

# Master's Degree program

in Languages and Societies of Asia and Mediterranean Africa

## **Final Thesis**

Study of the morphological patterns of English loanwords in Korean and Italian

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[...] the truth is that language policy cannot regulate the actual growth of foreign words. The amount of foreign words used will continue to grow as our lives become more globally interwoven.

Jieun Kiaer, TRANSLINGUAL WORDS an East Asian Lexical Encounter with English, 2019

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#### **Abstract**

이탈리아어와 한국어는 언어학적으로 깊이 있게 연구되었지만 이탈리아어와 한국어를 비교 대조한 연구는 매우 부족하다.

본 연구에서는 그동안 많이 연구되지 않았던 이탈리아어와 한국어를 형태론적 관점에서 비교 대조하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 본 연구에서는 구체적으로 이탈리아어와 한국어가 영어 외래어와 어떤 형태적 관계를 맺고 있는지에 집중하였다. 이탈리아어와 한국어가 영어에서 단어를 차용할 때 가지는 유사점과 차이점이 무엇인지 살펴보기 위해 먼저 두 언어의 형태적 특징을 살펴보았다. 여기에서 나타난 특징들을 통해 각각의 언어가 가지는 특성이 영어 외래어에 어떤 영향을 미치는 지 알아볼 수 있었다.

분석 결과 이탈리아어와 한국어의 형태적인 구조는 다르지만 대부분 영어 외래어를 조어하는 방식이 비슷하였다. 한국어는 영어에서 직접 차용한 외래어와 "반 번역 차용어"를 선호하는데 비해 이탈리아어는 귀화어와 번역 차용어를 선호한다는 것을 알 수 있었다. 외래어 분석은 조어의 과정을 먼저 설명하고 그에 해당하는 예를 직접 제시하는 방식으로 진행하였다.

또한 이 논문에서는 이탈리아어와 한국어를 언어적으로 비교하는 것은 가치 있는 일이기 때문에 앞으로 자세한 연구가 필요함을 제시하였다.

#### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1 Subject, purpose and method of the research

Individually Italian, English and Korean have been long studied from a linguistic perspective, but what about the interaction between these three languages?

The influence of English vocabulary in the Italian language has been a hot topic in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for linguists like De Mauro, Bombi and Gusmani due to globalization, but this topic of discussion puts its roots way back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, the interaction between English and Korean is rather recent, reaching back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the War of Korea and the influence of the American power in the southern part of the peninsula.

Beginning with this background information, this paper aims to investigate whether there are any similarities or contrasting aspects in the way Korean and Italian deals with English loanwords, being the languages quite different structurally.

To carry out this investigation the paper has benefitted from the comparative method which is an essential tool in linguistics. Usually, this method is used to investigate the historical development of a language and for linguistic reconstruction, but it can also be used to compare two languages. When analyzing two languages the comparative method is applied to different language features like phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics to have a complete picture of the similarities or differences of the two linguistic systems. However, this paper decided to focus mainly on the morphological aspect, hoping that in the future more research will be carried out addressing the other areas influenced by English in a comparison between Korean and Italian.

The comparative method applied to morphology, analyzes morphological features in a language and then tries to identify patterns that are later compared with those of another language. The development of this paper followed exactly this procedure. It began with the analysis of the general morphological characteristics of both Italian and Korean, focusing especially on the processes of word formation, and then proceeded by describing the morphological aspects of English loanwords and how they are dealt with in each language. Every section has been provided with examples that have been used to identify the patterns, later compared, and from which the conclusions have been drawn.

The process did face some challenges due to the fact that English and Italian share common etymology for certain vocabulary deriving from Latin whit the difference that those vocabulary entered the English language due to linguistic contacts while in the case of Italian they have a genetic relationship with it. The same difficulty was faced in the case of Korean which is enriched with several words coming from Chinese and English loanwords that have entered the peninsula through Japanese. All of these aspects made it difficult to identify a

certain word as a loanword or a native word and to distinguish a bounded morpheme to an unbounded one.

The literature that has been used to develop this study has been very useful to untangle certain difficulties encountered throughout the research, and especially for the Korean part is worth citing Song Seung Hyun and Okawa Daisuke.

### 2. Background theory

#### 2.1 Definition of loanword and calque

When a neologism is introduced in a linguistic system from another linguistic system is called *loanword*. Loanwords can be divided into categories depending on their characteristics and degree of adaptation. If a loanword maintains its fonomorphological characteristics, (i.e. is introduced in the receiving language without any adaptation) it can be described as a *direct loanword* (e.g. English direct loanwords introduced in Italian: *computer*, *shopping*, *manager*, *business*, *etc.*), but in some cases the borrowed word faces fono-morphological modifications to better adapt to the system of the target language, hence resulting in an *adapted loanword*.

When there is an exchange of words between two linguistic systems the language from which the word is taken is usually referred to as *source language* or *donor language*, while the language that borrows the word is the *target language*, *receiving language*, *native language* or *borrowing language*<sup>1</sup>. Scholars do not agree entirely with these definitions and there are different opinions on which technical term better describes the role of the two languages in the process of borrowing. To give an example Song Seung Hyun prefers *recipient language* to *borrowing language* arguing that: "the widely used term 'borrowing' has faced much criticism. Specifically, the concept of 'borrowing' implies the return of what was borrowed" so 'recipient language' for this author is a better alternative since once the term is "borrowed" is not returned to its language of origin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These are the four terms that will be used alternatively in this paper. These terms can be found in: Jieun Kiaer (2019), in Song Seung Hyun (2022), and also in Italian literature like and Gobber (2013) in their alloglot forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Song Seung Hyun, *Loanword Adaptation in the Korean Spoken Language*, 2022, p. 25, my translation

Along with direct loanwords there are other types of borrowings which are defined as *loan translations*, or *calques*. Calques can be *structural* or *semantic* (the latter also called *semantic borrowing* in Song Seung Hyun 2022).

In the first type of calque, the target language translates word by word the elements coming from the source language maintaining the same structure and meaning (e.g. eng. > weekend, it. > finesettimana, eng. > skyscraper, it.> grattacielo). On the other hand, a semantic calque occurs when the meaning of a word from the source language is added to an existing word in the target language that has a similar structure to the original word (e.g. eng. > to be in shape, it. > essere in forma.) In this case the Italian term "forma" which refers to the shape of an object and can be translated with the term "shape" in English, is enriched with the meaning that "shape" assumes in English in the expression "to be in shape" (here "ready", "trained").

Since their first significant appearance in the 18<sup>th</sup> century English loanwords in Italian were referred to with the name 'anglicismo', even though in English the term 'anglicism' already existed a century before (Fanfani 2010)<sup>3</sup>. For this reason, in this paper, when talking about English loanwords in the Italian language, the term anglicism will be preferred.

Borrowing<sup>4</sup> elements from other linguistic codes is a practice common to all language systems world-wide, and often reflected the need to name new objects or concepts introduced by cultural, political o financial encounters.

This is not always the case though, since numerous loanwords already have a related word in the receiving language. This phenomenon brought linguists to differentiate loanwords into *necessary loanwords*, those borrowed words that do not have a corresponding term in the native language, and *luxury loanwords*, those words that are borrowed despite an already existing alloglot term in the native language, though this distinction for some linguists is now outdated. Massimo Fanfani for example, writing about the motivations that drive to the creation of a neologism, states:

"His motivations [of whoever needs to create a neologism] usually depend on internal onomasiological reasons, like it happens for the creation of all the other neologisms.

<sup>4</sup> For a broader investigation on the term 'Borrowing' (차용 in Korean), Song Seung-Hyun, 2022, p.25

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fanfani Massimo, *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*, entry "Anglicismi",2010 https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anglicismi\_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano%29/

Consequently, falls also the traditional distinction between *necessary loanwords* and *luxury loanwords* (those considered to be redundant, for which corresponding elements already exist in the language), because initially every process of interference answers to a specific need, at least for the creator."<sup>5</sup>

For Fanfani all neologisms have a reason to be created, therefore they are all necessary, in some ways, at least for who first formulated them. This theory is reinforced by the idea that luxury loanwords can coexist with their alloglot terms since the use of one or the other might be preferred in different context.

From the term *anglicism* derives *pseudo-anglicism* which is another technical term that indicates all those words that have been created due to the influence of English loanwords but can't be considered, originally, English words even though phono-morphologically speaking they seem proper English terms.

The reasons that brought to this phenomenon can be traced back to elements like misunderstandings, prestige of the English language, communicative needs, linguistic adaptations, and linguistic creativity.

# 2.2 Brief historical record of the influence of English language in both Korean and Italian

The first contacts with English loanwords in Italian dates back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. At the time very few words were introduced, and mostly were adapted words related to merchant trading<sup>6</sup>. It is safe to say that until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the possibility that foreign languages (meaning European languages, not Greek o Latin that are historically part of the Italian linguistic tradition) could influence Italian language with their words and different linguistic system was still not a threat. In fact, until 1861 Italy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Le sue motivazioni dipendono quasi sempre da necessità onomasiologiche interne, come avviene per la creazione di ogni altro neologismo. Cade di conseguenza anche la tradizionale distinzione fra *prestiti di necessità* e *prestiti di lusso* (quelli superflui, per i quali già esisterebbero nella lingua termini corrispondenti), perché inizialmente ogni processo d'interferenza risponde a un preciso bisogno, almeno per colui che ne è l'artefice." Fanfani Massimo, *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*, entry "Prestiti", 2011, my translation https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/prestiti\_(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano)/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Felli Flaminia, La diffusione degli anglicismi nella lingua italiana, 2023

did not exist as a unified nation and Italian was not a single language but an intertwined of dialects of different regions.

However, the presence of foreign words was always there and the effort to unify the Italian dialects into a single language gave rise to "The Question of the Language", introduced by Pietro Bembo in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This issue started a vigorous exchange of opinions between purists that supported the idea that neologisms, dialects and foreign words should not be added to the Italian vocabulary, and other scholars that believed in the natural drive of living languages towards change and innovation.

