REMARKS ON MODERN SINO-KOREAN

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Sino-Korean constitutes a part of the Korean language. Its grammar, therefore, is a part of the Korean grammar. However, there are found a number of phonological, morphological and syntactical differences between Sino-Korean and the rest of Korean. In the present study the fundamental nature of Sino-Korean, some of the phonological and morphological characteristics are to be discussed.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Prelude

The lexical items (vocabulary) of the Modern Korean language may be classified into two distinct groups based upon the identifiableness with the Korean "readings," i.e., the phonetic representations, of the Chinese characters. The first group includes those supposed to be native forms and those clearly recognized to be borrowings from foreign languages. The components of each item belonging to this group cannot be identified with the reading(s) of a certain Chinese character(s). The second group is made up of those consisting of a syllable or syllables, each of which is identified with the reading of a certain character. The items belonging to this group are known as *Han-ja-ə*漢字語("words of Chinese characters") in Korean and have been named, although ambiguously, "Sino-Korean," by western scholars.

In most cases, an educated native speaker of Korean can easily tell whether an item belongs to the first group or the second, even if he does not understand the meaning, or does not know the character(s) in question in case it is a member of the second group. This fact suggests that there exist

differences on the grammatical level between the two groups. In fact, a number
of phonological, morphological and syntactical differences are observed.
Therefore, to a certain extent, it can be properly said that there are two
distinctive sub-systems at work in the grammar of the Korean language : one
for Non-Sino-Korean and another for Sino-Korean. Until the present time this
point has not attracted much attention by Korean linguists. In the following
chapters some of the characteristic differences between the Sino-Korean forms
and others are to be discussed.[1]

1.2. The Chinese Characters in Korea

   China, as it has been well known, had been the center of East Asian
civilization until the western powers appeared in the region in the nineteenth
century. The propagation of Chinese civilization over the neighbouring peoples
was characterized by the Chinese ideology of Confucianism and by its means
of transmission, the written language of Written Chinese (wen-yan文言 in
Chinese and Hanmun漢文 in Korean) of which the Chinese characters form the
writing system. The Koreans, Japanese and Vietnamese, among others, are
considered to have been faithful members of the Chinese cultural sphere.

   [1] *Transcription of Korean in This Study*
Vowels :

Simple Vowels :	ㅏ	ㅓ	ㅗ	ㅜ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅐ	ㅔ	ㅚ
	a	ə	o	u	ʉ	i	ă	e	ŏ
Diphthongs :	ㅑ	ㅕ	ㅛ	ㅠ			ㅒ	ㅖ	
	ya	yə	yo	yu			yă	ye	
	ㅘ	ㅝ		ㅟ	ㅢ		ㅙ	ㅞ	
	wa	wə		wi	ʉi		wa	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	ㅁ	ㄹ	ㅎ
	-ng	n	m	r/l	h

Morpheme Boundary : Marked by a hyphen.
Morphophonemic Transcription/Transliteration of Sino-Korean : Italicized.
   It is noted that, in the most cases, the transliteration of a form written in the Korean
   alphabet, in the modern Korean orthography, is identical with the morphophonemic
   transcription.
Phonemic Transcription : Written between a pair of slants.
   Ex. /han-jja-ə/ for *han-ja-ə*漢字語, /gung-min/ for *gug-min* 國民.
   "Archiphonemes" are transcribed by the capital letters.
   Ex. *gug-ga* 國家/guG-gga/, *ggoc/ggoD/, etc.
Transcription of Chinese : The *Bingyin (Pin-yen)* system currently used in the Peoples
   Republic of China.

It is not definitely known when the Koreans began to use the Chinese writing system or the Chinese characters. However, Korean scholars generally believe that the system must have been introduced into Korea at least by the time of the beginning of the Christian Era. Since then it has been used in one way or another by the Koreans until the present time.

Until the creation of a new alphabetical system, *Han-gul* 한글, in the fifteenth century, the Chinese characters and their modified forms[2] had been the only known means of writing for the Koreans.[3] Also, Written Chinese had played the role of a standard written language until the end of the last century. It was used not only in the official documents and official histories—compilation of which was regarded to be highly important in the Confucian states—but also in almost all of the intellectual works. Naturally, for the Koreans, "education" meant basically the learning of the Chinese characters and Written Chinese.

Since the final decades of the 19th century, as the western cultures came to have dominance over the traditional culture, the use as well as the learning of Written Chinese have been considered to be out-dated. However, the Chinese characters have been continuously used as a part of the Korean writing systems. Although the number of characters commonly used has been considerably reduced, there are more modern publications containing them than those written purely in the Korean alphabet. The Bible and popular novels are two well-known categories of publication in which no Chinese characters are found. The more important fact is that almost all Korean proper nouns, including personal names, the names of government offices, private companies, schools, towns, and so forth, were, and are, composed in reference to the meanings, and often the phonetic values, of the characters. The influence of Chinese characters upon the Korean language is especially demonstrated by

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[2] The Koreans had developed various methods to record properly their native language by the foreign, Chinese writing system. Of course the standard style was that of Written Chinese, i.e., the grammatical structure of the sentences followed that of Chinese. A few of the extant old records reveal sentences in Korean word order, yet no grammatical forms are indicated. Another well-known style is that found in the *Hyang-ga* 鄕歌, in which certain characters seem to have been used for the meanings, while others, for the readings, but still the forms of characters are not modified. The *i-du* 吏讀 is a group of modified, mostly simplified, characters which had been used for the writing of Korean grammatical forms and the like. In this style, the nouns and stems of predicates are generally written in the full forms of the characters. For an introduction, see Ahn Byung-hui (1984).

[3] In some records it is said that various writing systems existed in Korea in ancient times, but none of them have yet been verified.

the fact that in any Korean dictionary well over half of the entries are those
of Sino-Korean.

2. SINO-KOREAN

2.1. The Influence of the Chinese Characters upon the Korean Language

It may sound somewhat odd for some linguists that the writing system of the
Chinese characters has something to do with the description of Korean. But the
firm maintenance of the class of Sino-Korean within the frame of the Korean
language, or in the subconciousness of the Korean speakers, cannot be properly
explained without considering the very existence of the Chinese characters, or,
at least, the existence of morphemes backed up by the characters.

Native speakers of Korean conceive the Sino-Korean forms by their
phonemically fixed forms, regardless of the actual realizations of them. In
other words, the phonological variations of a Sino-Korean form are hardly
recognized by the Koreans.[4] For example, the phonemic realizations of several
Sino-Korean words, sharing the common morpheme *gug* 'nation, country' are
presented below :

> *gug-bang*   /guG-bbang/   'national defence'
> *gug-ga*   /guG-gga/ or /gu-gga/   'nation'
> *gug-ə*   /gu-gə/   'national language'

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[4] The modern Korean orthography, established in the 1930's, reflects the general percep-
tions on the Sino-Korean forms. That is, the spellings of Sino-Korean words in the Korean
phonetic alphabet do not follow the actual sounds, i.e., the sound changes under certain
phonological circumstances, are not shown, but that of the fixed reading of each character.
This practice may be called "morphophonemic spellings." Accordingly, there are a number
of discrepancies between the spellings and the pronunciations of Korean words. The
"McCune-Reschauer Romanization of Korean," which has been widely used by western
scholars engaged in Korean studies, is a transcription system reflecting the actual sounds. It
is noted that this system presents many more problems for native Koreans, who are
accustomed to recognize the Sino-Korean forms by the fixed spellings, than a transliteration´
of the Korean spellings.

In the modern Korean orthorgraphy the rule of "mophophonemic spelling" is also applied
to the Non-Sino-Korean forms also. That is, as a rule, all the lexical forms—nouns, verbal
stems, grammatical forms, etc.—are spelled out consistently disregarding the reality of
pronunciations. (There are a small number of exceptions against this rule.) However, this
was not the case in the pre-modern orthographies. In the latter, the native forms are found
to have been written as they were pronounced. Yet, the Sino-Korean forms appear in the
"morphophonemic" spellings. This fact tells us that the perception of the Sino-Korean forms
by the fixed readings has not been due to the modern Korean orthography established in the
1930's.

gug-hŏ	/gu-kŏ/	'national assembly'
gug-min	/gung-min/	'the people of a nation'
ŏ-gug	/ŏ-guG/ or /we-guG/	'foreign country'
ib-gug	/ib-gguG/	'entering a country'

As shown in the examples above, the morpheme *gug* is phonemically realized as /guG/, /gu-k/, /gung/ and /gguG/. Nevertheless, for the Koreans, /guG/ is the only possible representation of the morpheme *gug*. The /gung/, /gguG/, etc. can never be identified as the variations of *gug*. This fixed form in the perception of the speakers must be firmly sustained because of the backing up of the reading of the character 國. Without the character the fixed form would be hard to maintain and, as a result, the class of Sino-Korean, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically distinguished from the other, would no longer exist.

On the other hand, a Sino-Korean syllable has numerous homonyms. That is, a character (with a few exceptions) represents a single monosyllable but usually has a variety of meanings and many characters are homophones. For example, the character 家 represents a frequently occurring morpheme *ga*, of which the basic sense is 'house, home'. However, it is also found in many words for professions, such as *ǔmag-ga* 'musician', *muyong-ga* 'dancer', *sosəl-ga* 'novelist' and so on. There are also many other characters with the phonetic value *ga*. Some of them are 加, 可, 假 and 街, of which the basic meanings are 'addition', 'approval', 'temporary' and 'street' respectively. Each of them is a frequently occurring bound morpheme in Korean. It is extremely doubtful whether the large number of homonyms could be maintained without the Chinese characters behind them. At least, it can be safely argued that in Korean a number of homonymic morphemes are maintained because of the existence of the Chinese characters.

