

Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of English Borrowings in Korean

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I

When speakers imitate a word from a foreign language and at least partly adapt it in sound or grammar to their native speechways, the process is known as borrowing, and the word thus borrowed is a loanword.¹⁾

The Korean language, a symbol of the unity of the Korean people, has survived many centuries of Chinese political and cultural domination, thirty-six years of direct Japanese rule, and over four decades of indirect Western influence. Since the promulgation of the Korean alphabet system in 1446, the Korean language has often been subject to the influences of foreign languages, mostly in lexicon: Chinese at first and then Japanese, followed by Western languages. In the process of political and cultural interaction between Korea and China or Japan, the influences of Chinese and Japanese on Korean were paramount. Chinese ideographs remained superior or higher scripts in the writing system as distinct from inferior or lower Korean scripts until the end of the 19th century; and Japanese was a dominant language under Japanese rule, thus leaving some die-hard Japanese vocabulary in Korean. Along with the stream of Western culture, since the end of World War II, the political, scientific, and economic power of the English-speaking countries has been a major factor in the introduction of new vocabulary into the Korean language through the press, trade, science, sports, and the mass media, representing an unsystematic variety of linguistic features.

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1) Pyles, T. and Algeo, J., *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (New York: Harcourt, 1982), p.272.

One of a number of factors which determine the comparison and contrast between North Korea (henceforth : NK) and South Korea (SK) is likely to be concerned with the different language policies of two Koreas on foreign language. Today, English is dominant as a foreign language in SK just as Russian has been a chief foreign language in NK. Because of this striking contrast between the two opposing policies of the foreign languages, the role of a foreign language in NK and SK can be interpreted in different contexts : the reason for learning a foreign language in schools and the use of a foreign language in various domains takes on different aspects. As a result, the degree of the influence of English in SK is not at the same level as that of Russian in NK. Unlike any other country where English occupies a small place on the school timetable as a foreign language, the position of English in SK tends to go much further, and the influence of English in the Korean language is rather on the offensive.

A few scholars have discussed probable linguistic divergences between NK and SK. The factors which might account for such discrepancies were exemplified in terms of the two different language policies on the standardization of Korean orthography and on the treatment of Chinese derivatives in the Korean language. The goal of this paper is to propose that the influx of English borrowings, particularly on the part of SK, can be another factor which may result in a linguistic disparity between NK and SK; in other words, the aspect of English loanwords as a social dialect or as a second dialect is likely to result in a linguistic gap between the people in NK and SK.

II

In his famous thesis, Weinreich states as follows : ²⁾

Language contact is considered by some anthropologists as but one aspect of culture contact, and language interference as a facet of cultural diffusion and acculturation... Anthropologists investigating acculturation are urged to include linguistic evidence, developed by the linguist, as indices of the total acculturative process. Linguists on their part need the help of anthropology to describe and analyze those factors governing linguistic interference which, those lying beyond the structure of the languages in contact, do fall within the realm of culture.

2) Weinreich, U., *Languages in Contact* (New York : Linguistic Circle, 1953), p 506.

Today, language contact has had an impact on Korean society to such an extent that it is impossible to avoid being influenced by the culture of the English language with which all the people in Korea come in contact directly or indirectly in their everyday life. The effects that 'English culture' has had in Korean society by now is rather striking.

With regard to the relationship between language and culture, Higa elaborates as follows :³⁾

For various reasons different cultures come in contact with each other and interact. The conditions and results of such interactions are often studied in terms of culture diffusion, acculturation, culture exchange or culture learning. At the abstract level, one culture may be influenced by another culture on such matters as religion, philosophy, and political ideology. At the concrete level, things related to food, clothing and shelter may be learned by one from another than vice versa, depending upon the conditions under which the two come in contact.

Along this line, Linton takes the same position :⁴⁾

Culture change involves not only the addition of a new element or elements to the culture, but also the elimination of certain previously existing elements and the modification and reorganization of the others.

At present, Korea (SK) is a country of both change and tradition. The way of life is changing rapidly. The coexistence of Western culture and traditional Korean culture has also meant the introduction of foreign terms in the process of acculturation. The process of language interference as a facet of cultural diffusion and acculturation is reflected in the linguistic evidence : borrowing in cultural contexts, known as the transfer of lexical material across language boundaries.

Change is an inevitable feature of a living language. The lexicon is the locus of much rapid and highly visible transformation, whereas syntax and phonology may exhibit a relatively slow rate of change. One factor of linguistic interference in the lexicon is language contact leading to the borrowing and to the naturalization of words and meaning from one language to another.

It was after the Korean War that Western culture began to have an overall effect on the

3) Higa, M., "Sociolinguistic aspects of word-borrowing," in Mackey, W. et al., *Sociolinguistic Studies* (The Hague : Mouton, 1979), p.277.