As Flaminia Felli (2023) explains, the 18<sup>th</sup> century is the turning point for English loanwords, beginning with the magazine called "*Caffè*" (established in 1764) that she defines as: "one of the most anglophone cultural phenomenon", the introduction of English loanwords into the Italian language came naturally, also due to the ever growing "admiration toward the English culture and the American revolution". As a consequence of the events in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, during which the term *anglicism* was coined, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century even more foreign words were introduced in the Italian peninsula and the creation of specific dictionaries began their classification (Felli 2023).

If in the 19<sup>th</sup> century loanwords (the majority of which came from English) were more accepted even if the influence of purists was still predominant, argues Felli, the same can't be said about the 20<sup>th</sup> century that was characterized by politics of fascism that clashed with the redesigned distribution of power due to two world wars that saw the exponential growing of power of Great Britain and USA. In Italy the influence of the two anglophone powers was arrested by the policies of protectionism, in fact: "the biggest battle of the linguistic policy of fascism was against foreign words" and "the ban of every foreign word began in 1923" (Felli 2023). At the end of the Second World War, with the arrive of the American soldiers and the defeat of the fascist regime, the introduction of English loanwords, especially English-American words, happened naturally and from that moment onward it never stopped its course.

As it can be inferred from this brief historical excursus offered by Flaminia Felli, various attempted have been made to try and stop the stream of neologisms coming from the English language, but the attractiveness of its sense of "being global" and innovation always prevailed. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century rivers of ink have been spent to find an

answer to the problem of the *morbus anglicus* <sup>7</sup> but trying to eliminate completely the influence of English loanwords seems not to be a solution. Even institutions like the *Accademia della Crusca*<sup>8</sup>, born with the intention of keeping the Italian language free of foreign elements is now more: "focused on the actual use ahead of the theoretical one" (Manuel Barbera 2014) and is committed to offer Italian alternatives for those English loanwords that are abused in use. With regard to this, Tullio De Mauro, argued that:

"The wave of anglisms<sup>9</sup> of the recent years it is not noted for the percentage of words in the vocabulary, but for other aspects that regard more their use: the adoption of anglisms in formal or official expressions (*education*, *jobs act*, *question time*, *spending review*, *spread*, *welfare* etc); the width of the semantic fields affected by the use of anglisms, from technical-scientific ones to politic, from sport to every-day life; and, in conclusion, the outstanding frequency with which some anglisms are commonly used in the most recent years."<sup>10</sup>

For what concern, on the other hand, the historical relation between English loanwords and the Korean language, it suffices to go back in time of only one century from now to find the first meaningful interaction of English with Korean. But English was not the first language that interacted with Korean in terms of linguistic exchange. In fact, Korea has a long history of borrowing especially from Chinese and Japanese and particularly during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, after the promulgation of the Korean alphabet, the differentiation of native Korean words to Sino-Korean ones or those becoming part of the Korean vocabulary through means of Japanese became more evident.

English loanwords in Korean began to be introduced with the end of the Second World War and subsequently with the Korean War (Byun Myung-Sup 1990). But before discussing the influence of English in Korea, is necessary saying that not only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Castellani Arrigo, in *Studi linguistici italiani*, n. 13, 1987, Salerno Editrice, Roma, pp. 137-153

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The *Accademia della Crusca was established* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by that previously cited group of purists and up until now still the most respected institution related to linguistics and philology in Italy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Tullio De Mauro argues that *anglism* is a better term as opposed to *anglicism* since the latter is a structural calque of the English term *anglicism* making it an anglicism itself.

Tullio De Mauro, È irresistibile l'ascesa degli anglismi?, in "Internazionale", 2016

https://www.internazionale.it/opinione/tullio-de-mauro/2016/07/14/irresistibile-l-ascesa-degli-anglismi <sup>10</sup> "L'ondata anglizzante in questi anni più recenti si segnala non per la percentuale di parole nel lessico, ma per altri aspetti relativi piuttosto all'uso: l'adozione di anglismi in locuzioni formali e ufficiali (*education*, *jobs act*, *question time*, *spending review*, *spread*, *welfare* e via governando); l'ampiezza dei campi semantici investiti dall'uso di anglismi, da quelli tecnico-scientifici alla politica, dallo sport alla quotidianità; e, infine, l'eccezionale frequenza con cui l'uso comune ricorre negli anni più recenti ad alcuni anglismi." *Ibidem*, my translation

Korea but also China and Japan were widely influenced by English-speaking countries, so much so that their Sino-centric worldview was revolutionized (Jieun Kiaer 2020)<sup>11</sup>. It is important to discuss about the influence that English lexicon (and culture) had on Korean language in relation to China and Japan because, as already said, the connection (especially a linguistic one) between these three countries had a role also in the regulation of western element introduction or refusal.

The first of the three east Asian countries to see the potential of the English language in terms of modernization was Japan. Japan was the first as early as the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century to introduce western technologies alongside the terminology that defined them as a means to reach a powerful modernization, while China and Korea still refused everything that was western since it would have inevitably eroded traditional customs and culture (Jieun Kiaer 2020). Thus, the first English words to enter these three countries were a Japanized version of English terms related to new technologies (Jieun Kiaer 2020), and as it will be explained later in this paper, up until today: "Many of the English loanwords in popular use in Korea have actually been borrowed into Korean through Japanese" and "Thus there are English loanwords that have Japanese as well as English properties." (Song Jae Jung 2005).

So historically Japan was the first to introduce English words, while Korea began the borrowing process during its period of Enlightenment (1894-1910) that was once again filtered by Japanese since the colonization period that began exactly in 1910 (Jieun Kiaer 2020). Even if, as Kiaer argues: "The Korean government after independence in 1945 kept pursuing the language purification movement" including Japanized English words, nowadays a certain number of English loanwords in Korean are still of Japanese origin, too deeply rooted that are not perceived as Japanese originated words by Korean people.

Other than the influence of Japan, the direct experience that Korean had with American soldiers in the Second World War, and immediately after, with the Korean War was another meaningful means through which English words, especially American-English words, were introduced and adapted into the Korean language system (Byun Myung-Sup 1990). Apart from the two grate wars that Korea had to face, Byun explains how fashion in the 1950s, and industrialization in the 1960s were other factors that influenced the introduction of English terminology into Korean, while from the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Jieun Kiaer, Translingual Words: An East Asian Lexical Encounter with English, 2019

1970s onward, even if more and more English words kept on being introduced and the affected semantic fields widened, a feeling of concern and the need to restore the national identity spread throughout the country (Byun Myung-Sup 1990).

From this brief description it can be inferred that the loanwords that initially entered Korea were necessary loanwords that were introduced to fill the lexical gap created by the introduction of new western elements and concepts. Later on, following the aura of prestige that English represented, many luxury loanwords were introduced, and were these last words (similarly to what happened in Italian with the purists and the *Accademia della Crusca*) the object of the language purification process brought on from the 1970s as explained by Byun.

In conclusion, even if the importance and the influence that the English language has on the Italian and the Korean language systems is undeniable up to now, learning about the historical journey that it underwent is helpful to understand why certain choices, linguistically speaking, were made differently in Italy as opposed to Korea, and to get better insights on how to allocate culturally the linguistic differences of English loanwords in the two countries.

## 3. Morphological characteristics of English loanwords

Morphology is the field of linguistics studies that deals with the structure of the word. The basic unit of morphology is called morpheme and it's the smallest unit of meaning in a language. Though this is the general definition of morpheme, it should not mislead the readers to think that this chapter will deal with the meaning of words (which regards the field of semantics), in fact, morphology investigates the form of words and their parts, and how are these categorized and used to form new words. To say it with Saussure's words, morphology is one of those field of studies that helps categorizing the principles and conventions that regulate the *Langue*<sup>12</sup>.

Morphology, thus, explains how words are created in a language through means of processes like *derivation*, *composition* and *borrowing*. These processes use

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Course in General Linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure, Eds. Charles Bally & Albert Sechehaye, 1959, p.9

the vocabulary of a language to create indigenous formations but can also work with words borrowed from a different linguistic system and introduced in the native language, thus creating exogenous formations. Borrowed words (i.e. loanwords) are introduced in a language system and often adapted to it. Investigating how loanwords are adapted based on the morphological characteristics of a language is necessary to understand how exogenous formation can vary once the processes of word formation are applied. In this paper the focus will be on English loanwords, and more precisely, how they are adapted to the structure of the target language and how these adaptations affect words formation.

For a better understanding of the morphological characteristics of English loanwords in the Korean and Italian language, a general overview of the main morphological characteristics of these two languages is needed. Paragraphs 3.1.1 and 3.2.1 will describe the general characteristics of Korean and Italian morphology respectively, explaining the processes of word formation (derivation, composition and abbreviation), while paragraphs 3.1.2 and 3.2.2 will provide information about the process of borrowing and how English loanwords are integrated into the Korean and Italian language and what types of words can be created by the means of loanwords and the combination of these with native words.

#### 3.1 In Korean

#### 3.1.1 General characteristic of Korean morphology

Morphologically speaking Korean is an agglutinative language which means that to grammatically determine the lexicon, one or more postpositional elements are added to a fix root<sup>13</sup>. Simply put, words in Korean are constructed beginning with a main root to which more grammatical morphemes are attached, each of which express only one specific information.

Korean do not flex its lexicon differently to indicate gender and number, but the grammatical morphemes can indicate which part-of-speech a word assumes in a sentence (since in Korean this characteristic is not deducted by the position of the word

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Gaetano Berruto e Massimo Cerruti, *La linguistica*, 2° edizione, 2017, pp.247-48

in the sentence as it happens in Italian or English) or the honorific forms, the tense of verbs, and so on.

This characteristic of adding more elements together to modify words, is replicated also in the process of word formation.

Talking about word formation, words in Korean can be divided into two categories. The first category organizes words based on the way elements are combined to form new words; in this category words are classified as *single words*, *derived words* and *combined words*. The second category classifies words based on their nature, that is, whether they are native Korean words, Sino-Korean words, loanwords or foreign words.

For what concern the first category, this paragraph investigates the differences between single words and compound words.

