

EXPRESSIVE QUALITIES OF KOREAN PREFIXES FOUND IN NOUNS

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1. Introduction.

Expressive content has received a lot of attention recently, see (Kaplan 1999; Potts 2005, 2007; Schlenker 2007; McCready 2008; Fortin 2011). As part of this phenomenon, evaluative morphology has been widely described cross-linguistically. In Korean language, in particular, expressive content has been studied by scholars either with focus on honorific affixes (Kim & Sells 2007) or metalinguistic comparatives (Giannakidou & Yoon 2008).

In this paper I show that the evaluative potential of Korean language is not limited to honorifics or comparatives, and moreover, is represented by a large variety of prefixes (as, for example, in most Indo-European languages). Secondly, I argue with Nicola Grandi and Fabio Montermini whose cross-linguistic data on evaluative affixes misinterpret Korean as a language which has no evaluative affixes or whose evaluative morphology is limited to vowel and consonant alternations (Grandi, Montermini 2005).

Evaluative prefixation is a special subset of derivational morphology in which affixes are attached to bases to form new derivatives that convey a meaning of either size or emotion, in the form of diminutives or augmentatives which may possess various tints of evaluation or ‘connotation’. Thus, only those Korean prefixes which have above-mentioned properties comprise the object of study in this paper. If a prefix possesses both neutral and evaluative meanings, only the latter is brought into light.

Prefixation as a kind of word formation produces lexemes for many parts of speech, i.e. nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs and adverbs. Each part of speech shows expressiveness of affixation in different way. Thus, the study of the expressive abilities of noun derivation is the main objective in this paper. This paper considers the means of expressive prefixing in Korean language in regards to two groups of nouns: 1) those denoting human-beings; 1) those referring to abiocoen, various phenomena, etc. (non-animate nouns). All the derivatives in focus have been found in Korean explanatory dictionaries¹.

Due to existence of evaluative prefixes word formation in Korean has expressive qualities. Main formants which provide a lexeme with emotional or evaluative coloring belong to word formation elements of native Korean origin. Terms and bookish words are created with the help of morphemes of Sino-Korean origin. Unlike the native Korean vocabulary, the Sino-Korean stratum has a very limited number of affixes which carry expressiveness. Moreover, if one takes into consideration the fact that the Sino-Korean vocabulary originates from the isolating Chinese language (as many linguists point out), the question whether affixes exist in Sino-Korean vocabulary still has to be solved. The status of the Sino-Korean formants in terms of word-building is known to fluctuate between prefixation and root compounding. Therefore, in different cases, they are viewed either as affixation based morphemes, or as root morphemes.

Prefixation allows for the deriving of words with a vivid evaluative connotation that differs from the emotionally neutral ones. In such cases the newly formed lexeme bears a new word status. Being a new word, such a lexeme, on the one hand, is denotatively interrelated with the motivating word; while on the other hand, it evaluates the described concept.

It is not an easy task to reveal the emotionally expressive component mentioned above and the possible solution of the problem may be obtained by extracting the pragmatic component from the semantic structure of the word. It is the context that makes axiological orientation clear.

However, the whole difficulty of the scientific description of expressiveness component in a word (this paper means the emotionally-expressive component, which is added to a word by a particular ‘stylistically charged’ affix) lies in reflecting the most ‘intimate’ (as V. N. Manakin points out (Manakin 2004: 194) part of the word meaning.

¹ 『한글 우리말 큰사전』, Korean explanatory dictionary (국어사전), Korean-English dictionary: <http://dic.daum.net>.

On the one hand, expressive affixes may increase the conceptually semantic characteristics of words by adding the tones (semantics) of disregard, disapproval, admiration, astonishment, etc. On the other hand, these affixes may characterize the derived words by their reference to a particular functional style, bookish or colloquial vocabulary, i.e. reveal ‘the attendant information’ concerning the speaker’s emotionally evaluating aim while describing a particular object, concept, phenomenon, etc. However, with the flow of time the expressiveness may get faded or only some of the functionally stylistic coloring remains preserved in that affix.

The expressive properties of prefixes become apparent when the derived lexemes are contrasted with the initial one and analyzed inside the context. Therefore, the sample sentences, found mainly in the Internet², have been provided.

Besides, in order to verify whether the derivatives are up-to-date I refer to the data of use-frequency obtained through the questionnaires from 25 native speakers of Korean³. Thus, context based analysis was provided for those lexemes whose use-frequency is higher than ‘0’ in questionnaires or Sejong project quotes.

2. The group of animate derivatives.

Here are analyzed those expressive derivatives which denote human-being.

1. Derivation pattern 1: prefix <알~> + noun

It is worth mentioning that prefix <알> may be interpreted as ‘extreme, enormous’. It intensifies lexical meaning of the initial word. The prefix joins both the native and Sino-Korean stems.

1) 거지 ‘beggar’ > 알거지 ‘real (exemplary) beggar (a man with no property but his own body)’
전쟁이 일어나자 살림과 돈을 몽땅 불에 태우고 알거지가 되었는데...

When the war broke out [he] entirely lost his household and money in the fire and became a beggar-AUG...

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The 3rd person [he] became poor.

ii. *Expressive*: The 3rd person [he] became extremely poor.

2) 건달 ‘idler’ > 알건달 ‘real (exemplary) idler’

하루아침에 아들을 알건달로 만든 상인의 처사를 다른 상인들은 이해할 수 없었다.

Other merchants could not understand the merchant’s behavior who made [his] son an idler-AUG in a short time.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The merchant’s son is an idler.

ii. *Expressive*: The speaker/writer emphasizes that the son became an extraordinary idler.

3) 깡쟁이 ‘shrewd fellow’ > 알깡쟁이 ‘nasty, horrible (whose reputation or habits are worthless) niggard; skinflint’

젊은 남자의 알깡쟁이 같은 서울말씨를 보니...