2.2. Borrowing through Writing

The influence of the Chinese writing system upon the Korean language is also obvious from the historical point of view. In Sino-Korean there are numerous forms which have their origins in Chinese or Japanese. The contact between the Korean language and the Chinese or the Japanese language occurred mostly through the medium of writing, rather than verbal communication. Under the circumstances, a unique type of "borrowing" process has happened, and is still going on, between Korean and Chinese or Japanese.

Once the Chinese phonetic values accompanying the characters were somehow introduced into Korean, they may have been adjusted to fit into the Korean phonological and other grammatical systems and, since then, may have experienced changes along with Korean. Nevertheless, they have formed a distinctive class in the Korean language, as mentioned above.

Meanwhile, the Chinese works, especially histories and literary works, had

continued to be introduced into Korea. For the Korean readers, the phonetic representations of the contents of the Chinese works were not those of Chinese but those of Sino-Korean. As Koreans frequently quoted the impressive expressions found in them in their speeches and compositions, many of them eventually became members of the Korean vocabulary.

In such a process the phonological forms of Chinese were not borrowed, but the designation of a new meaning to a Sino-Korean form, or the way of combining the already existing morphemes for a new meaning, were borrowed into the Korean language. Of course, this process is not the kind of "borrowing" in the traditional sense, especially that of historical and comparative linguistics, but is obviously "a kind of borrowing" and a kind of linguistic phenomenon, which can hardly occur without the pre-existing Sino-Korean morphemes representing the Chinese characters.

A similar process of borrowing has happened between Korean and Japanese in modern times. The majority of words transmitted from Japanese into Korean are those of combinations of characters for certain meanings, which had been unknown in Korean, or those of the designations of new meanings to already existing forms. In either case, the phonetic values in Japanese have nothing to do with those of Sino-Korean. This is also true even in the cases of characters representing certain foreign words in Japan. An interesting example is the case of the character 弗 which has been used by the Japanese to express the English word, "dollar", and is read *doru* in Japanese. (The shape of this Chinese character is similar to the reverse form of "$".) Once it was introduced into Korea the Koreans have used the character in the same sense as in Japanese, but read it *bul*, the Sino-Korean reading of the character. Thus, phonetically, the Korean *bul* has nothing to do with either the English word *dollar* or the Japanese *doru*.

2.3. Fundamentals of Sino-Korean

In this section some of the fundamental characteristics of the Sino-Korean forms, commonly known to the Koreans, are introduced briefly for those who are not familiar with them.

The distinctive aspects of Sino-Korean in the Korean language are largely due to the very nature of the Chinese characters. However, the distinctiveness of Sino-Korean in the Korean language must not be compared with those where backgrounds are superficially the same. In other words, the characteristics of Sino-Korean within the structure of Korean, especially on the grammatical level, should not be imagined to be similar or identical to those of Sino-Japanese in Japanese, or to those of Sino-Vietnamese in Vietnamese, on which the Chinese writing system has also played a considerable influence.

As is well-known, a Chinese character represents a meaning or meanings and a phonetic value or values. The meanings recognized from a character may be

largely identical regardless of the language or dialect it is written in. But, the readings are different from one language to another. For example, the character 角 is understood by the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans in the sense of 'horn, angle', but is pronounced *jiao* in modern Mandarin Chinese, *kaku*, among others, in Japanese, and *gag* in Korean. In this respect, the Chinese characters are comparable with the Arabic numbers (1, 2, 3, etc.) or with the mathematical symbols (+, −, =, etc.) which denote the same meanings all over the world, but are read differently in different languages.

Although the meaning of an individual character may be similarly understood by the speakers of the different languages, the combination of two characters (the most typical form of a word) or more characters expressing an ordinary word in one language may denote something quite different or nothing in the others. For example, each of the following combinations of characters stands for the given sense only in the language to which it belongs.

我們 'we', 老師 'teacher', 星期一 'Monday'   ∴Chinese
勉强 'study', 物語 'story', 子供 'child'   ∴Japanese
生覺 'thinking', 三寸 'uncle', 總角 'a bachelor'   ∴Korean

In Modern Korean a Chinese character is represented, as a rule, by a single mono-syllable. None of the readings of individual characters are poly-syllabic. Also, only a small number of characters stand for two or more readings. In the earlier periods a character might have been read either by the phonetic value borrowed form the Chinese language, or by that of the native form with the identical meaning of the character.[5] For example, the character 內 ('in, interior') might have been pronounced either *nai*(>*nă* in modern Korean), a borrowing from Chinese (Ancient Chinese: *nuậi-*)[6], or *an*, the Korean form denoting the same sense. This is the case in Modern Japanese. That is, in Japanese a character is read at least two ways, one is a borrowing from Chinese and the other, a native, and, very often, several different readings for a character. Thus, even a native speaker is often unable to pronounce correctly certain Japanese names written in rarely occurring characters. This fact, i.e., a single mono-syllabic reading per character, distinguishes Sino-Korean from Sino-Japanese.

The most outstanding differences between the Sino-Korean readings of the

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[5] The Korean readings of the Chinese characters are believed to have originated in Ancient Chinese of some time in the first half of the first millenium A.D. and have been developed in the Korean language. However, certain forms reflect the Mandarin Chinese phonetic values in the successive periods of time, while others seem to have originated from misreadings by the Koreans, and still others, created by the Koreans.

[6] In the present study the Ancient Chinese readings of the Chinese characters are those found in Bernard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

characters and those of the modern Chinese dialects—Mandarin, Cantonese, Fukenese and so on—are : 1) The Sino-Korean forms have no tones. As is well known, Chinese is a tonal language, but Korean is not. 2) The final stops (*ru-sheng*入聲 literally "entering sound"), -*k*, -*t* and -*p*, of ancient Chinese have completely disappeared in Mandarin, but have been maintained in Cantonese and some other Chinese dialects (rather "languages"). Ancient Chinese final -*k* and -*p* regularly correspond to Sino-Korean -*g* and -*p*, respectively, but -*t*, to -*l*. Ex. 木 ACh: *muk*, Ch: *mu*, SK: *mog* ; 藥 ACh: *i̯ak*, Ch: *yue*, SK: *yag* ; 甲 ACh: *kap*, Ch: *jia*, SK: *gab* ; 葉 ACh: *i̯ăp*, Ch: *ye*, SK: *yəb* ; 一 ACh: *i̯ĕt*, Ch: *i*, SK: *il* ; 末 ACh: *muât*, Ch: *mo*, SK: *mal*. 3) In Sino-Korean, the initial *l*- of Chinese has dropped out or changed into an *n* in word-initial positions, but remains as such in any other position. (This is one of the characteristics of the Altaic languages. That is, in all the languages considered to belong to the Altaic linguistic family a liquid sound does not occur in the initial position of a word.)

Ex. 來 Ch: *lai*, SK: *nă-/-lă*; 勞 Ch: *lao*, SK: *no-/-lo* ; 禮 Ch: *li*, SK: *ye-/-lye* ; 李 Ch: *li*, SK: *i-/-li* ; 兩 Ch: *liang*, SK: *yang-/-nyang/-lyang* ; 論 Ch: *lun*, SK: *non-/-lon*.

Few Chinese characters denote single meanings. The number of meanings represented by a character range from none to several dozens. The character 子 *ja* has the basic meaning of 'son', but in such words as 帽子*mo-ja* 'hat, cap' ; 利子*i-ja* 'interest on a loan' ; 箱子*sang-ja* 'carton box' and so on, it does not display any sense. Likewise, almost all of the characters found in proper nouns are not understood by the meaning of each character, although many of them were originally composed in reference to the meanings. Certain characters are used only for one word. The famous examples of this kind are those found in the word 珊瑚 'coral' (Korean: *sanho*), both of which characters are found only in this particular word.

"The lexical items of Sino-Korean" should not be misunderstood as those borrowed from Chinese. There are of course numerous Chinese borrowings found in Korean, but not all of the Sino-Korean forms have been introduced from Chinese. A large number of Sino-Korean words were composed by the Koreans, which, therefore, are unknown in Chinese or in Japanese. There are even some Chinese characters created by the Koreans. Oddly enough, many of the Chinese borrowings in the recent past are no longer considered to be Sino-Korean but *native* words. The sub-classes of Sino-Korean forms are to be discussed in the following chapter.

3. CLASSIFICATION OF THE LEXICAL ITEMS OF KOREAN

3.1. A Classification

At the beginning of the present study, it was mentioned that the lexical items of Korean can be classified into two groups based on the identifiableness with the readings of the Chinese characters: the Class of Non-Sino-Korean and the Class of Sino-Korean. For a further clarification of the nature of Sino-Korean, a brief discussion on the classification is presented here.

The lexical items belonging to each of the two classes may be further divided, on the bases of their origins, into several sub-classes as follows:[7]

Lexical Items of Modern Korean

Non-Sino-Korean Class	Sino-Korean Class
1) Native Korean 2) Borrowings in the Ancient Periods 3) Borrowings in the Pre-Modern Periods 4) Items Originally Composed of the Chinese Characters, But the Sounds Have Been Changed 5) Borrowings in the Modern Period	1) Items which Originated in the Chinese (Confucian) Classics 2) Items Introduced from Chinese in Successive Periods of Time 3) Items Composed by the Koreans 4) Items Composed of Characters Created by the Koreans 5) Items Composed by the Japanese in the Modern Period 6) Items of Chinese/Japanese Transcriptions of Foreign Languages 7) Items of Idiomatic Expressions 8) Proper Nouns

3.2. The Class of Non-Sino-Korean

The "native forms" are known as *go-yu-ə* 固有語("inherited words") in Korean. The typical members of this sub-class are most of the grammatical items —derivational and inflectional suffixes—and many of the everyday words. Ex. grammatical items: *-i/ga* (subjective case), *-ui* (genetive case), *-(a/ə)ss-*(past tense); everyday words: *ssal* 'rice', *bab* 'steamed rice', *ddəg* 'rice cake', etc.