Taking for example the single words 'sagwa' and 'yori' given above, is possible to create a derived word:

and a combined word:

Furthermore, in examples (1) and (2) is interesting to notice that the root 'yori', the suffix 'sa' and the root 'sagwa' are not native Korean words but comes from the Chinese tradition, while the root 'namu' is a word coming from native Korean. This observation leads to the second category of words presented in this paragraph, those divided based on their nature.

Korean lexicon is composed of Sino-Korean words, native Korean words and loanwords. Native Korean words, like Song Jae Jung (2005) explains: "occur in all word classes. In particular, they predominate within the particle class, whose members indicate grammatical functions or roles." This description should not be surprising considering the fact that after the invention of the Hangeul, even when it was still in the process of being accepted as the main writing system and the official texts were still written using Chinese characters, Korean particles were the first native Korean elements to be added to written texts.

Even if most of the grammatical particles are native Korean elements, the Korean lexicon in composed for its majority of Sino-Korean words (Song Jae Jung 2005)<sup>14</sup>. The reason for that is China being an ever-present influence in the Korean peninsula and the lack of a writing system in Korea (the Hangeul was created by king Sejong in 1443 a.C.) made Chinese characters the easiest means through which express the Korean language. For this reason, many Korean words are created based on Chinese characters (called Hanja) or have been borrowed from Japan, where new words were also created based on Chinese characters and have been diffused in Korea for the most part during the colonial period (1910-1945) (Song Jae Jung 2005)<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> More precisely: "Slightly over 52 per cent of Korean words are said to be of Sino-Korean stock [...]" Song Jae Jung in *The Korean Language*, 2005, p. 83

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Song Jae Jung in his book "The Korean Language" at p. 84 states: "However, Japanese also relied on Chinese characters to coin new words to express new concepts and things from the West. It was these Sino-Japanese words that eventually found their way into Korean (and also into Chinese). Thus, the Sino-Korean vocabulary contains a fair number of Sino-Japanese words, but, since the latter are also based on Chinese, albeit Japanized, characters, they are usually regarded as Sino-Korean words."

To the description of Sino-Korean words, is important to add, like many scholars argued, that even though Sino-Korean words can be considered to a certain extent borrowed words, they are not perceived as loanwords by Korean people, similarly to what happens with words of Latin origin in Italian or English.

If Sino-Korean words are not considered loanwords, the same can't be said about words borrowed from English. Korean language does not borrow uniquely from English but the Korean War before and the globalization after, made it almost natural, if not necessary, for the Korean language to introduce English loanwords to its vocabulary.

To summarize, Korean word types can be categorized as single words, derived words and combined words when viewed through the framework of the compounding processes, while the classification of words based on their nature sorts them in native Korean words, Sino-Korean words and loanwords.

Following the three methods used to create new words (the first category) Korean language can enrich its vocabulary mixing together the elements in the second category but there is a general rule to follow: "The rule of thumb in Korean compounding is that, although there are exceptions, native Korean and Sino-Korean words are generally put together with native Korean and Sino-Korean words, respectively." (Song Jae Jung 2005)<sup>16</sup>. This means that for what concern compound nouns it is possible to have:

(1) Compound words with two Korean roots

'first love'

first love

'hands and feet'

hand/s foot/feet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Song Jae Jung, *The Korean Language*, 2005, pp. 90-91

(2) Compound words with two Sino-Korean roots

'newlywed'

Just married + spouses

'love and hate'

love hate

(3) Compound words with a Sino-Korean root and a Korean root

'travel road'

travel + road

(Sino-Korean) (native Korean)

'Wardrobe'

clothes cabinet

(native Korean) (Sino-Korean)

A similar pattern is applied to derived words. When deriving a word, if the root is native-Korean usually the affix is native-Korean too and the same happens with Sino-Korean roots with Sino-Korean affixes, but formations like native Korean root and Sino-Korean affix (and vice versa) are also possible.

(1) Derived words with a Korean root and a Korean affix

'unfamiliar'

낯 - 설다

face - raw

(prefix) (root)

(b) 거짓말쟁이

'liar'

거짓말 - 쟁이

lie the person who has the trait described by the root

(root) (suffix)

- (2) Derived words with a Sino-Korean root and a Sino-Korean affix
  - (a) 수영복

'swimming suit'

수영 - 복

swimming - uniform

(root) (suffix)

(b) 불가능

'impossibility'

불 - 가능

in-/dis- - possibility

(negative prefix) (root)

- (3) Derived words with a Sino-Korean root and a Korean affix
  - (a) 공부하다

'to study'

공부 - 하다

study - to do

(root) (suffix)

'to comprehend'

이해 - 하다

comprehension to do

(root) (suffix)

The process of borrowing and the results of it, loanwords, have been mentioned in this paragraph but will be further investigated in the following one.

What is interesting to add to the descriptions given in this paragraph is the process of *abbreviation*<sup>17</sup> that can be described as follows: abbreviation it's a process that consists of taking a syllable (or more) of a word and juxtapose to it the syllable of another word. This means that the two words that compose a compound word, or the various words that compose a mixed expression are truncated in syllables and some of them, usually the first syllable of each word, are juxtaposed to create the abbreviated version of the source word. Abbreviation other than on compound words and mixed expressions can be applied also to derived words. Examples are as follow:

(1) Abbreviation of a mixed expression

입시 (ipsi) (Song Jae Jung 2005)

'university entrance exam'

입학 (iphak) 시험 (siheom)

university entrance exam

(2) Abbreviation of a derived word

일식 (ilsik) (Song Jae Jung 2005)

'japanese-style food'

일본 (ilbon) 식 (sik)

Japan food

<sup>17</sup> The controversy on the term has been deeply analyzed in studies like, *Subtraction in Morphology* by Stela Manova, in "Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics", 2020

(3) Abbreviation of a compound word

```
역친 (yeochin)
'girlfriend'
역자 (yeoja) 친구 (chingu)
female friend
```

It could be observed that the words originated from a process of abbreviation are not actual neologisms<sup>18</sup> but are simply an abbreviated version of an already existing word and this is true if we consider that the original meaning of the full word does not change in its abbreviated form. What is interesting though, as Song explains, is that in some cases the abbreviated form replaces almost completely the original full version, while in other the two forms coexist.<sup>19</sup>

With the term 'abbreviation' is also possible to identify an ensemble of techniques which will be further described in paragraph 3.1.2, and these processes are clipping and blending, and the creation of acronyms.

The fact that the products of abbreviation can be considered new formation morphologically speaking but not actual neologisms (apart from blend formations) explain why this method has been analyzed separately from the derivation and composition.

#### 3.1.2 Morphological characteristics of English loanwords in Korean

The process of borrowing has been thoroughly investigated by linguists, and though there are some exceptions, most people agree on the fact that introducing new words from a linguistic system to another is an action implemented due to necessity or influenced by social, psychological or pragmatic factors (Song Seung Hyun 2022). Words are borrowed to name new objects or concepts but, in some cases, there are cultural motives that bring to the introduction of new words even when adequate words already exist in the target language. For this reason, Song Seung Hyun (2022) suggests

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The definition of neologism in *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*, Treccani is: "a new word or expression, […] created from derivation or composition of words already in use", https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/neologismo/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Song Jae Jung, 2005, pp. 91-92

using the terms *surplus borrowing* (or *necessary borrowing*) to indicate loanwords that have no replacement in the target language and *synonymic borrowing* (or *referential borrowing*) to indicate those loanwords that have an alloglot with the same meaning<sup>20</sup> in the target language.

In this regard Fanfani<sup>21</sup> suggests that there is no need for distinction between necessary and luxury loanwords, because: "every process of interference address a specific need" arguing that even luxury loanwords are initially necessary borrowings.

English loanwords (like other loanwords) are introduced into the Korean language through a process of borrowing and then undergo morphological assimilation<sup>22</sup> to different degrees. The process of assimilation is required and happens quite naturally easing the loanword's integration into the system of the receiving language.

Morphological assimilation consists in modifying loanwords to adapt to morphological properties and patterns of the recipient language. This adaptation usually are changes in the word's ending, affixation and changes in the word's structure.

In many languages, the types of words most frequently borrowed in terms of quantity are nouns, adjectives and verbs. The same happens in the Korean language where the most borrowed words are nouns, followed by verbs and then adjectives (Song Seung Hyun 2022).

Unlike European languages that shares the same alphabetical system with English, Korean has a unique alphabetical system that makes it complex to adapt to loanwords. For this reason there is not a specific way in which different part of speech (in the case of this thesis nouns, adjective and verbs) are interpreted with the Korean alphabet (aspect that can be on the other hand discussed with European languages like Italian as will be presented in paragraph 3.2.1), but there are general rules that explains how the different letters, syllables and sounds of loanwords should be reproduced with the Korean writing system.

https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/prestiti\_(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano)/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> A loanword and its relative alloglot in the source language have in most cases different semantic nuances and they might not be completely interchangeable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Fanfani Massimo,in Enciclopedia dell'Italiano, entry "Prestiti", 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> In terms of assimilation the morphological level is not the only one concerned as the semantic, syntactic and phonological spheres also face assimilation. For the purpose of this chapter though only morphological assimilation will be analyzed.

The regulations that present the orthographic rules have come a long way before reaching their present form in 1979, path that began in 1933 with the establishment of the "Unified Hangul Orthography" wrote by the Korean Language Society (Okawa Daisuke 2009)<sup>23</sup>.

The current orthographic rules for loanwords presented in the "Unified Hangul Orthography" in 1979 and then implemented in 1986 can be easily checked from the home page of the National Institute of the Korean Language<sup>24</sup>. Here only the first and the third chapter will be presented:

### CHAPTER 1: General orthographic rules

Section 1) Loanwords must be written using only the 24 letters of the Korean alphabet currently in use.

Section 2) In loanwords 1 phoneme should correspond to 1 grapheme.

Section 3) At the patchim<sup>25</sup> only the consonants ' $\neg$ ,  $\vdash$ ,  $\rightleftharpoons$ ,  $\sqcap$ ,  $\vdash$ ,  $\land$ ,  $\circ$ ' can be used.