4) Linton, R. ed., *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* (New York, 1940), p.469.

minds of the Korean people. With very few exceptions, the form of English which Koreans acquired was a pidginized one, and this kind of English—so-called Korean Bamboo English—became so well-established as the principal medium of communication between Koreans and American soldiers. Some idea of what Korean Bamboo English may have been like in its early stages can be obtained from an example described by Algeo⁵⁾ and Webster.⁶⁾

Algeo and Webster list many words which were used among soldiers and local Korean people. No study has been done in print in any detail on the development of this variety ever since, and fieldwork on this variety needs to be carried out. Even today, pidginized words are in use around the army bases. For example, *samey-samey* 'same' is used as a predicate adjective but the pronunciation of it is [sæmsæm]. Words such as *have-no* 'have no', *catchie* 'catch', *changey* 'change' and *punchie* 'punch' ('fight, hit') are now used frequently with slight change in pronunciation as [hæbu-no], [kæʃi], [cenʃi], and [pənʃi], respectively. *Number one* means 'good' or 'excellent'; *short-time* is used as a sex term. On the other hand, *hutchie*, which originates from a Japanese word *uchi* 'house', is still used only among soldiers and a limited number of girls as a word meaning 'a home, apartment, or pad where the G.I.'s maintain a second-home with girls. *No sweatida* is an example of Konglish, meaning 'No problem'. *Can do easy* is used for 'I can do it easily'. *Jo-san* is derived from Japanese 'o-josan', meaning 'a girl'. So is *sukoshi*, meaning 'a little or little bit'. *Takusan* is from Japanese for 'large or much', and so is *mos-tic*, meaning 'soon', possibly originated from 'mo-sukoshi'.

The beginning of industrialization in the late 1960's did see a massive increase in the influence and use of English. English crept in many activities, notably sports. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's English has continued to be the foreign language most taught in schools and learned by those who want to get ahead. Korean is also continuing to expand through borrowing, but at a drastically higher rate than in 1950's, 60's and 70's. Borrowing seems to be continuing its ascendancy as a major neological source during recent decades. For centuries our borrowings largely came from Chinese and Japanese, but beginning in the 1950's items from the European language, especially English, have been increasingly added. English has decisively replaced Japanese as the major source. Japanese has declined as a source quantitatively and culturally. The last four decades have witnessed a

5) Algeo, J., "Korean Bamboo English," *American Speech* 35, 1960, pp.117~123.

6) Webster, G., "Korean Bamboo English once more," *American Speech*, 35, 1960, pp.261~265.

massive influx of Western culture through political, economic, military, cultural, and religious contacts, triggering movements for modernization in every aspect of life as well as conflicts between progressive and conservative attitudes and the clash between traditional and modern culture.

In the 1950's, when Western women's clothing like 'girdles', 'corselets', 'brassiers', etc., were first introduced to Korean society, most people including women themselves experienced a new kind of culture shock. Around this time English words such as 'kiss', 'skirt', 'permanent wave', 'hip', and some sex terms were introduced and often mentioned for fun. In the 1960's, people became familiar with words such as 'mini-skirt', 'hot pants', 'maxi mode', 'bluejeans', 'hippie shirts', 'happy smoke', etc., and in the 1970's such words as 'uni-sex', 'nobra', 'casual wear', and so on, were introduced.

As a result, nowadays, we find many examples of new thing-names of clothing, ornaments, tools, and modes. Many of them have a different semantic scope. Typically, the words with more than one referent in English have been limited to only one when naturalized in Korean, showing the tendency toward one form, one meaning. The pronunciations are subject to the phonetic rules of Korean, but there is no consistency in transliterating loanwords into the Korean alphabet system.

When we say a word *pelt* 'belt', we refer to an adjustable band worn round the waist. We have a (safety) belt in a different context. We use a *pikini* as a bikini swimsuit. *Plaus* is worn only by women and girls, and *puč* 'boots' are leather shoes reaching to the knee worn by women. Korean women wear *kold krim* 'cold cream' on the face; *kapl* 'couple' refers to a pair of partners, never referring to two in number in any context; *tres* 'dress' means a gown or frock worn by women. We also find *kaun* 'gown', *hand bag* 'handbag', *haihil* 'high heels', *lipstik* 'lipstick' and *taol* 'towel'. The word *model* has two different meanings, one as a person who poses for painters or person employed for fashion-show, another as a model case. Men wear *pajama* 'pajamas' ('loose-fitting trousers for men'); *panti* refers to underpants; *parasol* is a beach parasol; *paka* 'parka' is a kind of jacket for mountain-climbing; *skap* 'scarf' means a long strip of material worn over the hair by women; we encounter a word *simles* 'seamless' in a TV commercial, meaning 'seamless bra'; *teit* is used as a word meaning a date 'meeting between couples'; *sjampu* as shampoo; *taij* as tights ('tight skirts'); *tupis* as twopiece ('kind of dress'); *pai* 'party' as gathering of persons by invitation for pleasure.

