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Borrowed affixes in contemporary Korean

Abstract

The use of foreign bases in derivation and compounding has led to the creation of a very young, but rapidly expanding, fourth sub-lexicon of Contemporary Korean – *hybrids*. Their growing number enhances the degree of *hybridization* within the Korean lexical subsystem. Hybrids, however, can also be coined be means of borrowed affixes. It is on these that this article will use to illustrate the growing influence the formation of the global communicative community exerts on Contemporary Korean. It will also address the reasons for borrowing these bound morphemes. Although Korean linguists generally deny the existence of foreign affixes in Korean, this article, based on an analysis of neologisms coined after 2000, will identify *-reo*, *-ijeum*, *-iseuteu* and *anti-* corresponding to English *-er*, *-ism*, *-ist* and *anti-*, respectively. *Hybrid derivatives* with foreign affixes may be treated as marginal, due to their relatively small morphological productivity, in comparison to other well-researched coinages. Nonetheless their existence and the growing popularity of *Konglish* might be perceived as the beginning of further and even more prominent changes to the Korean language, which in a long-term perspective may also influence the perception of the world by Korean speakers, since the national language not only stores the cultural and material values of the community but also a changing view of the world.

Keywords: hybridization, hybrid derivatives, Korean, neologisms, borrowed affixes

List of Abbreviations

CC   – communicative community
Chin – Chinese
DSK   – the Dictionary of Standard Korean (provided online)
Eng   – English
Jap   – Japanese
Kor   – Korean
Lit   – literary
LW   – loanword
MWD   – the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (provided online)
NIKL – the National Institute of Korean Language
NKW   – native Korean word
NSN   – non-standard notation (according to the DSK)
Pref – prefix
SKW   – Sino-Korean word
SN   – standard notation (according to the DSK)
Suf   – suffix

List of Symbols

[+]   – neologism noted in the DSK
[-]   – neologism yet to be noted in the DSK
{2000} – year in which the coinage was introduced to the Korean lexicon (data taken from the DSK), no date means that the word might be noted in the DSK but there is no record concerning the beginning of its usage in Korean.

1. Introductory Remarks

Contact among languages in the globalizing community, also referred to as *global language contact*[1] enhanced and accelerated by international communication leads to the formation of the global CC.[2] This process is particularly visible within the lexical subsystem, which as the most open in the semantic plane, is very susceptible and receptive to various language-contact-induced changes.[3] While the existence of *cultural borrowings* showing that "one nation has taught the other"[4] in numerous languages all across the world due to the lack of lingual equivalents is by no means a recent phenomenon, it may to some extent be elucidated, since it is much easier to use borrowings than to coin new

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[1] Cf. Camiel Hamans, 'Global Language Contact', in: *Languages in contact 2014*, ed. Piotr P. Chruszczewski, Wrocław–Washington D.C. 2015, pp. 159–181.

[2] Cf. Ludwik Zabrocki, *Wspólnoty komunikatywne w genezie i rozwoju języka niemieckiego. Część I – Prehistoria języka niemieckiego*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1963, pp. 9–33.

[3] Cf. Ludwik Zabrocki, 'Language Systems (Sphachsysteme)', in: *Sprawozdania PTPN za I i II kwartał 1957*, Poznań 1959, pp. 52–56.

[4] Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, London 1933, p. 458.

words in a native language, as some linguists claim.[5] Borrowing bound morphemes such as derivational affixes confirms the growing influence that foreign languages considered as "dominant"[6] have on borrowing languages, since the morphological subsystem is the most closed in the semantic plane. The latter though may also foreshadow further previously not yet attested changes to languages. This means that despite the fact that the lexicon, in comparison with the phonetic, morphological and syntactic subsystems of a language, is the most open, and as such undergoes constant changes, some changes in the recipient languages are also observable within the field of morphology and syntax, and they could be perceived as a result of the contact with other CCs. These changes are however rather slow and not that numerous, nonetheless they concern many languages all around the globe, including Korean. Therefore, lingual uniformization being the product of a CC determining its ethnicity, reflecting its cultural and material values, and showing its worldview, begins to change.

The aim of this research, following Zabrocki[7] and Hamans,[8] is to answer the question whether *global language contact* and the formation of the global CC can influence the process of derivation in Contemporary Korean. The synchronic approach was chosen in order to identify and discuss some of the morphological, phonological and etymological properties of hybrid neologisms formed by means of borrowed affixes, which following graphemic and phonological adaptation to Korean, have enriched the Korean lexicon after 2000. Despite the fact that Korean linguists[9] assert that no foreign affixes are used in Korean word-formation, Korean native speakers, as this article will demonstrate, apart from borrowing lexemes, also borrow bound morphemes such as affixes, or coin *isofixes*,[10] in order to form new coinages. The research will also address the question concerning the factors which could be held responsible for borrowing affixes and using them in Contemporary Korean.[11] In the *Introductory Remarks* though the complex nature of the Korean lexicon and the hybrid nature of Korean neologisms along with borrowing as global language contact-induced change will be briefly referenced as well.

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[5] Cf. p. 121 of this article

[6] Hamans, 'Global Language Contact', p. 159.

[7] Zabrocki, *Wspólnoty komunikatywne w genezie i rozwoju języka niemieckiego*, pp. 10–12.

[8] Hamans, 'Global Language Contact', pp. 159–181.

[9] Cf. p. 123 of this article.

[10] *Isofixes* (affix-like formations) are isophonic constituents such as -*syumeo*, -*tel* etc. created through truncation of e.g. English borrowings, they undergo the process of *morphemization* and *morphologization* resulting in the formation of new morphemes. Isofixes are eagerly used by young Koreans in Contemporary Korean word-formation. For further information on the subject refer to Anna Borowiak, 'Formation of Isofixes in Contemporary Korean', in: *Challenges of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Approach. New Horizons in Oriental Studies*, ed. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, Warszawa 2021, pp. 47–67.

[11] In this article following Ingo Plag, *Word-Formation in English. Cambridge Textbook in Linguistics*, Cambridge 2003, p. 11, the term 'root' is used to explicitly indicate "the indivisible central part of a complex word". In other cases where the status of indivisibility of a form is not at issue the term 'base' is used; e.g. 'colonial' (root/ base: 'colony'), 'colonialize' (base: 'colonial').

For the sake of greater transparency and bearing in mind that readers may not know the Korean alphabet – *Hangeul*, every Korean term or given example will be introduced along with its Romanization. The author has decided to use the Romanization method introduced in 2000 by the South Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism which is currently used in the Republic of Korea and in many countries around the world. In case of a SKW, Chinese characters will be given with its Korean equivalent as well.

1.1. Korean lexicon and the hybrid nature of new coinages

The lexicon of Contemporary Korean has a tripartite structure consisting of the following *sub-lexicons*:
(i)   *the sub-lexicon of NKWs* – words having Korean provenance,
(ii)   *the sub-lexicon SKWs* – words originally written with Chinese characters but having Korean pronunciation,[12]
(iii) *the sub-lexicon of borrowings*,[13] which are most notably of English origin.[14]

The coexistence of the above-mentioned *sub-lexicons* has resulted in the formation of many synonymic doublets and sometimes even triplets, as shown in (1.1) and (1.2).

(1.1)   Examples of doublets
(1.1.1) NKW *nai* (Kor 나이) and SKW *yeonse* (Kor 연세, Chin 年歲) – 'age',
(1.1.2) SKW *seungganggi* (Kor 승강기, Chin 昇降機) and LW *ellibeiteo* (Kor 엘리베이터) – 'an elevator'.

(1.2)   Examples of triplets
(1.2.1) NKW *jib* (Kor 집), SKW *taek* (Kor 댁, Chin 宅) and LW *hauseu* (Kor 하우스) – 'a house',
(1.2.2) NKW *him* (Kor 힘), SKW *neungnyeok* (Kor 능력, Chin 能力) and LW *pawo* (Kor 파워) – 'power'.[15]

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[12] E.g. 漢字 originally read as [hànzì] is written in Korean as *hanja* (Kor 한자) and pronounced as [haːndʒa]. That is why SKWs are often referred to as the "Korean-style Chinese characters" (*hanguksik hanja*, 한국식 한자) cf. Kwang Hae Kim et al., *국어 지식 탐구*, Seoul 1999, p. 340. SKWs, unlike the Western LWs which have been learned orally, entered the Korean language in the form of written communication as Jae Jung Song, *The Korean Language: Structure, use and context*, New York 2005, p. 84 and NIKL, *Everything You Wanted to Know about the Korean Language*, Seoul 2010, p. 34, point out.

[13] They are also referred to as "*xeno-Korean* words" cf. Romuald Huszcza, 'Wschodnioazjatycki krąg cywilizacji pisma – lingwistyczna analiza pojęcia', in: *Orientalia Commemorativa*, ed. Lidia Sudyka, Kraków 2011, p. 119.