Hearing the young man’s Seoul manner of speaking which was much of a tight-wad-AUG...

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The young man speaks in Seoul manner of speaking.

ii. *Expressive*: The young man speaks in a very unpleasant manner.

4) 부자 ‘rich man’ > 알부자 ‘real (exemplary) rich’

모습은 그래도, 소문으로는 그 노파가 알부자라고 했다.

(Regardless the appearance, according to the rumors), the old woman was a person of wealth-AUG.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Others think that the old woman was a person of wealth.

ii. *Expressive*: Others considered her fabulously rich.

² found mainly at: <http://dic.daum.net>, www.google.com and <http://www.sejong.or.kr>; this allows to view the context in which words are used, which is essential for such a ‘delicate’ property of morphology as evaluativeness.

³ university students and professors.

There is also a non-frequent lexeme, derived with the help of prefix in focus: 부랑자 ‘a vagabond; a loafer; a waif; a gentleman of the road’ > 알부랑자 ‘regular rascal [rogue, villain]; a thorough-going scoundrel’.

2. Derivation pattern 2: prefix <꼴~> + noun

The derivational meaning of prefix <꼴> is ‘stagnant, backward, routine, stifling, stinking, listless, inert’.

1) 섯님 ‘meek [prudish] fellow’ > 꼴섯님 ‘1) real (‘routine’) demure (sissy); 2) routiner [1] narrow-minded, conservative person (*mocking*); 2) a person who constantly moans from none (*mocking*)’

...뽀얀 얼굴에 변성이 안된 가는 목소리를 가진 천하의 꼴섯님이 그 주의 인물로 뽑히기도 하는 것이었다.

From time to time the meek fellow-DEP ever known, with milk-white face and unbroken thin voice was chosen a personage of that province.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The 3rd person is a meek fellow.
ii. *Expressive*: Writer thinks that the 3rd person is really meek.

As the above example shows, prefix <꼴> adds negative ironic coloring to the motivating words approximating by their meaning with the semantics of ‘sluggishness’, ‘silliness’ or ‘weakness’. Thus, we can say that in terms of stylistics the prefix is of interest because it carries the semantics of derision.

2) 초 ‘tobacco’ > 꼴초 ‘1) a gasper; a heavy smoker; a chain smoker; 2) tobacco of low quality; cheap tobacco’

미셸 오바마는 그녀의 남편은 거의 1 년 동안 금연을 했으며, 그녀는 한때 꼴초였던 그를 굉장히 자랑스러워 한다고 USA Today 에 말했다.

First Lady Michelle Obama told the USA Today that her husband had not had a drag for nearly a year, and she is extremely proud of the former puffer-in-chief-AUG.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Barak Obama used to smoke before.
ii. *Expressive*: Michelle Obama thinks that her husband used to smoke too much.

There are also non-frequent lexemes, derived with the help of prefix in focus: 생원 ‘mister’ > 꼴생원 ‘a narrow-minded man; a pedant; a weak [sickly] man; a man in delicate health’; 선비 ‘literary [learned] man’ > 꼴선비 ‘rigid and narrow-minded scholar; a pedant’; 양반 ‘aristocrat; nobleman’ > 꼴양반 ‘narrow-minded fellow; a fuddy-duddy’.

3. Derivation pattern 3: prefix <얼~> + noun

The semantics of the prefix <얼> in the derived words can be granted as ‘half-witted, dull, stupid’. In other words, the presence of this prefix in the specified words points out a weak mentality and stupidity regarding to a human-being. This prefix gives ironic coloring to the derived lexemes. That is why it is considered within the framework of this article.

1) 간 ‘ingredient of salt’ > 얼간(이) ‘a dull [stupid] fellow; a fool; a simpleton; a half-wit’

파산 직전인 사업에 많은 돈을 지불하다니, 그는 얼간이었어요.

He was a fool-DIM to invest much money in a business that was on the verge of bankruptcy.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: It is unreasonable to invest into a business on the verge of its bankruptcy.

ii. *Expressive*: Author/speaker thinks that it was extremely silly of him to invest into a business on the verge of its bankruptcy.

The word 얼간 with meaning ‘salting, salt processing’, created by prefixing, later, apparently, has undergone recomprehension and gained a new denotation with meaning as shown above.

There is also a non-frequent lexeme, derived with the help of prefix in focus. Since the prefix in focus demonstrates different properties, it will be provided full analysis.

2) 바람둥이 ‘1) windbag, gasbag, boaster (*rude*); 2) womanizer (Don Juan) (*rude*)’ > 얼바람둥이 ‘a person who makes incredible acts without any good reason (*disdainful*)’

제가 높은 관직에 있는 것은 사실이나 개구리 울창이 적 생각을 못 한다는 얼바람둥이가 되고 싶지는 않아요.

It's true that I'm in the high government service, but I don't want to become a boaster-DEPR who is apt to forget his early days after gaining prosperity.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker doesn't want to become a boaster.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker doesn't want to be (seem) absurd.

4. Derivation pattern 4: <얼~> + verb

1) 뜨다 'get [break] loose' > 얼뜨기 'stupid person'

왜냐하면 나는 '내 자신(환상과 착각)'에 붙들려 있었던 얼뜨기에 불과했기 때문입니다.
Because I was nothing but a stupid-DIM captured by 'my own fantasies and illusions'.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker thinks he was stupid.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker thinks he was very stupid.

5. Derivation pattern 5: prefix <숫~> + noun

The prefix <숫> with meaning 'simple-hearted, innocent, naive, simple-minded, virginal, pure' takes part in deriving usually stylistically neutral words that signify humans or inanimate objects. In such cases, the prefix is set to 'spotless, pure, pristine'.

