

## An Investigation of the Reasons for the Solidification of Korean Inherent Sino-Korean

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**Abstract:** Inherent Sino-Korean are the words whose phonetic structure does not conform to the sound of Sino-Korean. They are the result of the fusion of Sino-Korean and inherent words. In this paper, we organize the Korean inherent Sino-Korean and investigate the reasons for their phonetic structure.

### 1. Introduction

Regarding the issue of Korean Sino-Korean, although there is still a lot of debate among scholars about whether or not official pronunciation words and phonetic words (also known as attached Sino-Korean) are Sino-Korean, and whether or not ancient Sino-Korean given new meaning by Japanese are Chinese-derived Sino-Korean or Japanese-derived Sino-Korean, the basic definition of Sino-Korean is unanimous, that is, “words that are constructed on the basis of Chinese characters, used in the Korean language system, and can be recorded in Chinese characters and their pronunciation conforms to the Korean Chinese-sounding norms”.

However, there are some words in Korean that are based on Chinese characters and can be recorded in Chinese characters, but their phonetic structure is not in accordance with the Chinese phonetic norms of Korean. Dechun Li, in his “Korean Chinese Words and Chinese-derived Words”, argues that “some of the Sino-Korean have already been inherent. Inheritance refers to the fact that these loanwords have changed in the language life of Koreans due to the long-term use of the phonetic structure, and are not associated with the original Chinese characters or the modern pronunciation of Korean characters. Thus, in the Korean consciousness, they have been recognized as inherent words rather than borrowed words.” “Although the Sino-Korean that have been inherited are based on Chinese characters and borrowed directly from the Chinese language, they are not related to the sound of the Chinese words in modern Korean and cannot be replaced with Chinese characters, so they should be regarded as inherited words and not as the present-day Sino-Korean. Such words should be classified as Chinese-derived words. [1]”

This paper argues that such words are Sino-Korean whose phonetic structure has changed under the deep influence of the contact and fusion of Sino-Korean and inherited words, and should be called inherited Sino-Korean instead of inherited Chinese-derived words, because the origin of such words is not only Chinese but also Korean and mixed Korean-Chinese words. This kind of vocabulary has unique academic value for the study of the history of extraterritorial development and transmission of Chinese vocabulary, and it also provides a glimpse of the deeper contact and integration between Chinese words and Korean words. In this paper, we have compiled the inherent Sino-Korean in the *한국어 사전* (Korean Dictionary), and have conducted a preliminary investigation into the reasons for the inherent phonetic structure of the words, so that we can see the value of the inherent Sino-Korean for the research field of contact and integration between Chinese and Korean.

### 2. Arrangement and Classification of Inherent Sino-Korean

In this paper, we have compiled the inherent Sino-Korean in the *한국어 사전* (Korean Dictionary) and found that there are about 202 inherent Sino-Korean in this dictionary. Among them, there are 124 Chinese-derived

words, 41 Korean-derived words, and 37 mixed words.

(1) In medieval Korean historical sources, one or more of the inherent Sino-Korean that originated from Chinese language have been identified as ancient proverbial forms. For example, the word form of 관다[kwan tai] (guan dai [kuan tai]) was “관타[kwan tai]”; the word form of 귀양[ky jaŋ](gui xiang [kjuəi xiaŋ]) was “귀향[ky hjaŋ]”; the word form of 나구[na ky](luo ju [luo kio]) was “나고[na kø]”, “나구[n aky]”, “라구[ra ky]”; the word form of 나인[na in] (nei ren [nuei nien]) was “내인[nai in]”; the word form of 능금[niŋ kim] (lin qin [liem giəm]) was “능금[niŋ kim]”; the word form of 대추[tə tsʰu] (da zao [dai tsou]) was “대초[tə tsʰo]”, “대추[tə teʰju]”, “대초[tə teʰ jo]”; the word form of 도량[to rjaŋ] (dao chang [dou diaŋ]) was “도량”; the word form of 승냥이[siŋ njaj i] (chai lang [dzeai lan]) was “승랑이”; the word form of 요[jo] (ru [njuk]) was “요”, “을”; the word form of 짐승[teim siŋ] (zhong sheng [te̯ion ſeŋ]) was “짐승[tsjuŋ saij]”, “짐승[tsim saij]”, “짐승[tsim siŋ]”.