In shelter, the old-fashioned traditional houses have been rapidly replaced by Western style houses, apartments and buildings. With these new Western ways of life, new foreign

words have been added to Korean; for instance, *apat* is derived from 'apartment' and *eə kon* means an air-conditioner. We have popular loanwords, such as *antena* 'antenna', *ppa* 'bar', *patteri* 'battery', *keik* 'cake' ('big birthday cake'), *opinə* 'can opener', *kapet* 'carpet', *kəpi* 'coffee', *kəpipoti* 'coffee pot', *kon* 'icecream cone', *kaunə* 'counter' ('cashier counter'), *kətin* 'curtain', *elibeitə* 'elevator', ect. When we say *kaba*, we refer to things that cover or protection from attack. We have *kaperi* for car ferry; *pilim* is a Korean version of film, meaning only negative film for cameras. *Huront* 'front' refers to cashier counter, *huraipən* 'frying-pan', *kasrenji* 'gas range', *klas* 'glass' ('drinking vessel'), *lens* 'lens', *hændl* 'handle' ('steering'), *miksa* 'mixer' ('tool for mixing food'), *næpkin* 'napkin', *namtə* 'number', *siso* 'seesaw', *syoping* 'shopping', *spikə* 'loud speaker', *sponji* 'sponge', *teip* 'tape', *tent* 'tent', *tail* 'tile', *wain* 'wine', etc. We see a word *sjatə* meaning 'iron plate for window or door' and 'camera shutter'. Traditional wedding ceremonies taking place in the private courtyards are seldom encountered; instead, wedding halls with a piano and flowers are available in towns and cities. So we have borrowings, such as 'wedding march', 'wedding dress', 'honeymoon', and 'bouquet'.

The loan process from English into Korean has operated not only through modification of material elements, but also through the diffusion of non-material elements or the borrowing of Western concepts of industry, mass media, science, sports, the press, and other fields. For example, in the field of politics, Korean has borrowed terms like 'boycott', 'briefing', 'demonstration', 'motto', 'placard', 'scandal', 'slogan', 'spy', 'veto', 'visa', etc. Business and trade terms have been adopted: 'bonus', 'broker', 'business', 'catalog', 'commission', 'design', 'offer', 'percent', 'sample', 'service', 'size', 'strike', 'xerox', and so on. In automobile mechanics and transportation, Korean has adopted many popular loanwords and learned loanwords: 'asphalt', 'bus', 'brake', 'call-taxi', 'diesel', 'handle', 'headlight', 'helicopter', 'jet', 'terminal', 'ticket', 'truck', 'tunnel', etc. Sports terminologies have come to Korean through English: 'amateur', 'ball', 'boxing', 'catcher', 'coach', 'cross-country', 'fowl', 'free kick', 'golf', 'groggy', 'hiking', 'marathon', 'medal', 'pitcher', 'relay', 'referee', 'score', 'sportman', 'tackle', 'tennis', 'trophy', 'uppercut', 'whistle', 'wrestling', and many others. In the press, journalism, and broadcasting, we find: 'announcer', 'camera', 'flash', 'gallup', 'interview', 'news', 'radio', 'panorama', 'parabola antenna', 'parade', etc. In the entertainment, some terms have come into widespread use in Korean: 'call-girl', 'fan', 'groupsoound', 'jazz', 'madam', 'manager', 'melody', 'recital', 'record', 'screen', 'show', 'sign', 'singer', 'star', 'stereo', 'talent', 'thrill', 'video', and so on. Military

terms such as 'G.M.C.', 'jeep', 'missile', 'tank', 'three quarter (truck)', etc., education terms such as 'academy', 'ballpen', 'note(book)', 'homeroom', 'quiz', 'seminar', and 'symposium', and religious terms such as 'carol', 'Catholic', 'Christmas', and 'mass' are loanwords of a high frequency in daily life. The pronunciation and the semantic fields are quite different but I will not go further in detail since the discussion of it can be another topic.

The major foreign influence on Korean before English was Japanese. As a result, some English loanwords entered Korean through the intermediary of Japanese: e.g., *haikara* 'white-collar worker', *infure* 'inflation', *mishin* '(sewing) machine', *puro* 'professional', *sarariman* 'salaried employee', etc. However, there are variations in pronunciation. Older generations are likely to pronounce them the same as Japanese, but the Korean version of such pronunciations are more like *inpuleisān*, *misin*, and *sebrimēn*, respectively.

Some loanwords entered Korean from a Japanese version of English, in which case the semantic areas are in the same scope as Japanese: e.g., *cunning* 'cheating', *culline* 'lowest pass mark in exams', *goal in* 'goal(ing)', *mass game* 'game in groups', *old miss* 'old maid', *rosu* 'roast (beef)', and so forth.