[7] For the classification of the Sino-Korean items the following two works have been consulted: Shim Jae-ki(1982), pp. 41-49; Pak Yeong-Seob(1986).

Among the items the Koreans consider to be native, there are those which seem to have been borrowed from foreign languages at ancient times. For example, *mal* 'horse' (cf. Mongolian: *mori*); *bus*/buD/붓 'calligraphy brush' (cf. Ancient Chinese: *piet* 筆, SK reading: *pil*), *məg*/məG/먹 'ink-stone' (cf. Ancient Chinese: *mək*墨, SK: *mug*), etc. However, none of them can be verified definitely as borrowings.

There are some Korean words borrowed from foreign languages in the middle periods. All of them are considered to be native forms by the ordinary Koreans. However, some are mentioned in old Korean records as borrowings and others can be identified with the original forms by careful studies. Ex. *bora-mǎ*[8] 'young hunting falcon' (cf. Mongolian: boro 'hunting falcon'); *sadon* 'relatives by marriage' (cf. Mongolian: *sadun* 'relatives, friend'); *bǎcu* < *baicu* 'Chinese cabbage' (cf. MCh: *bai-cai*白菜/SK: *bǎg-cǎ)*; *hucu* 'black pepper' (cf. MCh: *hu-jiao* 胡椒/SK: *ho-co*); *gaji* 'egg-plant' (cf. MCh: *jia-zi* 茄子/SK: *ga-ja)*, *gimci* 'kimchi' (cf. MCh: *xian-cai*鹹菜/SK: *ham-cǎ)*.

It is noted that the words borrowed from the Chinese language have settled down either as Sino-Korean or as Non-Sino-Korean. Among the examples above, the last five are those of the latter case. In general, those Chinese words introduced through writing have become members of the Sino-Korean group while those through the spoken language, Non-Sino-Korean.

Some modern Korean words were originally combinations of two or more character-readings. As sound changes have occurred the syllables can no longer be identified with the Sino-Korean readings and are considered to be native forms. Ex. *gage* 'small shop' (<*ga-ga*假家 literally 'a false house' or 'a temporary house'), *sǎngcəl* 'tin-plate, sheet zinc' (<*sə-yang-cəl*西洋鐵 literally 'western metal'), *ganan* 'poverty' (<*gan-nan*艱難 'hardships'), *səngnyang* 'matches' (<*səg-lyu-hwang*石硫黃 'sulfur, brimstone'), etc.

Along with the introduction of western civilization a large number of words of the European languages, especially English, have entered the Korean language since the end of the last century. Some have been completely "naturalized," while others are either on the process of naturalizing or still remain as "foreign" but frequently used. Ex. more or less naturalized words: *bbang* 'bread' (<Portuguese: *pão*, Spanish: *pan*), *radio* 'radio' (<English), *bbilding* 'building' (<English), *apatu* 'apartment house' (<English), *tǎgsi* 'taxi' (<English), *bbəsu* 'bus' (<English), etc.; still foreign but frequently used: *opun* 'opening (of a shop, etc.)' (<English), *ki* 'key' (<English), *elebeitə* 'elevator' (<English), etc.

3.3. The Class of Sino-Korean (1)

Since the Confucian classics had been generally used as the major textbooks

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[8] *Mǎ* is a Korean word for 'falcon'. For the Mongolian loan words in Middle Korean, see Lee Ki-Moon (1964) and Song Ki Joong (1985), pp. 361-363.

for education for many centuries, numerous Sino-Korean words originated in them. The implications of certain words may have been slightly or radically changed in the course of time, but many seem to be still used in a similar or identical sense to the one they had in ancient times. The following examples are those that can be identified in the Confucian classic, *Hsiao-ching (Xiaojing)* 孝經 *The Book of Filial Piety,* and that are more or less considered to be ordinary words in modern Korean.[9]

bu-mo父母 'father and mother, parents', cə-ja妻子 'wife and children', bu-in 婦人 'wife', hyo-ja孝子 'a son of filial piety', cən-ji天地 'heaven and the earth, the universe', cən-səng天性 'nature (of man)' (lit. 'heavenly nature'), gun-ja君子 'gentleman', sin-ce身體 'one's body', etc.

Besides the Confucian classics, histories and literatures written by the Chinese in the successive periods of time were easily accessible to the Korean intellectuals. As the Koreans frequently quoted in their speeches and composi- tions the impressive words and phrases found in the Chinese works, many of them eventually became members of the Korean vocabulary. (It should be remembered that the contact between the Korean language and the Chinese language had occurred mostly through the medium of writing rather than verbal communication.) Numerous ordinary words in modern Korean can be identified in Chinese histories and literatures. Some of them that can be found in the *Han-shu*漢書 are presented below :[10]

gam-gyəg感激 'emotional moving', no-ryəg 勞力 'effort', ung-mo應募 'ap- plying for', jəb-dü 接待 'reception, entertaining (guests)', jong-ryu種類 'kinds, sorts', jil-mun 質問 'question', etc.

There are also to be found many Sino-Korean words which originated in the Chinese works written in the colloquial Chinese, *bai-hua-wen*伯話文(SK : bäg-hwa-mun).[11]

ga-gyəg價格 'price', gag-gug各國 'every country, all countries', mo-cin母親 'mother', bu-cin父親 'father', bang-hyang方向 'direction', etc.

Not a few Sino-Korean words are those composed by the Koreans. Very often, however, it is not quite sure whether a certain Sino-Korean word was indeed created by the Koreans or it originated in Chinese but has been com- pletely forgotten in the latter. The following examples are those quite possibly composed by the Koreans.

sa-ju四柱 lit., 'the four pillars', i.e., 'the year, month, day and hour of a man's birth, that are supposed to destine his fate' ; sam-con三寸 lit., 'three inches' denoting 'father's brother, uncle' ; o-ib誤入 'whoring' (lit., 'wrong entering')

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[9] These examples are quoted form Shim Jae-ki (1982), p. 43.
[10] These examples are quoted form Pak Yeong-seob (1986), pp. 17-35.
[11] *Ibid,* p. 65.

bog-dəg-bang 福德房 lit., 'lucky and virtuous room', hence 'real-estate agency', *ga-ma*駕馬 'sedan-chair', *gum-si-co-mun*今時初聞 'being just told', etc.

The Koreans had created a number of Chinese characters almost all of which, therefore, are unknown in Chinese or Japanese literature. The characters created by the Koreans may be classified into two categories: those created to write the meanings of the objects and those, for the Korean sounds lacking in Sino-Korean. Those characters belonging to the first category function like any of the characters created in China. But those representing a certain Korean sounds are rarely used at present and the ordinary Koreans do not think of them as Sino-Korean forms.

Created for the meanings: 欌*jang* 'storing cabinet': *jang-long*欌籠 'wardrobe', *can-jang*饌欌 'kitchen cabinet', *cäg-jang*冊欌 'bookself, book cabinet', *ui-jang*衣欌 'wardrobe'; 畓 *dab* 'water-field, rice field': *jən-dab*田畓 'dry and water field', *og-dab*玉畓 'good water-field'; 垈 *dä* 'the site or lot of a building': *dä-ji*垈地 'the site of a building'; 媤 *si-* 'of husband': *si-ga*媤家 'the home or family of husband'; *si-dong-sang*媤同生 'husband's younger brother', etc.

Created for the sounds: 乭*dol* : *sam-dol*三乭 (a personal name for man); 縇*oS*/ ŏD/ : *os-nyən/onnyən*/縇年 (a personal name for woman); 㐓 *gaS*; 㐉 *gəS*; *gguT* ; 㐈*nuJ* ; 㐎*bbun* ; 巼*paS*, etc. (For the final unreleased consonants, marked by capital letters in these examples, see Section 3.1. below.)

In modern Sino-Korean there are also found not a few words originally composed by the Japanese.[12]

*jan-go*殘高 'balance (of deposit in the bank account, etc.)', *sang-dam*相談 'consultation, counseling', *yag-sog*約束 'promise', *yəg-hal*役割 'role', *ib-gu*入口 'entrance', *an-nä*案內 'information (desk, personel, etc.).'

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, as western ideas and inventions have poured into China, Korea and Japan, a large number of new words have been composed with the Chinese characters, or new meanings have been designated to already existing ones, for the introduction of and translation of western cultural products. The majority of the new vocabulary items were created by the Japanese or by the Chinese and have been adopted by the Koreans.

*-ju-ui*主義 '-ism' (lit., 'the major idea') : *min-ju-ju-ui* 民主主義 'democracy', *ja-bon-ju-ui*資本主義 'capitalism', *gong-san-ju-ui* 共産主義 'communism' ; *jən-*電 'electric-' (originally 'lightening'): *jən-gi*電氣 'electricity', *jən-ca*電車 'electric car', i.e.,'streetcar', *jən-cug* 電蓄 'electric record-player', *jən-sən*電線 'electricity cord' ; *mun-bəb*文法 'grammar' (lit., 'the law of

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[12] Quoted from Sim Jä-gi (1982), p. 47.

written sentences') : *gu-jo-ju-ŭi*構造主義 'structuralism', *byən-hyəng-säng -səng mun-bəb*變形生成文法 'transformational generative grammar', *ŭm-so* 音素 'phoneme', *hyəng-tä-so*形態素 'morpheme', etc.