(2) The Korean origin of inherent Sino-Korean is that the Korean people used Chinese lexical elements to create Sino-Korean according to the principles of Chinese word formation. Their origin can be confirmed by the proverbial form of the ancient language that can be found in the Korean historical records of the Middle Ages. For example, the word form of 가개[ka ke](jia jia [kea kea]) was “가개[kake]”; the word form of 김자[kim teʰi](chen cai [diəm ts'ei]) was “김자[tim ts'hai]”, “김자[tm ts'hai]”, “짐자[teim ts'hai]”, “짐자[teim ts'hi]”; the word form of 나중[na tsuŋ] (nai zhong [nai teioŋ]) was “내종[ne tejon]”, “나종[na tejon]”; the word form of 사냥[sa njaj] (shan xing [ʃ eən reŋ]) was “산행[san hain]”, “산영[san jəŋ]”; the word form of 승눔[suŋ njun] (shu leng [ziok leŋ]) was “승눔”, “승눔”, “승눔”, “승눔”, etc.; the word form of 잠깐[tsam 'kan] (zan jian [dzæm keæn]) was “잠깐”; the word form of 채비[tsʰe pi] (cha bei [tʃ'e b̥ei]) was “채비”.

(3) The inherent Sino-Korean derived from Chinese-Korean hybrids are composed of inherited Kanji morphemes and inherent morphemes or inherent affixes. Since the phonological morphology of Sino-Korean has been naturalized, the word formed with a natural morpheme or a natural suffix is often unrecognizable to the user as a Chinese word component. In Dechun Li's *Sino-Korean and Chinese-derived Words*, it is mentioned that “Sino-Korean are combined with the elements of inherent words to produce new derived words or compound words. From this, there are also inherent Sino-Korean. Such words, even if there is no change in the meaning and sound of the Chinese characters in the Chinese morphological elements, will not be associated with the Chinese words. Such words, in which the Chinese sounds of the Chinese characters and their meanings do not change, would not be associated with Chinese words. For example, 향아리‘gang’, 보따리‘bao’, 겁쟁이‘qie’, 면바로‘mian’. In Korean, it is common to add inherent affix after Chinese morpheme to express common name, which is the result of contact fusion between Sino-Korean and inherent words, and the degree of contact fusion is even greater in the combination of intrinsic Chinese morpheme and inherent affix. 금자동이[kim tsa tuŋ i] (jin zi tong-[kiəm tsə doŋ]), 약동이[jak tuŋ i] (-tong-[doŋ]), 업동이[əp tuŋ i] (-tong-[doŋ]), 지령이[tei ŋeŋ i] (di long [djei ljuŋ]), 천동이[tsʰən tuŋ i] (jian tong-[dʒiən doŋ]), 팔삭동이[pʰa sak tuŋ i] (ba shuo tong-[peat ſeuk doŋ]), 팔푼이[pʰal pʰun i] (ba fen-[peat piən]), 후동이[hu tuŋ i] (hou tong-[xu doŋ]) are naturalized Sino-Korean with the inherent suffix “이[i]” added [2]. 고키다[kø tøp ta]

(ku-[k'ɔ]) and 대수키다 [tə su ɾop ta] (duo shu-[ta ʃio]) are adjectives formed by combining an inherent Sino-Korean lexeme with the suffix -롭다[ɾop ta], which has the function of adjectival paraphrase.

### 3. Analysis of the Reasons of Phonetic Structure Solidification

The reasons for the changes in the phonological structure of inherent Sino-Korean are complex and long-standing, and some of them are difficult to verify. In this paper, we examined and analyzed some of the reasons for phonological solidification as follows.