In this last regard, Korean has some Korean versions of English which can be interpreted only in the contexts of Korean; for example, *back number* means 'a number on the back of a player', *OX* refers to 'a Korean version of a true-false question', *second* is used as a noun meaning 'a second wife or a woman other than the first wife', and so on.⁷⁾

Quite a few loanwords from European countries other than the English-speaking countries have also come to Korean through Japanese before World War II. For example, German words such as 'Arbeit', 'Gaze', 'Neurose', and 'Thema' were introduced into Japanese as *arubaito* 'part-time job for students', *gaze* 'gauze', *noiroze*, and *tema* 'theme', and they were, in turn, introduced into Korean as *aribait*, *kaje*, *noiroje*, and *tema*, respectively. French words 'avec', 'enquete', 'dessin', 'manteau', and 'jupon' ('pair of trousers'), were adopted into Japanese as *abekku*, *anketo*, *dessan*, *manto*, and *zubon*; and again they were introduced into Korean through Japanese as *abek*, *anket*, *tesan*, *manto*, and *ssibon*, respectively. Spanish word 'medias' meaning 'stockings' were pronounced as *meriyasu* in Japanese, meaning 'knitting, knitted goods', but in Korean *meriyas* refers to 'a kind of

7) Pae, Y. S., *A Dictionary of Loanwords in Korean* (Seoul: Minjungsokwon, 1981), p.294. (in Korean)

underwear with short sleeves' (cf. Miller 1967).⁸⁾

III

In terms of society, unlike North Korea, where the society is closed to the outside world, South Korea affords openness and pluralism of all domains and so keeps the potential for more exchanges of cultures. Society is never static and it is inevitable that more and more new words can always be added to make the language available for modern purposes, especially in professional terminologies. However, Korea (SK) has faced various cultural difficulties and challenges from the outside in the process of acculturation. Mobility and instant communication through the rapid expansion of mass media have resulted in a sharp increase of popular cultural consumption, and the mass media have become a strong cultural force in the Korean society. The effects of mass media on traditional Korean culture have been blamed for the blind introduction and popularization of Western culture in fear of cultural domination and dependency. Failing to survive politically and to enjoy international prestige for want of modern science and technology in the process of modernization, the indigenous cultural patterns of Korean, like those of other Asian nations, stand on the defensive.

Within this tendency, the government began to pursue a policy of active cultural development in order to create a new national culture, based on the consciousness of national identity. In 1972, the government required both central and local governments to carry out projects for cultural and artistic development. In 1973, the Council for the Promotion of Culture and the Arts and the Korean Culture and Arts Promotion Foundation were established, and, in the same year, the Korean broadcasting law was revised, requiring all television and radio stations to include at least 30% of the broadcasting hours for education and traditional cultural programs. In fact, it reduced the hours allocated to programs of Western cultural content. On the whole, the revival movement of traditional culture, the search for the soul of the people, and the rejection of blind borrowing from others have been issues in Korean society, especially since the 1970's, under the slogan 'national identity', with a policy orientation that the nation should not imitate and assim-

8) Miller, R. A., *The Japanese Language* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp.241~243.

ilate the cultures of the advanced countries.^{9) 10)}

Under such circumstances, language was not an exception. Many prescriptive grammarians regard English influence negatively. The reluctance of the purists to accept foreignisms was reflected in a series of measures taken to check pollution of the national language by implementing 'language purification campaigns', which suggest that wholesale adoption of foreign words would not be a good idea. The prime target in the campaigns has been those foreign words and phrases which are not absolutely necessary and which can be readily replaced by their Korean equivalents.

The intrusion of foreign words into Korean society is indicated in an ever-increasing number of English brands of foreign-sounding names on goods or commodities. People are likely to prefer English or Westernized words on their commodities and signboards, and manufacturers or distributors often produce or make brands carrying Westernized or foreign-sounding names. For example, according to one survey, about half of the signboards in the capital carried foreign words; that is, they were written or decorated in Roman script, carrying non-Korean words adopted from other languages. In addition, 164 items out of 300 different kinds of goods or products also had foreign words, and so did 99% of drug names.¹¹⁾ In other words, signboards of department stores, beauty-parlors, tailor shops, pubs, restaurants, flower shops, shoe stores, dress salons, coffee houses, bakeries, and so forth, carried English or other foreign words. The names of hotels, furniture, toys, clothing, wines, cosmetics, candies, or soft drinks were mostly from English or other foreign words. Along the street in towns and cities can we see signboards carrying English names, such as 'x x beer hall', 'x x shopping center', 'x x snack corner', 'x x corner', 'x x stand bar', 'x x super chain', 'x x center', 'x x house', 'x x fashion', 'x x town', etc.

Within this tendency, some Korean words were transformed into 'Korean English' which must have been intended to be foreign-sounding words. Such coinages as *yunina*, *buroa*, *taktin*, *modunie*, *tamina*, *midamoa*, and so on, are used as brand names of cosmetics, without any official status. *Unina* is derived from a Korean adjective form *yuninanun* 'shiny'; *buroa* from *buroun* 'envious'; *taktin* from *taktuin* 'open-hearted'; *modunie* from *modunui* 'for everybody'; *tamina* from *taminanun* 'covetous' and *midamoa* is a sequence of words *mi-da-moa*, meaning 'filled with beauty'.

