extinct word and because there is meaning in the word ‘mascot’ (keeping a thing with affection and possessiveness) which is not contained in the word—. ‘aksu—sonjabūm’ is another unsuccessful case for the reason that although ‘aksu’ literally means gripping of hand or hands, when the word is used in the everyday context, it means a form of greeting just like ‘handshake’ in English. ‘Sonjabūm’ means to the Korean ear only ‘holding hands’ without conveying the other more essential meaning(greeting). We cannot say, for instance, that ‘they held their hands and sat down together’ where we mean to say: ‘They shook hands and sat down together.’ ‘ojik(defamation of office)—kusilbūrigei’ presents contradiction, because the word ‘kusil’ in the sense of ‘office’ is an outdated word and now is used only in such idiomatic expression as ‘saram kusil (acting properly as a person). ‘kusil’ and ‘jikch‘aek (office, post),’ therefore, are not immediately associated in the Korean mind. Besides, ‘kusilbūrigei’ is too long a word compared with the shorter Chinese character word ‘ojik.’ ‘shimun’ connotes criminality while ‘salpyōmulm’ does not have such meaning. ‘kwajong (course, process)—kōlīm (literally, walk, walking) also is problematic because one cannot say ‘taehakwon (graduate school)—kōlīm’ or ‘sōksa (master)—kōlīm’ without feeling awkward and inadequate. ‘date—mannalyaksok (promise to meet)’ also has problems because ‘date’ as it is used among present day Korean youth does not mean just meeting by appointment. ‘kyōlp’yōk (fastidiousness)—kkaekkūt—bōrūt (habitual cleanliness) may seem plausible at first glance in view of the fact that such words as ‘hāndālbawi (moving rock), nūttōwi (belated hot weather)’ are of the same structure of word combination. ‘bōrūt’, however, is more often used in such derogatory expressions as ‘sonbōrūt’ which is literally ‘habit of hands’ but actually refers to doing objectionable things using the hands such as hitting somebody or stealing something, ‘jambōrūt (sleeping in an untidy way),’ or ‘malbōrūt (speaking impolitely to elders or generally being rough-spoken). We can see that in all of these instances, the word ‘bōrūt’ is used to mean ‘bad habit’ instead of merely ‘habit.’ Also, the word ‘kkaekkūt’ has not yet been used in making complex words and so using it in making an already awkward-sounding word was perhaps doubly unfortunate.

The problems of new words replacing existing Chinese character words or loan words are approximately the nature and category that I have shown so far. When words are made not to replace the existing words but to describe new things for the first time, such problems as have been discussed may be overcome. Even in cases of the words that have been made to replace existing words, problems may not arise if there are strong enough reasons why the existing words cannot continue to be used
Also, those Chinese character words that are not often used and are made with difficult characters are relatively easy to be replaced

6. Can We Restore Old Korean Words When We Need New Words?

When new words are needed to describe new things, the speaking public spontaneously make new words. They do not, however, use materials out of old Korean words. It is because the old words have died out on account of the inconvenience they presented and also on account of staleness of meaning. When old words are used to coinage of new words, it is always scholars who do it.

If the old words that are used as material for the new words do not have any relevance to presentday language, such words usually fail to gain life. There are some instances of new word making with old material in the purification movements launched by the government after the Korean Liberation. Some examples are: ‘sūnghapjadongch’a (bus)—turukjecha, kyŏnjŏksŏ (estimate of expenses)—balgi, pyŏnso (lavatory)—twŏkgan, shingo (report, used in legal sense)—sari, hyŏn’gŭm (cash)—matton, annaesŏ (guidebook)—kiljabi, banghae (hindrance)—haisal, oech’ul (outing)—nadûl, mascot—op, etc.’

The materials used in making the new words in the above list were not even very old words but had been in use some time. Yet, the words failed to win public acceptance. Such words as ‘turngi, op, sari, etc.’ could not call up enough associations with the things they were made to describe and such words as ‘jich’e, twŏngkan’ were too stale in expressiveness and meaning, while ‘matton, kiljabi, nadeul’ could not be said to carry exactly the same meanings as ‘hyŏn’gŭm, annaesja, oech’ul.’ When we want to say ‘hyŏn’gŭm-ŭl son-e jwiŏotta (have cash on hand),’ we cannot possibly exchange the word ‘hyŏn’gŭm’ with ‘matton’ because of the discrepancy of meaning. ‘nadûl’ implies going on a picnic while ‘oech’ul’ does not have such implication.

It may be possible and even fruitful to make use of old words or old rules to word-making not for the sake of replacing existing words but in order to enrich Korean expression. It is essential, however, that they be relevant to the presentday Korean language. For instance, ‘kipida (dig in deep), murŭsĭpta (chew well), murŭggŭlida (cook or boil thoroughly), ggŭnîtida (continuous), japjwida (grip), kyorŏpda (being leisurely), kajangtoeda (being perfect), etc.’ are likely to be accepted because in their structure, we can find partially, words that we are using currently.