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Introduction

Following brief notes on the transcription conventions adopted in this book, this chapter introduces the distribution of the speakers of Korean on the Korean peninsula and throughout the world, the current status of the education of Korean as a foreign language, a brief survey of linguistic studies made thus far, and an overview of the salient typological features of the language.

1.1 Transcriptions

Korean expressions in this book, including proper names, titles of books and articles, and linguistic examples, are presented in the Yale system of romanization, unless indicated otherwise. Yale and Hankul (the Korean alphabet) spelling conventions are essentially the same in that both systems follow the morphophonemic spelling principle (i.e., the principle of one phonemic form for one morpheme). That is, every romanized syllable corresponds to a Hankul syllable block, as will be observed in 6.3.

As for personal names, individualized romanizations are honored as much as possible. Since the two vowels wu [u] and u [\dot{z}] do not contrast after a bilabial stop consonant (p, ph, pp, m), both being pronounced as [u], pwu [pu], phwu [phu], ppwu [ppu], and mwu [mu] are abbreviated in spelling to pu, phu, ppu, and mu, respectively. Similarly, ywu [ju] is shortened to yu because the sound sequence [\dot{z}] does not exist in Korean. In romanized spellings, the syllable boundary marker (.) is omitted unless it is necessary. The following conventions are established instead:

- (a) The sequences ey, ay, oy, and uy are inseparable single units, representing the sounds [e], [ε], [ø, we], and [±(j), i, e], respectively, unless a syllable boundary marker (.) is placed before y. Thus, for instance, peyenayta 'cut off', hayyo 'does', koyita 'get propped', and uyuy 'significance' are the abbreviated forms of pay.e.nay.ta, hay.yo, koy.i.ta, and uy.uy, respectively.
- (b) All pre-vowel single, geminate, or aspirate consonants (e.g., k, kk, kh), semivowels (y, w) other than y after e, a, o, or u, and consonant-semivowel



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sequences (e.g., kw, kky, khw) are the onset of the syllable to which the following vowel belongs, unless a syllable boundary marker is placed before that vowel. Thus, for instance, salam 'person', akka 'a while ago', cokha 'nephew', kyeyyak 'contract', Sewul 'Seoul', sakwa 'apple', and ciphyey 'paper money' are the abbreviated forms of sa.lam, a.kka, co.kha, kyey.yak, Se.wul, sa.kwa, and ci.phyey, respectively.

- (c) Any consonant or semivowel immediately preceding the above-mentioned consonants, semivowels, or consonant-semivowel sequences is the coda of the preceding syllable. Thus, for instance, haksayng 'student', Hankul 'the Korean alphabet', Hamkyeng 'Hamkyeng Province', Tayhanminkwuk 'Republic of Korea', and meknunta 'eats' are the abbreviated forms of hak.sayng, Han.kul, Ham.kyeng, Tay.han.min.kwuk, and mek.nun.ta, respectively.
- (d) The spelling *ng* represents a single consonant sound [η]. It always belongs to the preceding syllable. Thus, *kangaci* 'puppy' whose phonetic form is [ka.ŋa.ɟi] is syllabified as *kang.a.ci* in its romanized form.
- (e) Any consonant, vowel, or semivowel immediately preceding a syllable boundary marker belongs to the preceding syllable, as in the spellings en.e 'language', kwuk.e 'national language', hak.kyo 'school', pang.en 'dialect', ha.yahta 'be white', mil.essta 'pushed', and po.yessta 'was seen, showed'.

In romanization, a word boundary is marked by a space. A hyphen (-) is used to locate a morpheme boundary as needed. When phonemic or phonetic transcriptions are called for, as in chapters on genetic affiliation, historical development, writing systems, and sound patterns, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is employed along with romanized spellings.

The following table of romanization systems shows correspondences among the currently used letters of the Korean alphabet (Hankul), the Yale system, the McCune-Reischauer (M-R) system (which is widely used by non-linguists), and the IPA representations.