[14] Among words of foreign origin, there are words which became part of the Korean lexicon a very long time ago and thus have lost their "sense of foreignness" for speakers of Korean, as noted by Ji-ryong Lim et al., *학교문법과 문법교육*, Seoul 2005, p. 211. Korean scholars call them *gwihwaeo* (Kor 귀화어, Chin 歸化語) – "naturalized word(s)"; e.g. 'Buddha' (Kor *Bulta* 불타, Chin 佛陀) despite being written in the Chinese characters, comes from Sanskrit.

[15] Korean linguists provide various statistics concerning the structure of the Korean lexicon. According to Song, *The Korean Language*, p. 83, slightly over 52% of words used in Korean are said to be of SK stock,

LWs are nowadays "generally associated with a more modern version of a [particular] concept",[16] which would explain the tendency to prioritize them over their NK equivalents. This sometimes results in taking on "a more specialized and narrower meaning" by the SKWs.[17]

Numerous linguists notice the tendency for speakers of many languages to choose borrowings over coining new words, as it easier to borrow an existing term from another language than to make up a new one.[18] Langacker also argues that borrowing reflects "to a certain extent the paths of cultural influence" where "the prestige factor" plays an important role.[19] Song is one of the few Korean scholars who notice this phenomenon in Korean.[20] Its existence explains why only 5.1% of Korean neologisms are of NK stock.[21]

In fact, the number of borrowings in present-day Korean coming from domains such as economics, politics, technology, medicine, pop culture or social reality is constantly increasing at a high speed and so is their daily use. Despite the fact that they come from various languages, English is perceived as the language having the greatest influence on the lexicon of Contemporary Korean.[22] It is because English in not just the source language of much professional terminology but its components are also present in word-formation processes, in which *hybrid derivatives* and *hybrid compounds* are coined.[23] The term *konggeullisi* (Kor 콩글리시) – *Konglish* meaning 'Korean-style English' well reflects

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while over 42% are of NK stock. The rest – 6% are LWs, the majority of which come from English. Lim et al., 학교문법, p. 205, on the basis of *Pyojungugeodaesajeon* (Kor 표준국어대사전) – the DSK give different numbers though, despite the fact that both books were published in the same year. According to the second research 25.9% of words are NKWs, 58.5% SKWs, 4.7% – LWs and 10.9% are *honjongeo* (Kor 혼종어) – hybrids. Nonetheless according to Ho-Min Sohn, *The Korean Language*, Cambridge 2001, 87 and Choo and Kwak, *Using Korean – A Guide to Contemporary Usage*, New York 2008, p. 85, 35% are of NK stock, about 60% "can be traced to Chinese", which means that LWs constitute about 5% of the Korean lexicon. Kim et al., 국어 지식 탐구, p. 342, recalling researches published in 1957 and 1961 indicate, that the ratio between NKWs, SKWs and LWs is 46: 52: 2 and 25: 69: 6 respectively. Regardless of the exact figures these researches show, that the number of LWs is growing.

[16] Choo and Kwak, *Using Korean*, p. 89.

[17] Ibidem, p. 85.

[18] Cf. Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in contact, findings and problems*, New York 1953, p. 57 and Ronald W. Langacker, *Language and its structure. Some fundamental linguistic concepts*, NY–Chicago–San Francisco–Atlanta 1967 p. 177.

[19] Langacker, *Language and its structure*, p. 177.

[20] Song, *The Korean Language*, p. 86.

[21] As much as 36.4% of the new coinages formed in Contemporary Korean between 2002 and 2004 have foreign origin, 32.5% are hybrids and only 26% are SK words (cf. Myeong-mi Jeon and Dong Ju Choi, '신어의 단어 형성법 연구 – 2002·2003·2004 신어를 대상으로', 한민족어문학 50 (2007), p. 48).

[22] Song in *The Korean Language*, p. 84, notes that 90% of over 20 000 LWs in Korean are of English origin.

[23] The set of Korean *hybrid compounds* can be divided into *true hybrid compounds* and *quasi-hybrid compounds* (cf. Anna Borowiak, 'Growing Influence of Hybridization on Neologisms in Contemporary Korean' (unpublished paper presented during 'The 8th International Conference of Oriental Studies – Challenges of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Approach', PAN-UW Warsaw, Poland, 25–26 November 2019). For discussion concerning hybrid derivatives see also Anna Borowiak, 'Hybrid Derivatives in Contemporary Korean', *Scripta Neophilolgica Posnaniensia* 21 (2020), pp. 59–80.

this phenomenon as well. As a consequence, not only the sub-lexicon of borrowings is expanding but also the youngest sub-lexicon of Korean – *hybrids* is being created.

The new formations in question not only show the need to name new inventions, professions or processes etc., but they also reveal socio-cultural and economic changes occurring in South Korea, which are often the result of the already-mentioned international and intercultural contact with other CCs.

1.2. Borrowing as *global language contact*-induced change

Weinreich notices that "there is no limit in principle to the influence which one morphological system may have upon another" since "morphemes and grammatical relations belonging to one language can occur in the speech of another language as borrowings".[24] Thomason argues that "its's not just words that get borrowed [since] all aspects of language structure are subject to transfer from one language to another, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances (…) when human creativity comes into play. There are no discernible linguistic limits to the possibilities for transferring any linguistic feature from one language to another".[25] She illustrates this with Asia Minor Greek having "a great many borrowings from Turkish at all levels of its structure".[26] Hamans convinces that *global language contact* may also lead to the borrowing of "non-lexical structural features", that is "linguistic processes" by "the speakers of less powerful languages [who] may get to know the lexical items of a dominant but distant language", while using them "they seem to realize (…) the processes (…) according to which the items were produced (…) and start to use them in their native language", as a result of which "similar grammatical processes, can be found in different distant languages".[27]

In this context, Weinreich argues that sometimes "free forms are transferred into a language in pairs, with and without an affix. The presence of the pair in the recipient language enables even its unilingual user to analyze the two-morpheme compound into a base and an affix, and to extend the affix to other indigenous bases"[28] – this phenomenon also takes place in Contemporary Korean. In fact, incorporating foreign affixes to the word-formation subsystem confirms the considerable *xenic influence* on Korean, which may also overshadow further changes to other subsystems of Korean.[29]

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[24] Weinreich, *Languages in contact*, pp. 29, 30.

[25] Sarah Grey Thomason, *Language Contact. An Introduction*, Edinburgh 2001, pp. 11.

[26] Ibidem.

[27] Hamans, 'Global Language Contact', p. 159.

[28] Weinreich, *Languages in contact*, p. 31.

[29] Morphemes with simpler grammatical functions are more likely to be transferred by the bilingual than those with complex functions. Nonetheless, "the transfer of individual morphemes of all types is definitely possible under certain favorable structural conditions*"*, such as: (i) a pre-existing similarity in patterns or (ii) the relatively unbound and invariant form of a morpheme (cf. Weinreich, *Languages in contact*, pp. 34, 44).

Thomason referring to various linguistic results of language contact notices that the structure of the recipient language as a result of interference may be influenced in the following three ways:

(i)   "loss of features" – a receiving-language feature may be lost without replacement,

(ii) "addition of features" – a new feature may be added to the recipient language's stock of linguistic material, and

(iii) "replacement of features" – an interference feature may replace one of the recipient language's original features.[30]

For the time being, borrowed affixes in Korean, as this article will illustrate, are simply added to the stock of NK and SK affixes. Nonetheless, in long perspective if used more frequently, they may replace some of them.

2. Suffixes

The words of foreign origin present in Contemporary Korean, as mentioned in subsection 1.1., depending on the cited source, constitute between 2% and 6% of the Korean lexicon. They are mostly international expressions from various fields – including designations for new professions or job titles. Some of them, such as e.g. *ikonomiseuteu* (Kor 이코노미스트), *beiseubolliseuteu* (Kor 베이스볼리스트), *chelliseuteu* (Kor 첼리스트) standing respectively for 'an economist,' 'a baseballist' and 'a cellist' are widely used, and so are their nominal bases that is – 'economy', 'baseball' and 'cello' – *ikonomi, beiseubol, chello* (Kor 이코노미, 베이스볼, 첼로 respectively), in spite of the existence of SK equivalents, namely – *gyeongje* (Kor 경제, Chin 經濟) and *yagu* (Kor 야구, Chin 野球) denoting 'economy' and 'baseball', respectively.

Thomason notes that structural borrowing is moderated by more intense contact – where "more bilinguals" as well as "attitudes and other social factors favoring borrowing" play a crucial role.[31] As a consequence, apart from basic vocabulary also function words, including closed-class items such as pronouns and derivational affixes may be borrowed too.