#### 3.1 Phonetic Assimilation

For example, 영계[jəŋ ke] means “chick” in Korean. It originates from “연계[jən ke](ruan ji [ŋjuən kiæi])”. The change from “연[jən]” to “영[jəŋ]” is due to the assimilation of the consonant ㄱ-[k-] in the later syllable “계[ke]” into -ㅇ [-ŋ], which is the same part of the rhyme ending -ㄴ [-n].

#### 3.2 Palatization and Inverse Palatization

For example, “김치[kim tɕʰi]” originated from “침채[tɕʰim tsʰɛ] (chen cai [dʒəm ts'ɛi])”. It went through the process of 담채[tim tsʰɛ]>침채[tɕʰim tsʰɛ]>김채[kim tsʰɛ]. The ㄷ-[t] sound changed to ㅈ-[tɕ-] sound. It is the palatization process. The ㅈ-[tɕ-] sound changed to ㄱ-[k-] sound. It is the inverse palatization phenomenon.

#### 3.3 Preservation of Dialectal Accents in Korean Vocabulary

For example, the standard pronunciation of ‘cai [ts'ɛi]’ in modern Korean is “재[tsʰɛ]”. Its actual pronunciation is also “추[tsʰu]”, “ㅊ[tɕʰi]”, etc. The same is true for “배추[pe tsʰu] (bai cai [bek ts'ɛi])”, “상추[san tsʰu] (sheng cai [ʃeŋ ts'ɛi])”, “김치[kim tɕʰi] (chen cai [dʒəm ts'ɛi])”. This phenomenon is the result of the retention of dialect accents in the standard vocabulary.

#### 3.4 Preservation of Ancient Chinese Sounds in Modern Korean Vocabulary

For example, “부추[pu tsʰu]” originates from “육채[juk ts'ɛi] (yu cai [jɪok ts'ɛi])”. “육[juk](yu [jɪok])” corresponds to “부[pu]” because part of the class of characters that belonged to the ‘yu yu’ family in ancient times was pronounced [p-]. It is generally believed that ‘yu yu’ was developed long ago from [p-]>[w-]>[ -]. In Korean, The “육[juk] (yu [jɪok])” sound corresponds to the “부[pu]” sound, which is preserved in the upper archaic. Another example is the pronunciation of the Chinese character “liang” in the modern Korean phonetic system as [rjan], which is similar to the ancient sound of the Chinese word “liang”. In Chinese dialect in “liang” is “laimu yangyun, sandeng kaikou” according to Li Wang in dialect structure system, the sound should be [ljan]. The word “사랑[sa ran] (si liang [sɪə lɪɑŋ])” is pronounced as “[ran]” in Korean, which is similar to the ancient sound of “liang”. The ancient sound of “liang” is “laimu yangyun”. According to Li Wang’s ancient sound construction system, its sound is [ljan].

#### 3.5 The Effect of Word Refinement

For example, in Korean, “칸[kʰan]” originates from “干[kan] (jian [keæn])”. In the 16th century, the translation of the *Translation of Chinese Learning Book*, and in the 18th century, the *Tongwen*

*Leijie* and *Hancheng Wenjian* were all in the form of “간[kan]”. Later, the meaning of a specific space such as a room, compartment, or compartment was “간[kan]”. For example, the pronunciation in the words “운전칸[un tsən k<sup>h</sup>an](yun zhuan jian)”, “이등칸[i tɪŋ k<sup>h</sup>an](er deng jian)”, “화물칸[hwa mul k<sup>h</sup>an](huo wu jian)” is “칸[k<sup>h</sup>an]”, while it is pronounced as “간[kan]” in words “공간[koŋ kan](kong jian)”, “시간[eɪ kan](shi jian)”. For example, 구완 [ku wan] (jiu yuan [kjūn xjuæn]) and 병구완 [pjəŋ ku wan] (bing jiu yuan [bjəŋ kjūn xjuæn]) mean “nursing the sick” rather than “rescue”. The modern Korean word for “rescue” is the Sino-Korean “구원 [ku wən]”.