3.4.   The Class of Sino-Korean (2)

Since antiquity the Chinese characters have been frequently used just as phonetic symbols, without regard to the meanings represented by them, especially for the transcriptions of foreign words. This practice has been known as *jia-jie*假借 in Chinese (SK : *ga-ca*). (The Koreans also adopted this practice for the transcription of the native Korean forms by the Chinese characters.[13] As mentioned in Section 1.2. above, the Koreans did not borrow the phonetic forms of the Chinese or the Japanese creations, but the written forms. This is also the case for most of the Sino-Korean words which were originally those of the foreign forms transcribed by the Chinese or by the Japanese. The words belonging to this category may be called "Sino-Korean," as they can be written with the Chinese characters also. But, the syllables which make them up cannot be analyzed into morphemes, and, therefore, from the morphological point of view, they are more like the forms of Non-Sino-Korean.

Among the Chinese transcriptions, which have been adopted by the Koreans, there are many Buddhist terms originating in Sanskrit. Some of them commonly known to the Koreans are taken for examples.

*bul*佛 'buddha' (cf. ACh : *b'iuet*)[14], *bosal*菩薩 'bodhisattva', *gəb*劫 'kalpa' (the period of time between the creation and recreation of the universe), *sari* 舍利 'sarira' (Buddha's bone), *gasa*袈裟 'kasaya' (the monks robe or cassock)

There are a small number of words consisting of two or more syllables representing characters that are not found in other forms.

san-ho 珊瑚 'coral', *səg-ryu* 柘榴 'pomegranate', *po-do* 葡萄 'grapes'.

The Chinese or Japanese transcriptions of the names of western countries and cities have been adopted by the Koreans. The majority of them have been replaced by the Korean transcriptions, of which phonetic values are closer to the original sounds than those of the former (pronounced in Sino-Korean). However, few of them have firmly established their status in Korean.

Mi-gug 美國 'the United States of America' ('The Mi Nation')[15], *Yəng-gug*

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[13] See note 2 above.

[14] The form *bul* is a bound form in modern Korean with the meaning of 'buddha, buddhistic'. The world for "Buddha" is *Bucə*. It is noted that all the syllable final *l* of Sino-Korean go back to the Ancient Chinese final *t*. Besides the Chinese transcriptions, there are many Buddhist terms translated from the Sanskrit by the Chinese. They look like any other Sino-Korean words.

[15] The first character of this name, meaning 'beauty', was the Chinese choice(Ch : *mei*)to transcribe the second syllable of "America." Since, in English, the accent is placed on the

英國 'England" ('The Yəng nation')¹⁶, *Sso-ryən* 蘇聯 'Soviet Union"¹⁷, *Dog-il* 獨逸 'Germany'¹⁸

3.5. The Class of Sino-Korean (3)

In Sino-Korean there are a number of idiomatic expressions originating in the episodes or anecdotes found in the history of China or Korea, or those related with the historical institutions. The implications of the expressions are, therefore, not those represented by the Chinese characters consisting them. Some of the most frequently uttered by the Koreans are presented.

mo-sun 矛盾 'contradiction' (lit., 'spear and shield'), *o-ri-mu-jung* 五里霧中 'being in fog, being mistified' (lit., 'in the fog of five miles'), *yang-ban* 兩班 'noble class' (lit., 'two classes'), *a-jən-in-su* 我田引水 'seeking one's own interest' (lit., 'drawing water to one's own field'), *hong-il-jəm* 紅一點 'the only woman among many' (lit., 'one red point'), *hyo-si* 嚆失 'the beginning' (lit., 'resounding arrow').

All of the Korean family names—some two hundred fifty kinds—can be represented by the Chinese characters. Almost all proper nouns—including personal names, names of cities, towns, government offices, schools, private companies, and so on—were, and are, composed making reference to the meanings of the characters.

Family names: *Gim (Kim)* 金 lit., 'gold', *I (Yi)* 李 lit., 'plum', etc. Other names: *I-hwa (Ehwa)* 梨花 lit., 'pear flower', *Də-jən (Taejŏn)* 大田 lit., 'large field', *Sam-səng (Samsung)* 三星 lit., 'three stars'.

Although the components of the idiomatic expressions and the proper names can be identified with the readings of the Chinese characters, the Koreans do not recognize the literal senses, as with the case of the English speakers who do not think of the original meanings of such names as "Smith," "Underwood," "Mill" and so on.

3.6. Juxtapositions of Sino-Korean and Non-Sino-Korean

There are many words consisting of multi-syllables, only a part of which can

second syllable, the Chinese who transcribed this name for the first time may have missed the first syllable *a*.

¹⁶ The first character of this name was also the Chinese choice (Ch : *ing*)to transcribe the first syllable of "England," pronounced/ing/.

¹⁷ The first character of this name was also the Chinese choice(Ch. *so*) for the first syllable of "Soviet." The second character is an abbreviation of 聯邦 '(federal) union, confederation'.

¹⁸ The two characters of this name may have been chosen by the Japanese to transcribe the first half of the name "Deutschland". It reads *doitsu* in Japanese.

be identified with the reading(s) of a certain Chinese character(s). (The grammatical aspects of this kind of words are to be discussed in Chapter 5 below.) In the following examples the first syllables are Sino-Korean.

dong-jjog 東쪽 'eastern direction, the east', *mun-jjag* 門짝 'a leaf of a door', *həl-gabs* 歇값 'cheap price', etc.

4. PHONOLOGY

4.1. Phonemes in Modern Korean

In standard Korean there are 19 consonantal, 9 vocalic and 2 semi-vocalic phonemes. They are as follows:

Consonants	Plosives	Fricatives Affricates	Nasals	Lateral	Glottal
Plain	g d b	j s	n m ng	1	
Aspirated	k t p	c			h
Tensed	gg dd bb	jj ss			

Vowels	Front		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i		ʉ	u
Mid	e	ö(we)	ə	o
Low	ä		a	

Semi-Vowels		
	y	w

There are 12 diphthongs in Modern Korean.

y-diphthongs:	ye	ya	yə	yä	yu	yo
w-diphthongs:	wi	we	wa	wə	wä	
ʉ-diphthong:	ʉi					

Some of the general, phonological aspects of the Korean language are briefly given here, especially those related with our discussions, followed by those considered to be quite different from Enlgish.

1) In the consonantal system of Korean, "aspiration" and "tension" function as distinctive features, whereas "voicing" does not. A voiced plosive or affricate occurs as an allophone of the plain one, most typically, in the position between vowels, or in a position following a nasal or a lateral. Even in such a position, the fricative /s/ is not voiced.

2) The plosives and the fricatives are "unreleased" or "implosive" in the

syllable-final positions before a pause, or a plosive, or a fricative consonant. As a result of this phenomenon, the contrasts by aspiration and tension become extinct, or "neutralized." Neutralization has further developed between the dental plosives /d, t, (dd)/ and the fricatives /s, ss, j, c, (jj)/ in the same phonological environments.

Thus, if the unreleased final consonants are indicated in the phonemic transcriptions by the capital letters of the symbols employed for the plain consonants, -g, -k and -gg are the identical /-G/ ; -d, -t, -s, -ss, -j and -c, /-D/ ; and -b and -p, /-B/.

Ex. *nad* 'cereal grain'⎫   *bag*- 'to drive in⎫
    nat 'a piece'   ⎪   (nail, etc.) ⎬ /baG/
    nas 'sickle'   ⎬ /naD/   *bagg* 'outside' ⎭
    naj 'daytime'   ⎪   *bad*- 'to receive'⎫ /baD/
    nac 'face'   ⎭   *bat* 'field'   ⎭

Obviously, the sound represented by the symbol /-G/ is an allophone of any of the three phonemes, /g/, /k/ and /gg/. Likewise, the /-D/ is an allophone of any of the six dental plosives and fricatives ; /-B/, either of the two bilabial plosives. Traditionally, the Koreans have had the symbols for /g/, /s/ and /b/ —i.e., ㄱ, ㅅ and ㅂ —rspresent /-G/, /-D/ and /-B/ repectively. (It is noticed that the dental plosives and fricatives are represented by the symbol for the fricative /s/, rather than that for /d/.) In the present study, those unreleased syllable-final consonants are considered to be "archiphonemes" after the Prague School's method and are indicated by the capital letters as above.[19]

3) Because of the neutralizations, on the phonological level, only the seven consonants, /-G, -D, -B, -m, -n, -ng, -l/, occur in the final positions of syllables.

4) Consonants /dd/ and /jj/ do not occur in the final positions even on the morphophonemic level.

5) In Korean, also in Chinese and Japanese, there is no distinction between an /r/ and an /l/. A sound similar to an [r] in western languages is produced between vowels and between a vowel and a /h/; and a sound similar to an [1] of the western languages in other positions. The lateral sounds are avoided in word-initial positions in Korean, including Sino-Korean, but they occur in borrowings from the western language in modern times.

6) The vowels seem to be contrasted primarily between "open" and "closed" and between "unrounded" and "rounded". The position of tongue, by which "front : back" and "high : low" contrasts are determined, seems to be a secondary feature in Korean. For this problem a separate study is needed.

7) In modern standard Korean, an /ū/ is hardly differentiated from a /wi/

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[19] The person who first applied the treory of "neutalization" as developed by the Prague School to the phenomenon of the Korean language was Professor I Gi-mun (Lee, Ki-moon) of Seoul National University. Sele Lee Ki-moon(1961), pp. 54, 83, 108, etc. For the "archiphoneme" see Trubetzkoy(1969), pp. 79ff.

and an /ŏ/, from a /we/. However, many scholars argue for the existence of an /ŏ/ as an independent phoneme, but not the /ü/.

8) Unlike English, /y/ and /w/ function more like vowels than consonants. The native Koreans identify a [y] sound with an /i/ and a [w], with an /u/. These two semi-vowels form diphthongs together with the simple vowels.

9) Consonant clusters are unknown initially. Therefore, such a mono-syllabic word in English as *strong* is recognized by the speakers of Korean to be of three syllables, *su-tu-rong*.