While the subject literature concerning the field of Korean word-formation published in Korean does not mention the existence of borrowed affixes at all, books by Korean linguists published in English deny their existence, saying that "no loan affixes exist"[32] or that there are "no loan affixes or elements used for purposes of derivation in Korean".[33] Nonetheless, this article will provide examples that contradict these opinions and will show that derivatives with foreign affixes are being incorporated into the word-formation

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[30] Thomason, *Language Contact*, pp. 59–98.

[31] Ibidem, p. 70.

[32] Sohn, *The Korean Language*, p. 217.

[33] Ibidem, p. 91.

subsystem of Korean.[34] Park points out that this type of formation is artificial and constitutes a considerable violation of the rules of Korean orthography, however their popularity among younger generation, especially on the Internet and in the so-called New Media, is simply undeniable.[35]

Weinreich notices that if the words are transferred as unanalyzed, then they are treated as simple words, but if they are transferred as analyzed compounds, morphemes can be identified. The latter occurs, as he elaborates, when the elements of a compound or a phrase are adapted to word-formation or syntactic patterns of the recipient language.[36] The examples with *Koreanized* foreign suffixes presented in this paper may confirm that words with these suffixes were firstly borrowed from English as unanalyzed simple words, however as their number grew, they might have been interpreted as analyzed forms. Accordingly, consciousness of the morphological structure of nouns indicating e.g. professions and a suffix used to derive it, is probably the reason behind coining new words with the following suffixes:

(i)   *-reo* (Kor -러 [-rɔ], Eng *-er*, [-ər]),
(ii) *-ijeum* (Kor -이즘, [-iːdʒɯm]; Eng *-ism*, [-ɪ.zəm], and
(iii) *-iseuteu* (Kor -이스트, [-iːsɯːtɯː]; Eng *-ist*, [-ɪst]) from NK bases.[37]

All of them, apart from having foreign provenance, share another common property – the phonological structure, since they are *vowel-initial monosyllabic suffixes* in English.[38] Nonetheless their Koreanization required inserting vowels in consonant clusters, since as Yeon and Brown clarify Korean pronunciation does not allow them.[39] The vowel insertion phenomenon has caused the *re-syllabification* of the suffix, as a consequence only one of the resultant forms has retained its monosyllabic nature (*-reo*), one became disyllabic (*-i-jeum*) and one trisyllabic (*-i-seu-teu*). Two of the suffixes are *vowel-initials* and one is a *consonant-initial*,[40] as presented below:

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[34] It is worth noting that the book by Sohn was published in 2001 and the one by Song four years later. It is quite possible that at that time no affixes of foreign origin were used in word-formation processes in Korean. Nonetheless, posts written on the blog devoted to Korean by Park (one of the NIKL's researchers) which was published on Dec. 31st 2005 say that among new coinages there is a numerous group of words formed by the younger generation, which have been derived with the suffixes of foreign origin, such as *-ism* and *-ist* (cf. Yong-han Park, '이상한 (?) 신조어' 2005, Viewed 20 December 2019, <https://m.blog.naver.com/PostView. nhn?blogId=ne oarmada&logNo=10000567644&proxyReferer=https%3A% 2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>.

[35] Ibidem.

[36] Weinreich, *Languages in contact*, p. 50.

[37] MWD, Viewed 1 August 2020, explaining the etymology of the suffixes *-ist*, *-ism* and *-er* indicate their French or Latin provenance (cf. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/-ist, https://www.merriam-webster.com/ dictionary/-ism, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/-er). Nonetheless, in this article they will be treated as English suffixes, since they were incorporated into Korean from English.

[38] *Vowel-initial suffixes* unlike *consonant-initials* have a strong tendency to trigger morpho-phonological alternations, which is "a rather strange and curious state of affairs" cf. Plag, *Word-Formation in English*, p. 80.

[39] Yeon Jaehoon and Brown Lucien, *Korean – A Comprehensive Grammar*, London–New York 2011, p. 22.

[40] In Korean *-eo* pronounced as [ɔ] and *-eu* /y/ pronounced as [ɯ] are monophthongs.

(i)   *-reo* (Kor -러, CV) *versus -er* (Eng VC),

(ii) *-i-jeum* (Kor -이-즘, V-CVC) *versus -ism* (Eng VCC),

(iii) *-i-seu-teu* (Kor -이-스-트, V-CV-CV) *versus -ist* (Eng VCC).

Bloomfield notices that "[w]hen an affix occurs in enough foreign words, it may be extended to new-formations with native material", which he exemplifies with the Latin-French-borrowed suffixes *-ible* and *-able* used in English.[41] The same happens in Contemporary Korean, where borrowed affixes firstly used with foreign bases with time are also attached to NK ones as well. This means that the Koreanized suffixes are broadening their scope of use.

Furthermore, Jespersen on the example of French and English *-(t)ier*,[42] Zabrocki on the example of German *-(l)ing*[43] and Länsimäki on the example of Finnish *-(t)in*[44] note existence of the varying derivative morphemes or rather varying elements preceding the derivative morpheme and indicate that there is more than one possibility of base-suffix segmentation, which is in fact the result of the reinterpretation of a suffix. Jespersen perceives the "extension of suffixes" as a consequence of "the mutescence of a final consonant" which in the case of some suffixes must seem "to the popular instinct (…) to begin with a consonant, though originally this did not belong to the suffix". He also claims that the "predilection for the extended form of the suffix is evidently strengthened by the syllable division in frequent formations".[45]

The borders between diffusive and confusive segments, as pointed out by Zabrocki, are independent of the inter-morphemic borders, and this sometimes results in the *morphologization* of *confusivum* and thus confirms that *confusivum-diffusivum* borders may be stronger than previously existing inter-morphemic borders. This leads to the formation of new suffixes.[46] Länsimäki emphasizing that "the border between stem [by which she means base or root] and the derivative suffix is not always clear and in the same place" notices the possibility for stem [base or root] expansion or reduction.[47] She also emphasizes the force of analogy, indicating "the cohesive power of language: model-based formations [which] always represent an aspiration towards uniformity".[48]

Haspelmath distinguishes two types of affix extension being the result of morphological reanalysis, that is:

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[41] Bloomfield, *Language*, pp. 454–455.

[42] Otto Jespersen, *Language its Nature Development and Origin*, London–New York 1922, pp. 386–387.

[43] Ludwik Zabrocki, 'Phonologie und distinktive Morphologie', in: *At the Foundation of Language Structure and Development*, Warszawa–Poznań 1980, p. 108.

[44] Maija Länsimäki, 'On the influence of models in derivation', in: *VIRITTÄJÄ Kotikielen Seuran Aikakauslehti* 92, Vihko 1988, pp. 236–237.

[45] Jespersen, *Language*, p. 387.

[46] Zabrocki, 'Phonologie und distinktive Morphologie', p. 108.

[47] Länsimäki, 'On the influence of models in derivation', pp. 236–237. The fact that "roots may shrink or grow" was also noticed by Martin Haspelmath, 'The Growth of Affixes in Morphological Reanalysis', in: *Yearbook of Morphology 1994*, eds. Geert Booij, Jaap van Marle, Berlin 1995, p. 21.

[48] Länsimäki, 'On the influence of models in derivation', p. 237.

(i) *conglutination* (affix extension through the incorporation of an inner affix, as a result two affixes are reanalyzed as one single affix),[49] and

(ii) *affix secretion* (affix extension by the incorporation of a base element).[50]

He also argues that in reanalysis affixes only get longer and are never shortened. Two relevant factors responsible for favoring affix reanalysis are: morphotactic opacity and syllable structure.[51]

The existence of derivatives with English-borrowed affixes in Korean not only sheds light on the considerable and ever-growing impact of foreign languages on the lexical and word-formation subsystems of Korean, but it also shows, as it is in the case of Indo-European languages, the base-suffix boundaries when e.g. *-iseuteu* (Kor -이스트, Eng *-ist*) or *-ijeum* (Kor -이즘, Eng *-ism*) are used, are not especially sharp. Here the *re-segmentation* or *re-syllabification* of the suffix and the base as well results in the blurring of their border. The morphological reanalysis observed in Contemporary Korean also results in the creation of new morphemes, which following the terminology proposed by the already-mentioned Haspelmath, can be referred to as *suffix secretion*. The following subsections of the Chapter 2 – 2.2–2.3 show, the incorporation of a non-affixal part of a base being reanalyzed as a part of a suffix and thus phonologically reduced.

2.1. *-reo* (Kor -러, Eng *-er*)[52]

-er is English agent suffix, which forms a heterogenous group of derivatives frequently denoting entities that are active or volitional participants in an event (e.g. *teacher*, *singer*). This heterogeneity, as Plag points out, suggests that the semantics of *-er* should be

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[49] Haspelmath, 'The Growth of Affixes in Morphological Reanalysis', p. 8. E.g. Polish suffix *-anka* indicating a female noun. *Mieszczan(in)* meaning 'a bourgeois man' became the base the derivative *mieszczan-ka* 'a bourgeois woman', the new suffix *-anka* was used to derive *koleż-anka* 'a female colleague' from *kolega* meaning 'a male colleague'.