By joining the shown below source nouns of neutral semantics this prefix produces words with a synonymous meaning 'naivety, unaffectedness, simplicity', which constitutes its 'stylistic value'. Though all of derivatives are non-frequent, they were not 'denied' the analysis.

1) 백성 'the (common) people' > 숫백성 'not charged of falsehood, lie (simple-minded, naive) people';

그 말을 숫백성이 믿었다면 어찌됐을까?

What if people-APP believed those words?

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker doesn't know what would happen if people believed those words.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker thinks that people he refers to are naive.
iii. *Expressive*: The speaker feels endearment towards people.

2) 사람 'person' > 숫사람 'not knowing falsehood naive (ingenuous) person';

앤드루 호튼은 코미디 캐릭터를 사기꾼, 숫사람, 은근짜의 세 가지 유형으로 분류하였다.

The comedy character of Andrew Horton is classified into three types: swindler, ordinary person-APP and sly person.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: One of Andrew Horton's comedy character's is ordinary person.
ii. *Expressive*: When playing ordinary person Andrew Horton needs to project the utmost naivety.

3) 색시 'bride; young wife; maiden' > 숫색시 'a wife (young woman) who had never had sexual relations with a man'.

...그제야 부인도 숫색시처럼 부끄러운 웃음으로 마주 돌아앉았다.

Only then wife, as if she was a maiden-APP, sat the other way round with a shy smile.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The wife is not an innocent maiden.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker thinks that the wife projected utmost innocence.

There are also other lexemes, derived with the help of prefix in focus: 국 'soup; broth; pottage' > 숫국 'simple-minded person or something unsullied'; 숫보기 '1) innocent [simple] person; dove. 2) innocent bachelor[girl]; virgin'.

The prefix joins both native Korean and Sino-Korean initiate words.

6. Derivation pattern 6: prefix <홀~> + noun

With its meaning of 'single, one-ply; single layer; whole, solid' prefix <홀> here demonstrates its expressive capacity in contributing a tone of simplicity and unpretentiousness to the semantic structure of the mentioned source word.

1) 사람 ‘man, person’ > 홀사람 ‘shallow-minded person’

왜 죄를 범하는가? 홀사람은 믿음이 없어 그렇다.

Why [people] commit crimes? The thoughtless people-DEP commit them because they don't have belief.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker thinks that people commit crimes because they don't have belief.

ii. *Expressive*: The speaker considers people shallow-minded if they commit crimes. The word ‘홀사람’ is a contracted form of ‘홀벌사람’ where ‘홀벌’ means ‘single one’ or ‘one-ply’. Thus, due to contraction the prefix <홀> in the derived word preserves its original semantics.

7. Derivation pattern 11: prefix <날~> + noun

Prefix <날> has several meanings. One of them, ‘terrible, evil’, is actualized in interaction with animate nouns, adding the ‘cynical, impudent’ sememe to the semantic structure of the derived lexemes. Attached to the words, which initially possess negative coloring, the prefix makes this coloring more intensive.

1) 도둑 ‘thief’ > 날도둑 ‘extremely brutal thief (robber); barefaced scoundrel’

한국이나 외국이나, 은행이 날도둑인건 매 한가지인듯...

Whether in Korea or abroad, the bank[s] seem to be much about the same robber[s]-AUG-DEP...

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The writer thinks that the bank[s] is [are] robber[s] anywhere.

ii. *Expressive*: The writer thinks the way the bank[s] rob[s] people is extremely brutal (barefaced).

iii. *Expressive*: The author has a negative attitude towards the bank[s].

Thus one can notice that besides the augmentative semantics the prefix can be used to transmit evaluative properties.

2) 강도 ‘burglar (robber)’ > 날강도 ‘very violent (brutal), barefaced robber (gangster)’;

김씨는 “뉴타운은 내 재산을 빼앗아가는 날강도”라고 말했다.

Mr. Kim said: “The New-town is a robber-AUG-DEP who is taking my property”.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Mr. Kim thinks that the New-town is a robber.

ii. *Expressive*: Mr. Kim thinks that the way the New-town is robbing him is extremely brutal (barefaced).

iii. *Expressive*: Mr. Kim has a negative attitude towards the New-town.

3) 불한당 ‘a gang of robbers’ > 날불한당 ‘a barefaced villain, a shameless rascal’

저런 천하의 날불한당 같은 놈들이 있다.

Are there on earth bigger bandits-AUG-DEP than them?

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker thinks that they are bandits.

ii. *Expressive*: The speaker thinks that they are extremely barefaced (shameless).

iii. *Expressive*: The speaker has a negative attitude towards them.

3. The group of inanimate derivatives.

8. Derivation pattern 7: prefix <강~> + noun

The prefix in focus has the meaning ‘hard, strong, harsh’. It interacts with initial words of native Korean origin and demonstrates high level or intensity of a phenomenon.

The semantic structure of the derivatives is following:

1) 더위 ‘heat’ > 강더위 ‘a long period of heat spell, when the dry weather sets in and the sun beats down mercilessly’

강더위 속에 방학과 휴가철이 겹쳐 최근 헌혈 인원이 크게 줄고 있다.

School holidays and vacations came together in this merciless heat-AUG, so recently the number of blood donors is decreasing greatly.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker/ writer considers the heat one of the reasons why the number of donors is decreasing.

ii. *Expressive*: The speaker/ writer considers the heat extremely intense.

2) 추위 ‘cold’ > 강추위 ‘a spell of cold dry weather, intense cold’

일요일 강추위가 전국을 강타하며 서울의 한낮 온도도 영하 4도를 맴돌았다.

The cold snap-AUG hit the nation on Sunday and daytime temperatures in the capital hovered around minus 4 degrees.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The country is experiencing low temperatures.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker/ writer considers the cold extremely severe.

3) 바람 ‘wind’ > 강바람 ‘strong wind bringing no rain’

메마른 강바람은 비가 섞여 있는 비바람과는 다르다.