Table of romanization systems

Hankul letters	Phonemic value in IPA	Phonetic value in IPA	Yale	M–R
Consonants			•	
日	p	[p, b]	p	p, b
27	ph	[ph]	ph	p'
用用	p'	[p']	pp	pp



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ㄷ	t	[t, d]	t	t, d
E	th	[th]	th	t'
TT.	ť'	[t']	tt	tt
入	s	[s, \]	S	S
Ж	s'	[s', ʃ']	SS	SS
ス	c	[c, J]	c	ch, j
え	ch	[ch]	ch	ch'
双	c'	[c']	cc	tch
٦	k	[k, g]	\boldsymbol{k}	k, g
7	kh	[kh]	kh	k'
דד	k'	[k']	kk	kk
	m	[m]	m	m
L	n	[n, n]	n	n
0*	Ŋ	[ŋ]	ng	ng
ㄹ	l	[l, r]	l	l, r
ゔ	h	[h]	h	h
Vowels and	-			
]	i	[i]	i	i
ᅱ	y, wi	[y, wi]	wi	wi
귀	e	[e]	ey	e
 	je	[je]	yey	ye
제	we	[we]	wey	we
긔	ø, we	[ø, we]	oy	oe
H	ε.	[3]	ay	ae
Ħ	jε	[jε]	yay	yae
ᅫ	Wε	[wɛ]	way	wae
1	i	[±]	и	ŭ
4	e	[ə]	e	ŏ
4	je	[jə]	ye	уŏ
거 1	wə	[wə]	we	wŏ
} ``	a •.	[a]	а	а
j J	ja	[ja]	ya	ya
나 -	wa	[wa]	wa	wa
T	u :	[u]	wu	u
π	ju -	[ju]	y(w)u	yu
7-	0	[0]	0	o

jo

ij

[jo]

 $[\dot{\pm}(j), i, e]$

yo

иу

yo

ŭi

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* This letter may occur in both initial and final position of a syllable block, as in $\[\circ \]$ [in]. The sound [n] is associated with only the final $\[\circ \]$, while the initial $\[\circ \]$ has a null sound value.

Spelling examples

Hankul	Phonemic	Phonetic	Yale	M-R	
					, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
한국	hankuk	[han.guk]	Hankwuk	Han'guk	'Korea'
한글	hankil	[han.gil]	Hankul	Han'gŭl	'Korean alphabet'
세종	s:econg	[se:.joŋ]	Seycong	Sejong	'King Seycong'
대전	tecon	[tɛ.jən]	Taycen	Taejŏn	'Taycen city'
서울	səul	[sə.ul]	Sewul	Sŏul	'Seoul'
미국	mikuk	[mi.guk]	Mikwuk	Miguk	'America'
신라	sinla	[sil.la]	Sinla	Silla	'Sinla dynasty'
조선	cosen	[co.sən]	Cosen	$Chos \breve{o}n$	'Cosen dynasty'
고구려	kokulje	[ko.gu.rjə]	Kokwulye	Koguryŏ	'Kokwulye kingdom'
백제	pεkce	[pɛk.c'e]	Paykcey	Paekche	'Paykcey kingdom'
최	chø, chwe	[chø; chwe]	Choy	Ch'oe	'surname Choy'
이승만	i sɨŋman	[i.sɨŋ.man]	I sungman	I sŭngman	'Syngman Rhee'

The following Middle Korean Hankul letters, which are no longer used in Contemporary Korean, will be represented by corresponding IPA symbols for romanization as well as for phonemic and phonetic transcriptions.