Section 4) When writing plosives, reinforced sounds should be avoided.

Section 5) Already recognized loanword should be respected in their use. Their range and examples are assessed separately.

The first rule, which is also the principle that set the path to all the other rules in this context, is that only the 24 letters of the Hangul alphabet can be used to transcribe loanwords since mixing different writing systems is an option that would cause not little confusion to non-expert people.

The second rule is that one phoneme must correspond to one grapheme. This means roughly that each phonological expression in a word should have only one graphic sign to represent it. In Korean consonants clusters are not possible while they are in English; this brought up the problem for Korean speakers of how to write English consonant clusters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Okawa Daisuke, A Study of Changes and Acceptance Types of English Loanwords in Korean and Japanese Language, 2009

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 국립국어원 homepage,

https://korean.go.kr/kornorms/regltn/regltnView.do?regltn\_code=0003&regltn\_no=425#a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The 'patchim' (받침) is the last consonant of a korean syllable, the one that occupies the position under the other two letter of a syllable

The third rule indicates that as the last consonant of a syllable the only letters that can be used are ' $\neg$ ,  $\vdash$ ,  $\rightleftarrows$ ,  $\sqcap$ ,  $\vdash$ ,  $\land$ ,  $\circ$  ' (g/k, n, r/l, m, b/p, s, ng)<sup>26</sup>. The consonants in Korean are 19 but only '¬, ∟, ⊏, ⊒, □, ⊣, ○' can be written as the last consonant of a syllable. Here is interesting to notice that the letter  $' \sqsubset ' (d/t)$  in the general Korean norm has been replaced by the letter '入'.

The fourth rules suggest not using reinforced consonants when transcribing plosives, which in short means, to prefer '立, 巨, 曰'(p, t, k) to '昢, 乊, ㄲ'(pp, tt, kk) when transcribing loanwords into Korean.

The fifth rules regard those forms of loanwords that have been integrated and diffused with a certain morphological form, that might not follow the preceding rules, but that are requested to be maintained with their form as they are commonly accepted.

As seen from its title, the first chapter of the "Unified Hangul Orthography" presents the general rules that must be used to transcribed loanwords in Korean while the second chapter provides the reader with tables that compares, for each language that Korean borrowed words from, the letters of the language's alphabet with the corresponding transcription in Hangeul. The first table shown in chapter 2 is related to English loanwords and chapter 3 adds some interesting insights on how English loanwords are conventionally written in Korean. Chapter 3 is presented as follows:

#### CHAPTER 3: Orthographic rules

(1) Orthography of English Loanwords

Section 1) Voiceless plosives [p], [t], [k]

- (a) voiceless plosives [p], [t], [k]at the end of a syllable are written as the patchim when they come after a short vowel.
- (b) voiceless plosives [p], [t], [k], are written as the patchim when they come between a short vowel and a consonant (apart from l, r, m, n).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> To transcribe the Korean letters, it has been used the Revised Romanization System noted in Jae Jung Song 2005, p. 66

(c) excluded cases (a) and (b), when [p], [t], [k] come before a consonant or as the last letter of a syllable, the vowel '♠' (eu) is attached to them.

#### Section 2) Voiced plosives [b], [d], [g]

(a) if voiced consonants [b], [d], [g] are the last letter of a syllable or come before a consonant the vowel 'o' (eu) is attached to them.

#### Section 3) Fricatives [s], [z], [f], [v], $[\theta]$ , $[\delta]$ , $[\mathfrak{f}]$ , $[\mathfrak{f}]$

- (a) if fricatives [s], [z], [f], [v], [ $\theta$ ], [ $\delta$ ], [ $\int$ ], [3] are the last letter of a syllable or come before a consonant the vowel ' $\bigcirc$ ' (eu) is attached to them.
- (b) if [ʃ] is at the end of a syllable is written 시, if it comes before a consonant is written 命, if it comes before a vowel it maintains that vowel 샤, 섀, 셔, 셔, 쇼, 슈, 시.
- (c) if [3] is the last letter of a syllable or if it comes before a consonant is written  $\nearrow$ ], while if it comes before a vowel is written  $\nearrow$ .

#### Section 4) Affricates [ts], [dz], [tf], [dʒ]

- (a) if affricates are the last letter of a syllable or come before a consonant [ts], [dz] are written  $\stackrel{>}{\sim}$  or  $\stackrel{>}{\sim}$ , while [t], [dz] are written  $\stackrel{>}{\sim}$  or  $\stackrel{>}{\sim}$ ].
- (b) before a vowel [∯], [ʤ] are written ㅊ, or ㅈ.

#### Section 5) Nasals [m], [n], [n]

- (a) if nasals are the last letter of a syllable or if they come before a consonant they are written as the patchim.
- (b) if the nasal [n] comes between two vowels, the patchim of the syllable coming before the nasal is written ' $\circ$ '.

#### Section 6) Liquid [1]

(a) if the liquid [l] is the last letter of a syllable or if it comes before a consonant is written as the patchim.

(b) If the liquid [l] in the middle of a word comes before a vowel or it comes before the nasals [m], [n] that are not followed by a vowel is written '=,='. But, when the liquid [l] comes before a vowel but is preceded by a nasal [m], or [n] is written '='.

#### Section 7) Long vowels

(a) The long sound of a long vowel is not represented differently

Section 8) Diphthong (vowel + semivowel) [ai], [au], [ei], [oi], [ou], [auə]

(a) Diphthong are written maintaining only the phonetic value on the long vowel, [ou] is written as '오', [auə] is written as '아워'.

#### Section 9) Semivowels [w], [j]

- (a) [w], based on the vowel that follows, is written '위' when it's [wə], [wo], [wou], '와' when it's [wa], '왜' when it's [wæ], '웨' when it's [we], '위' when it's [wu].
- (b) When [w] comes after a consonant is divided into two syllables, [gw],[hw], [kw] are written as a unique syllable.
- (c) The semivowel [j] is written attached to the vowel that follows as '야, 여, 여, 요, 유', but when [jə] comes after [d], [l], [n] is written respectively as '디어, 리어, 니어'.

#### Section 10) Compound words

- (a) Compound words composed of two unbounded roots are written the same way as if the single roots were written alone
- (b) Words that in English are written with a space in between can be written likewise in Korean or attached (without the space).

To summarize, chapter 3 of the 'Unified Hangul Orthography' is divided in 10 sections organized in: orthographic rules for consonants (sections 1-6), orthographic rules for vowels (sections 7-9), and orthographic rules for compound words (last section).

The English plosives represented in section 1 and 2 quite intuitively correspond to the Korean letters ' $\exists$ ,  $\sqsubseteq$ ,  $\exists$ ' and ' $\exists$ ,  $\vDash$ ,  $\exists$ ' while the English fricatives in section 3 are written with the Korean fricative ' $\land$ ' but also with the plosives ' $\exists$ ,  $\exists$ , and the affricate ' $\rightthreetimes$ '. Again section 4 is intuitive since it explains that English affricates correspond to the Korean affricates ' $\rightthreetimes$ ' and ' $\gimel$ '. Nasals in section 5 correspond to the Korean nasals ' $\exists$ ,  $\sqsubseteq$ ,  $\ominus$ , and the liquid in section 6 corresponds to the Korean liquid ' $\exists$ '.

For what concern vowels, there are no graphic distinctions for long vowels that are thus represented as normal ones, diphthongs in section 8 have specific rules of representation since they do not exist in Korean, but they do in English, in section 9 semivowels are represented by Korean semivowels.

Section 10 is related to compound words, especially words with two roots and compound words with specific graphic patterns like spaces between the words that compose the compound word.

Since English and Korean do not share the same alphabetic system, these rules are essential to standardize the orthography of English loanwords in Korean.

After having described the basic rules that Korean implemented to translate loanwords, the paper will focus on English loanwords and more specifically on what types of word have been created introducing English loanwords into the Korean system.

As written in Song Seung Hyun (2022), starting from the types of methods to form new word (derivation, composition, abbreviation and borrowing), there are 6 types of words that can be obtained, and these are:

- Single words (compound of 1 root, e.g. 콤퓨터, 케이크, 비주얼 etc.)
- Compound words (compound of more roots, e.g. 원룸, 걸그룹, 네일아트 etc.)
- Derived words (compound of a root and an affix, e.g. 렌트하다, 헬스장, 핫팩 etc.)
- Hybrid words (compound of roots with a different language of origin,
   e.g. 피시방, 온라인수업, 문화센터 etc.)

- Clipped or abbreviated words (words that are truncated in various ways.
   Clipped words can be the result of a truncation at the beginning, middle or end of a word. The latter is usually referred to as abbreviation)
- Blend formations (formed by juxtaposing clipped word e.g. 브런치, 크로플, 에어컨, 호캉스 etc.)
- Acronyms (formed by the juxtapositions of the initials of more words,
   e.g. PC, SNS, ASMR)

In the field of loanwords single words can be described as direct loanwords composed of one word that entered the system of the target language with little to no adaptation.