4.2. Consonantal Phonemes of Sino-Korean

Out of the nineteen consonants, three of the tensed ones, /dd/, /bb/ and /jj/, do not occur in the morphophonemes of Sino-Korean. That is, in the readings of individual characters the three consonants do not appear. Besides, the occurrences of the following three consonants are restricted to one or two forms of syllables. (See 4.4. below.)

/gg/ : occurs only in the syllable *ggig,* representing only one character 喫. However, as this syllable rarely occurs, the initial /gg/ seems to be on the verge of changing into /g/. Ex. *ggig-yən* /ggi-gyən~gi-gyən/喫煙 'smoking a cigarette', *ggig-da* /ggiG-dda~gi-dda/喫茶 'drinking tea'.

/ss/ : occurs in two syllables, *ssang* and *ssi.*
The former represents several characters, but the most frequently occurring one is 雙 'dual, double, pair'. The latter /ssi/ represents only one character 氏 'Mr., Mrs., Miss, etc.' (one of the most commonly used honorific appellation). The frequencies of occurrence of these two forms are very high.

/k/ : occurs only in the syllable *kwä,* representing several characters. But the most common one is 快 'cheerful'.

4.3. Syllable-Final Consonants

Of the seven final consonants, /-G, -D, -B, -m, -n, -ng, -l/, /-D/ does not, as a rule, exist in Sino-Korean. Therefore, on the morphophonemic level, there are not found Sino-Korean forms having *-d, -t, -s, -ss, -j* and *-c.* However, in a certain large Korean dictionary of Chinese characters, there are several characters, such as *gas*/gaD/, *goj*/goD/, *os*/oD/ and so on, all of which are given the explanations, "Korean-made character" or "Koren reading." In any case, those syllables having the dental plosive or the fricative consonants in the final positions are not regarded as Sino-Korean. Most of the characters with such readings were created for the transcription of Korean sounds lacking in Sino-Korean.

Among the morphophonemes of native Korean, there are forms with double consonants in the final positions. For example, *anj-da*/an-dda/ 'sits down', *balg-da*/bal-dda/ 'be bright', *dols*/dol/ 'first anniversary of birth', *hulg*/hulg

~huG/ 'earth, soil', etc. Altogether there are eleven kinds of final consonant clusters: *-gs, -bs, -nj, -nh, -lg, -lm, -lb, -ls, -lt, -lp* and *-lh.* None of them are found in the forms of Sino-Korean.

After certain stems, the initial plain consonant of an inflectional ending changes into its aspirated counterpart. For example, the "basic" ending of a verb is /da/ as in /ga-da/ 'goes', /o-da/ 'comes' and so on, but /jo-ta/ 'be good', /haya-ta/ 'be white', /man-ta/ 'be many' and so on. Korean linguists have interpreted this phenomenon as the work of a hidden *h* in the final position of the stem. That is, the morphophonemes of the last three examples have been considered to be *joh-, hayah-* and *manh-* respectively. This "hidden" *h* is not found in the Sino-Korean forms.

However, if a Sino-Korean form has an /h/ in the initial position, it has the power of changing the preceding consonant to the aspirated. Ex. *ib-hag*/i-paG/ 'entering school', *jəg-hwang-säg*/jə-kwang-säG/ 'reddish yellow color', *gub -häng* /gu-päng/ 'express (train, etc.)', etc.

4.4. Tensification of the Plain Consonants

In 3.2. above it was mentioned that the three tensed consonants, /dd, bb, jj/, do not occur in the morphophonemes of Sino-Korean. However, phonemically they do appear in the initial positions of non-initial syllables under certain circumstances.

All the plain plosives and fricatives are tensified when following the unreleased plosives. That is, after /-G/ and /-B/, /g, d, j, s/ are changed into /gg, dd, jj, ss/ respectively.

Ex. *gug-ga*/guG-gga~gu-gga/'nation', *gag-do*/gaG-ddo/ 'degrees of an angle', *ab-bag*/aB-bbaG~a-bbaG/ 'oppression'. *gag-jong*/gaG-jjong/ 'various kinds', *ib-si*/iB-ssi/ 'entrance examination', etc.

After an open syllable, the initial plain plosive or fricative of the next syllable becomes voiced. However, in a number of words, they are tensified.

Ex. Voiced: *ji-gag*/ji-gaG/ 'being late (to school, etc.)', *mul-gən*/ mul-gən/ 'things, goods', *jəng-gi*/jəng-gi/ 'regular interval of time.', *ga-du*/ga-du/ 'on the street', *gang-byən*/gang-byən/ 'river shore', *bəl-gwa-gum*/bəl-gwa-gum/ 'fine, penalty money', *ce-jo*/ce-jo/ 'physical exercise', *jing-jo*/jing-jo/ 'omen', *jil-byə ng*/jil-byəng/ 'disease', jung-sang/jung-sang/ 'serious wound', etc.

Tensified: *jo-gən*/jo-ggən/ 'condition, requirement', *mul-ga*/mul-gga/ 'price', *səng-ga*/səng-gga/ 'fame, name value', *i-gwa*/i-ggwa/ 'science departments', *gy əl-dan*/gyəl-ddan/ 'firm decision', *hən-bəb*/hən-bbəB/ 'national constitution', *sang-bəb*/sang-bbəB/'commercial law', *bul-sang*/bul-ssang/ 'Buddha's image', etc.

A "liason" of the syllable-final consonant is very common when followed by a vowel. Under that circumstance, the consonant transferred to the next

syllable usually becomes voiced, but never tensified. [20] That is, in the sequence of two syllables, V-CV and VC-V (V : a vowel, C : a consonant), the C of the first case is either tensified or voiced, i.e., realized /V-CCV/ or /V-CV/, while the C of the second sequence has no possibility for tensification, but a liason, and is realized /V-CV/.

Ex. *sa-gwa* /sa-gwa/ 'apology', *sa-gwa* /sa-ggwa/ 'Department IV', *sa-bəb* /sa-bəB/ 'the administration of justice', *sa-bəb* /sa-bbəB/ 'private law' ; *gug-ig* /gu-giG/ 'national interest', *sab-ib* /sa-biB/ 'insertion'.

The fact that tensification occurs only on the initial consonant of a syllable can be interpreted as meaning that it requires a preceding "pause"[21].

4.5. Diphthongs

The vowels of Sino-Korean are much the same as those of Non-Sino-Korean. All the vocalic phonemes occur in Sino-Korean as well. However, the diphthongs found in the Sino-Korean forms are noteworthy.

In earlier times there were a much greater number of diphthongs in the Sino-Korean syllables than those at present. Many of them have changed into simple vowels and some of the existing ones are on the verge of simplification.[22]

1) Following the dental plosives, /d/ and /t/, no diphthongs are found in Sino-Korean. Historically, a dental plosive followed by a /y-/ diphthong has been palatalized and the diphthong has been simplified. Ex. *je* 第 'order' < *dye*, *ce* 體 'body' < *tye, jung* 中 'middle' < *dyung, jəng-gə-jang* 停車場 < *dyəng-gə-dyang* 'stations (railway, bus, etc.)'. This development is observed in the native forms also. Ex. NSK: *jəgi* 'there, over there' < *dyəgui, joh-da* 'be good' < *dyo-ha-da, ti-ggul* 'dust' < *twi-s-gul*, etc. However, there are native forms with /d/ or /t/   followed by the w-diphthongs, but none in Sino-Korean.

Ex. NSK: *dwäji* 'pig', *dwə-ra* 'Put (something somewhere)!' < *du-ə-ra, twi-da* 'spatters (water, etc.)'.

2) The diphthong /yä/ does not occur at all in Sino-Korean.

[20] Some of the native morphophonemes have tensed consonants in the syllabel-final positions, which is realized when a vowel is followed. Ex. NSK: *bagg* /baG/ 'outside' : *bagg-e* /ba-gge/ 'to the outside', *ggəgg-da* /ggəg-dda/ 'breaks off(branches, etc.)' : *ggəgg-ə-ji-da* /ggə-ggə-ji-da/ 'be broken off', etc. These morphophonemic final tensed consonants are not a tensification.

[21] Tensification has developed in the initial positions of the initial syllables in some native forms. Ex. NSK : *ggoc* /ggoD/ 'flower' < *goj* ; *ggut* /ggu D/ *gut*, etc.

[22] As is well known to the Korean linguists, Modern Korean simple vowels /ä/, /e/ and /ö/ have been developed from the Middle Korean diphthongs /ai/, /əi/ and /oi/ respectively. Since these simplifications have occurred all over the Korean forms, including those of Sino-Korean, they are not included in the present discussions.

3) In the open syllables, the unrounded diphthongs /yă/, /yə/, /ye/ and /ʉi/ are contrasted with /a/, /o/, /e/ and /i/ respectively where no consonants precede. Ex. *ya* 也, 夜, 野: *a* 兒, 我, 亞; *yə* 女, 如, 餘: *ə* 語, 魚, 於; *ye* 禮, 例, 像: *ə* 恚 (rarely occurring). However, after a consonant such a contrast is not found. That is, one side of the pair, /Cya/:/Ca/, /Cyə/:/Cə/, /Cye/: /Ce/ and /Cui/:/Ci/, does not exist. ("C" denotes a consonant.) Mostly the diphthong side is lacking. Ex. (existing syllables) *ga, gə, gye* (see below), *gi, la, lyə, lye, li, ma, mye, mi, sa, sə, se, si,* etc.

4) Morphophonemically there exist *gye, mye, pye* and *hye,* but phonemically they are /ge/, /me/, /pe/ and /he/ respectively. This development seems to have been completed. Ex. *gye-san* 計算 'calculation' /ge-san/, *mye-byəl* 袂別 'farewell, parting' /me-byəl/, *pye* 肺 'the lung' /pe/, *ʉn-hye* 恩慧 'favor' / ʉn-he/.