[50] Ibidem, p. 9. *Fruit-ier* was derived from *fruit* having the root-final /t/. Nonetheless as *bijoutier* 'a jeweler' from *bijou* 'jewel' lacking the root final /t/ confirms, *-tier* was used to coin this agent noun in French.

[51] Ibidem, pp. 16, 17. Morphotactic opacity means seriously diminished morphotactic transparency of the affix as a result of "an integrative phonological process" or "morphophonological alteration" so that its perceptual identification is difficult. The syllabicity of affixes means that a suffix constituting its own syllable does not require *re-syllabification*.

[52] The suffix *-er* was graphemically assimilated to Korean with the consideration of its original pronunciation, which has resulted in a phonological change enabling its relatively similar pronunciation to [-ər]. However in author's opinion, it should be Koreanized rather as disyllabic *-ereu* (Kor -에르). If Koreanized as monosyllabic *-el* (Kor -엘) [*-el*], /r/ would be pronounced as [l], unless followed by a vowel-initial particle or ending. This is because the pronunciation of any given phone in Korean depends on the phonological environment it appears in, which often results in phonological alternations. Consequently, /r/ can be pronounced in two ways depending on the initial sound of the following syllable. If /r/ appears in the syllable-final position and is followed by a vowel, it will be pronounced as 'tongue-flap' [r], otherwise it will be read as 'tongue-tip' [l] ([l] pronunciation also applies when it appears twice in a row). However, the pronunciation of /r/ depends on the preceding syllable-final consonant as well – if /r/ appears in the initial position of the following syllable. This means that e.g. when /p/,

described as rather unspecified, simply meaning "person or thing having to do with X".[53] The MWD lists several meanings of nouns derived by means of *-er*, among them are:
(i)   "person occupationally connected with" e.g. *lawyer*,
(ii) "native of, resident of" e.g. *New Yorker*,
(iii) "one that does or performs (a specified action)" e.g. *batter*,
(iv) "one that is" e.g. *foreigner*.[54]

In Korean there are several SK suffixes being the semantic equivalents of the Koreanized *-reo* (Kor -러), which implies that the incorporation of this foreign suffix into the word-formation subsystem of Korean is not caused by the lack of a suffix conveying this particular meaning but for other reasons such as e.g. fashion for English, which may to some extent accelerate the process of borrowing other types of bound morphemes as well. Consider the following suffixes:
(i)   *-ga* (Kor -가, Chin 家), e.g. *eunhaengga* (Kor 은행가) – 'a banker',
(ii) *- ja* (Kor -자, Chin 者), e.g. *gija* (Kor 기자) – 'a reporter',
(iii) *-sa* (Kor -사, Chin 士), e.g. *tongyeoksa* (Kor 통역사) – 'an interpreter',
(iv) *-won* (Kor -원, Chin 員), e.g. *yeonguwon* (Kor 연구원) – 'a researcher',
(v)   *-su* (Kor -수, Chin 手), e.g. *moksu* (Kor 목수) – 'a carpenter',
(vi) *-bu* (Kor -부, Chin 夫), e.g. *nongbu* (Kor 농부) – 'a farmer'.

It may be presumed, that before using Koreanized *-reo* and the variants of the same morphophoneme in derivation, borrowings with this particular suffix, such as 'a dealer' (Kor 딜러, *dilleo*), which have entered the Korean lexicon some time ago (according to the NIKL it was in the late1990s) were used as first. Associating *-reo* with agent could have been a stimulus, for coining neologisms on the basis of e.g. Korean compound nouns formed in the process of blending of NK nouns (cf. (2.1.1)–(2.1.3))[55], hybrids having SK, NK or foreign origin (cf. (2.1.4)–(2.1.8)) or derivative nouns with SK bases (cf. (2.1.9)–(2.1.12)). All of them reveal that *-reo* is attached to bases with final syllables ending in a consonant.

/k/ or /m/ precede /r/ it gets assimilated and is pronounced as /n/. Iksop Lee and Robert Ramsey in their book titled *The Korean Language*, New York 2000, p. 71, while explaining the broadly constrained phoneme [l] mention that it cannot follow any other consonant except /l/. If it does it changes to [n]. "Then the preceding consonant is subject to nasal assimilation." The Romanization reflecting the pronunciation of the new coinages confirms it too. As a consequence, it can be said that [r] and [l] belong to the same phoneme, but with [n] they constitute one morphophoneme.

[53]   Plag, *Word-Formation in English*, p. 89.

[54]   MWD *-er*, Viewed 4 June 2019 < https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/-er>. The same dictionary along with the explanation concerning semantic properties of *-er* provides the information concerning its less commonly used variants, that is: *-yer* (cf. law*yer*) and *-ier* (cf. furr*ier*). The former is used in a few words after *w*, while the latter "in a few other words, otherwise *-er*", Veiwed 15 July 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/-ier>. Plag in *Word-Formation in English*, p. 89 mentions also *-or* as an orthographic variant of *-er* and explains that it occurs mainly with Latinate bases ending in /s/ or /t/ such as 'conduc*tor*' and 'compress*or*'.

[55]   In this research, this type of formations is perceived as *semi-hybrids*.

(2.1) New coinages with *-reo* (Kor -러) [rɔ] and its variants *-leo* [lɔ] and *-neo* [nɔ]

(2.1.1) *honbamneo* (Kor 혼밥러) – 'somebody who eats alone', [+], [SN], {2017}
(*NK honbap* 혼밥 – 'eating alone' from *honja meogneun bap* (혼자 먹는 밥) –'food *Lit* rice eaten alone'),

(2.1.2) *honsulleo* (Kor 혼술러) – 'somebody who drinks alone', [+], [SN], {2015}
(*NK honsul* 혼술 – 'drinking alone' from *NK honja masineun sul* (혼자 마시는 술) – 'alcohol which one drinks alone', *Lit* 'alcohol drunken alone'),

(2.1.3) *honchamneo* (Kor 혼참러) – 'somebody who participates (in demonstrations or gatherings) by themselves', [+], [SN], {2016}
(*NK honja* 혼자 + *SK chamyeo* 참여 + *NK hada* 하다 – 'to participate alone'),

(2.1.4) *honhaengneo* (Kor 혼행러) – 'a person who travels alone', 'a lone traveler', [+], [SN], {2017}
(*NK honja* 혼자 + *SK yeohaeng* 여행 *Chin* 旅行 + *NK hada* 하다 – 'to travel alone'),

(2.1.5) *daetgeulleo* (Kor 댓글러) – 'somebody, who writes posts (on the Internet)', [+], [SN], {2007}
(*daetgeul* 댓글 – 'a comment, a post' from *SK* 對 *dae* Kor 대 – 'to reply/ answer' + s [Kor ㅅ]⁵⁶ + *NK* 글 *keul* – 'a sentence, a text'),

(2.1.6) *akpeulleo* (Kor 악플러) – 'a person who writes comments that negatively evaluate the content posted on the Internet', [+], [NSN], {2018}
(*akpeul* 악플 – 'malicious comments' or 'cyber bullying' from *SK ak* Kor 악, Chin 惡 – 'evil, badness' + *LW peul* Kor 플 from Eng 'reply'),

(2.1.7) *seonpeulleo* (Kor 선플러) – 'a person who writes comments that positively evaluate the content posted on the Internet', 'a positive commenter', [+], [NSN], {2007}
(*seonpeul* 선플 – 'positive comments' from *SK seon* Kor 선, Chin 善 – 'goodness, virtue' +*LW peul* Kor 플 from Eng 'reply'),

(2.1.8) *jeulgemneo* (Kor 즐겜러) – 'a person who enjoys playing the game not in order to win but simply because the game is good', [+], [NSN], {2018}
(*jeulgem* 즐겜 from *jeulgeoun geim* 즐거운 게임 – 'a fun game', from *NK jeulgida* 즐기다 – 'to enjoy' + *LW gem* 겜 (abbreviated form of Koreanized borrowing *geim* 게임) – 'a game'),

(2.1.9) *jibangneo* (Kor 지방러) – 'a person living in a province or somebody from there', [+], [SN], {2016}
(*SK jibang* Kor 지방, Chin 地方 – 'the province, the country'),

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⁵⁶ *Saisiot* (Kor 사이시옷) also referred to as "genitive s" is additional /s/ (although never pronounced as [s]) explained as a kind of "reinforcement" (cf. Yeon and Brown, *Korean*, p. 31). In fact (2.5.1) is an example of epenthesis observed between elements in compounds which signalizes that a compound is of asyntactic type. *Saisiot* is usually added between the NK bases or when an SK base is combined with an NK one. Yet, it is not just the etymology of the base that is important here. The DSK, Viewed 17 December 2019, explains that when the vowel-final lexical morpheme is followed by the consonant-initial one <u>pronounced</u> as tensed, /s/ is inserted <https://opendic.korean.go.kr/dictionary/view?sense_no=387807&viewType=confirm>. As a consequence [g/k] (Kor [ㄱ]) will be pronounced as a geminate [kk] (Kor [ㄲ]).