9) The Korea Herald, August 19, 1982.

10) The Korea Herald, March 25, 1983.

11) Rhyu C. R. and Bae, Y. D., "An essay on language purification campaigns," *A Collection of Treatises* (Seoul: Sungshin Womens Teachers College, 1976). (in Korean)

Signboards are generally bilingual or trilingual, bearing Roman script and/or Korean script, with Chinese ideographs disappearing rapidly. Signs of business firms or companies, hotels, stores, public facilities, and other commercial establishments are mostly combinations of Roman and Korean scripts. Street signs which were trilingual in Chinese, English, and Korean scripts were replaced with bilingual signs written in English and Korean. Computers are either in English or Korean. Magazines, articles, and other publications often retain Chinese ideographs; various kinds of documents including government files are more likely to retain Chinese characters. Imported films and other English language programs on TV are all translated into Korean speech, while the speech of such films is in original language along with Korean translations written on either side of the screen when shown in movie theaters. Newspapers still retain Chinese characters, especially on the political and economic pages.

One noticeable feature in terms of printing is that magazines, newspapers, and other publications contain Roman script or English words or phrases. In monthly magazines issued in March 1990, we find: 'good choice', 'working woman', 'men's casual', 'stress', 'men's fashion drama', 'leisure complex', 'home interior', 'books', 'superior grade', 'elegant feeling', 'home interior', 'make-up', 'town wear', 'hair news', 'body romance', 'double wrap (bra)', 'accent', 'the power of seduction', to name a few.

Many people worry about the deterioration of the national language. The main reason for such a trend results from a strong preference to Western culture, for which there has been much blame, along with a series of treatments. In 1976, after a series of language purification campaigns, shopkeepers were urged to replace English or foreign-sounding words on signboards with original Korean ones; and pop singers, actors or actresses, and TV talents were directed to replace their foreign-sounding names with Korean ones. Facing with the situation that 90% of all brand-names of candies were foreign words, in April 1976, the President instructed the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and Information, and the Ministry of Public Health to discourage people from using foreign words on signboards, in press, and in sports. Along this line, the Ministry of Education published a guidebook for proper language use, planning to establish the Academy of Language.

Again, in June 1976, the President urged the Ministry of Education to find Korean equivalents for so-called foreignisms. In June 1976, in turn, the Ministry of Internal Affairs offered to exempt people who would use Korean on their signboards from license taxes; in July 1976, the Bureau of National Police started to enforce a control over

foreign-language signboards along the freeway and in the resort areas, while the Cabinet conference passed regulations for the language purification plan. In October 1976, the Seoul Metropolitan Government recommended that all apartment complexes should be named in Korean; in April 1977, the Ministry of Education announced a list of 630 Korean equivalents intended for government documents and broadcasting. In 1978, the Ministry of Justice decided to use Korean equivalents of technical terms; in November 1978, Chungbo Police Station in Seoul started to take forcible measures against foreign-sounding signboards.¹²⁾

Today, Western pop songs, films, magazines, video tapes, are allowed to be imported or introduced to the society, and various contemporary western music and songs are frequently broadcast in original language, mostly in English, through mass media; nevertheless, Korean professional singers are disallowed to sing any songs, totally in English or other foreign languages. On the other hand, Japanese songs, movies, and any other elements of Japanese culture are strictly prohibited from mass media.

In 1983, the Ministry of Public Health urged fifty-one Korean cosmetic makers to specify brand names of their products in Korean as well as in foreign languages.¹³⁾ In February 1983, the President suggested that words or phrases in government documents should be made easy enough for the public whose education is at the level of a middle school graduate to be able to understand them, further elaborating that those loanwords which have already been assimilated into Korean be retained without any treatment: e.g. 'corner kick' instead of an unfamiliar Korean equivalent *mosorichagi*.¹⁴⁾ It was reported that the so-called undesirable words which should be refined in purification campaigns were over 277,000 words, including Chinese derivatives and other foreign words. In May 1983, the Ministry of Education announced a refined and simplified version of about 6,800 words or terms, including loanwords which are difficult for the majority of Korean people to understand.

The criticism has been directed not so much at the foreignism as at the person who often mixes his speech with foreign words without reservation even when their Korean equivalents are readily available. Not all the writers take positions of conservatism regarding foreign influence. For example, in a monthly magazine we come across a

12) Kim, S. D., et al., *Kukosunhwa* (Seoul: Hankukjongshinmunhwa yonkuwon, 1984), pp.21~22. (in Korean)

13) The Korea Herald, June 7, 1983.