Dry wind-AUG is different from rainstorm mixed with rain.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Dry wind is different from rainstorm.
ii. *Expressive*: Dry wind is extremely strong.

9. Derivation pattern 8: prefix <한~> + noun

The prefix has a general semantics ‘the highest level, the climax of *smth.*’, therefore, going with the corresponding initial stems, gives them the connotation of amplification.

1) 걱정 ‘worry’ > 한걱정 ‘great cares, big troubles, a big worry’

민호는 아들이 이유 없이 시름시름 앓는 것이 한걱정이 되었다.

For Min-ho his son, who was long in lingering illness for nothing, became a subject of worry-AUG.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Min-ho worries about his sick son.
ii. *Expressive*: Sick son is a big worry for Min-ho.

2) 근심 ‘anxiety’ > 한근심 ‘a big worry, a great anxiety, great headache’

한근심을 감당하는 것이 한 사랑을 간직하는 것이다.

Being able to feel worry-AUG means cherishing love.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: In writer`s/ speaker`s opinion, love requires ability to worry.
ii. *Expressive*: In writer`s/ speaker`s opinion, love requires ability to feel big worries.

3) 더위 ‘heat’ > 한더위 ‘fierce [violent] heat; the midsummer heat’.

그곳은 8월의 한더위 때에도 기온이 섭씨 25도를 넘는 일이 드물다.

The temperature there seldom rises above 25°C even in the climax of heat-AUG in August.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: In writer`s/ speaker`s opinion, the hottest period is August.
ii. *Expressive*: In writer`s/ speaker`s opinion, Augusts are usually extremely hot.

4) 잠 ‘sleep’ > 한잠 ‘deep sleep; sound sleep’

새벽이 되든 자기 집에 돌아가서 한잠 늘어지게 자구...

[He] goes back to [his] house at dawn and drops off to deep sleep-AUG.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: [He] goes home at dawn and falls asleep.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker`s opinion, [he] sleeps deeply and soundly.

5) 추위 ‘cold’ > 한추위 ‘spell of severe (intense) cold (frost)’

겨울 한추위에 매화꽃이 만발해서요.

(It`s because) plum blossom is in full bloom in winter cold-AUG.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Plum blossom bloomed in winter cold.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker`s/ writer`s opinion, plum bloomed in winter when it was extremely cold.

Since the initial words 걱정 and 근심 are synonyms, their derivatives, created with the help of prefix in focus, also have similar meaning.

10. Derivation pattern 9: prefix <짓~> + noun

This prefix generally takes part in verb (also with expressive properties) derivation. Nonetheless, it also participates in noun derivation in its second meaning ‘extreme, terrible’ to stress properties of denotatum. Though all of derivatives are non-frequent, their full analysis was provided.

1) 고생 ‘hardship(s), pain(s)’ > 짓고생 ‘severe suffering (hardships, adversity)’

이번 주 받은 짓고생의 훈련을 떠올리면 11 기인 너희 동기 모두에게 폭 쉬는 시간이 주어졌으면 싶다.

If I think about hardships-AUG during trainings this week, I wish all your 11 funny fellows from the same class deserve a proper rest.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: In speaker`s/ author`s opinion, the trainings were hard.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker`s/ writer`s opinion, the trainings were extremely hard.

2) 망신 ‘shame, disgrace’ > 짓망신 ‘terrible shame (disgrace)’

짓망신하고 인제야 더 망신할 나위 없으니...

After experiencing shame-AUG there is nothing more disgracing...

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Speaker/ author [or someone else] experienced shame.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker`s/ writer`s opinion, the shame was terrible.

3) 북새 ‘bustle, hustle’ > 짓북새 ‘awful disorder (bustle, commotion)’

웃입들이 짓북새를 지어도 눈을 뜨라고 말할 때까지 나는 당신의 술래가 되겠습니다.

Even if publicity will make a mess-AUG criticizing [me], until [I`m] told to open eyes, [I] will become your tagger.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker/ writer will not be confused by the criticism from all sides.

ii. *Expressive*: In speaker`s/ writer`s opinion, the criticism might be very confusing.

11. Derivation pattern 10: *prefix* <헛~> + *noun*

The prefix in focus has meaning ‘useless, worthless, empty, meaningless’ and marks an ironic/ mocking attitude of the speaker to the denotatum, and the derived lexemes acquire derogatory tint.

1) 공론 ‘futile [pointless] argument; empty theory’ > 헛공론 ‘useless (empty, pointless) discussion’

너는 단지 헛공론만 할 줄 알지 실행할 줄 모른다.

You only know how to make discussions-DEP, but you can`t put [a plan] into practice.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker assumes that the 3rd person is good in discussing.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker`s opinion, the 3rd person`s discussions are useless.

2) 글 ‘writings, text’ > 헛글 ‘1) text (writings) of no use for the reader; 2) text (writings), which cannot be put into practice after studying’

그는 말하자면 헛글을 배운 셈이다.

He is, so to speak, a ‘learned fool’-DEP.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker/ writer assumes that the 3rd person is a learned person.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker`s/ writer`s opinion, the 3rd person`s knowledge is useless.

3) 노릇 ‘occupation; role’ > 헛노릇 ‘a fruitless effort, waste labor, vain efforts’

인수는 일이 틀어진 것도 모르고 혼자 헛노릇을 했다며 분통을 터뜨렸다.

Having no idea that everything went wrong, Insu gave vent to his anger, saying that he did work-DEP alone.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Insu assumes that he did work alone.
ii. *Expressive*: Insu thinks that his work was fruitless.

4) 돈 ‘money’ > 헛돈 ‘money thrown away, wasted money’

박 영감은 십 원이라도 절대 헛돈을 쓰는 법이 없는 알뜰한 사람이었다.