5) The diphthong /ʉi/ is found only in the syllables *ʉi* and *hʉi.* But /ʉi/ is being changed into /i/ or /ʉ/ depending on the position of occurrence and /hʉi/ has become /hi/. In general in the language of the older generations these two diphthongs are retained as such, while in that of the younger generations, they are being changed. Also, they do not exist in the dialect of the southeastern provinces of Korea. Ex. *ʉi-mu* 義務 'duty' /ʉi-mu, i-mu, ʉ-mu/, *ʉi-sa* 醫師 'medical doctor' /ʉi-sa, ʉ-sa/, *hʉi-mang* 希望 'hope' /hi-mang/, *hʉi-săng* 犧牲 'sacrifice' /hi-săng/, etc.

It is noted that the syllables *ʉ* and *hi* do not exist on the morphophonemic level of Sino-Korean.

The native Korean form, the genitive case, *-ʉi* is realized /e/ in the language of the younger generations.

6) The w-diphthongs occur only after /φ/, /g/ and /h/.
Ex. *wa* 訛, *wan* 完, *wang* 王, *wă* 歪, *wən* 員, *wəl* 月, *gwa* 果, *gwən* 圈, *gwi* 貴, *hwa* 火, *hwan* 患, *hwang* 黃 etc.

7) The diphthong which is preceded by the widest variety of consonants is / yə/. But the fricatives and the dental plosives (see 1 above) are not found before this diphthong. Ex. *gyəg, gyən, gyəl, gyəng, nyə, nyən, nyəng, byəg, by əm, byəl, byəng, yə, yən, yəm, yəng, pyən, hyəg,* etc.
However, open syllables with this diphthong are limited to *nyə* and *lyə.* Such syllables as *gyə, byə, pyə* and so on, which occur frequently in the native Korean forms, are lacking in Sino-Korean. (See below.)

4.6. Syllables

As presented in the beginning of this chapter, in Korean there are 19 consonants,[23] 9 simple vowels, 12 diphthongs and 11 morphophonemic final

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[23] Out of the 19 consonants, /ng/ occurs only in the final positions.

consonant clusters. The structure of a syllable in Korean may be simplified as follows:

Morphophonemic level :	(C) V (C) (C)	C : a consonant
	(C) D (C) (C)	V : a simple vowel
Phonemic level :	(C) V (C)	D : a diphthong
	(C) D (C)	( ) : optional

Therefore, theoretically, there can be the following number of syllables in Korean, including those of vocalic initial and final.

Morphophonemically : $(18+1) \times (9+12) \times (19+1+11) = 12369$

Phonemically : $(18+1) \times (9+12) \times (7 \times 1) = 3192$

However, about 1250 kinds of syllables cover over 97% of the forms frequently occurring. This number also includes those of Sino-Korean syllables.[24]

Although there are over 550 kinds of Sino-Korean syllables in the large Korean dictionaries,[25] the number of those frequently occuring in everyday Korean is less than four hundred. These some four hundred syllables phonetically represent thousands of the Chinese characters.[26]

Many syllables are found either only in Sino-Korean or only in Non-Sino-Korean. For example, such open syllables as *gyə, gu, nə, nu, də, dwi, lə, lu, mə, myə, ba, bə, byə, syə, su, pə, pyə, pu* and *hyə*, have a high frequency of occurrences in the native forms. but they are not found at all in Sino-Korean, whereas, many of the closed syllables are unknown in Non-Sino-Korean. Therefore, even if the meaning of a certain word is unknown, the component syllable(s) suggests whether it is a Sino-Korean form or a native form.

4.7. Contractions

Contraction is very common in Non-Sino-Korean, but is not allowed in Sino-Korean. If a contraction occurs in a Sino-Korean word, it is no longer considered to be Sino-Korean.

Ex. of Contraction in NSK : *na-ui : nä* 'my', *jə-ui : je* 'my' (depreciative form), *i a-i : i ä : yä* 'this child', *ssa-um : ssam* 'fighting', **o-ass-da : wass-da* /waD-dda/ '(One) came.', *bo-i-da : bö-da* 'be seen, shows', *nyu-u-yog : nyu-yog* 'New York', *nu-u-du : nu-du* 'nude'.

Ex. of Contraction in SK : *säng-cəl* 'sheet zinc' < *sə-yang-cəl* 西洋鐵 (lit., 'western metal'), *səng-nyang* 'matches' < *səg-lyu-hwang* 石硫黃 'sulfur, brim-

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[24] This figure was supplied by Mr. Kim Yəng-og, a lettering expert and the owner of a printing house in Seoul.

[25] In the Jang Sam-sig 551 syllables are found, including many of the Korean-made characters for the transcriptions of the native Korean syllables lacking in the Sino-Korean. In other dictionaries, some 460 to 490 syllables are listed.

[26] Mr. Kim Yəng-og, mentioned note 24 above, said about three thousand characters cover more than 95% of common words, for the personal and geographical names, over ten thousand extra characters are needed.

stone'.

"Contraction" should not be confused with "abbreviation." A contraction is a phonetic or phonological phenomenon, whereas an abbreviation is a morphological process. A poly-syllabic word of Sino-Korean is easily abbreviated by the omission of one of the content syllables especially when making a compound word. But, for the Non-Sino-Korean words, such a process is difficult, if not impossible. Ex. *tä-han-min-gug : han-gug* 'The Republic of Korea'.

Deletion of a phoneme occurs rarely in Sino-Korean. In this case also, those forms are no longer considered to be Sino-Korean. The undeleted forms, as well as the deleted forms, may be found in the utterances of the Koreans. Ex. *yu-wǝl* 'June' (lit., 'the sixth moon') < *yug-wǝl* 六月, *si-wǝl*
    'October' (lit., 'the tenth moon') < *sib-wǝl* 十月, *go-yang-mi*
    'rice to offer to Buddha' < *gong-yang-mi* 供養米, *jo-yong-ha-da* 'be quiet'
    < *jong-yong-ha-da* 從容하다.

5. MORPHOLOGY

5.1. Typical Forms of Sino-Korean

The phonological features, discussed in Chapter 4 above, are found in all the Sino-Korean lexical items. However, the morphological characteristics, which are to be discussed in the present chapter, are applicable more or less to those kinds of items presented in Section 3.3. "The Class of Sino-Korean (1)." That is, the items which can be analyzed into mono-syllabic morphemes are the objects of the descriptions below. They are the "typical" types of Sino-Korean.

The other types of Sino-Korean words, given in Sections 3.4. and 3.5. are obviously Sino-Korean in the sense that the components of each form can be identified with the reading(s) of a certain Chinese character(s), but morphologically they are more like those of Non-Sino-Korean. They are more or less like "idioms," "proper nouns" and "foreign words," of which linguistic aspects are hardly distinguished from those of NSK. Therefore, in order to include them, many of the peculiarities commonly found in a large number of Sino-Korean forms can not be considered.

5.2. Functional Classification of the Lexical Items of Korean

Before proceeding to the morphological features of Sino-Korean, a functional classification of the Korean lexical items (vocabulary), i.e., "words" and "suffixes," is provided along some brief notes.

The lexical items of Korean can be classified into three categories: "the

roots," "the root-modifiers" and "the root-suffixes." Each category includes two functional classes: that of "nominal" and that of "predicative." (Abbreviations representing the names of classes are in parentheses.)

| Categories	Nominal (N)	Predicative (P)
Roots (R)	Noun-Roots (NR)	Predicate-Roots (PR)
Root-Modifiers (M)	Noun-Modifiers (NM)	Predicate-Modifiers (PM)
Root-Suffixes (S)	Noun-Suffixes (NS)	Predicate-Suffixes (PS)

1) The majority of the lexical items are the roots. There are a small number of "pure" root-modifiers. Some of the pure root-modifiers of native Korean are as follows:

Noun-Modifiers: *i* 'this', *gu* 'that', *han* 'one', *sä* 'new', *hən* 'old', *modun* 'all', etc.

Predicate-Modifiers: *wä* 'why', *jal* 'well', *ggog* 'definitely', *iljjig* 'early', *jaju* 'frequently', etc.

2) The root-suffixes are attached to the roots. The root-modifiers cannot be followed by the suffixes, unless they have root functions also. Ex. *əje* 'yesterday' (NR/PM), *onul* (NR/PM), *näil* (NR/PM), etc.[26] A topic marker, a kind of suffix, is seldom attached to a predicate-modifier.

3) By means of suffixations, the grammatical functions of the roots may be shifted:
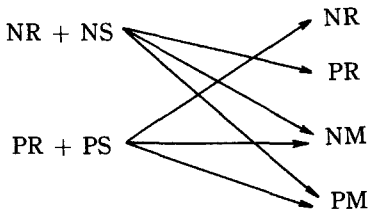
However, a noun-root frequently functions as a noun-modifier without a suffix. Ex. *sənsäng-nim(-ui) cäg* 'a book of the teacher' *(sənsäng-nim* 'teacher', *-ui* : genitive suffix, *cäg* 'book'), *mi-gug saram* 'an American, the Americans' *(mi-gug* 'the U. S. A.', *saram* 'man, person'), etc.

4) Unlike English or many other languages, the syntactic structures of Korean are fixed as follows:

NR+NS+PR+PS

Modifier + Modified (a Root or another Modifier)

That is, in a sentence a noun is followed by a predicate and a modifier is

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[26] It is interesting to note that, in English also, such words as "yesterday," "today," "tomorrow," and so on have both the noun-root(nominal) and the predicate-modifier(adverbial) functions as in Korean.

followed by the modified. The orders can not be reversed.

5) Semantically, the predicate-roots include the "verbal stems" and "to be+ adjective" formations in English.