14) The Hankook Ilbo, February 25, 1983.

conversational and situational code-switching. According to a survey, 74% of the informants called a girl whose name is Kim as 'Miss Kim' in place of a Korean equivalent; 88% of them used the English word 'sunglass' instead of a Korean equivalent; 65% 'shock'; 69% 'chance'; 76% 'maker'; 69% 'campaign'; 53% 'calendar'; 71% 'accessory'; 59% 'mis(take)'; 83% 'condition'; 67% 'speed'; and 95% of them used 'album' in place of a Korean equivalent.¹⁵⁾

There is no detailed explanation as to how the subjects were picked, but it is generally true that among educated people the use of English words is more frequent or common in a conversational or situational code-switching. A man who may be in a higher socio-economic class or any person who has some knowledge about English often commands English vocabulary more extensively. This sort of code-switching which embraces snobbish overtones has been blamed for such language contamination.

IV

One of the most vulnerable issues in Korean linguistics involves both Koreanization and Romanization of loanwords. The complicated nature of the Korean language makes it difficult to describe accurately discrete forms of phonology with clearly definable boundaries. In 1958, the Ministry of Education promulgated the Koreanization system. This writing system, though followed by school textbook, has been neglected by the majority of the periodicals, magazines, newspapers, and dictionaries on the ground that it is a set of unrealistic, unbalanced, and noneconomic rules. As a result, different versions of the same item co-exist, representing varieties of loanwords. One aspect of such varieties of loanwords is reflected in phonic interference. Those varieties pose a real phonological problem for naturalization.

The phonemic inventory of Korean consonants is different from that of English in English fricatives, /f, v, s, z, θ, ð, ʃ, ʒ, h/, of which only two phonemes /s/ and /h/ exist in Korean.

The English /f/ and /v/ are realized as /p/ or /h/, but the actual output is irregular, depending on the individual speech :

pilim for 'film'

huraipæn or *huraipæn* for 'fry-pan'

15) Rhyu, C. R. and Bae, Y. D. (1976), op. cit., p.4.

As for 'fry-pan', a dictionary may prefer *praɪzən* in everyday life.

The English /θ/ and /ð/ are normally replaced with /s/ and /d/ or /t/ in Korean

hels kɒb for 'health club'

smud or *smus* for 'smooth'

mæməd or *mammos* for 'mammoth'

The English /z/ and /ʒ/ are lacking in Korean. Both are pronounced as /č/ or /j/ :

prɪm for 'prism'

pjɔ for 'pizza'

čɔʃi for 'George'

As for vowels, people tend to be faithful to orthographic pronunciation, precise realization of every spelling of vocabulary :

oasis for oasis;

panorama for 'panorama'

radio for 'radio'

Some loanwords adopt real English pronunciation as spoken by native speakers of English :

hæ(d) in hæɪn(d) for 'hand in hand'

Another variety is added by following the norms of British English :

klas for 'class'

topik for 'topic'

Until the 1960's, English textbooks in schools contained both British and American pronunciations of each vocabulary if it was different. And, both norms were taught and practised in the classroom, but in time the British norm was excluded from school textbooks. Today, the norm of American English is a criterion for pronunciation, spelling and usage. Generally, older generations still retain the British norm, especially in pronunciation. The Ministry of Education recommends American English in the teaching of English.

The inconsistency and irregularity of loanwords ultimately has resulted in some doublets. For instance, *ppatta* 'bat' has broadened its semantic area and it includes a pingpong paddlw, a bat, and any kind of short pole for hitting somebody or something whereas *pæɪ* refers to a bat only meaning 'a baseball bat'; *ppoi* is a word for the English 'boy', but it means 'a waiter who works in a restaurant', whereas *poi* refers to a boy in its original sense. *Hurai* which originates from the word 'fry' refers to a word meaning in English.¹⁶⁾

16) Pae, Y. S. (1981), op. cit., p.294.

In daily use of loanwords, a sociolinguistic variety prevails, diminishing the legitimacy of the standard form of loan words. Even though a neat and realistic system of the standardization of loanwords can be worked out by any authorities concerned, the problem of such a variety of loanwords is not likely to be settled without difficulty. The difference between written forms and spoken forms of loanwords is a point in question in relation to the nature of varieties. The Academy of the Korean Language, unfortunately, has not been of much help. Written words or the standard writing system for that matter are honored only in principle and do not have any determining force to transform layers of variety into one standard when hypercorrection goes into operation. On the contrary, in practice, each individual has his or her own pronunciation of the same English word, depending upon the level of education, occupation, or social class of the individual. There is little agreement among people as to what the proper Korean substitute should be.

An English word 'fan' is *pæn* in written form when derived by Koreanization, but any individual who has some knowledge about English may prefer to say *fæn* instead. 'Fashion' may be pronounced as [fæsən] instead of *pæsjən*, 'piano' as [piænou] instead of *piano*, 'coffee' as [kəfi] instead of *kəpi*, and so on. It is common to hear people say [demənstreisən] 'demonstration', and [bækgraund] 'background', instead of *demo* and *ppæg*, respectively, just to show off their status or culture. This sort of hypercorrection, which establishes the criterion for the right form of a loanword on the basis of the standard English, not the standard Koreanization system, is a major factor for the distance between the standardized writing system and the speech of an individual, ultimately leading to the direction of sound change. Principle is one thing and practice is another.