Old man Pak was scrupulous person who would never waste even a penny-DEP.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Speaker/ writer assumes that Pak would never waste money.

ii. *Expressive*: Speaker/ writer assumes that Pak would never use money carelessly.

5) 말 ‘language, word’ > 헛말 ‘empty [futile] talk; idle words’

정말 해 줄 것도 아니면서 헛말하지 마라.

Don`t say empty words-DEP if you are not going to help with it.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Speaker assumes that what the 3rd person is saying is not sincere.
ii. *Expressive*: Speaker assumes that the 3rd person`s words are empty, idle.

6) 문서 ‘document’ > 헛문서 ‘1) wrong document; 2) forged document’

...사기 및 기만을 당할 우려가 많고, 보증 또는 헛문서 잡고 후회의 눈물을 맛보게 될 수도 있다.

...there is a big concern about being deceived or fooled, and one can experience tears of regret by receiving a warranty or a forged document-DEP.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: There is a danger to be fooled by receiving documents.
ii. *Expressive*: One can be fooled by receiving fake documents.

7) 소리 ‘sound; voice; talk’ > 헛소리 ‘1) falsehood; a lie; idle words [gossip]; an empty [a windy] talk; an empty prattle; 2) talking in delirium, delirious utterances’

빈곤한 자를 가난에서 벗어나게 하는 방법에 관한 그의 연설은 헛소리예요.

His speech about how to help the poor escape from poverty is baloney-DEP.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: His speech was about the ways of helping the poor to escape from poverty.

ii. *Expressive*: He was telling lies.

8) 치레 ‘embellishment; adornment; decoration’ > 헛치레 ‘useless make-up [dressing, ornament, decoration]’

식당 이름처럼 음식 맛이나 모양에 헛치레가 없고...

Unlike the restaurant’s name, there is nothing excessive-DEP about food’s taste or appearance.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The way the food looks like or tastes is satisfactory.
ii. *Expressive*: There is nothing useless about food and its appearance.

There are also non-frequent lexemes, derived with the help of prefix in focus: 장담 ‘assurance; guarantee’ > 헛장담 ‘tall talk; bragging’; 1) 가게 ‘shop, store’ > 헛가게 ‘a booth, a stall, a shop that opens by irregularly’

4. Hybrid group.

The next group of prefixes will be referred to as ‘hybrid’ one, because it is comprised of formants which take part in deriving expressive nouns denoting both human-beings and inanimate things (or notions).

12. Derivation pattern 12: prefix <불~> + noun

This formant joins the words of pejorative connotation to intensify greatly its meaning (김정은 2000: 38).

1) 상놈 ‘low man [fellow] (*abusive*)’ > 불상놈 ‘ill-mannered, not caring about the rules of decorum meanie (*abusive*)’

“에이, 천하 불상놈 같으니라고.” 하고 스님을 욕하며 얼굴을 붉혔다.

“Damn, [he is] like a plebeian-AUG in the entire world” [he] cursed the bonze and blushed.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The 3rd person thinks that the bonze is a plebeian.
ii. *Expressive*: The 3rd person thinks that the bonze is more ill-mannered [vulgar, lowborn] than an ordinary plebeian.
iii. *Expressive*: The 3rd person has negative sentiments towards the bonze.

2) 여우 ‘fox’ > 불여우 ‘wicked, cruel, extremely cunning woman (*metaphoric*)’

이렇게 해서 둔갑한 불여우처럼 상품들은 인간을 호린다.

That is how goods, as if shape-changing foxes-AUG, seduce humans.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The writer witnessed how goods seduce people.
ii. *Expressive*: The writer thinks that in such cases goods are sly (foxy).

3) 강도 ‘burglar (robber)’ > 불강도 ‘very violent robber’

저건 불강도보다 더한 진빨갱이입니다.

[He] is a genuine communist, which is much worse than a robber-AUG.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker thinks that communists are worse than robbers.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker considers even the most violent robber not as fierce as a genuine communist (the 3rd person).

4) 더위 ‘heat’ > 불더위 ‘intense [severe] heat; blazing [scorching] heat’

내일 불더위 절정...서울 33℃.

Tomorrow is the climax of heat-AUG... In Seoul the temperatures will reach 33℃.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Tomorrow will be hot.
ii. *Expressive*: Tomorrow will be extremely hot.

There are also non-frequent lexemes, derived with the help of prefix in focus: 가물 ‘drought’ > 불가물 ‘severe drought; a long spell of drought’; 깍쟁이 ‘stingy [close-fisted] fellow; niggard (*neglect*)’ > 불깍쟁이 ‘a real stinker; a terrible miser (*neglect*)’; 망나니 ‘rough-and-tumble man, blackguard, bastard (*abusive*)’ > 불망나니 ‘villain; rogue; rascal (*abusive*)’

Joining the motivating word, prefix <불> greatly emphasizes the pejorative (rude) tone of some of the initial word’s meaning. According to their functional style reference, the words derived with the help of the prefix in focus are viewed as colloquial ones, not characteristic of literary speech. Such words nevertheless may be used in literary style to create a special effect.

After adding prefixes <알> and <불> to the word ‘깍쟁이’ one may observe the intensification correspondently to the first and the second sememe (meaning) of the source word. In other words, if prefix <알> focuses on strengthening the first sememe, prefix <불> in its turn highlights the second one. Both prefixes give extremely negative coloring to the word. The source word ‘여우’, if cooperated with prefix <불> undergoes metaphoric recomprehension.

13. Derivation pattern 13: *prefix* <군~> + *noun*

1) 식구 ‘family’ > 군식구 ‘an eater (family member) who lives with a family and feeds at its expense; hanger-on; dependent; parasite; sponger’

나 혼자 먹고 살기도 어려운데 군식구까지 데리고 있을 필요는 없지요.

It’s difficult for myself to live, so there is no need have more dependants-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker doesn’t want support someone else.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker thinks negatively/inappropriately about someone else he supposedly should feed.