### 3.6 Influence of the Law of Head Sounds

According to the “Head sound rule”, the Sino-Korean sound has the following variations. “나,녀,뇨,뉴,니,녜” change into “야,여,요,유,이,예”; “라,려,료,류,리,례” change into “아,여,요,유,이,예”; “라,로,루,르,래,뢰” change into “나,노,느,내,노”. Therefore, “라구[raky](luo ju [lua k<sup>j</sup>o])” changes into “나구[na ky]”. The prefix “당[tan] (tang)” is added and the word becomes “당나구[tan na ky] (tang luo ju [daŋ luə k<sup>j</sup>o])”.

### 3.7 The Effect of the “人” Rule for the Suffix

The “人” rule (사이'ㅅ'규칙) in Korean means that the consonant of the latter syllable is affected by the preceding syllable and becomes a hard sound when pronounced. To indicate the general pronunciation phenomenon, the “-人” ending is added to the preceding syllable. The addition of this ending has led to a change in the morphology and pronunciation of some words. For example, “곳간[kot kan]” originates from Sino-Korean “고간[ko kan](gu jian [k'o keæn])”.

### 3.8 Influenced by the Hard Pronunciation of Inherent Words

The majority of the Sino-Korean phonetic sounds are flat and airy, and only the three words “쌍(shuang), 씨(shi), and 꺭(qi)” are pronounced with a hard sound (also known as a tight sound). However, some words of Chinese origin are pronounced with a hard pronunciation due to the influence of inherent words. For example, in “잠깐 [tsam 'kan] (zan jian [dzaem keæn])” and “근량중[kin rjaŋ 'tsuŋ] (jin liang zhong [kjəŋ liŋ djuŋ])”, “깐[kan] jian” and “중['tsuŋ] zhong” are both pronounced as hard sounds.

### 3.9 Impact of Homophonic Declination

When two consonants of the same rhyme are pronounced together in Korean, the former consonant is dropped. For example, “간난[kan nan] → 가 난 [ka nan] (jian nan [keæn nan])”, “종용[tson joŋ]→조용[tso joŋ] (cong rong [dzjuŋ jiŋ])”.

### 3.10 Ending Sound Drop

Due to the weakening and disappearance of the rusheng rhyme of the ending sound, some Chinese words have dropped their ending sound. For example, words like “구화반지[ku hwa pan tɕi] (ju hua ban zhi [kjok xoa pean tɕeŋ])”, “구화장지[ku hwa tsan tɕi] (ju hua zhang-[kjok xoa tɕeŋ])”, “요[jo] (ru [ŋjuŋ])”, “초[tsʰo] (zhu [tɕeuŋ])”, drop their rusheng rhymes in the ending sound.

### 3.11 Addition of Inherent Terminology

One of the most important ways to derive new words in Korean is by fusing inherent affixes with Chinese morphemes to change the morphology of the language. For example, the word form of **상수리**[saŋ su ri](xiang shi [z̥iaŋ dz̥jet]) was “**상실이**[ejaŋ eil i]”. In *Object Spectrum*: “xiang shi ‘상실이’ [ejaŋ eil i]” is generated by reinforcing the word suffix ‘O[I]’ to the Chinese character **상실** [ejaŋ eil] (xiang shi)”. Being influenced by the rule of hyphenation in Korean, the final form was solidified as **상수리** [saŋ su ri], which is pronounced [ejaŋ ei ri].