V

As far as North Korea is concerned, the over-all situation is quite different from that of South Korea regarding this subject matter. One problem peculiar to Korea is the division of the peninsula, which has caused a linguistic gap between two Koreas. The geographical division with independent language policies on the standardization of Korean orthography and on the treatment of loanwords has already given rise to linguistic discrepancies between NK and SK.

As for Korean orthography, it was reformed in 1912 under Japanese rule and was

revised in 1921 and 1930. Another version of Korean orthography was proposed by the Korean Language Society in 1933. This unified orthography was used both in NK and SK until 1954, when NK promulgated a new set of orthography. In 1966, another revision of orthography was made in NK on the principle of prescriptivism and a dictionary 'Chosunmal kyupomjip' (a collection of prescriptions on the Korean language) was published as a reference for prescriptivism. Thus, every form of language was to be guided by a specific policy; the nativisation movement was in operation and so prescriptivism was born.

It is evident that the excessive nativisation or prescriptivism on the part of NK has already produced a sizable amount of new vocabulary, partly leading to mutual unintelligibility between NK and SK :^{17) 18)}

tung-kwul-i 'a peeled log'
minchchwum-hata 'foolish and immature'
mil-phulek 'soup with wheet-flour'
mom-may-tti 'a corset'
teraemot 'bolt'
nammot 'wood nail'

Sino-Korean words were replaced with native Korean ones :

<i>takgongjang</i>	instead of : <i>yanggejang</i> 'poultry farm'
<i>naljul</i>	<i>tongmaek</i> 'artery'
<i>tuljul</i>	<i>jongmaek</i> 'vein'
<i>sokilgi</i>	<i>mukdo</i> 'silent reading'
<i>kunmul</i>	<i>hongsu</i> 'flood'
<i>pulsan</i>	<i>hwasan</i> 'volcano'
<i>jambang</i>	<i>chimsil</i> 'bedroom'

Words of foreign origin were also replaced with Korean equivalents. Such foreign words as 'plan', 'ekjamen', 'ideologiya', and 'hegemoniya' indicate the NK borrowed loanwords through the intermediary of Russian :¹⁹⁾

17) Kim, C. W., "Divergence in language policies in Korea," Kim, C. W., ed., *Papers in Korean Linguistics* (Columbia : Hornbeam), pp.245~257.

18) Kim, M. S., "The language policy in North Korea," *Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15, 1972, pp.1~53. (in Korean)

19) Kim, C. W. (1978), op. cit.

<i>kyhoek</i>	instead of : <i>plan</i> 'plan'
<i>sihom</i>	<i>ekjamen</i> 'examination'
<i>sokdo</i>	<i>tempo</i> 'tempo'
<i>yangbokjogori</i>	<i>uwagi</i> 'coat'
<i>yangbokbaji</i>	<i>jubong</i> trousers'

In line with combating 'cultural colonialism', the tendencies to limit the various Western lexical items and to take the direction of intolerable extreme Koreanization further increased in NK. Thus, loanwords were replaced with pure Korean derivatives, which are unfamiliar to the people in SK : ²⁰⁾

<i>pokkum meli</i>	instead of : <i>pama</i> 'permanent wave'
<i>chiksungpihaengki</i>	<i>helikopta</i> 'helicopter'
<i>ttokttaktanchu</i>	<i>hwukhu</i> 'hhok, snap button'
<i>mulmatikan</i>	<i>syaworum</i> 'shower room'
<i>yakchon</i>	<i>kaju</i> Gaze, gauze'
<i>hojonpan</i>	<i>taiol</i> 'dial'
<i>sangkal</i>	<i>naip</i> 'knife'
<i>kkulsin</i>	<i>siper</i> 'slippers'
<i>olumbosungi</i>	<i>aiskrim</i> 'icecream'
<i>alchokmanyonpil</i>	<i>polpen</i> 'ballpen'
<i>sonkichok</i>	<i>nok</i> 'knock'
<i>kyoye</i>	<i>sokos</i> 'circus'

A number of loanwords, which are of Russian origin, are in currency in NK, all of which are unfamiliar to the people in SK : ²¹⁾

<i>hegemoniya</i> 'hegemony'	<i>ideologiya</i> 'ideology'
<i>ppulhyus</i> 'plus'	<i>ppiyoneru</i> 'boy scout'
<i>minyusu</i> 'minus'	<i>kkotmuna</i> 'community'
<i>ttulaltoru</i> 'tractor;	<i>ssabaka</i> 'dog'
<i>krapiku</i> 'graph'	<i>ssamahoud</i> 'cargo truck'
<i>kkamppanya</i> 'campaign'	<i>puldojel</i> 'bulldozer'
<i>kuluppa</i> 'group'	<i>wengguria</i> 'Hungary'
<i>aspiranty</i> 'graduate student'	<i>ppapposu</i> 'enthusiams'

20) Ibid.