2) 돈 ‘money’ > 군돈 ‘money spent unnecessarily, unnecessary expenses’

저축을 하려면 군돈을 줄이는 방법부터 터득해야 한다.

In order save money one should first learn how to reduce unnecessary expenses-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Reducing expenses is one of the ways to save.
ii. *Expressive*: One of the ways to save is reducing unnecessary expenses.

3) 말 ‘language, word’ > 군말 ‘unnecessary remark; expletive; redundant words’

그 아이는 나의 충고를 군말로 여겼다.

The kid perceived my advice as expletive words-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The kid perceived the piece of advice wrongly.
ii. *Expressive*: The kid perceived the piece of advice as expletive words.

4) 말썽 ‘trouble(s); difficulties’ > 군말썽 ‘needless trouble’

정민이는 군말썽 없이 잘 자랐다.

Jeong-min grew up without any troubles-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Jeong-min grew up without stressing anyone.
ii. *Expressive*: Jeong-min grew up without making needless troubles.

5) 소리 ‘sound; talk’ > 군소리 ‘an unnecessary [uncalled-for] remark [comment]; talking in one’s sleep [delirium]’

군소리 그만하고 요점만 말하세요.

Don’t beat about the bush-DEP and tell the main point.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker was saying something not relevant to the topic.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker was saying something unnecessary.

6) 내 ‘smell, odor’ > 군내 ‘a stale [unpleasant] smell; an unwanted [extra] smell’

김치 군내를 잡는 방법이나 군내를 카마하면서 할 수 있는 요리 좀 알려주세요

Please, let me know a way to get rid of kimchi smell-DEP or dish which can be prepared with covering the smell-AUG.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The person asks for a method to get rid of kimchi smell while cooking or a dish where kimchi smell can be controlled.

ii. *Expressive*: The speaker considers the kimchi smell unpleasant.

7) 군더더기 ‘an excrescence, a superfluity, an unwanted follower’

무엇보다 총리라는 직책은 대통령제 하에서 잘해봐야 군더더기이다.

Above all, the post of prime-minister is a redundancy-DEP at best under a presidential government.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The post of prime-minister is insignificant under a presidential government.

ii. *Expressive*: The post of prime-minister is an excrescence under a presidential government.

8) 대답 ‘answer, reply’ > 군대답 ‘needless reply, unnecessary answer’

군대답을 하다 철수는 선생님께서 혼났다.

Cheol-su was given a hard time by teacher after giving needless comment-DEP.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The teacher was mad with Cheol-su for his comment.

ii. *Expressive*: Cheol-su’s comment was needless.

9) 사설 ‘chattering’ > 군사설 ‘idle talk; futile [empty] talk; empty prattle’

맞다. 군사설은 빠자. 길이 바쁘다.

Right. Let’s skip the idle talk-DEP. The way is busy.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The person doesn’t want to speak.

ii. *Expressive*: The person thinks he is being involved into idle talk.

10) 짓 ‘deed, act’ > 군짓 ‘useless [superfluous] act; unnecessary [unwanted] things’

원숭이는 푸른 눈동자를 굴리며 군짓 없이 앉아 있었다.

The monkey was sitting still-DEP moving the eyes.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The monkey was still.

ii. *Expressive*: The monkey didn’t do any unwanted things.

11) 일 ‘work; thing; incident’ > 군일 ‘unnecessary [needless] work’

정진이는 군일을 하며 시간을 보내고 있었다.

Jeong-jin was spending time, doing unnecessary work-DEP.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Jeong-jin spent time working.

ii. *Expressive*: His work was needless.

There are also non-frequent lexemes, derived with the help of prefix in focus: 사람 ‘person’ > 군사사람 ‘a person who is not in (doesn’t belong to) a certain circle of members’; 계집 ‘woman, female’ > 군계집 ‘adulteress; a (female) paramour’; 가락 ‘tune; tone; key; note’ > 군가락 ‘extraneous remarks’.

It is worth mentioning that prefix <군> possesses two meanings: ‘1) (something) useless, unnecessary; 2) outside a house (home)’. The Korean word ‘군계집’ might be the only one to bring the second meaning of the prefix to a focus. The examples prove that prefix <군> supplements the meaning of the derived lexeme with expressive component of neglect or disapproval. The prefix joins both native Korean and Sino-Korean initiate words.

14. Derivation pattern 14: *prefix <웅~> + noun*

1) 생원 ‘mister; esquire’ > 웅생원 ‘narrow-minded, weak-kneed person (*mocking*)’;

...모두가 꼬불꼬불한 웅생원이어서 두터운 껍질 속에 움츠려 들어서는 부질없이 방패만은 추켜든다.

...everyone is so crooked and weak-kneed-DEP, shrink in their thick shells and only hold up their useless shields.

Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The writer/ speaker thinks that everyone is cowardly.

ii. *Expressive*: The writer/ speaker thinks that everyone is abject coward.

Here the meaning of prefix <웅> in the derivate can be defined as ‘petty, narrow(-minded)’. Unlike the prefix <굴>, this one combines with a word ‘생원’ (‘weak-willed person’) to contribute an extra connotation of disapproval to the word’s semantic structure.

2) 고집 ‘stubbornness’ > 옹고집 ‘obstinacy, perversity’

그의 옹고집에는 질렸다

His obstinacy-AUG was just too much.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker is tired of the 3rd person’s stubbornness.
ii. *Expressive*: The 3rd person is extremely bullheaded.

15. Derivation pattern 15: prefix <개~> + noun

This prefix adds to the semantics of the initial word the connotative element of promiscuity, recklessness or excessiveness.

1) 놈 ‘fellow (*rude*)’ > 개놈 ‘bad person, person with terrible behavior (*abusive*)’

다 크도록 부모 뜯어먹고 때리기까지 하니, 그게 천하에 몹쓸 개놈이 아니고 뭐겠어?