Hankul	Phonemic	Phonetic	Romanization	
뉭	ß	[ß]	β	_
Δ	z	[z]	z	
0	?	[?]	?	
•	0	[c]	Э	

1.2 Speakers

Korean is one of the world's most common languages, with approximately 72 million speakers. In terms of the number of speakers, Korean is rated as the eleventh among over 3,000 languages existing on the globe. The current population of South Korea is over 45 million and that of North Korea around 23 million. In South Korea, over 10 million people, over a quarter of its population, live in the capital city Seoul, whereas



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in North Korea, the population is rather spread out, with 2 million living in the capital (Phyengyang). Some 5.3 million Koreans (7% of the total Korean population) are estimated to reside outside of the Korean peninsula, the major countries with a large Korean population being China (2 million), USA (1.9 million), Japan (700,000), and the former Soviet Union (500,000).

Korean Chinese reside mainly in the three Manchurian provinces: Jirin (1.2 million), Heilongjiang (500,000), and Liaoning (200,000), and about 44% of the entire Korean Chinese population live in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jirin Province, on the border of North Korea. In the United States, over 500,000 Koreans live in the Los Angeles area, with the rest concentrated mainly in New York, Chicago, the Washington, D.C. area, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, Atlanta, Honolulu, etc., in order of decreasing number. Korean residents in Japan reside in such cities as Osaka (250,000), Tokyo (120,000), Kobe (87,000), Nagoya (85,000), Yokohama (38,000), Fukuoka (36,000), and Shimonoseki (34,000). The Koreans of the former Soviet Union have their highest concentration (over 66%) in the Uzbekistan Republic and Kazakstan Republic (as a result of Stalin's enforced removal of Far Eastern Korean Soviets to these Central Asian regions in 1937), with some 40,000 living in Sakhalin.

Other areas where a sizable Korean population is found include the Middle East and Africa (120,000 in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Iran, Ghana, Gabon, etc.), Canada (40,000 in Toronto, Vancouver, etc.), Europe (26,000 in Germany, Spain, Netherlands, France, England, etc.), Central and South America (22,000 in Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, etc.), and Australia and New Zealand where the population of Koreans is rapidly increasing.

Due to constant immigration and natural population increase, Koreans in the United States have become the fastest growing segment of the worldwide overseas Korean population. According to Barringer and Cho (1989:19), the Korean population in the United States was 5,009 (2% of all Asian Americans) in 1910; 8,568 in 1940; 69,150 in 1970; and 357,393 (10.3% of all Asian Americans) in 1980. During the past eighteen years, the Korean population in the United States has grown five-fold. If this trend continues, one can easily project the growth of the Korean American population in the 21st century. In fact, Koreans in America are expected to outnumber the Korean residents in China very soon. Unlike in America, hardly any new immigration is expected in China, Japan, or the former Soviet Union. In 1980, the Korean population in the United States ranked the fourth among the Asian minority groups, following Chinese, Filipinos, and Japanese populations. At present, Korean Americans outnumber the Japanese American population, which is approximately 800,000, and it is expected that in a few decades, only Filipinos will outnumber Koreans in the United States.



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1.3 Korean as a Foreign Language

Korean as a foreign language was first taught at St Petersburg University in Russia in 1897, and subsequently in many countries in Europe, America, Asia, and the Pacific. However, it had hardly been popular among non-Koreans until quite recently. Korean has started to boom since the latter half of the 1970s when Korea began to gain visibility mainly due to its rapid economic growth, the massive overseas emigration of its people, and the South Korean government's deep concern with and commitment to globalizing Korean language and culture. Korean is now learned by an ever-increasing number of non-Koreans worldwide, as well as by ethnic overseas Koreans. Suffice it here to present the cases of four representative countries: China, the United Stages, Japan, and the former Soviet Union.

The most successful overseas Korean language education is observed in China. Despite the dark ages of Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Revolution (1966-76) when ethnic education was completely suppressed, Chinese-Korean bilingual education has been well established in the three Manchurian provinces, partly owing to the favorable minority policies of the Chinese government and also to Korean Chinese's strong motivation to maintain their ethnic identity through language and culture instruction for their children. Currently, approximately 2,000 elementary and secondary schools educate exclusively Korean minorities and offer intensive Korean language instruction. In the majority of these schools, including those in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, the medium of instruction is Korean, with all textbooks written in Korean. At Yanbian University, all lectures are conducted in Korean. Korean is also gaining increasing popularity among native Chinese, especially since the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and South Korea in 1992. Currently, Korean is the fourth most popular language in China, following English, Japanese, and Russian, with over two dozen universities having a Korean language department.