6) Many of the native PRs are identical with the "predicate-stems," to which the conjugational suffixes may be attached. But, the Sino-Korean PRs are required derivational suffixes to form the predicate-stems.

5.3. Morphemes

1) Formation of a Lexical Item

In Korean, a lexical item consists of one or more "morphemes." A morpheme is made up of a consonant, or one or more "syllables."

Among the native Korean forms there are many single consonant morphemes, such as the predicate-suffixes -*m* (noun-root maker), -*n* and -*l* (both are noun-modifier makers with different senses), -*ss* (expressing primarily the past tense), etc. Also, there are numerous multi-syllabic morphemes in NSK. For example, *abəji* 'father', *əməni* 'mother', *ənni* 'elder sister of a female', *radio* 'radio', *elebeitə* 'elevator', etc.

<div align="center">1 SK Morpheme = 1 Syllable = 1 Character Reading</div>

A typical SK lexical item consists of one or more syllables, each of which can be identified with the reading of a Chinese character. Each syllable can be treated as a morpheme. Or, a morpheme is made up of a syllable. The minimum requirement of being a morpheme is a syllable and, therefore, "a vowel." No morphemes consisting of a single consonant exist.

2) "Free" and "Bound" Morphemes

A morpheme is either "free" or "bound." Most of the individual morphemes, each of which constitutes a noun-root, are free. But there are a number of noun-roots consisting of single bound morphemes. Examples of native Korean: -*gəs* 'thing, matter', -*jjog* 'direction', -*de* 'place, location', -*i* 'person', etc.

The predicate-roots of native Korean are mostly bound. There are a small number of exceptional noun-roots which are found as predicate-stems also. That is, the roots of, so called, "zero-derivation."[27] Ex. *ddi* 'band', *ddi-* 'to band'; *bis* 'comb', *bis-* 'to comb'. The "pure" NMs are, in the strict sense, bound. That is, they *must* be followed by the NRs to have the meanings revealed. However, a PM presents a meaning by itself.

Most of the Sino-Korean morphemes are bound. There are scores of free morphemes, mostly NRs and a few of PMs. (See 5.4. below.)

3) "Meaningful" and "Meaningless" Morphemes

A morpheme of Non-Sino-Korean carries a meaning(s), or a grammatical

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[27] See Kim Chin W. (1985), p. 131.

function(s). Most Sino-Korean morphemes are meaningful, but some are neither meaningful nor carry grammatical functions as the NSK forms have.

A meaningless SK morpheme is a morpheme because it can be morphologically analyzed in a word and because it occurs in other words. Therefore, the concept of "morpheme" in Sino-Korean is different from the traditional one, i.e., "the minimal unit of meaning." Nor is it a "unique morpheme." It is not the kind of morpheme such as the "cran" of "cranberry."[28]

5.4. Free Morphemes

A Sino-Korean morpheme is free, if there does not exist a native word, denoting the same sense. If there is a native word, the SK morpheme is bound. This is one of the most outstanding morphological characteristics of Sino-Korean.

Ex.

NSK Morphemes	SK Morpheme	Meanings
abəji (f)	bu (b) 父	'father'
oməni (f)	mo (b) 母	'mother'
hanɯl (f)	cən (b) 天	'heaven, sky'
ddang (f)	ji (b) 地	'the earth'
hǎ (f)	il (b) 日	'sun'
dal (f)	wəl (b) 月	'moon'
saram (f)	in (b) 人	'man, person'
byəl (f)	səng (b) 星	'star'
mul (f)	su (b) 水	'water'
bul (f)	hwa (b) 火	'fire'
hɯlg (f)	to (b) 土	'earth'
jib (f)	ga (b) 家	'house, home'
gil (f)	ga (b) 街, lo(b) 路	'way, road, street'
ssal (f)	mi (b) 米	'rice'
nara (f)	gug (b) 國	'nation, country'
x	cǎg (f) 冊	'book'
x	sang (f) 床	'table'
x	jong (f) 鍾	'bell'
x	mun (f) 門	'door'
x	cang (f) 窓	'window'
x	dɯng (f) 燈	'lamp'
x	byəng (f) 病	'disease'
x	byəng (f) 瓶	'bottle'

[28] For the Sino-Korean morphemes, Aronoff's definition, "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," may be more   suitable. (See Aronoff, p. 15.)

There are not many homonyms like the last two examples above among free morphemes in SK. In a large Korean dictionary of the Chinese characters, there are more than five hundred fifty different kinds of syllables, but in practice less than four hundred of them appear in modern Korean. Out of them, those of free morphemes (nouns) amount to less than a hundred.

The free morphemes of SK are considered to be "naturalized." That is, functionally, they are identical with the free morphemes of NSK. (See 5.9. below.)

In a case where two free morphemes (one of SK and the other of NSK) exist, each denoting the same sense, either one of them has disappeared, or the meanings have been differentiated.

EX.	NSK	SK	Meanings	Remarks
	on	bǎg百	'one hundred'	NSK form is no longer used.
	jɰmɰn	cən千	'one thousand'	NSK form is no longer used.
	mŏ	san山	'mountain'	NSK form is no longer used.
	joka	jil姪	'nephew'	SK form is a bound form.
	ənni	hyəng兄	'elder brother or sister'	In modern Korean, NSK : 'elder sister of a female', SK : 'elder brother of a male.'
	gyejib	cə妻	'wife'	In modern Korean, NSK : 'wife' or 'woman' in vulgar sense ; SK : 'wife'.
	sŏ	gɰm金	'metal'	In modern Korean, NSK ; 'iron, metal', SK : 'gold'.
	həpa	pye肺	'lung'	In modern Korean, NSK : 'the lung of an animal', SK : 'the lung of a man'.

There are a few adverbial free morphemes found in SK.
Ex. *jɰg*即 'that is', *dan*但 *'only, but'*.

5.5. Bound Morphemes

From the functional point of view, the bound morphemes of Sino-Korean are radically different from those of Non-Sino-Korean. The major differences are as follows :

1) Most of the NSK bound morphemes have single functions. Whereas, most of those of SK have two or more functions.

2) On the other hand, the NSK morphemes are freely connected with those functionally, and semantically, qualified, but those of SK, with certain members of morphemes.

3) Among the SK bound morphemes forming the NRs, there are "meaningless" morphemes with a special function.

4) Most of the predicate-roots of NSK are identical with the predicate-stems, to which conjugational suffixes are attached. A SK bound morpheme, or a combination of morphemes, may be a predicate-root, but cannot be a predicate-stem. In order to form a stem, a derivational suffix is required.

5) There are no SK morphemes with the function of a conjugational suffix.

NSK Bound Morphemes

  Ex. Root-Functions:

        NRs: *-jaru* 'stick' (a classifier), *-jjog* 'direction', etc.

        PRs: *ga-* 'to go', *joh-* 'to be good', *sal-* 'to live', etc.

      Modifier-Functions:

        NMs: *i-* 'this', *han-* 'one', *sä-* 'new', *modun* 'all', etc.

        PMs: *iljjig* 'early', *onul* 'today', *mənjə* 'ahead', etc.

        (These PMs are not necessarily bound morphemes.)

      Suffix-Functions:

        NSs: *-i/ga* (subjective case), *-ui* (genitive case, NR to NM
          derivational), *-ha-* (NR to PR derivational), etc.

        PSs: *-si* (an honorific), *-(a/ə)ss* (a past), *-n*(a PR to NM derivational)
          -ge (a PR to PM derivational), etc.

The positions of all the bound morphemes of NSK, therefore, are determined in connection with the other morphemes to be attached. (In the above examples the positions of other morphemes to be attached are marked by hyphens.)

Ex. *han-jaru* 'one stick', *i-jjog* 'this direction': NM+NR; *iljjig ga-ss-da* '(One) went early.': PM+PR PS+PS; *i cäg-i joh-da* 'This book is good.': NM+NR+NS PR+PS; *sənsäng-nim-i ga-si-əss-da* 'The teacher went.' (an honorific): NR+NR(Bound)+NS PR+PS+PS+PS, etc.

SK Bound Morphemes in the Noun-Roots and Noun-Modifiers

  The majority of SK morphemes have both NR and NM functions. Therefore, the position of a Sino-Korean bound morpheme is not confined in relation to the other morpheme(s) with which it is combined.

Ex. SK morpheme *gug* 國 'nation, country':

    NR function: *ö-gug* 'foreign country' (lit., 'outer country'), *tä-han min-gug*
      'the Republic of Korea' (lit., 'the People's Nation of the Great Han'),
      jo-gug 'motherland' (lit., 'grandfather country'), etc.

    NM function: *gug-min* 'the people of a nation' (lit., 'nation's people'), *gug-*
      ə 'the national language', *gug-jəg* 'nationality' (lit., 'national regis-
      tration'), etc.

   SK morpheme *ə* 語 'language, word'

    NR function: *ən-ə* 'language', *gug-ə* 'the national language', *yəng-ə* 'Eng-
      lish, *mun-ə* 'written language', etc.

    NM function: *ə-jog* 'language family', *ə-hag* 'the study of language', *ə-jo*

'tone', etc.

Combinations of two or more bound morphemes often have meanings like the combinations of free morphemes.

Ex. *ə-mun* 'language and literature', *säng-sa* 'life and death', *nam-nyə* 'men and women', *jən-dab* 'dry-field and water-field', *sang-ha* 'upper and lower', etc.

Meaningless Bound Morphemes

There are meaningless morphemes to be found among SK morphemes, especially those forming the NRs. They had their origin in colloquial Chinese, where the forms represented by the same characters were word-making particles. In the following examples, the second syllables are those of which meanings have nothing to do with the meanings represented by the characters in question.

Ex. *i-ja*利子 'interests on loan', *mo-ja*帽子 'hat, cap', *cäg-ja*冊子 'book', *jong-ja* 種子 'seed', *ga-du*街頭 'street', etc.