(2.1.10) *yeohyeomneo* (Kor 여혐러) – 'a misogynist', [+], [SN], {2015}
    (*SK yeohyeom* Kor 여혐, Chin 女嫌 – 'misogyny, hatred of women'),

(2.1.11) *tonghagneo* (Kor 통학러) – 'a student, who commutes to school using public transportation', [+], [SN], {2016}
    (*SK donghak* Kor 통학, Chin 通學) – 'attending school'),

(2.1.12) *gwageumneo* (Kor 과금러) – 'game users who purchase paid content when playing partially paid games', [+], [SN], {2015}
    (*SK gwageum* Kor 과금, Chin 課金 – 'collecting fees by the service provider for use of the service)'.[57]

Apart from neologisms presented at (2.1) there are also examples, combined with nouns of English origin, such as the clipped form of *peuropesyeoneol* (Kor 프로페셔널) meaning 'a professional' namely 'a pro' – *peuro* (Kor 프로) or 'white' – a noun in its full form that is *hwaiteu* (Kor 화이트). All of the given examples have already become dictionary entries.

(2.2)   Phrases composed of derivatives with *-leo* [lɔ] and *-neo* [nɔ] – variants of *-reo* (Kor *-러*) [rɔ]

(2.2.1) *peuro honbamneo* (Kor 프로 혼밥러) – 'somebody, who "professionally" eats alone'; 'somebody, who does not need a company in order to have an appetite and eat well', [+], [SN], {2017}
    (*NK honbamneo* 혼밥러 – cf. (2.1.1)),

(2.2.2) *peuro bulpyeonneo* (Kor 프로 불편러) – "a professional complainer",' somebody who complains about everything', [+], [SN], {2016},
    (*LW* 'pro' from 'professional' + *SK bulpyeon* Kor 불편, Chin 不便 – 'discomfort, inconvenience'),

(2.2.3) *hwaiteu bulpyeonneo* (Kor 화이트 불편러) – 'somebody, who complains even about trivial things in order to receive a sympathy from other people', [+], [SN], {2017}
    (*LW hwaiteu* 화이트 – 'white' + *SK bulpyeon* (cf. (2.2.2)).

New coinages with *-reo* exemplified in the above (2.1) and (2.2) makes the observer aware of changing family models, appearing single-person households and busy schedules, which might end up in eating at different times of the day unlike the rest of one's family members, since e.g. (2.1.1)–(2.1.4) designate somebody, who does a particular action by himself or herself (without company), while (2.2.1) indicates somebody, who does it 'professionally' suggesting, that getting used to eating alone is a consequence of 'training'.

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[57] The word also has its antonym – *mugwageumneo* (Kor 무과금러) [+], [SN], {2015} denoting 'game users who enjoy only free content when playing partially paid games'. It is derived by means of SK *Pref mu-* (Kor 무-, Chin 無) – *no/ non/ un-/ in-*.

ANNA BOROWIAK

2.2. *-ijeum* (Kor -이즘, Eng *-ism*)

The MWD notes two entries of *ism* – one as a noun conveying the meaning of "a distinctive doctrine, cause, or theory" or "an oppressive and especially discriminatory attitude or belief", and the other as a noun suffix.[58] The latter derives abstract nouns from other nouns or adjectives denoting "related concepts, state, condition, attitude, system of beliefs or theory".[59]

In Korean the meaning of 'a doctrine' or 'a principle' corresponding to English *-ism* is expressed by SK noun *juui* (Kor 주의, Chin 主義), which e.g. *injongchabyeoljuui* (Kor 인종차별주의, Chin 人種差別主義) or *gihoejuui* (Kor 기회주의, Chin 機會主義), meaning 'racism' and 'opportunism' respectively, confirm. It suggests that in this case as well no immediate necessity stands behind borrowing suffix from English. Furthermore, from the graphemic point of view both SK noun *juui* and the Koreanized suffix *-ijeum* are disyllabic in Korean, which means that using the English-borrowed suffix cannot be explained by economy of language either.

In the derivatives with *-ijeum*, as the following examples confirm, due to the *re-segmentation*, the base-suffix boundary has been blurred. This has led to the creation of *extended forms* of suffixes by incorporating a part of base referred to by Haspelmath as *secretion*.[60] Among the forms in question are:
(i)   *-nijeum* (Kor -니즘, Eng *-nism*),
(ii)   *-rijeum/-lijeum* (Kor -리즘, Eng *-rism*), and
(iii) *-tijeum* (Kor -티즘, Eng *-tism*).

Actually, no meaning can be attributed to /n/, /r/ or /t/ preceding the suffix, which means that they have to be treated as variants of an extended suffix in which these consonants become a part of the suffix. The formation of extended forms naturally involves phonological reduction of the base and changing a previously vowel-initial suffix into a consonant-initial one, and consequently a consonant-final base into a vowel-final one, by attaching, as a result of reanalysis, the base-final consonant to the suffix-initial vowel. Here the pronunciation rule called *yeoneumbeopchik* (Kor 연음법칙)[61] saying, among others, that a consonant from the preceding syllable block when followed by a vowel, is read with the vowel as if it they were constituting one syllable, has also been expressed graphemically. Regardless of the extension though all of the three extended forms have retained their disyllabic structure.

In fact, examples where the suffix appears to be 'intact' from the morphological point of view are very few. *Hyeondaeijeum* (Kor 현대이즘) meaning 'the philosophy of Hyunde' as far as the method of automobile production by Hyundai Motors Company, also known

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[58]   MWD *-ism*, Viewed 15 July 2020 < https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/-ism>.

[59]   Plag, *Word-Formation in English*, p. 91.

[60]   The general schema for affix [suffix] secretion is: *xyz → xyz-a*, R[resegmentation] ⇒ *-za*, ⇒ new suffix *-za*, e.g. *klm → klm-za*. Cf. Haspelmath, 'The Growth of Affixes in Morphological Reanalysis', p. 9.

[61]   DSK, Viewed 19 March 2019, <https://opendict.korean.go.kr/dictionary/view?sense_no=227424>.

as 'Hyundaiism' ([-], [-], {-}), can serve as example here.[62] Its base is a proper noun – the globally known Korean automobile company – *Hyeondae* (Kor 현대) – Hyundai. As an analogy *Hondaijeum* (Kor 혼다이즘) meaning 'Hondaism' ([-], [-], {-}) was coined. The base of the latter, though, is Honda – the Japanese automobile and motorcycle manufacturer – Honda Motor Co. Ltd. and the derivative conveys the meaning 'the philosophy of Honda', which stays behind the company's global success.[63]

The majority of the examples given at (2.3)–(2.5) are yet to be noted as dictionary entries, which means that their spelling might change during the standardization process.

(2.3)   Derivatives with *-nijeum* (Kor -니즘, Eng *-nism*)

(2.3.1)   *munanijeum* (Kor 무나니즘) – 'an attitude towards choosing the easy way out', [-], [-], {-}
           (*SK munan* Kor 무난, Chin 無難 – 'being easy, faultlessness'),

(2.3.2)   *gwichanijeum* (Kor 귀차니즘) – 'an attitude or way of thinking, expressing that somebody hates any nuisance very much', [+], [SN], {2002}[64]
           (*NK gwichanta* 귀찮다 – 'be annoying/ troublesome/ bothersome'),

(2.3.3)   *gwaenchanijeum* (Kor 괜차니즘) – "OK-ism", 'an attitude showing that somebody is OK with what they have', [-], [-], {-}
           (NK *gwaenchanta* 괜찮다 – 'to be good/ fine/ OK'),

(2.3.4)   *Korenijeum* (Kor 코레니즘) – "Korenism", 'a candidate for the official term indicating "the Korean Wave"', [-], [-], {-}[65]
           (*LW* 코레아 *Korea* – 'Korea'),

(2.3.5)   *geeureunijeum* (Kor 게으르니즘) – 'lazyism, the condition in which a person suffers from being lazy',[66] [+], [SN], {2004}
           (*NK geeureuda* 게으르다 – 'to be lazy'),

(2.3.6)   *kkulppanijeum* (Kor 꿀빠니즘) – 'an attitude of people who dislike to do their duties, but claim their rights', [-], [-], {-}[67]
           (*NK kkureul ppalda* 꿀을 빨다 – 'to suck nectar from a flower').

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[62] The term was used in 2005 by the Korean newspaper 'The Hankyoreh' (Kor 한겨레) as noted by NIKL, *2002 년 이후 생겨난 새 말 – 사전에 없는 신조어*, Seoul 2007, p. 390.