On the other hand, compound words are more complex because they can be composed by a combination of native Korean words, Sino-Korean words and loanwords. Song Seung Hyun (2022) argues that other than the standard ones, combinations like English loanword + English loanword, English loanword + native Korean, English loanword + Sino-Korean and also English loanwords + native Korean + Sino-Korean are possible in the Korean language system. These last types of compound words are called hybrids. Examples are as follows:

- (1) Compound words with two English roots
  - (a) 원룸 (weon+rum) (calque)

'1 room'

one + room

(b) 스쿨버스 (mini+beoseu) (calque)

'school bus'

school + bus

(2) Compound words with a Korean root + an English root (or vice versa)

'paper cup'

(b) 커피집 (keopi+jib) (half calque)

'coffee house'

(3) Compound words with an English root + a Sino-Korean root (or vice versa)

(a) 피시방 (pisi+bang) (half calque)

'PC room'

Acronym for portable computer + room

(b) 생일파티 (saengil+pati)

'birthday party'

(4) Compound words with a Sino-Korean root + a native Korean root + an English root

반팔티셔츠 (ban+pal+tisheocheu) (half calque)

'half-sleeve T-shirt'

As described in the previous chapter derived words are the results of the process of derivation. What is interesting to underline here is that Sino-Korean and native Korean affixes can be attached also to loanwords to create derivative words. Thus, it is possible to have formations like:

- (1) Derived words with an English root and a Korean affix
  - (a) 테스트하다 (teseuteu-hada) (adapted loanword)

'to do a test'

테스트 - 하다

test - to do

(b) 데이트하다 (deiteu-hada) (adapted loanword)

'to go out for a date'

데이트 - 하다

date - to do

(c) 클릭하다 (keulik-hada) (adapted loanword)

'to click'

크릭 - 하다

click - to do

(d) 체크하다 (chekeu-hada) (adapted loanword)

'to check'

체크 - 하다

check - to do

- (2) Derived words with an English root and a Sino-Korean affix
  - (a) 체인점 'chein-jeom' (adapted loanword)

'chain store'

체인 - 점

chain - point (used to identify a small selling point

(b) 헬스장 (helseu-jang) (adapted loanword) 'gym or health club<sup>27</sup>'

헬스 - 징

health - place

As it can be observed by the examples, it's more common for nouns to be borrowed rather than elements of other classes of words, even though verbs are also quite common. This is because, following what Jieun Kiaer (2019) argues: the introduction of English words is motivated by the necessity of "filling a lexical gap" or later to "have a more expressively enriched lexicon". Reading Song Jae Jung (2005) it is found that not all the linguists agree on how to divide word classes in a language but: "there are two major word classes that all linguists all agree upon, nouns and verbs", thus making it easier to languages in general to have access to words coming from these two categories when borrowing words form other linguistic systems. Furthermore, Song Seung Hyun (2022) with his research shows how on more than 3000 English loanwords analyzed, the majority are nouns and verbs.

The examples presented in this section are neologisms. Neologisms, before they can be permanently recorded in a vocabulary, need to exhibit specific characteristics of use or demonstrate that they have the potential to reach those criteria. Once these characteristics find some correspondence, it is necessary to trace back to the date of the first attestation of the word. This is a long and difficult process that results even more complex when dealing with foreign words. For this reason the given examples are only partially registered in the  $\Xi \Xi \to \Pi \Lambda \Lambda \Lambda$  (the Standardized Korean Language Dictionary). To better classify these words, Table 1 summarizes the examples given above and divides them into words that are accepted by standard Korean and those that are not.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Technically, this word is a pseudo loanword and more precisely a new formation created in Korean through the adaptation of English words. According to the Standard Korean Language Dictionary (표준국어대사전), 헬스장 (gym) and 헬스클럽 (health club) are synonyms but they don't have the same meaning in English. Thus 헬스장 is a pseudo loanword because it means 'gym' but has been adapted as a model of the direct loanword 헬스클럽.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Setti Raffaella for *Accademia della Crusca*, <a href="https://accademiadellacrusca.it/it/consulenza/neologismi-nascita-e-diffusione-di-nuove-parole/216">https://accademiadellacrusca.it/it/consulenza/neologismi-nascita-e-diffusione-di-nuove-parole/216</a>

Table 1: Compound and derived English loanwords accepted or not accepted by the 표준국어대사전

	Accepted	Not Accepted
Compound	원룸, 스쿨버스, 종이컵,	커피집, 생일파티,
	피시방	반팔티셔츠
	테스트하다, 데이트하다,	
Derived	클릭하다, 체크하다,	
	체인점, 헬스장	

As a category that slightly differs from those explained above there is the category of abbreviated words which are clipped words and acronyms. These are different forms of abbreviated words that not only can be obtained by the truncation of Korean and Sino-Korean words, but also by abbreviating English loanwords. Clipped words are used to form blend formations by adding together truncated words to form new expressions like '크로플' which is formed by adding together the truncated form of 'croissant' and that of 'waffle' successively transliterated with the Korean alphabet. On the other hand acronyms are forms by juxtaposing the initials of more words (in the case of English only letters are used, while for Korean is preferable to use syllable) like '단톡' which is the abbreviated form of '단체카카오톡' created by taking the first syllable of '단체' and the last of '카카오톡'.

But when a loanword is borrowed in the abbreviated form of the original one in the source language it can't be called an actual loanword but is better classified as a *pseudo-loanword* (or *pseudo-anglicism* in the case of English loanwords) better known as Konglish.

Pseudo-anglicism are not actual English words but they can be mistakenly considered as such.

Moon Keum-Hyun<sup>29</sup> collects and give examples of pseudo-anglicisms in their different forms. For what concern the sphere of morphology, two are the types of pseudo-anglicisms related to differences in the form of words. Moon firstly provides

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Moon Keum-Hyun, 변화된 영어외래어에 대한 한국어 어휘 교육, 2020

examples of words that change their morphological aspect, and this type of words can be described as truncated loanwords or clipped words. Two examples are 드라이 (deurai) which is the Korean reinterpretation for 'dry' which is an abbreviation of the English mixed expression 'dry cleaning' and 리모컨 (rimokeon) which is a compound noun created by adding two clipped forms, that is the Korean version of the English mixed expression 'remote control' (리모 remo + 컨 con).

In the list provided by Moon there are also other pseudo-anglicism that can be described as semantic reinterpretations and inaccurate calques, but the discrepancy between this pseudo-anglicisms and the English language is one of semantic aspects and will not be presented in this paper.

#### 3.2 In Italian

#### 3.2.1 General characteristic of Italian morphology

Unlike Korean Italian is a romance language, and morphologically speaking is an inflectional language.

Inflectional languages add to the lexical morpheme, which is the root of the word, the morpheme that provides the meaning, one or more grammatical morphemes. To give an example, in the case of Italian grammatical morphemes provide information about the gender and number in names and adjectives, or the person, number, and tense in verbs.

All these information is implicitly included in one morpheme, while, in agglutinative languages like Korean, one morpheme provides only one grammatical information.

As explained by Massimo Palermo (2009), Italian morphology can be divided into inflectional morphology and lexical morphology. The field of inflectional

morphology investigates all the possible variations, in terms of grammatical morphemes, that names, adjectives, verbs but also pronouns can assume.

On the other hand, lexical morphology focuses on the rules that explain the various ways in which new words are created. In this sense lexical morphology deals with neologisms, and since: "neologisms, usually, are loanwords or endogenous formations"<sup>30</sup>, understanding its mechanisms is particularly relevant for the aim of this thesis and to better understand the assimilation of foreign words into the receiving language. Since every language can have different processes to create new words, the way foreign words are assimilated or adapted can also vary from language to language.

In Italian there are three ways to produce new words. The first one is derivation. The process of derivation creates derived words which are composed by a lexical morpheme, the base or root of the word, to which one or more affixes are added (Palermo 2009). In this process the affixes are grammatical morphemes, and especially suffixes (affixes added after the root) have the ability to change a word from a word class to another or even the ability to create a derived word from another derived word. Some examples of this technique include:

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(1) Diseducare: dis - educare

prefix - root

'miseducate'
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(2) Abilmente: abil - mente

root - suffix used to transform a Noun into an Adverb

'skilfully'

(3) Facilitare: facil - itare

root - suffix used to transfrom a Noun into a Verb

'facilitate'

\_\_\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Massimo Palermo, *Linguistica Italiana*, 2009, p.99

The second process is alteration. Similarly to derivation, in the process of alteration affixes are added to an unbounded word (the root), but instead of creating a new word, the original one is modified in some of its qualities or characteristics (e.g. it.> libr-ett-o, in which the affix ett indicates that the book (it. > libro) is of little dimensions). There are few cases in which the altered word assumes a different meaning from the original one and this process is called lexicalization<sup>31</sup>. An example of lexicalization its again 'libretto' which in its lexicalized version is used in compound words like 'libretto postale' which translates in 'savings account'. In this case *libretto* does not mean that the book is of little dimensions (even though it is) but is the actual word used to refer to a type of savings account in Italian.

The last method to create new words in lexical morphology is composition. Through composition Italian usually forms compound nouns by adding a modifier after the main word. There are though some exceptions. The words composed by an Italian lexical morpheme and one coming from Latin or Greek, can also present the neoclassic composition that sees the main morpheme to be the one on the right<sup>32</sup>. In compound nouns the morphemes involved can be *unbounded morphemes*, which can be used independently from other morphemes and have full meaning, or *combining forms*. A combining form, which is the element coming from Greek or Latin, occurs only in combination with other forms but is unique in that it often retains more of its original meaning compared to typical prefixes and suffixes.

Composition is a process that not only works with nouns but also with adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions. Compound nouns can be created adding two elements of the same category (Noun + Noun, Verb + Verb etc.), but works also with element of different categories provided that they are compatible (Noun + Verb, Noun + Adjective, but not Verb + Adjective for example). Examples of compound words are as follows:

(1) Compound words N + N

Pescespada

Pesce + Spada

fish + sword

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> *Ibidem* p.133

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> *Ibidem* p.135

'swordfish'

(2) Compound words V + V

Giravolta

Gira + Volta

To turn + To turn

'twirl'

(3) Compound words N + Adj

Cassaforte

Cassa + Forte

Box + Strong

'safe'

(Palermo, 2009, p.134)

Continuing the examination of word formation types influenced by English loanwords in Italian, Bombi identifies an additional notable type (Bombi 2006)<sup>33</sup> called *blend formations*. In Bombi these expressions are defined as: "particular forms of "compound words" constituted by two bounded morphemes that emerged through the process of clipping<sup>34</sup>". In other words, the *clipping process* shortens words into bounded morphemes that can be used as combining forms to create compound nouns. The words resulting from the combination of two of this cut forms are called *blends*.

The neologisms resulting from these processes of word formation (i.e. derivation, alteration and composition) are indigenous formations because the used elements are already existing in the Italian language.