In the United States, no regular English-Korean bilingual education is practised. Instead, Korean is learned as a foreign language (including Korean Americans' learning of Korean as their second language). Seven Korean community schools in 1975 have grown to 830 (mostly affiliated with Korean churches), where Korean is presently taught to some 50,000 Korean American children by 5,200 teachers mainly on weekends. Ten colleges and universities in 1975, which offer Korean language courses, have grown to approximately 110, and over 20 high schools have recently started to teach Korean. A few universities including the University of Hawaii at Manoa and the University of California at Los Angeles offer BA, MA, and PhD programmes in Korean language and literature. In addition, government institutions such as the Defense Language Institute, Foreign Service Institute, Central Intelligence Agency, and National Security Agency provide intensive Korean language training for



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government personnel. Many private institutions have recently been established to teach Korean to the general public and to students.

In Japan, Korean is taught at over eighty colleges and universities. As of 1998, five universities have a Korean language department and offer a degree (BA or MA) in Korean. In addition, six high schools in Osaka, Tokyo, and Kobe currently offer Korean language courses. Several government agencies conduct Korean language teaching for diplomats, police officers, military personnel, and other government officials. Furthermore, Korean is taught to the general public at over sixty private institutions.

Unlike the long-standing establishment of formal foreign language education in China, Japan, and the United States, Korean language programmes have grown much more slowly in the former Soviet Union. Only since the demise of the Union have the governments, political parties, and ethnic leaders of respective Republics launched a policy of bilingualism, thus encouraging the instruction of both Russian and the ethnic language and culture to students. According to the 1989 census of the former Soviet Union, most of the younger generation ethnic Koreans are by and large monolingual and declare Russian as their native language (Myong 1991). As part of the strong movement led by many newly established Korean cultural organizations, Korean language classes are being started in an effort to revive the Korean language, culture, and tradition among young ethnic Koreans. Currently, three universities in Russia and four universities in Uzbekistan and Kazakstan offer Korean language courses.

Other countries where Korean is offered at colleges and universities include Australia, Germany, Canada, England, France, New Zealand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, and Turkey. In particular, in Australia, several dozen elementary and high schools and nine universities offer formal Korean language courses. Numerous overseas students visit Korea to learn the language and culture in situ on a short or long term basis. Over ten universities and several private institutions in South Korea offer Korean language training to foreign students.

Several national or international academic organizations on Korean language education actively promote Korean as a foreign language worldwide through conferences, workshops, journals, and exchange of instructional materials. These include the International Association for Korean Language Education (IAKLE), the Korean Society of Bilingualism, and the American Association of Teachers of Korean (AATK).

For more information on the status of Korean language education throughout the world, see *Say Kwuk.e Saynghwal* 1.2 (1991) and *Gyoyug Han-Geul* 10 (1997).



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1.4 Linguistic Study of Korean

The first linguistic study of Korean dates back to the ingenious work of King Seycong and his Royal Academy scholars in the fifteenth century in creating the indigenous writing system called *Hwunmin Cengum* (The Correct Sounds to Educate the People; scholar Cwu Sikyeng later proposed to call it Hankul 'the Great Writing') through an extensive analysis of the Korean sound pattern. Thus, the king's *Hwunmin Cengum* (1446) and Ceng Inci's *Hwunmin Cengum Haylyey* (Explanations and Examples of the *Hwunmin Cengum*, 1446) may be regarded as the first formal publications of Korean linguistics.