[63] For further information refer to the first chapter of 'The Honda Book of Management' by Setsuo Mito titled *The Spirit of Hondaism*, Bloomsbury Academic, 1990. Apart from these two coinages though there are also derivatives such as *naunauijeum* (Kor 나우나우이즘) meaning 'now-nowism' explained by *Glosbe Dictionary*, Viewed 16 July 2020, <https://glosbe.com/en/en/now-nowism>, as 'momentary caution that implies the meaning of this moment', nonetheless the word was borrowed to Korean.

[64] '귀찮이즘', as correctly pointed out by Park, '이상한 (?) 신조어' 2005, Viewed 20 December 2019, <https://m.blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=neoarmada&logNo=10000567644&proxyReferer=https%3A% 2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F> should not be spelled as '귀차니즘', regardless of its identical Romanization – *gwichanijeum* with the first form.

[65] The term was used in 2005 by the Korean newspaper – 'The Dong-A Ilbo' (Kor 동아일보), as noted by NIKL, *2002 년 이후 생겨난 새말*, p. 334.

[66] *Lazyism*, Viewed 20 December 2020, < https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=lazyism>.

[67] In this example using *-nism* instead of *-rism* is difficult to explain, since its base does not have [n] as its final consonant, that is why the derived form should be *kkulpparijeum* (Kor 꿀빨이즘) or eventually considering

(2.3.7)   *meokgosanijeum* (Kor 먹고사니즘) – 'an attitude of reluctance to be interested in anything not urgent or being engrossed in maintaining a living', [+], [SN], {2015}
(*NK* <u>meokgo</u> <u>salda</u> 먹고 살다 – 'make a living', *Lit* 'eat and live').

Etymologically the bases of new coingnages with *-nijeum* are either nouns of foreign origin (cf. (2.3.4)), of SK (cf. (2.3.1)) or NK stock, among which are: simple adjectives (cf. (2.3.2)–(2.3.3)) or phrases (cf. (2.3.6)).

The examples with *-rijeum/-lijeum* (Kor -리즘, Eng *-rism*) and *-tijeum* (Kor -티즘, Eng *-tism*) are very few. Nonetheless their existence does show, as exemplified in the following (2.4), that the base of the neologims with *-rijeum* can be either a noun such as *urinara*, used by Koreans as a proper noun to denote South Korea or an adjective e.g. 'to be lazy' *geeureuda* (Kor 게으르다) used with its variant *-lijeum*. Coinages with *-tijeum* have e.g. a NP such as 'your fault' or a SK noun denoting 'a wish' or 'a desire' as their bases.[68]

(2.4)   Derivatives with *-rijeum/-lijeum* (Kor -리즘)
(2.4.1)   *urinararijeum* (Kor 우리나라리즘) – "South-Koreanism", 'an attitude concerning the supremacy of Korea', [-], [-], {-},
(*NK* <u>urinara</u> 우리나라 – 'South Korea', *Lit* 'Our Country')[69],
(2.4.2)   *geeullijeum* (Kor 게을리즘) – 'lazyism, a state when somebody suffers from being lazy', [-], [-], {-}
(*NK* <u>geeureuda</u> 게으르다 – 'to be lazy').[70]

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its pronunciation *kkulpparijeum* (Kor 꿀빠리즘). It can be presumed, that the examples (2.3.1)–(2.3.3) were coined as first, and later, on the basis of analogy, despite the lack of base-final [n] (2.3.4)–(2.3.7) took the form *-nism*, which might be easier to pronounce for Korean speakers.

[68] In fact, there is a considerable number of borrowings which upon Koreanization end with *-rijeum/-lijeum* or *-tijeum*. Examples of the former have the base-final /l/, while the latter have /t/, e.g. (i) 'vitalism', 'symbolism' and 'orientalism' (Kor *baiteollijeum* 바이틀리즘, *simbeollijeum* 심벌리즘 and *orientallijeum* 오리엔탈리즘, respectively), (ii) 'syncre*tism*, cosmopoli*tism*' (Kor *singkeuritijeum* 싱크리티즘, *koseumopollitijeum* 코스모폴리티즘 respectively). Furthermore, in 2016 on the 80th anniversary of creating the first passenger car by Toyota Motor Corporation, a book titled *Toyotijeum* (Kor 토요티즘) 'Toyotism' was published. Here also the *re-segmentation* of the base and the derivational suffix took place, since *Toyota* (Kor 토요타) 'Toyota' denoting the Japanese automotive manufacturer lost its final vowel /a/ and that is how the new syllable *-ti-* (Kor -티-) was created. Here however, retaining the original base and attaching the suffix *-ijeum* would also be possible, since *Toyotaijeum* (Kor 토요타이즘) could be derived as well.

[69] Presumably choosing *-rijeum/-lijeum* (Kor -리즘, Eng **-rism**) over *-ijeum* (Kor -이즘, Eng *-ism*) was done for reasons of pronunciation. However, as already-mentioned, the spelling might change upon its standardization.

[70] One can only assume, that the noun was derived from the inflectional form of this adjective, since its infinitive, unlike the derivative, has no /r/ in the second syllable. In Korean verbs and adjectives having *-reu-* (Kor -르-) as their base-final syllable /r/ is regularly doubled when followed by a vowel ending such as *-eoyo* (Kor -어요) – the present tense declarative ending. The inflectional form denoting 'I am/you are/ we are etc. lazy' is <u>geeulleoyo</u> (Kor 게을러요). The vowel /y/ [ɯ] as the weakest vowel in Korean is always dropped before every other vowel. As a consequence, /y/ had to disappear before a vowel-initial suffix *-ijeum*. Although the DSK gives two dialect forms of this adjective both of which have /r/ in the second syllable

(2.5)   Derivatives with -*tijeum* (Kor -티즘)

(2.5.1)   *netatijeum* (Kor 네타티즘) – 'an attitude of blaming others while not knowing
one's own faults', [-], [-], {-}
(*NK ne tat* 네 탓[71] – 'your fault'),

(2.5.2)   *wontijeum* (Kor 원티즘) – 'wantism', [+], [NSN], {-}
(*SK won* Kor 원, Chin 願 – 'a desire, a wish').

Apart from the above examples there are also new coinages, which despite having
-*nijeum* (Kor -니즘) or -*rijeum* (Kor -리즘) in their structure, were not derived with
these extended suffixes, since their bases, as following examples (2.6) confirm, have
remained intact.

Consequently, it can be assumed that the suffix-initial vowel /i/ (Kor 이) from -*ijeum*
(Kor -이즘) was truncated for phonological reasons, in order to avoid repetition or two
occurrences of the same vowel next to each other, since the base-final vowel is /i/ as
well. This phenomenon – morphological haplology occurs, as already mentioned, in
Korean verb and adjective infection.

(2.6)   Other nominal derivatives

(2.6.1)   *eonnijeum* (Kor 언니즘) – 'a claim or the insistence to use only the word *eonni*
also to denote older siblings such as *oppa, nuna, hyeong*[72] regardless of their
gender', [-], [-], {-}
(*NK eonni* 언니 – 'an elder/ older sister for a woman'),

(2.6.2)   *ttegeorijeum* (Kor 떼거리즘) – 'groupism, the habit of individuals to form
a group and act in groups', [+], [SN], {2003}
(*NK ttegeori* 떼거리 – 'a group, a crowd'),

(2.6.3)   *paegeorijeum* (Kor 패거리즘) – 'an attitude of rejecting people not belonging
to the group', [+], [SN], {2007}
(*paegeori* 패거리 – 'a gang, a clique' from *SK* 패, Chin 牌 – 'a group' or
'a party' + *NK* 거리 – 'distance, space, road').

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of their bases – *geeulleuda* (Kor 게을르다) and *geeulda* (Kor 게을다) (the first used in Jeongnam Province
while the second in the Provinces of Jeongbuk and Gyeongbuk), in author's opinion it is rather unlikely
that *geeullijeum* was derived from any of these dialect forms (cf. DSK, Viewed 18 December 2019, <https://
opendic.korean.go.kr/search/searchResult? focus_name=query&query=게을르다>, <https://opendic.korean.go.kr/
search/searchResult?focusname=query& query =게을다>).

[71]   Regardless of the final consonant of 'fault' (Kor 탓, *tat*) /s/ is pronounced as [t] as specified by the
Hangeulmatchumbeop (Kor 한글맞춤법) – *Hangeul Orthography Rules* concerning the pronunciation of consonants
when they appear in the *word-final position*. According to these rules enforced by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and
Tourism on the 28th of March 2017, only 7 consonants are to be pronounced in accordance with the closest possible
non-released sound, that is [k], [n], [t], [l], [m], [p], [ŋ] (Kor [ㄱ], [ㄴ], [ㄷ], [ㄹ], [ㅁ], [ㅂ], [ㅇ] respectively)
(cf. <http://kornorms.korean.go.kr/regltn/regltnView.do#a>, Viewed 12 March 2019). Nonetheless despite the identical
Romanization – *netatijeum*, the new coinage should rather be spelled in Korean as '네탓이즘' and not '네타티즘'.