In Italian, like in other languages, there are also exogenous formations which are words created using elements coming from other languages. These elements are called loanwords and once they are borrowed from the source language they can be used to create new words.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Lingue in contatto: fortunati percorsi di anglicismi in italiano, by Raffaella Bombi, in "prospettive nello studio del lessico italiano", Firenze 2006

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *Ibidem* p.618

#### 3.2.2 Morphological characteristics of English loanwords in Italian

As illustrated in the previous paragraph, Italian language, like other languages, has the intrinsic capacity of creating neologisms. The influence of words coming from other languages also contributes to the enhancement of a language vocabulary and in some cases, contributes to the introduction of different morphological patterns.

After having described the morphological characteristics of the Italian language, this paragraph will go through the morphological characteristics of English loanwords in Italian. This description will ease the identification of the morphological characteristic that were maintained in words through the process of borrowing and whether the process brought significant influences into the Italian morphological system.

In Italian, English loanwords, also called *anglicisms*<sup>35</sup> are often direct loanwords or structural calques, though semantic calques are also possible<sup>36</sup>. But what are the morphological characteristics of these loanwords?

Gobber (2013)<sup>37</sup> explains how English loanwords in Italian are for the most part nouns, adjectives and verbs and indicates different levels of *integration*, which is put in contrast with *acclimatization*. To integrate a name for Gobber means to adapt morphologically the alloglot element to the structures of the target language, while acclimatization is described as "the diffusion, the popularity of an alloglot element"<sup>38</sup>. In other words, if a word is *integrated* it means that it faced a certain degree of adaptation to the target language, on the other hand if a word is *acclimatized* it means that its diffusion reached most level of society, that is, the word is not considered a technicism or a word only for the learned. Given this description it can be inferred that a word could be both integrated and acclimatized.

As Gobber explained, English loanwords in Italian are integrated (or adapted), and this happens also with English loanwords in Korean. Differently from Korean though this adaptation does not need to go through complex orthographic rules since Italian and English share a highly similar alphabet. What happens with English

<sup>37</sup> Giovanni Gobber, *Note sugli anglicismi recenti in italiano*, 2013

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> For a brief historical record of the term: Fanfani

https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anglicismi\_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano%29/

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Giovanni Gobber, *Note sugli anglicismi recenti in italiano*, 2013, p.1, my translation

loanwords in Italian are different processes of *assimilation* that have been clearly summarized by Licia Corbolante (an expert, among other things, of terminology management and research) into 4 types and are as follow: *graphic assimilation, morphological assimilation, assimilation of English consonants,* and *assimilation of English vowels*<sup>39</sup>.

The first type of assimilation is defined as rare by Corbolante and consist in changing the spelling of a loanword so that better suits Italian standards. Letters like x,y,w,j,k are part of the English alphabet and not the Italian one and for this reason not always accepted. Instead, graphic assimilations like 's' for 'x', 'i' for 'y' and 'c/ch' for 'k' are preferred. About this Gabriele Erasmi (1983) argues that these assimilations are accepted customs and not standardized rules, thus not always applicable and at times perceived as wrong. Erasmi also adds that even though there might not be graphic assimilation, letters like h and j face phonological assimilations that also have consequences for morphological and syntactic patterns, but these adaptations are ambiguous and: "The comparison [between various dictionaries] reveals the uncertainty of grammarians".

The process of graphic assimilation gave rise to another phenomenon, which is called *hypercorrection*, and consist of using foreign letters in foreign words assuming that they are correct like: "byke instead of bike." (Corbolante 2011).

The second type of assimilation consists of adapting the suffix of an English loanwords with an Italian suffix that is morphologically equal so that is easier to manage the word in the Italian syntactic system (cfr. The adaptation of verbs explained by Gobber later in this paragraph).

The third and the fourth type of assimilation regards respectively consonants and vowels and are considered old practices by Corbolante since now the introduction of non-adapted loanword is more common. Example of consonant assimilation are j that becomes gi, ch that becomes ci, sh that becomes sc or sci, while the most frequent vowel assimilation is soo/ou becoming  $sci}$  in Italian (Corbolante 2011)<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Corbolante Licia, *Ortografia italiana e prestiti dall'inglese*, in Terminologiaetc., 2011, https://www.terminologiaetc.it/2011/01/28/ortografia-anglicismi/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Erasmi Gabriele, *Le parole straniere in italiano: adattamento morfologico, fonetico e grafico*, in "Italica", 1983, pp. 237-238

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Corbolante Licia, *Ortografia italiana e prestiti dall'inglese*, in Terminologiaetc., 2011, https://www.terminologiaetc.it/2011/01/28/ortografia-anglicismi/

Excluded these non-standardized "customary practices", Italian language prefers not adapting orthographically the introduced English loanwords.

Getting back to the morphological characteristics of English loanwords in Italian, Gobber continues his classification analyzing the different lexical classes which English loanwords can be divided into (here only nouns, adjectives and verbs will be taken into consideration) and their degree of integration, if implemented.

#### Gobber observes that:

- Nouns are usually introduced in the target language as direct loanwords.
   Their gender is determined by the gender of the elements that are attached to it in a sentence (but, if a noun in English is genderless, in Italian it will assume the masculine form) while their number remains unchanged (since Italian do not forms the plural adding an -s) (Barbera 2014)
- Adjectives are introduced without integration and can assume both the attributive and the predicative function like Italian adjectives.
- Verbs on the other hand are always adapted to the structures of Italian (otherwise they would not possibly be used in a sentence) following these 3 patterns: the verbs ending in -ize in English, in Italian assume the form -izzare (eng. > hegemonize, it. > egemonizzare), the verbs ending in -ate, in Italian become verbs in -are (eng. > manipulate, it. > manipolare), and the verbs that end with a consonant, when used in Italian double the last letter and attach to it the ending -are (eng. > to stop, it. > stoppare). This process is a clear example of morphological assimilation.

This analysis shows how there are different degrees of adaptation of English loanwords in Italian but demonstrates also that: "The strong interference of English does not seem to produce disruptive effects on the morphological organization of Italian" (Gobber 2009, p. 7)

Speaking about the type of words that can be created with anglicisms, the list of words presented in paragraph 3.1.2 (single words, compound words, derived words, hybrids, clipped words and acronyms) remains valid for the Italian language. As already stated, with regard to nouns and adjectives (not verbs), these types of words can be direct loanwords or calques based on their degree of adaptation. In Italian single

words are often loanwords that have faced no morphological adaptation (e.g. N > spray, computer, mouse, led etc; Adj > sexy, cringe, hot, cool etc.), while in compound words, direct loanwords and calques are both common.

When a compound word is composed of two English roots is a direct loanword (example (1)), in contrast, when a compound word is composed of an English and an Italian root (i.e. a hybrid) usually the word is an adapted loanword (example (2)). Other than this, a calque is created when a compound word with two English roots is translated into a compound word with two Italian roots which are the translation of the English ones (example (3)).

Some examples of compound loanwords are:

- (1) Compound words with both English roots (are direct loanwords)
  - a) N + N > product placement (that in Italian is considered masculine from the gender of the alloglot 'prodotto')
  - b) Adj + N = Adj/N > open source
- (2) Compound words with hybrid roots (Eng. + It.) (are adapted loanwords)
  - a) Adj + N = N > cyber-bullismo (in Italian assumes the masculine form following the gender of 'bullismo' in italian)
     (adaptation of the loanword 'cyber-bullying')
     (modifier + modified structure)
  - b) N + N > blogosfera (in Italian assumes the feminine form from the gender of 'sfera')(adaptation of the loanword 'blogosphere')
- (3) Compound words as calques
  - a) N + N > fine settimana (calque of 'weekend')
  - b) V + N = N > taglia-margherite (a type of bomb, calque of 'daisy-cutter') (Gobber, 2009)

It is possible to create derived words from some of the nouns presented in example (1), (2) and (3) following the normal structure of Italian derivational process (e.g. *cyber-bullismo* > *cyber-bullo*), but in Italian derived words based on English loanwords are often based on adapted borrowed verbs like for example:

- (1) eng. > 'to be stressed', becomes it. > *essere stressato* (adapted loanword)

  From the adapted verb *essere stressato* it is possible to derive the adjective it. > *stressante*, which correspond to the eng. > 'stressful'
- (2) eng. > 'to customize', becomes it. > *customizzare* (adapted loanword)

  From the adapted verb *customizzare* it is possible to derive the adjective it. > *customizzato*, which corresponds to the eng. > 'customized'
- (3) eng. > 'to transliterate', becomes it. > traslitterare (adapted loanword)

  From the adapted verb traslitterare it is possible to derive the noun
  it. > traslitterazione, which corresponds to the eng. > 'transliteration'

  (Gobber, 2009)

In synthesis, words created from anglicism through the processes of derivation or composition can be classified as follows:

- single words are usually direct loanwords, and the classes of words most frequently represented in this type are nouns and adjectives
- compound words result in direct loanwords, adapted loanwords and structural calques, and the classes of words most frequently represented are again nouns and adjectives
- derived words are usually the result of derived adapted verbs.

To complete the list of methods of word formation, there is another small category that is worth mentioning. Clipped words and acronyms derive from a process of abbreviation, and, in the case of loanwords, the abbreviation occurs on English borrowed words that are usually non-adapted. An interesting example of blend word is:

*Middlescent* (eng. > *middle* + *adolescent*)<sup>42</sup> formed by the juxtaposition of two clipped words. While examples of acronyms are: (in Italian are common the acronyms related to technology) CD (Compact Disc), PC (Personal Computer), SMS (Short Message Service).