Being a grown-up he is sponging on parents and even beats them. Who is he if not an unequaled malicious guy-AUG?

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker considers the 3rd person to be a malicious guy.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker the 3rd person to be extremely malicious.

2) 딸년 ‘daughter (*intimate*)’ > 개딸년 ‘unworthy woman (*vulgar*)’

그 누가 제 어머니를 개딸년이라고 욕하는 작자를 그냥 놔둘 수 있겠습니까?

Would one just let in peace a fellow calling one’s mother an unworthy woman-AUG?

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker thinks that no one would leave in peace someone who calls his mother an unworthy woman.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker thinks that no one would leave in peace someone referring to his mother as an unworthy woman, since it is abusive.

3) 망나니 ‘rough-and-tumble man; a blackguard (*abusive*)’ > 개망나니 ‘notorious hooligan (*abusive*)’

재우는 평소에는 순한 양이지만 술만 먹으면 개망나니가 된다.

Jae-woo is usually a mild sheep, but each time he drinks he becomes a rowdy-AUG.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: After Jae-woo drinks alcohol he becomes a hooligan.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker’s opinion, the way Jae-woo behaves when he drinks is extremely bad.

4) 차반 ‘fine [nice] dish’ > 개차반 ‘a person with disgusting manners (*abusive*)’

저이가 원래는 참 예의 바르고 성실한 사람이었는데 아편에 손을 댄 이후로 완전히 개차반이 되고 말았어.

That person used to be serious and behaved properly, but after he put his hands on opium, he became a hangdog-AUG.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Opium changed the 3rd person and his behavior.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker’s opinion, the way opium changed the 3rd person and his conduct is disgusting.

5) 새끼 ‘young, litter’ > 개새끼 ‘a repulsive person who makes indecent acts (*abusive*)’

형호는 자기에게 사기를 치고 달아난 친구에게 개새끼라며 욕을 했다.

Hyeong-ho swore “son of a bitch”-AUG to his friend who committed a fraud on him and ran away.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Hyeong-ho considers his friend an extremely bad person.
ii. *Expressive*: Hyeong-ho has negative sentiments towards his friend.

6) 자식 ‘child; off-spring’ > 개자식 ‘a repulsive person who makes indecent acts (*abusive*)’

친한 친구를 속이다니 그놈은 정말 개자식이다.

This fellow is a real bastard-AUG if he deceived his close friend.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker considers the 3rd person to be extremely bad.
ii. *Expressive*: The speaker has negative sentiments towards the 3rd person.

7) 잡년 ‘bad woman, loose woman (*abusive*)’ > 개잡년 ‘a girl who has very bad (dirty) behavior (*abusive*)’;

강산택은 남편과 그 여자에게 개잡놈이니 개잡년이니 하며 갖은 욕을 다 퍼부었다.

The wife heaped the shower of all sorts of abuse, like “son-of-a-bitch” and “bitch”-AUG, to [her] husband and his girl.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The wife considers [her] husband and his girl to be extremely bad.
ii. *Expressive*: The wife has negative sentiments towards [her] husband and his girl.

8) 꿈 ‘dream’ > 개꿈 ‘an empty dream, a silly dream, a wild dream’

자는 내내 개꿈을 꾸느라 깊게 잠들지 못했다.

I couldn't go asleep deeply, because during the sleep I was seeing wild dreams-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker was seeing dreams.
ii. *Expressive*: Those dreams were silly (wild).

9) 나발 ‘boast; brag; tall [big] talk (*vulgar*)’ > 개나발 ‘silly talk; nonsense; drivel; rot; rubbish (*vulgar*)’

도대체 저런 개나발 같은 소리만 하는 녀석을 어떻게 믿을 수 있겠니.

How on earth I can trust the guy, who is saying only nonsense-AUG like that?

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker cannot trust the 3rd person because of what he says.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker's opinion, the 3rd person says only silly things.

10) 망신 ‘shame; disgrace’ > 개망신 ‘deep disgrace, sore indignity, burning shame’

우리 모두가 시험에서 떨어지다니 정말 우리 모임의 개망신이다.

All of us failed the exam, which is really a shame-AUG for our gathering.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Failure of exam is a shame for the meeting.
ii. *Expressive*: Failure of exam is a burning shame.

11) 소리 ‘sound; talk’ > 개소리 ‘silly [foolish, pointless] talk; nonsense (*abusive*)’

그는 술에 취해 개소리 괴소리를 해 대면서 골목길을 휘청거리며 걷고 있었다.

Being drunk, he walked unsteadily along the bystreet, saying silly-DEP and odd things.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: He was saying something while walking drunk.
ii. *Expressive*: He was saying nonsense while walking drunk.

12) 수작 ‘an exchange of words’ > 개수작 ‘silly words, nonsense, rot, rubbish (*vulgar*)’

지금도 무슨 개수작을 부리는지 알 수가 있나?

How can I know which nonsense-DEP [he] is saying right now?

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker doesn't know what the 3rd person is saying now.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker's opinion, the 3rd person is saying something silly.

13) 짓 ‘deed, act’ > 개짓 ‘an ugly act’

안타깝지만, 삼성의 개짓을 모르는 국민 거의 없습니다.

It's pitiful, but almost all citizens know about Samsung's ugly deeds-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: Almost all citizens are aware of Samsung's misdeeds.
ii. *Expressive*: Samsung is taking ugly actions.

14) 죽음 ‘death’ > 개죽음 ‘throwing away one's life; a stupid sacrifice of life; a useless [an ignominious, a disgraceful, a dishonorable] death’

그는 개죽음을 한 것은 아니다.

He did not die for nothing-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: He died.
ii. *Expressive*: His death was not useless.