[72]   *Eonni*, Viewed 14 December 2019, <https://m.blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=neoarmada&log No=10
000567644&proxyReferer=https% 3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>.

2.3. *-iseuteu* (Kor *-이스트*, Eng *-ist*)

The MWD defines the meaning of *-ist* as "of relating to" or "characteristic of" and the semantics of derivatives with this suffix as:

(i)   "one that performs a (specified) action or produces a (specified) thing)" e.g. *cyclist*, *novelist*,

(ii) "one that specializes in a (specified) art or science or skill" e.g. *geologist*,

(iii) "one that adheres to or advocates a (specified) doctrine or system or code of behavior" e.g. *socialist*.[73]

Plag explains that *-ist* derives nouns denoting persons, mostly from nouns and adjectives, and indicates unspecified "person having to do with X", with the exact meaning of the derivative being a function of the meaning of the base. All nouns in *-ism* denoting attitudes, beliefs and theories, as he argues, have potential counterparts in *-ist*, since whenever there is an "ideology or attitude having to do with X", there will be some followers of that ideology or attitude.[74] As a consequence, pairs such as *activism* and *activist*, or *behaviorism* and *behaviorist* exist. This would explain why derivatives with the Koreanized suffix *-iseuteu* began to appear in Korean.

Korean as the equivalent conveying the meaning of *-iseuteu*, uses the SK noun *juuija* (Kor 주의자, Chin 主義者). In some cases, as 'an egoist' exemplified below shows, apart from complex nouns such as *igijuuija* (Kor 이기주의자, Chin 利己主義者) and *jagijungsimjuuija* (Kor 자기중심주의자, Chin 自己中心主義者) their synonym – *aegija* (Kor 애기자, Chin 愛己者) also exists. Yet regardless of the already existing three nouns, the borrowing *egoiseuteu* (Kor 에고이스트) is used as well. This confirms that the reason for borrowing the suffix *-ist* and using it in Korean, as in case of the already discussed suffixes, is not motivated by the lack of a semantic equivalent and thus the need to enrich the stock of linguistic material of Korean with a new form, nor the need to economize the message by the replacement of the SKW *juuija* with a suffix, since the Koreanized suffix is trisyllabic as *juuija* is, but simply as a sign of fashion for English and the influence of the globalizing communication.

The suffix *-iseuteu* is used to derive common nouns in Korean. Nonetheless, the vowel insertion between suffix consonant cluster results in its *re-syllabification* and *re-segmentation*. The same happens to the base as well. The processes also result in the formation of the extended form of the suffix built from the base-final [n] and the whole suffix, that is *-niseuteu* (Kor *-니스트*).[75] Here also as previously noticed the pronunciation

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[73] MWD, *-ist*, Viewed 2 August 2020, < https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/-ist>.

[74] Plag, *Word-Formation in English*, pp. 91, 187.

[75] The DSK by NIKL lists 24 borrowings ending in *-nist*, in which [n] is extracted from the preceding base and only 4 ending in *-iseuteu*. 'A pianist, a humanist' (Kor *pianiseuteu* 피아니스트, *humeoniseuteu* 후머니스트 respectively) can serve as examples here (cf. https://opendic.korean.go.kr/search/searchResult?focus_name_top=query&query=-니스트, Viewed 20 August 2021).

rule called *yeoneumbeopchik*, is applied. As a consequence, /n/ is moved to the following syllable and is written with /i/ as one syllable *-ni-* (Kor -니-), and thus the previously vowel-initial suffix become consonant-initial one as shown in (2.7). However, in (2.7.1) another phenomenon can be observed – namely the dropping of [h] (Kor [ㅎ]) in the written form of a new coinage which is done for the pronunciation reasons, since as Yonsei University KLI explains when /h/ is located between voiced consonants such as /m/ or /n/ "it is weakened or not pronounced at all".[76]

(2.7)   Derivatives with *-niseuteu* (Kor -니스트)
(2.7.1)   *gwichaniseuteu* (Kor 귀차니스트 – 'somebody, who hates any nuisance and got used to spending time alone', [+], [-], {2003}
            (*NK gwichanta* 귀찮다 – 'be annoying/ troublesome/ bothersome'),
(2.7.2)   *rameniseuteu* (Kor 라메니스트) – 'somebody, who goes to stores or restaurants (in Japan) offering delicious instant noodles', [-], [-], {-}[77]
            (*NK ramyeon* 라면 from Jap *rāmen* – 'instant noodles').[78]

(2.8)   Derivatives with *-iseuteu* (Kor -이스트)
(2.8.1)   *jaemiiseuteu* (Kor 재미이스트) – 'somebody, who places a high value on fun in life, a fun seeker', [-], [-], {-}[79]
            (*NK jaemi* 재미 – 'fun, amusement, pleasure').

     The bases of new coinages with the Koreanized suffix *-(n)iseuteu* can be either nouns or adjectives, as exemplified by (2.7.2)–(2.8.1) and (2.7.2) respectively. These bases are either of NK (cf. (2.7.1), (2.8.1)) or of foreign origin. The latter (cf. 2.7.2) is a Japanese loanword indirectly borrowed from Chinese.

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[76] Yonsei University KLI, *한국어 발음 – 한글판*, Seoul 2004, p. 41.

[77] The term was used in 2003 by the Korean newspaper – *Joongang Ilbo* (Kor 중앙일보), as noted by NIKL, *2002 년 이후 생겨난 새말*, p. 91.

[78] Other formations ending with *-niseuteu* exist as well and *ppaminiseuteu* (Kor 빠미니스트) 'a feminist father' is one of them. However, it is a blend formed from a truncated forms of 'a daddy' and a feminist – *appa* (Kor 아빠) and *peminiseuteu* (Kor 페미니스트), respectively. This compound it is yet to become a dictionary entry.

[79] It is rather unusual to know by name the person who coined a particular word or the year of its formation, yet the authorship of *jaemiiseuteu* is attributed to the singer Jo Young-nam (조영남), who is said to have coined it in 2013 (cf. <https://m.blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=geoking6464&logNo=100183176478&proxy Referer=https:%2F%2Fwww.google.pl%2F>, Viewed 15 July 2020). Apart from this example there is also *jaeminiseuteu* (Kor 재미니스트) derived from the same base, as noted by Park (cf. <https://m.blog. naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=neoarmada&logNo=10000567644&proxyReferer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>, Viewed 15 December 2019). Since the already mentioned *Hangeul Orthography Rules* do not allow the sequential occurrence of the same vowel, the spelling of *jaemiiseuteu* having /i/ twice in succession, violates it.

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3. Prefixes

It is quite possible that in the relatively near future prefixes such as *anti-* (Kor 안티-*anti-*) of Greek origin (*anth-*) meaning 'against, opposite to'[80], *ri-* (Kor 리-) of Latin origin (*re-*) meaning "again, anew"[81] and others (introduced through English) might also be used in order to derive words from the NK bases, since prefixal borrowings are already present in the lexicon of Contemporary Korean, which examples (3.1)–(3.2) confirm.

The meanings of both prefixes are expressed in Korean with SK prefixes confirming that their use, the same as suffixes described in Chapter 2, is not motivated by the lack of equivalents. Consequently, the meaning of *anti-* is conveyed with SK *Pref pan-* (Kor 반-, Chin 反) and its use can be exemplified with *panjeongbu* (Kor 반정부) and *panyeongung* (Kor 반영웅) denoting 'anti-government' and an 'anti-hero' respectively. The second *Pref re-* also has its SK equivalent, that is *jae-* (Kor 재-, Chin 再). *Jaehwagin* (Kor 재확인, Chin 再確認) – 'reconfirmation' and *jaesiheom* (Kor 재시험, Chin 再試驗) – 're-exam' can serve as examples here. The meaning of *re-* can also be expressed with NK adverb *dasi* (Kor 다시), as in 'to go once again' – *dasi gada* (Kor 다시 가다).

(3.1)   Borrowings with *anti-* (Kor 안티-)
(3.1.1)   *antieijing* (Kor 안티에이징) – 'anti-aging', [+], [NSN], {2004},
(3.1.2)   *antibaireoseu* (Kor 안티바이러스) – 'antivirus', [+], [SN], {-},
(3.1.3)   *antibitamin* (Kor 안티비타민) – 'antivitamin', [+], [SN], {-},
(3.1.4)   *antiseupaiweeo* (Kor 안티스파이웨어) – 'antispyware', [+], [NSN], {-},
(3.1.5)   *antiseupaemeo* (Kor 안티스패머) – 'antispammer, a professional who deletes spam e-mails distributed by spammers', [+], [NSN], {-},
(3.1.6)   *antiteje* (Kor 안티테제) – 'antithesis', [+], [SN], {-}.