To conclude this paragraph about the morphological characteristic of English loanwords in Italian is worth mentioning that there is also another category of words that has been coined due to the influence of English vocabulary, and in Italian is defined as *pseudo-anglicism*. These types of words are mistakenly considered English loanwords or calque but are actually structural or semantic misinterpretations of English terms. There are various types of pseudo-anglicisms that are described as follow<sup>43</sup>:

- Truncated loanwords: these loanwords are introduced in Italian in a shortened, abbreviated form of the original English word (e.g. eng. > bomber jacket, it. > bomber)
- Semantic reinterpretations: these words are taken from English and maintain their morphological characteristics, but they assume a different meaning from the original one (e.g. *manager* is borrowed in Italian as a loanword with no morphological adaptation but with a semantic one.)
- Inaccurate calques: calques, which are also called loan translations (Song Seung-Hyun 2009), in the case of inaccurate calques are inaccurate Italian translations of the original English word (or multiword expression) (e.g. eng. > air conditioned, it. > aria conditionata)
- False anglicisms: which looks like English loanwords but are exogenous formations (often multiword expressions) created on the model of other expressions actually present in English vocabulary (e.g. it. *beauty case* which does not exist in English but follows the model of expressions like ing. *pencil case* and *beauty bag/makeup bag*).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> For a deeper analysis of the term: Bombi Raffaella, *Lingue in contatto: fortunati percorsi di anglicismi in italiano*, in "Prospettive nello studio del lessico italiano", 2006

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Fanfani Massimo, *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*, entry 'Anglicismi', 2010 https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anglicismi %28Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano%29/

# 4. Comparative analysis of morphological patterns

This chapter will be organized as follows: firstly, it will present a recap of the morphological characteristic of Korean and Italian as explained by morphological typology and lexical morphology (i.e. how a language creates new words); this classification will provide a clear picture of the core (morphological) structural differences of Korean language as opposed to the Italian language. Secondly it will narrow its focus on the similarities and differences (paragraphs 4.1 and 4.2) of word formations that include loanwords. More specifically 4.2.2 will investigates which factors might be the reason for the differences in Korean and Italian in dealing with English loanwords.

Before analyzing the similarities and differences of word formations that include the use of loanwords in Korean and Italian is useful to remind the reader that, in typological morphology, Korean is an agglutinative language and present the SOV syntactic order while Italian is an inflectional language with a SVO syntactic order. In other words, Korean is more synthetic than Italian (which is more analytical), and this means that Korean uses less morphemes than words compared to Italian that needs more element to formulate a sentence (for example, Italian needs to express the gender or the number of nouns using specific morphemes, while Korean do not express gender and/or number of nouns).

Italian present the same syntactic order of the English language (SVO), making it more compatible with the introduction of loanwords through derivation. These characteristics influence also within the processes of word formation; it is therefore important to remember them when analyzing the differences and similarities between Korean and Italian in dealing with English loanwords.

## 4.1 Similarities in word formation with English loanwords

Even though the two language systems might seem very distant from each other, when talking about the processes used to create new words, they work in a similar way. Both language systems in fact, create new words based on derivation and composition, not to mention borrowing.

When a word is borrowed, derivation and composition can be applied to it in turn. Korean, like Italian, applies the process of derivation adding affixes to a root, and create new words through composition juxtaposing two (or more) roots, being them both English or one English and one native.

The following table summarizes the types of words that result from the various combinations that Korean and Italian use to create new words with English loanwords applying the processes of derivation and composition.

Table 2: Words resulting from the processes of derivation and composition

## **ITALIAN**

### **KOREAN**

Process	Combination	Word type	Example	Combination	Word type	Example
Derivation	ENG + ITA	Adapted loanword	-Stoppare -Manipolare	ENG + KOR/SINO- KOR	Adapted loanword	-테스트하다 -체인점 -헬스장
Composition	ENG + ENG	Direct loanword	-Open source -Outfit	ENG + ENG	Direct loanword	- 원룸 -스쿨버스
	ENG + ITA	Adapted loanword* or calque	- Cyber- bullismo -Centro culturale	ENG + SINO- KOR/KOR SINO- KOR/KOR + ENG	"half calque" * or calque	- 피시방 - 생일파티 - 종이컵
	ENG > ITA	calque	-Fine settimana -Luna di miele	ENG > KOR	calque	-주말 -밀월

(The \* indicates the only combination that gives different results of word type between the two languages)

Looking at this table, is interesting to notice that the result of derived words that have as their base an English loanword, in both Korean and Italian is an adapted loanword. This result should not be surprising, because adapted loanwords have been described as 'borrowed words that faces fono-morphological modifications to better adapt to the system of the target language' (cfr. Paragraph 2.1) and the process of derivation, for its part, attach to an English root a native affix that serves as a means to

better link the loanword to the other words, thus adapting it to the structure of the receiving language. Taking into account the adaptation of verbs, for example, both languages attach a bound morpheme to an English root to adapt the borrowed verb to their structure. In the case of Italian, the chosen morpheme is '-are', which is the first verb ending in Italian morphology, that is attached to the English root following the rules described in paragraph 3.2.2 (e.g. eng. > depressurize, it. > depressurizzare, eng. > manipulate, it. > manipolare, eng. > to stop, it. > stoppare).

For Korean, the English root is introduced as a noun to which the verb -하다 (eng. > to do) is added (e.g. eng. > to click, kor. > 클릭하다, eng. > to go out for a date, kor. > 데이트하다, eng. > to make a test, kor. > 테스트하다) thus following the same process used to create verbs from Sino-Korean nouns. The verb 하다 can be used on its own, but when used to create verbs from nouns it becomes a bound morpheme thus creating a derived word and not a compound one.

As seen at the beginning of this chapter, English and Italian have a very similar morphological typology and present the same syntactic order, this facilitate the use of the process of derivation in Italian in comparison to Korean that, nonetheless, found a valid alternative to adapt English verbs thanks to the fact that it is used to adapt words borrowed by Chinese.

The word types resulting from derivation are not the only common results between the two languages. In fact, observing the section on composition, both languages have in their vocabulary compound words consisting of two English roots that are classified as direct loanwords<sup>44</sup>. So for example in Korean we could find words like '아이스커피 (ice coffee), 커플링 (couple ring), 팬서비스 (fan service), 네일아트 (nail art), 원룸 (one room) etc.' and in Italian words like 'spin-off, exit-poll, day hospital, open source, Nordic walking etc.' One interesting fact about borrowed words in Korean, as Jieun Kiaer (2019) argues is that:

"Japanese or Korean speakers often regard any words of Western origin as English words, regardless of their links to French, Latin, or Greek, for example. For the Korean or Japanese mind, words from Western culture are normally registered as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> About this, is better to specify that, like Song Seung Hyun argues: "a word considered a compound word in the original language might be borrowed as a single word in the receiving language." Meaning that not all the compound words borrowed from English are automatically classified as compound words in the receiving language but can also be classified as single words. Song Seung Hyun, *Loanword Adaptation in the Korean Spoken Language*, 2022

English words. Hence, words that are Romanised in form but do not have Sinitic roots are therefore regarded as English words."

Furthermore, continuing with the similarities in word formation, both Korean and Italian can create words juxtaposing together borrowed English terms thus creating compound words that do not exist in English and that are, for this reason, classified as pseudo-loanwords. Examples of this phenomenon are: *K-way, luna park, plum cake, beauty case, smart working* in Italian, 러브호텔, 비닐봉지, 오피스텔, 드라이기, 러닝셔츠 in Korean.

Lastly, the table shows that both languages can create structural calques by translating into their native language English compound words "piece by piece"<sup>45</sup> thus making English borrowed words more accessible to those who are not familiar with the English language. Some examples of calque in Korean and Italian are: eng. > weekend, it. > fine settimana, kor. > 주말 / eng. > honey moon, it. > luna di miele, kor. > 밀월.

Table 2 analyzed the words resulting from the two main processes of word formation which are derivation and composition, but in Chapter 3 other types of words have been described that is worth mentioning in this section. Table 3 will summarize the three types of processes that can be classified under the category of abbreviations which, as already explained, are abbreviation per se, clipping and blending, and the reduction of words to acronyms.

The table gives examples for each category and divide Italian examples from Korean ones.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> This process is also applied to single words, but more often the result of it are sematic calques, which are in turn, considered pseudo-loanword.

Table 3: Words resulting from the processes of abbreviation, clipping and blending, and acronym

#### **ITALIAN**

#### **KOREAN**

Process	Word Type	Examples	Word Type	Examples
Abbreviation	Abbreviated word	Fan, Tech, Wi-Fi, Fax, Jet	Abbreviated word	아파트, 슈퍼, 마이크, 파마, 룸메
Clipping and Blending	Blend formation	Agribusiness, Euronomics, Walkathon, Koregate, Bregret	Blend formation	악플, 크로플, 호캉스, 오피스텔, 치맥
Acronyms	Acronym	SMS, MMS, FAQ	Acronym	멘붕, 아아, SNS

In Korean and Italian all the three processes are applied similarly to English loanwords as the table shows. While the examples of abbreviations are quite intuitive, the examples of the blend formations might require further explanations.

For what concern the Italian examples, the clipped words that compound the blends can be represented as follows:

- Agribusiness = agri(colture) + business
- Euronomics = euro(pean) + (eco)nomics
- Walkathon = walk+ (mar)athon
- Koreagate = Korea + (Water)gate
- Bregret = Br(exit) + regret

The clipped forms like 'agri-' from agricolture, 'euro-' from European, '(a)thon' from marathon, '-gate' from Watergate, and 'Br-' from Brexit, which is in turn
a blend formation, work similarly to affixes but are called *secreted affixes*<sup>46</sup>. Secreted
affixes are not normal affixes but truncated words that can work as affixes while
maintaining the full meaning of the word they have been created from, thus being less
restricted than normal affixes which are bounded morphemes that can't be used on their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Vaccarelli F., "Miscele" inglesi (e italiane) per formare nuove parole, in Enciclopedia Treccani, 2019 <a href="https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua">https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua</a> italiana/articoli/scritto e parlato/Miscele.html

own. So, for example the term 'Euronomics', that it's a word that refers to the economy of Europe, has been borrowed as a loanword from English and it's formed of two clipped words 'Euro-' and '-nomics' that are now used as secreted affixes in Italian and are quite productive.