SK Bound Morphemes in the Predicate-Roots

There are a limited number of SK bound morphemes which form the PR's. Each of them must have a derivational suffix in order to function as a predicate-stem. The most frequently occurring derivational suffix is *-ha-*.

Ex. *ga-ha-*加 'to add', *ga-ha-*可 'to be correct', *sən-ha-*善 'to be good-natured', *gyəl-ha-*缺 'to lack (something)', *jəng-ha-*定 'to decide', etc.

Some of the free morphemes occur as PRs also.

Ex. *dog-*毒 *'poison'* : *dog-ha* 'to be poisonous' ; *dab* 答 'answer' : *dab-ha-* 'to answer' ; *pyo*標 'mark' : *pyo-ha-* 'to mark ; *bəl*罰 'punishment' : *bəl-ha-* 'to punish', etc.

There are numerous PR's consisting of two or more bound morphemes.

Ex. *gyəl-səg-ha-* 'to be absent' (lit., 'to be absent seat'), *gyəl-gun-ha-* 'to be absent at work', *cul-səg-ha-* 'to be present (at class, etc.)', *cul-gun-ha-* 'to go to work', *gun-mu-ha-* 'to work (in an office), etc.

All the PRs of SK can be "semantically" NRs, but not necessarily "function-ally." (See 5.7. below.)

SK Bound Morphemes in the Predicate-Modifiers

As we mentioned in 5.4. above, few of the Sino-Korean morphemes function as independent PMs. There are a small number of combinations of SK morphemes that occur frequently as PMs.

Ex. *ga-bu-gan(-e)* '(whether one) agrees or not' ; *jwa-u-gan(-e)* 'anyhow' (lit., 'right or left') ; *ji-gum* 'right now' ; *il-ce* 'at all, completely' ; *PR + l si(-e)* 'At the time of . . . -ing, when . . . ing' ; *PR + nun han* 'As far as . . . -ing', etc.

As indicated in parentheses following a few of the above examples, some of them can be followed by the noun-suffix -e which denotes a "time," or a "direction," or a "location," i.e., which is a PM-making suffix. Therefore, some of the PMs are obviously descended from the NR's. (See 5.7. below.)

5.6. Morphological Structures

In 5.2. -4) above, the basic, irreversable, syntactic structure of the Korean language is given. That is,
1) Noun-Root + Predicate-Root
2) Modifier + Modified
These structures are also effective on the morphological level for Non-Sino-Korean. However, in a number of Sino-Korean forms, consisting of two or more morphemes, the reverse orders are frequently found.

Those morphological structures originated, of course, in Chinese. Unlike Korean, Chinese is a language of "Subject + Verb + Object" type. And, the following morpho-syntactic structures are possible. (M denotes a morpheme.)
1) M of a NR (Subject) + M of a PR (Verb)
2) M of a PR (Verb) + M of a NR (Object)
3) M of a Modifier + M of a Root
4) M of a PR (Verb) + M of a PM (Adverb)
The first and the third orders are identical with those of the syntactic structures of Korean, but, the second and the fourth are "foreign" in Korean.

It is noted that those "foreign" structures are concerned with the "word-formations" of Sino-Korean. That is, they are the "morphological," but not the "syntactic," characteristics of Sino-Korean. In Chinese the morpheme representing a PR in the structure of "PR + NR" or "PR + PM" may have the "function" of a predicate verb, but in Korean the morpheme representing the same Chinese character never has such a function. The Chinese and the Korean morphemes may be "semantically" identical, but "functionally" different. The Koreans perceive the functions of such Sino-Korean morphemes with pre-dicative meanings as something like those of the "gerunds" or "verbal nouns." (See 5.7. below.)

Ex.   Morpheme with a PR meaning + Morpheme with a NR meaning:
       səng-gong 'success'(lit., 'achieving merit'), um-ju 'drinking of wine', pyo-um 'phonetic transcription' (lit., 'marking of the sound'), gang-u 'rain fall' (lit., 'descending of rain'), gä-hwa 'flower blossom' (lit., 'blossoming of flower'), yu-ryo 'with fee or fare' (lit., 'being of fee or fare'), mu-in 'no one, no man' (lit., 'absence of man'), etc.
       Morpheme with a PR meaning + Morpheme with a PM meaning:
       bo-jon 'preserving completely', yən-jang 'lengthening long', cug-so 'reducing small', hwag-dä 'enlarging large', etc.

5.7. Pseudo-Noun-Roots

With the exception of the small number of combinations of SK morphemes
that have PM (adverbial) functions, all of the lexical items of Sino-Korean—to
a certain extent, many of the bound morphemes—are perceived as NRs, i.e.,
free morphemes, by Koreans. However, there are many of those that never
occur as NRs in the actual speech of Koreans, but are often found as such in
writing. They may be called "pseudo-noun-roots." Such a misconception seems
to have prevailed even in the minds of the compilers of the Korean dictiona-
ries. As a result, in Korean dictionaries, the parts of speech of most of the
Sino-Korean entries are indicated as "noun."

As with the case of the bound morphemes a lexical item frequently has two
or more functions. However, there is a clear limitation of inter-functionality
for a SK lexical item. A functional categorization of the SK items is presented
with examples :
1) Lexical Items with NR and NM, but PR, Functions :
   ga-jog 'family', *ga-jog hŏ-ŭi* 'family meeting' : *hag-gyo* 'school', *hag-gyo gən
   -mul* 'school building', etc.
   All NRs may be used as NMs without adding any suffix.
2) Lexical Items with NR, NM and PR Functions :
   dɯng-gi 'registration', *dɯng-gi-ha-* 'to register', *dɯng-gi sa-mu-so* 'registra-
   tion agency' ; *jɯng-myəng* 'proof', *jɯng-myəng-ha-* 'to prove', *jɯng-myəng-
   sə-ryu* 'document of certification', etc.
3) Lexical Items with PR Functions Only :
   ga-nɯng-(ha-) 'to be possible', *gan-gwa-(ha-)* 'to overlook', *gan-so-(ha-)*'to be
   simple', *gyəg-myəl-(ha-)* 'to annihilate', *sən-jəng-(ha-)* 'to select', etc.
4) Lexical Items with NM Functions Only :
   mun-gyo- 'teaching of letters', *mun-gyo-bu* 'ministry of education', *mun-gyo
   jəng-cäg* 'educational policy' ; *ja-ju* 'of independency', *ja-ju dog-lib*
   'independence', *ja-ju-gwən* 'the right of independency' ; *in-gong* 'of artifici-
   ality, man-made', *in-going wi-səng* 'artificial satellite', *in-gong ho-hɯb*
   'artificial respiration', etc.

Not only those of the first and the second categories above, but also those
of the third and the fourth are usually understood to be "nouns" by Koreans.

It is hard to find any systematic reason, either morphological or semantical,
why an item is used only as NR and NM, while others, only as PRs, and so on.
In general, those consisting of the morphemes with nominal meanings do not
have the function of PR. And, those with at least one morpheme of a predica-
tive meaning have the function of a PR. This problem needs further careful
investigation.

5.8. Quasi-Affixes

Among the Sino-Korean morphemes there are many which seem to be very productive "prefixes" and "derivational suffixes," which are added to the already established lexical items.

   1) Those seem to be prefixes:

      bul- (negative sense): ex. *bul-gan-sәb* 'non-interference', *bul-gәn-jәn -(ha-)* 'to be unhealthy', *bul-cung-bun-(ha-)* 'to be insufficient', etc.

      bi- (negative sense): ex. *bi-in-gan* 'inhuman', *bi-mul-jil* 'immaterial', *bi-säng-san-jәg* 'unproductive', etc.

      ban- (oppositive sense): *ban-gong-san-ju-ui* 'anti-communism', *ban-jәng-bu* 'anti-government'

   2) Those seem to be suffixes:

      -jәg (NM sense): *gug-ga-jәg* 'national', *säng-san-jәg* 'productive', *min-ju-jәg* 'democratic', etc.

      -sәng (sense of "quality"): *min-jog-sәng* 'national character'.

Although those morphemes may look like affixes, they are not. They are merely "meaningful bound morphemes," which modify the meanings of the lexical items to which they are attached. By no means can they be considered to have functions comparable to those of the native suffixes.

A morpheme of such a kind is also found in many lexical items, not as an affix-like, but as a component. While a suffix of NSK is not found as a component of a lexical item, unless it is a compound word.

An affix-like SK morpheme is often added to both NR and PR. Such a multi-function is unusual for a NSK suffix.

5.9. Formations of Lexical Items in Korean

In the formation of lexical item, a SK morpheme is combined, as a rule, with another SK morpheme(s), and a NSK morpheme, with another NSK morpheme(s). However, those SK morphemes, for which counter morphemes lack in NSK, can be joined to NSK morphemes as well as those of SK. Also, the PRs of SK must be followed by the derivational suffixes of NSK in order to form the predicate-stems. (See 5.5. above.)

Compare:	NSK+NSK	SK+SK	Meanings
	aräS maul	*ha-ri* 下里	'lower village'
	dal-baT	*wәl-jәn* 月田	'Moon Field' (a geographical name)
	dal-biC	*wәl-gwang* 月光	'moonlight'
	häS-byәT	*gwang-sәn* 光線	'sunshine'
NSK+SK (naturalized):			

*sö-jong*쇠鍾 'iron bell', *baB-sang*밥床 'dinner table', *han-si*한時 'one o'clock', etc.
SK (naturalized)＋NSK：

*dong-jjoG*東쪽 'the eastern direction', *mun-jjaG*門짝 'a piece of door', *jin-jja*眞
짜 'a real one, an authentic one', *həl-gaBs*歇값 'cheap price', etc.

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