21) The Dong -A Ilbo, June 19, 1984.

In phonology and vocabulary, there is a striking difference between NK and SK. For example, the presence or absence of an initial liquid flap, or /r/, and an initial palatal nasal, or /n/, is a case in point. These initial sounds are confined to words originally borrowed from Chinese : ²²⁾

NK	SK
<i>rakwon</i>	<i>nakwon</i> 'paradise'
<i>ryangsim</i>	<i>yangsim</i> 'conscience'
<i>rodong</i>	<i>nodong</i> 'labor'
<i>riyu</i>	<i>yiyu</i> 'reason'
<i>nyudae</i>	<i>yudae</i> 'solidarity'
<i>nyoja</i>	<i>yoja</i> 'woman'

By contrast, South Korean adopts a policy of compromise. In SK, a parallel use of the Korean script and Chinese characters was allowed until 1957, when the exclusive use of Korean alphabet was adopted by the government. However, in 1964, the policy was shifted to using both Korean scripts and Chinese ideographs; in 1970, the decision was reversed to the exclusive use of Korean scripts; and again, in 1972, the decision was made in favor of pragmatists. In 1983, the Ministry of Education announced a refined and simplified version of about 6,800 words or terms, including Chinese derivatives, and the President suggested that the loanwords which have already been fully assimilated into Korean be retained without any new treatment. ²³⁾

VI

One question in the Korean cultural situation is the long-term effect of the geographic separation on homogeneity. In every sense, it is clear that the degree of cultural diffusion or acculturation in North Korea is not at the same level as South Korea. The description of NK in its cultural contexts is characteristic of one common generalization in existing literature : its cultural resistance. Evidently, NK is a tightly closed society, allowing for no pluralism of any sort. In NK, the role of mass media is responsible primarily for government propaganda, rather than popular cultural consumption. As a result, any sizeable contact of the majority of people with other types of culture is negligible. This

22) Kim, C. W. (1978), op. cit.

23) Ibid.

difference will ultimately result in an unbridgeable socio-cultural rift between the people in NK and SK, with a certain kind of linguistic effect: i.e., a social dialect. In other words, the imbalance and varieties in the amount and types of mass culture may give rise to the development of two different, mutually unintelligible social or new dialect forms.

There is a lack of agreement as to what these problems entail, and therefore what to do about them. However, we can maintain that ordinary people in NK characteristically do not use loanwords to the extent that members of the middle class in SK do, and are thus impoverished in communicative skills. The accurate observation of these new dialect forms in Korean communities, particularly in urban centers, is turning out to show a correlation between language behavior on the one hand and socioeconomic on the other. Over the last forty years, the proportion of the middle class who speak a perfectly standard variety of English has risen from a small group of elites to persons numbering in millions. Speakers have subjective knowledge about styleshift between dialect and standard according to situations. Thus the prescriptive grammarians' decision and preference often reflect their own personal and subjective motives, not always consistent with the psychology of each individual speaker. The reasons behind the purists' anti-foreignism stem from an erroneous concept of language development and linguistic change. Any attempt to regulate the development and change of living languages is bound to fail. Inconsistency itself reflects the linguistic facts of life in any language. Language is a living thing, a product of culture. There are bound to be some speakers who may still fall victim to the difference in social prestige between their dialect and a new dialect. A social dialect is thus used vigorously in informal situations, showing close psychological distance between emotionally superior speech behavior and intellectually superior speech behavior. This phenomena are modern examples of linguistic change in progress.

<국문초록>

영어 차용어의 사회언어학적 기술

변 명 섭

서로 다른 문화의 접촉에서 필연적으로 일어나는 언어접촉은 차용어의 현상으로 나타난다. 한국 전통문화의 타 문화와의 접촉은 중국문화, 일본문화, 그리고 2차대전 이후의 서양문화와의 역사를 반영한다. 따라서, 중국문화와의 접촉에서 한국어는 수많은 어휘들을 차용했고 일제의 영향 하에서 일본어의 차용 또한 간과하기 어렵다. 서양문화, 특히 영어권의 문화와 다량으로, 또 급속도로 접촉하게 되는 현대에는 서양어의 한국어에 대한 영향은 크다.

사회언어학자들은 역사언어학의 통시적 관점에서 벗어나 언어변화의 현상을 '진행 중에 있는 언어변화'의 관점에서 관찰하고, 그 변화의 방향을 예견하려 하고 있다. 현재, 한국어와의 문화 충돌을 겪고 있는 영어 차용어들은 그 변화 양상이 인간의 마음만큼이나 다양하고 그 유입정도가 크다. 한국어 속에 들어 오고 있는 영어 차용어는 '신 방언' 형태의 역할을 하면서 제2방언 또는 사회방언의 요소가 되고 있다.

본 연구는 이러한 차용어에 대한 역사, 종류, 현상, 정책등을 설명하고, 미래의 이질적인 남북 언어생활 양상에 미치는 신 방언의 위치를 조명하였다.