15) 지랄 ‘madness; an insanity (*vulgar*)’ > 개지랄 ‘mean and nasty act, improper and disgusting behavior (*abusive*)’

이 녀석들이 지금 무슨 개지랄을 떨고 있는 거야?

What does all their nasty behavior-AUG mean?

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker doesn't understand what their behavior means.
ii. *Expressive*: In speaker's opinion, their behavior is nasty.

16) 판 ‘place, spot’ > 개판 ‘utter [jumbled, wild] confusion or disorder, a mess, a jumble; topsy-turvy (*vulgar*)’

그때의 혼란스러운 사회 기강은 한마디로 개판이었다.

The chaotic public order of those times, in one word, was a mess-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The public order was not structured before.
 ii. *Expressive*: The public order was a mess before.
 ii. *Expressive*: The speaker has negative sentiments towards the past public order.

17) 행실 ‘conduct, behavior’ > 개행실 ‘not worthy of the name of man conduct’

이게 개행실이지 사람의 행실이냐?

This is unworthy behavior-DEP, not a man`s conduct.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker thinks that people usually don`t behave in such a way.
 ii. *Expressive*: The speaker has negative sentiments towards the 3rd person`s behavior.

If a motivator initially possesses rude or pejorative connotation prefix <개> strengthens it. As for a word ‘차반’, when combined with the prefix in focus, it creates a word correlated with a new denotation.

16. Derivation pattern 16: prefix <찰~> + noun

The prefix of the concerned model possesses semantics ‘1) sticky, glutinous; 2) extreme, deadly, dire’. This prefix, being involved into derivation of initial words mentioned above, in its second meaning reinforces the semantics of the derived lexemes.

1) 거머리 ‘leech’ > 찰거머리 ‘a person who clings to other people and torments them (*metaphoric*)’

그녀는 너무 의존적이다. 그래서 친구한테 찰거머리처럼 달라붙는다.

She's so dependent. That`s why she clings to her friends like a leech-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker considers her dependent.
 ii. *Expressive*: The speaker considers her extremely sticky.

The combination of prefix <찰> with initial word ‘거머리’ results into metaphoric recomprehension of the latter and the derived word gains a new denotation with an expressive component of disapproval.

2) 가난 ‘poverty’ > 찰가난 ‘extreme poverty, penury, utter destitution’

옛날 조상들은 찰가난을 겪었다.

In old times our ancestors went through extreme poverty-AUG.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The ancestors were poor.
 ii. *Expressive*: The ancestors were extremely poor.

There are also non-frequent words, derived with the help of prefix in focus: 각쟁이 ‘stingy fellow [person]; niggard (disdain)’ > 찰각쟁이 ‘nasty [mean(-spirited)] miser’; 찰짜 ‘meticulous [over-scrupulous] person; stickler’

17. Derivation pattern 17: prefix <풋~> + noun

The prefix <풋> possesses general meaning of immaturity and inexperience; therefore combining with the words mentioned below the prefix adds a tone of irony to the derivatives.

The meaning of the words, derived according to this pattern, is as follows:

1) 풋내기 ‘inexperienced, inept person (*disdain*); restless person who becomes vehemence with or without reason (*disdain*)’

여기에 있는 경험 많은 사람들과 비교하면 당신은 아직 풋내기에 불과해요.

You're still wet behind the ears-DIM-DEP compared to lots of people here who have seen a lot.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: The speaker considers his interlocutor inexperienced.
 ii. *Expressive*: The speaker considers his interlocutor extremely inexperienced.
 iii. *Expressive*: The speaker thinks disdainfully about the interlocutor`s experience.

The morphemic structure of the word ‘풋내기’ (as well as ‘풋나기’) is also difficult to analyze because the dictionary defines its morphemes <풋> and <내기> as affixes (<풋> – as a prefix, <내기> – as a suffix). Thus, it is possible to assume that a stem <내기> functions as a root with the general meaning being ‘a person’.

2) 내 ‘smell, odor’ > 풋내 ‘young age, inexperience (signs of lack of experience and immaturity)’

훈련소를 갓 나온 그의 얼굴은 앳되어 보였고 푸른 제복에서는 풋내가 폴폴 풍겼다.

When he just appeared at the training station, his face looked childish and his green uniform was telling of immaturity-DIM-DEP.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: He was in the uniform.
 ii. *Expressive*: He was looking immature in the uniform.

3) 솜씨 ‘skill’ > 풋솜씨 ‘lack of skill, an inexperienced hand, poor ability’

풋솜씨로 일을 했지만 우리 손이 간 밭을 보니 제법 그럴싸한 느낌이 들었어요.

Even though we didn’t have experienced hands-DIM-DEP, when we looked at the field worked by us, it looked quite plausible.

- Entailments: i. *Descriptive*: They didn’t have much experience in cultivating fields.
 ii. *Expressive*: The way they worked in the field was lacking the skills.

5. Conclusion.

Thus, in order to demonstrate evaluative qualities of Korean prefixes found in nouns, this paper suggests an analysis of 16 prefixes. These 16 prefixes take part in deriving words according to 17 derivation patterns. The research brings into light the semantic and functional properties of prefixes in focus.

Key findings of the paper are shown in the table below.

P r e f i x	AUGMENTATIVE (‘big’, ‘intensification’, etc)	DIMINUTIVE (‘small’, ‘un-’, ‘-less’, etc.)	APPRECIATION (‘good’, ‘endearment’, etc.)	DEPRECIATION (‘bad’, ‘vulgar’, ‘abusive’, ‘mockery’, ‘disdain’, ‘neglect’, ‘contempt’ etc.)
알	+			
콜	+			
얼		+		+
솏			+	
강	+			
한	+			
짓	+			
헛				+
날	+			+
불	+			
군				+
옹	+			+
개	+			+
찰	+			+
풋		+		+
홀				+

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