From then until the middle of the nineteenth century, only a few studies by native scholars, all related to *Hwunmin Cengum*, appeared. These are Choy Seycin's *Hwunmongcahoy Pemlyey* (Explanations of Chinese Characters with Hankul, 1527); Sin Kyengyey's *Hwunmin Cengum Wunhay* (Sound Explanations of *Hwunmin Cengum*, 1750); and Yu Huy's *Enmunci* (A Study of the Korean Native Script, 1824).

It was not until around the turn of the 20th century, however, that the Korean language was actively and extensively studied by Korean, Japanese, and Western scholars. Representative monographs by native scholars in this early period include Lee Pongwun's Kwukmun Cengli (A Korean Grammar, 1897); Cwu Sikyeng's Kwukmun Munpep (A Korean Grammar, 1905), Kwukmun Yenkwu (A Study of Korean, 1909), and Mal uy Soli (Speech Sounds, 1914); Ci Sekyeng's Sinceng Kwukmun (New Korean, 1905); Yu Kilcwun's Tayhan Muncen (A Korean Grammar, 1909); Kim Kyusik's Cosen Munpep (A Korean Grammar, 1912); An Hwak's 'Cosen.e uy kachi' (Values of Korean, 1915) and Cosen.e Wenlon (Principles of Korean, 1922); Kim Twupong's Cosen Malpon (A Korean Grammar, 1916) and Kipte Cosen Malpon (Revised Korean Grammar, 1924); Ceng Yelmo's Cosen.ehak Kayyo (An Introduction to Korean Linguistics, Han-geul, 1927-28); Kwen Tekkyu's Cosen.emun Kyengwi (Details of Korean Sentences, 1923); Choy Hyen-Pay's Wuli Malpon (Our Grammar, 1929) and Hankul Kal (A Study of Hankul, 1942); Pak Sungpin's Cosen.ehak Kanguy Yoci (Essentials of Korean Linguistics, 1931) and Cosen.ehak (Korean Linguistics, 1935); Gim Sheon-Gi's 'Kyengum uy poncil' (The essential nature of tensification, 1933) and The Phonetics of Korean (1938); Lee Hi-Sung's 'Cosen.ehak uy pangpeplon sesel' (A methodological introduction to Korean linguistics, 1938); and Kim Yunkyeng's Cosen Munca kup Ehaksa (A Linguistic History of Korean Writing and Language, 1938).

Among these early Korean scholars, Cwu Sikyeng was the first who studied Korean from a modern linguistic perspective; An Hwak's extensive survey of various subareas of the Korean language (1922) and Ceng Yelmo's series of works published in *Han-geul* (1927–28) are the first works that provided a scientific system to the Korean language; and Choy Hyen-Pay's extensive grammar (1929 and its revised



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versions) has exerted the strongest impact upon later scholars and students of the Korean language.

Representive publications by Japanese scholars in the early period before the end of the Second World War include Okagura's 'Ritogenbungo' (A study of Itwu-Korean, 1889); Kanazawa's Nikkan Ryookokugo Dookeiron (A Study of the Japanese–Korean Genetic Relationship, 1910); Shiratori's 'Chosengo to Ural-Altai-go to no hikaku kenkyu' (A comparative study of Korean and Ural-Altaic languages, 1914-6); and Ogura's Kokugo oyobi Chosengo no Tame (For Japanese and Korean, 1920), Kyoka oyabi Rito no Kenkyu (A Study on Hyangka and Itwu, 1929), 'Chosengo no keito' (The lineage of Korean, 1935), and Chosengo Hogen no Kenkyu (A Study of Korean Dialects, 2 volumes, 1944).