### 3.12 The Preservation of Ancient Chinese Vernacular Words Transmitted through Spoken Language

The pronunciation of Chinese words was standardized after they were introduced into the Korean lexical system. It is possible that the existence of the above-mentioned Chinese words with pronunciations that do not conform to the Chinese phonetic system is related to the way they were introduced into the Korean language. The Chinese words in the Korean language range from literary words imported through ancient literature to Chinese loanwords from the Chinese translation of the Buddhist scriptures and Chinese words from the ancient Chinese vernacular. Liu Chen, in the book *The Lineage of the East*, argues that the vernacular words in the Chinese language were introduced to the Korean Peninsula in three ways: first, by immigrants from the mainland through the ages; second, by traders from the peninsula through the ages; and third, by Chinese vernacular works [3]. This paper argues that such Chinese words without standardized pronunciation are most likely to have been introduced into the ancient Chinese vernacular through oral speech, and their pronunciation was fixed and preserved in the Korean lexical system before they were standardized. In the article “On the Borrowing of Modern Chinese Language” by Jiwen Li, it is pointed out that there are more than 70 Chinese words and phrases from ancient Chinese vernacular in translation books from the 16th to the 18th century. For example, “**배추**[pe tsʰu](bai cai [bek ts'ɛi]), **보배**[po pe](bao bei [pou pai]), **토시**[tʰo eɪ](tao xiu [t'ou z̥iu]), **太湖**[tʰu tɕiə], **푼주**[pʰun tsu](pen zi [buən tsiə]), **사탕**[sa tʰaŋ](sha tang [ʃea daŋ]), **수수**[su su](shu shu [z̥iuk eŋ]), **사처**[sa tsʰə](xia chu [xea ts'ɛŋ])”, etc.

Another evidence that some of the inherent Sino-Korean were introduced through spoken language is the phonetic characteristics of the words. It is generally accepted in Korean academia that the Korean Chinese character sounds are mainly Chinese medieval sounds, with some characteristics of medieval sounds. Because of the great difference between the syllabic system and the Korean phonetic system at that time, some changes were made to the Korean phonetic system at that time. For example, the lingual and suprasegmental consonants of the vowels are combined as lingual consonants, the labial accent and labial light consonants are combined as labial consonants, and the dental and orthodontal consonants are combined as dental consonants. In addition, because of the opposition between voiceless and voiced consonants, they were basically treated as voiceless consonants, but some of the subglottals or full turbid consonants were treated as voiced consonants [4]. However, in the words such as **병나발** [pjəŋ na pal] (ping la ba), **보배** [po pe] (bao bei), **사발허통** [sa pal hə tʰoŋ] (si ba xu tong), the aspirated sound “ba”, “bei”, “ba”, according to the Chinese phonetic rules, are pronounced as unaspirated. In the words **백통**[pek tʰoŋ te] (bai tong), **백통대**[pek tʰoŋ te] (bai tong-), **백통전**[pek tʰoŋ te tsəŋ] (bai tong qian), **토피**[tʰo pʰi] (tu pi), **토피집**[tʰo pʰi tɕip] (tu pi-) and other words, the sounds “tong”, “pi” that should be pronounced without an airy sound according to Chinese phonetic norms are pronounced with an airy sound. The pronunciation of these Chinese words contradicts the Korean Kanji phonetic norms but matches the Chinese pronunciation [5]. The pronunciation of [o] and [oŋ] in Sino-Korean is [u] and [uŋ], such

as”금자동이[kim tsa tuŋ i] (jin zi tong-), 나무주추[na mu tsu tsʰu] (--zhu chu), 대추[te tsʰu] (da zao), 봉죽[ponj tsuk] (feng zu), 부주[pu tsu] (fu zu), 부줏돈[pu tsut ton] (fu zhu-), 부줏술[pu tsut sul] (fu zhu-), 부줏일[pu tsut il] (fu zhu-), 쌍둥이['saŋ tuŋ i] (shuang tong-), 약둥이[jak tuŋ i] (-tong-), 푸주[pʰu tsu] (pao chu), 후둥이[hu tuŋ i] (hou tong-)”。This phenomenon is also contrary to the norms of Sino-Korean pronunciation, but it is consistent with Chinese pronunciation.

#### 4. Conclusion

There are various reasons for the solidification of the phonological structure of inherent Sino-Korean, and many phenomena are still difficult to verify. Due to the solidification of the phonological structure, it is difficult to identify the etymology of some inherent Sino-Korean. For example, the derogatory name for a soldier in Korean is “군바리 [kun pa ri],” and the 한국어사전 (*Korean Dictionary*) explains its etymology as “warlord”. The origin of the word is most likely “구풀이 [ku pʰal i] (qiu ba [k'iu peat])”。Therefore, the study of inherent Sino-Korean has unique research value for the study of Sino-Korean, the study of foreign transmission of Chinese words, and the study of contact and integration of Sino-Korean and inherent words.

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