(3.2)   Borrowings with *ri-* (Kor 리-)
(3.2.1)   *ridijain* (Kor 리디자인) – 'redesign', [+], [NSN], {-},
(3.2.2)   *rimodelling* (Kor 리모델링) – 'remodeling', [+], [NSN], {2000},
(3.2.3)   *ripil* (Kor 리필) – 'a refill', [+], [SN], {2010},[82]
(3.2.4)   *rikol* (Kor 리콜) – 'a recall', [+], [SN], {-},
(3.2.5)   *ribellaenseu* (Kor 리벨랜스) – 're-balance', [+], [SN], {-},
(3.2.6)   *riteochi* (Kor 리터치) – 'a retouch', [+], [SN], {-}.

In fact, a few hybrids with *anti-* (having SK or foreign bases) have already been coined in Contemporary Korean. Although they are not frequently used, their existence does confirm the growing influence of English on the Korean language. It is also worthy

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[80]   MWD *anti-*, Viewed 18 December 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anti->.

[81]   MWD *re-*, Viewed 18 December 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/re->.

[82]   The verb *ripilhada* (Kor 리필하다) meaning 'to refill' verbificated by means of NK *-hada* (Kor -하다) is already noted in the DSK [+], [SN], {2007}.

to note that neither, upon Koreanization, undergoes *re-syllabification* or *re-segmentation*, which means that *anti-* remains a disyllabic and *ri-* a monosyllabic prefix.

(3.3)   New coinages with *anti-* (Kor 안티-)

(3.3.1) *antigogaek* (Kor 안티고객) – 'a customer, who does not like the products of a particular brand because of a disappointment concerning the product(s)'[83], [+], [SN], {-},
(*SK* <u>gogaek</u> Kor 고객, Chin 顧客 – 'a customer'),

(3.3.2) *anticheung* (Kor 안티층) – 'a group of people who disagree with a person's or group's policy or opinion', [+], [SN], {2007},
(*SK* <u>cheung</u> Kor 층, Chin 層 – 'a class, a stratum'),

(3.3.3) *antikape* (Kor 안티카페) – (i) 'an online meeting created by anti-fans who hate certain celebrities', [+], [SN], {2005}; (ii) 'a cafe which does not sell coffee or drinks, but lends a certain space' [+], [SN], {2014} – 'anti-café'
(*F* <u>kape</u> Kor 카페 – (i) 'a coffeeshop', (ii) 'online gathering created for the purpose of sharing information and making friends'),

(3.3.4) *antihyeongtae* (Kor 안티형태) – 'a structure in which the dihedral angle is 180 degrees because two specific substituents are on the opposite sides in the molecule', [+], [SN], {-},
(*SK* <u>hyeongtae</u> Kor 형태, Chin 形態 – 'a form, a shape').

4. Concluding Remarks

The process of globalization and the tendency towards formation of the global CC apart from the economic and political aspects also has sociolinguistic ramifications, which concern the majority of languages all around the world. International and intercultural cooperation in various sectors highlights not only the advantages of easier communication thanks to the existence of a *lingua franca*, but also the enormous need to protect the uniqueness of national identities also manifesting themselves through the native languages.

Borrowing lexemes from other languages caused by the lack of translative equivalents due to the cultural differences is nothing new. Yet it is the lexical borrowing that may foretell further changes to the lexicon of the borrowing language – e.g. changes concerning word-formation processes where bound morphemes such as foreign affixes or previously not attested word-formation patterns are being used. Both of these are testimony to the growing foreign influence on the recipient language.

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[83] Although *antigogaek* could be translated as 'anti-consumer' given the meaning of its constituents, the meaning used in Korean given by the DSK does not correspond to the meaning of its English equivalent and thus a semantic shift can be noticed. The MWD defines it, as 'not favorable to consumers, improperly favoring the interests of businesses over the interests of consumers' (cf. DSK, Viewed 18 December 2019, <https://opendic.korean.go.kr/dictionary/view?sense_no=1270676&viewType=confirm> and MWD, Viewed 18 December 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anti-consumer>.

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The main objective of this article was to investigate the theory of Zabrocki (1963: 10–12) and Hamans (2015: 159–181) on the formation of the global CC as well as to explore how the strengthening of the global position of English influences the lexicon of Contemporary Korean. Due to the scope of this research, though, the focus was placed solely on *hybrid neologisms* coined by means of four exemplary borrowed affixes, that is: *-reo* (Kor -러, Eng *-er*), *-ijeum* (Kor -이즘, Eng *-ism*) and *-iseuteu* (Kor -이스트, Eng *-ist*) and a prefix *anti-* (Kor 안티-, Eng *anti-*), which meant leaving *isofixes* (affix-like formations) also of foreign origin aside. In order to conduct this research, the synchronic approach was chosen and the words formed over the last two decades were analyzed.

The analysis of the gathered material confirmed the enormous morphological creativity of Korean speakers, especially the younger generation and their morphological knowledge of English as far as word-coinage is concerned. The research also showed that affix-borrowing is not caused by the lack of equivalents but for English-fashion-caused reasons, given the already existent SK equivalents conveying the meaning of borrowed affixes. Furthermore, the formation of hybrid derivatives and the growing number of various coinages of hybrid type apart from reflecting constant changes to Korean non-lingual reality and enhancing the level of *hybridization* within the sub-lexicon of Contemporary Korean, as a result of the cooperation with the Western CCs, also reveal the growing social acceptance concerning their use and thus it may also be seen as a sign of multilingualism of the Korean *CC*.

For the time being, the neologisms in question may be treated as nonce formations made in a spur of the moment, since their number is relatively small in comparison to derivatives coined with the NK or SK affixes, nonetheless their existence does confirm that small changes have started to appear in the morphological subsystem of Korean. The more frequently the borrowing with a particular affix is used in Korean, the stronger the tendency to re-analyze it and to coin the new words on the basis of the analogical rule from NK bases.

The incorporation of the foreign affixes to Contemporary Korean, results in co-occurring processes, among which are:

(i)   **Koreanization** meaning graphemic and phonological adaptation to Korean (borrowings undergo this process as first without being morphologically reanalyzed due to small representation having analogical structure),

(ii)   **reanalysis** as the number of borrowings having the same structure increases, the identification of the *isophonic part* (in this case the English-borrowed affixes) is possible and leads to the formation of analogic coinages,

(iii) **re-syllabification** of the borrowed affix by vowel insertion within bi-consonant clusters (e.g. a monosyllabic *-ist* becames a trisyllabic *-i-seu-teu* in Korean),

(iv)   **re-segmentation** being the result of the possible shift concerning the base-suffix boundary; it reflects the Korean pronunciation rules of the syllable-final consonants (in this case bases) and leads to the formation of extended forms of suffixes *-ijeum* [iːdʒɯm] and *-iseuteu* [iːsɯːtuː], in which the base-final consonant /r/, /n/ or /t/ has created the extended forms such as *-(r)ism, -(n)ism and -(t)ism*, and *-(n)iseuteu*),

(v)   ***re-morphemization*** leading to the formation of new morphemes (e.g. the above-mentioned extended forms, which in the foreseeable future might show greater productivity),

(vi)   ***Konglishization*** meaning using components (e.g. bases and affixes) of English origin in order to coin neologisms, these hybrid formations are referred to as *Konglish* – 'Korean-style English'.

Furthermore, in the formation of the extended forms, as well as in the Koreanization of English-borrowed affixes, the pronunciation rules are taken into consideration, which in case of the suffix *-reo* (Eng *-er*) not only has resulted in a phonological change so that its pronunciation would be similar to [-ər], but also in the formation of its phonological variants (cf. *-leo* [lɔ] and *-neo* [nɔ]) having the same representation in the Korean script that is *-reo* [rɔ] (Kor -러).

Incorporating numerous borrowings into the Korean lexicon representing Western concepts has energized Korean language purists who are constantly arguing for the need to replace borrowings with NK equivalents. Yet for the time being, it appears that the younger generation and their favor for English is winning the battle given the rapidly growing number of new coinages of hybrid type. It seems that at present English enjoys the status of the language of educated elite, that once knowledge of Chinese characters had. Given the current state which is also reflected in the statistics of neologisms, the situation might not change any time soon, especially in the face of the fact that today's well-educated younger generation of Koreans is already accustomed to the use of English and *Konglish*.

The subject of foreign language influence on the Korean lexicon and on its other *sub-lexicons* as well definitely deserves more attention not only as far as e.g. the re-syllabification, semantic shift of borrowings or Korean language policy are concerned. Words coined in the processes the author would like to call *semi-hybridization* should also be investigated, given their growing number. The author is planning to continue these studies in the foreseeable future.

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