These examples show how in Italian clipped words becomes actual linguistical elements that can be used to create new words. They have both the characteristics of affixes and unbounded morphemes, so they have the potential to be attached to whatever word is needed. To give some examples of Italian words formed with these two secreted affixes: *Eurocentrico*, *Europarlamentare*, *Eurovaluta*, e also *Ragginomics* as a model of the English *Maonomics*, *Trumpnomics* etc.<sup>47</sup>

Taking now a look at the Korean examples:

- 약플=악정 (malignant) + 리플 (reply) > here the first word is Korean while the second is English
- 크로플 = 크로와상 (croissant)\* + 와플 (waffle)
- 호강스 = 호텔 (hotel) + 바강스 (vacance)\*
- 오피스텔 = 오피스 (office) + 호텔 (hotel)
- 치맥 = 치킨 (chicken) + 맥주 (beer) > here the first word is English while the second is Korean

As can be observed by looking at these examples, what has been explained above about Italian examples applies also to the Korean language. The secreted affixes can retain the entire meaning of the original word or change it. So for example 크로플 refers to a waffle that has been shaped to resemble a croissant, or 약플 refers to a malignant response given in the comment section of social media. But in the case of 오피스텔 the truncated form '텔' does not maintain the meaning of the original English word 'hotel' but maintain only the residential idea of it, in fact an 오피스텔 is a building used as an office (kor. > 오피스) and a house at the same time<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> ibidem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Definition given by the 표준국어대사전: "간단한 주거 시설을 갖춘 사무실. 사무실과 주거의 기능을 겪한다."

Moreover, the examples present two words marked with \* that are French words and not English. These words have been chosen as examples to show how common it is for Korean language to mix foreign elements with native elements to create blend formations. This technique is used also in Italian but is more frequently applied to English terminology only as the examples illustrate.

The last section of Table 3 is related to acronyms. This section will be discussed separately as there is an element of differentiation that will be dealt with in the following paragraph.

### 4.1 Differences

### 4.1.1 Differences in word formation with English loanwords

Following Table 2, it is possible to notice that only one combination gives as a result a different word type in Italian as opposed to Korean. In fact, in Italian, when combining an Italian root with an English one, the resulting word is classified as an adapted loanword. This means that once a compound word in English is introduced in the Italian language system, a section of the word, usually the end, is adapted to be linked better with the rest of the words that will surround it in a sentence. Since the word taken into examination is composed of two roots, the resulting word will maintain the first root untouched and the second one adapted.

Differently in Korean, the juxtaposition of a Korean (or Sino-Korean) root and an English one results in what this paper calls an "half calque", which is a compound word that initially has the characteristics of a direct loanword, but then undergoes translation partially, thus creating a word formed of one English root and one root substituted by an alloglot Korean or Sino-Korean term. The following examples will show clearly what just said by analyzing how the same English word has been borrowed differently in the two languages. Into this analysis other than compound words, multiword expressions have been taken into account, since they can be considered compound words to a certain extent:

### (1) English > cyberbullying

- (a) Italian > *cyber-bullismo*, where the suffix 'ismo', used to identify abstract concepts, adapts the English noun *bullying*
- (b) Korean > 사이버 폭력 (saibeo pokryeok), where the first root 'cyber' is maintained as a direct loanword and the second is replaced by 폭력 that means 'violence'<sup>49</sup>.

## (2) English > *cultural centre*

- (a) Italian > centro culturale (more than an adapted loanword this is a calque)
- (b) Korean > 문화센터 (munhwa senteo), here 'cultural' is translated using the Sino-Korean term for 'culture'

## (3) English > paper cup

- (a) Italian > bicchiere di carta (again a calque)
- (b) Korean > 중이컵 (jongi keob), here 'paper' is translated into the native Korean term for paper while 'cup' is simply transliterated

These results brought to the conclusion that Italian when dealing with English loanwords favor the process of derivation since, as written in the previous paragraph, adapted loanwords present similar characteristics to derived words, while for Korean is easier to rely on composition even though derivation is possible. It is important to specify that, in the second example, the Italian version of the word results in a calque despite having said that Italian favor adapted loanword. In this case the difference between English and Italian is minimal because the words composing the multiword expression are both derived from neo classic languages and therefore exist in a very similar form in English and Italian, thus resulting more appropriately in a calque rather than an adapted loanword. The reasons for this will be presented in the following paragraph.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Korean actually has its own term to express the corresponding concept for 'bullying', which is 왕따 or 집단 괴롭힘 which means something similar to 'group harassment'.

As previously specified, addressing the section about acronyms in Table 2 there is a difference that is worth mentioning. Acronyms of English loanwords in both languages are created alike, but Korean can create acronyms also by abbreviating transliterated loanwords. When this happens, however, Korean can't simply take the first letter of each word but, following the orthographic rules of Korean, syllables of at least one vowel must be used, thus forming acronyms with syllables and not letters. Following this description acronyms of transliterated English loanwords in Korean might look as follows<sup>50</sup>:

- 멘붕(from 멘탈붕괴) which roughly translates into 'mental breakdown'
- 아아 (from 아이스 아메리카노) which refers to the coffee made in the American style with the addition of ice
- *민초* (from 민트초콜릿) which refers to an ice cream flavor that tastes like mint and chocolate

The already presented  $\nearrow \exists$  and  $\circlearrowleft \exists$  in the section of blend formation can also be considered as acronyms since they are formed by adding together the first syllable of the two words they are the abbreviation of.

Table 2 and 3 present the morphological differences between Korean and Italian in dealing with English loanwords. There is tough a third notable difference, and that is the presence of a standardized sets of orthographic rules to be followed to write English loanwords in Korean, while Italian language was not able to decide on precise rules to be then commonly accepted, even though various attempts were made.

The reasons for these two main differences are, again, explained in the next paragraph.

# 4.1.2 Influential factors

The causes for the two differences presented in paragraph 4.2.1 are attributable to the same factors which are the similarity between English and Italian from the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> The examples presented here are commonly used words but still not recognized as standard.

perspective of typological morphology, and the fact that English and Italian share partially neoclassic vocabulary, while English and Korean have very less in common. Due to these two main causes, it's easier for Italian to favor derivation and so creating words that are classified as adapted loanwords. Sharing almost the same alphabet with English and having the possibility to "Italianize" English endings that sound similar to Italian, adapting word is a less complex way to introduce an English word in Italian vocabulary. Furthermore, the fact that both languages present an SVO syntactic structure makes it more affordable to apply derivation in Italian as opposed to Korean. In fact, Korean tends to combine English words with Korean words to create neologism that can more easily adapt to its SOV structure, thus resulting in derivation being a less productive process when creating new words with English borrowings in Korean.

The first example in the previous paragraph shows how the compatibility between English and Italian enables Italian to simply but the suffix 'ismo' (that is used with words that indicate and abstract concept and, ending with an 'o', to give the masculine gender to a noun) to adapt the loanword to its structures, while Korean prefers to translate 'bullying' with another word. The second example, on the other hand, present a multiword expression that is composed of two neoclassic words, and for this reason they are very similar in both English and Italian thus favoring the creation of a calque in Italian, but an "half calque" in Korean that has no relation with neoclassic vocabulary.

This last observation gives the opportunity to introduce the other influential factor in dealing with English loanwords, which is the historical context that surrounded the introduction of loanwords in Korea and Italy. This second factor will be able to explain also the reason why Korean was able to set orthographic rules for transcribing loanwords while Italian did not.

Historically, as explained in paragraph 2.2, the relation between English and Italian dates far more back than the relation between English and Korean. English was introduced in Italian little by little during a time were the proper territorial and linguistic border of Italy and Italian were not established, thus making it almost impossible to decide on standardized rules that could regulate the introduction of loanwords in general.

Furthermore, even though English is classified as a Germanic language<sup>51</sup>, part of its vocabulary derives from Latin.

On the other hand, the position of Korea was very different when the wave of English (more precisely American) words landed on the peninsula. Korea after the division of its territories at the hand of the two powers of the Cold War, used also language as a means of distinction between North and South. Thus, the regulations promulgated starting from 1933 where subsequently revised and enhanced to favor the introduction and the use of English words into the southern part of the Korean peninsula, while in North Korea: "English words of any kind were in principle translated and replaced strictly with native Korean words. Interestingly, Russian words were excepted and allowed to be transliterated." (Jieun Kiaer 2019).

## 5. Conclusions

To sum up, this study wanted to verify whether there was any difference in the way Korean and Italian deal with English loanwords and what might be the implications of these differences if found.

The analysis began with the explanation of the core morphological characteristics of both languages, in order to build a base on which to make valid observations about word formation, since this topic is proper of morphology.

Subsequently the general processes used by Korean and Italian to form new words have been described, and the focus has been put especially on the fact that both languages rely on derivation, composition, abbreviation and borrowing. Having stated this, the paper narrowed its view on word formations that have a relation with English loanwords. Till this point nothing new was stated and all the pieces of information have been taken from already existing literature.

The main contribution of this paper is found in Chapter 4 where the comparison, never made before, between Korean and Italian in the field of the word formation with English loanwords, have been attempted. The results of this comparison remarked once again that structurally Korean and Italian are different, but when dealing with word formation they work very much alike, apart from some exceptions. In fact, due to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> G. Berruto and M. Cerruti, La linguistica: Un corso introduttivo, second edition, 2017, p.240

influential factors like the similar syntactic structure of English and Italian, added to the very similar alphabet and the same etymological origin of certain vocabulary that the two languages share, all this framed in a context of historical evolution of the English language in Italy very different from that of Korea, the analysis found that when dealing with composition with English words, Italian favor adapted loanwords and calque, while Korean tends to create direct loanwords and half calques.

Furthermore, the same factors justified the reason why Korean was able to (and needed to) create a set of standardized orthographic rules as opposed to Italian that made several attempts but was never able to reach a consensus broad enough to create a valid regulation for transcribing loanwords.

This paper wanted to collect the most valuable information about Korean and Italian morphological characteristics and attempted to make a worthy comparison, nevertheless this topic could be more investigated and observed to make this paper more complete.

To give a glimpse of insight of what the future could look like from the point of view of evolutional morphology, suffice it to look at the phenomenon called Hallyu (한류 in Korean), that is often translated into 'the Korean wave', to see how the diffusion of Korean in the American continent and in Europe is influencing many aspects (among which the language is the most intriguing) since the early 90s thanks to the diffusion of Korean dramas and K-pop music.

Given all of the above, it is safe to say that the relation between English and Korean, and even Korean and Italian could change, thus making more linguistical investigations needed.

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