Early Western scholars' works include W.G. Aston's A Comparative Study of the Japanese and Korean Languages (1879); H.G. Underwood's A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language (1890) and Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language (1890); G.H. Jones's 'Korean etymology' (1892); J. Edkins's 'Etymology of Korean numerals' (1898); H.B. Hulbert's A Comparative Grammar of the Korean Language and the Dravidian Languages of India (1905); J.S. Gale's Korean Grammatical Forms (1894) and A Korean-English Dictionary (1897); E.D. Polivanov's K voprosu o rodstvennyx otnosenijax korejskogo i 'altajskix' jazykov (On the Issue of the Genetic Relationship of Korean and Altaic Languages, 1927); A.A. Kholodovich's Grammatika Koreiskogo yazyka (A Korean Grammar, 1939) which is the first scientific grammar of Korean in Russian; and Ramstedt's A Korean Grammar (1939) and Studies in Korean Etymology (1949). Ramstedt, a Finnish scholar, made a major contribution to Korean linguistics in the West with this etymological study which established the affinity of Korean to Altaic languages. Furthermore, his morphologyoriented grammar is known as the first scientific investigation into Korean structure by a Western linguist.

In view of the scholarly enthusiasm developed for the study of Korean since the end of the nineteenth century, it may be said that the linguistic study of Korean has a history of one hundred years. Despite the efforts to promote Korean by patriotic Korean linguists and a small number of foreign scholars in the early part of the twentieth century, linguistic study of Korean was extremely limited in the academic world both in Korea and overseas during the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea from 1910 to 1945. During this thirty-five-year colonial period, the use of Korean was prohibited at Korean schools, Korean personal names were changed to Japanese names, and many distinguished scholars of Korean were imprisoned. Only since Korea's liberation from Japan in 1945 have ever-increasing linguistic studies of Korean been conducted both on the Korean peninsula and overseas.



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Y.G Ko, et al. (1992, IV Bibliography) list some 4,000 linguistic books, articles, dictionaries, and textbooks of Korean, 99% of which were published after 1945. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo's (National Language Research Institute, Japan, 1996) bibliographical monograph on Korean (covering publications from 1945 to 1993) contains 2,183 books, articles, dictionaries, and textbooks written in Japanese along with some 1,000 works written in English. Studies of Korean that have been done encompass all aspects of the language, including historical and comparative studies, phonetics and phonology, writing and transcription, morphology, syntax, lexicon, stylistics, dialects, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, language acquisition, language policies, language pedagogy, and computational linguistics. Space does not allow citation of the more recent works here. However, important studies will be cited in relevant chapters and a select bibliography is appended to this volume.

The United States has been the major arena of Korean linguistic research in the West in the latter half of the twentieth century; a brief state-of-the-art survey is in order. Modern linguistic study of Korean in America was launched by Samuel Martin's 'Korean phonemics' (1951) and Korean Morphophonemics (1954) and Fred Lukoff's University of Pennsylvania dissertation A Grammar of Korean (1954). The initial structural linguistic approach was soon replaced by unprecedentedly numerous generative studies in the 1960s and thereafter. During the past forty years, some 1,000 books, dissertations, and research papers on all aspects of the language have appeared. Thus far approximately 300 Korean-related doctoral dissertations have been produced from some 60 universities in the United States, with the University of Texas at Austin ranking as the top producer (some 40 dissertations) followed by the University of Hawaii at Manoa which has produced about 30 (cf. H.M. Sohn 1997a). In view of its characteristic typological properties, Korean is useful in testing current theories as well as constructing new hypotheses. Many graduate students and scholars come to the United States from Korea to do theoretical research on Korean, as new linguistic theories and hypotheses are being developed incessantly by a large number of linguists unparalleled anywhere else.

Many academic organizations actively promote and coordinate the linguistic studies of Korean. The International Circle of Korean Linguistics, established in 1976, holds international conferences biennially in different countries and publishes the journal *Korean Linguistics* and conference proceedings. Since 1985, the Harvard University Department of Linguistics has held biennial workshops in Korean linguistics and publishes the *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics* series. Initiated by the University of California system in 1990, annual conferences on Japanese–Korean linguistics are held at various American universities and selected papers are published in the *Japanese-Korean Linguistics* series (Stanford Center for the Study of Language and Information Publications). In Korea, the Korean Language Society