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**THE ROMANIZATION**

**OF THE**

**KOREAN LANGUAGE**

**BASED UPON ITS PHONETIC STRUCTURE**

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G. M. McCune,  
University of California  
E. O. Reischauer,  
Harvard University

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Although the Hepburn system for Romanizing Japanese is almost universally accepted, and the Wade-Giles system for Romanizing Chinese is used by most English-speaking people, no standard Romanization has been adopted for Korean. This lack has been a handicap to the scholarly study of Korea. For this reason Occidental residents in Korea and native philologists have supported us in our effort to supply this need. These scholars have given us invaluable assistance in carrying out the phonetic studies necessary for the construction of this system.<sup>1</sup>

The lack of a generally accepted system of Romanization has led to great diversity and many inconsistencies in the Romanization employed by Occidental scholars writing about Korea. These variations have caused little difficulty to scholars in Korea, who are familiar with the names and terms Romanized, especially when Chinese characters and the native Korean script (*munmun* 諺文) are given with the Romanization; but for the scholarly world at large, where a knowledge of either written or spoken Korean, or even of Chinese characters cannot be presupposed, the amazing differences in the Romanization of the same name or word by different scholars, and sometimes by the same man, can only lead to confusion and error.

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to mention all those who have aided us in the preparation of this Romanization. First we should acknowledge encouragement received from the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and from Dr. Horace H. Underwood, President of Chosen Christian College and the author of *An English-Korean Dictionary* (Soul, 1925) and other works on Korea, who has given us advice on difficult problems. Mr. A. A. Pieters, who revised and edited the 1931 edition of Gale's dictionary, likewise gave us much useful aid. We are especially indebted to the excellent Korean phoneticians, Professors Choi Hyŏn Pai (Ch'oe Hyŏnbae 崔鉉培 劉賢培), Jung Insab (Chŏng Insŏp 鄭寅贊 程寅贊) and Gim Shŏn Gi (Kim Sŏnggi 金壽祺 金守吉) all of Chosen Christian College (延禧專門學校) for valuable assistance. We also wish to express our sincere thanks to Professor Haguenaer of Paris, who has painstakingly examined and criticized early drafts of this paper and generously given us numberless suggestions. Also we are indebted to Professor Elisséef of Harvard for suggestions and advice.

However necessary it may be, the actual task of devising a suitable system of Romanization is an extremely difficult one, for the Korean language has a very complex phonetic structure. In spite of this, the task is by no means impossible, as many have supposed, for a surprising degree of exactness can be attained by the use of the Latin alphabet.

The Japanese authority, Mr. Ogura, cites no less than twenty-seven systems employed in Romanizing Korean, and his list is by no means complete.<sup>1</sup> Of these, however, only the system originated by the French missionaries, the German system of Eckardt, and that of Gale in the *Korean-English Dictionary*<sup>2</sup> have received any very wide acceptance in the past; but not one of these is adequate or complete. The French system, as that of the French missionaries is called in Korea, has many good points; but in a country like Korea, where even more than in China or Japan, the Occidental population is almost entirely English-speaking and English is the "international language", the French system of Romanization, based as it is on the French pronunciation of the Latin alphabet, is not acceptable for use by English-speaking people or by the scholarly world as a whole. Furthermore, this system does not take into consideration the vital problem of euphonic changes, and treats the *ŏnman* vowel digraphs most inadequately. Eckardt's system is in some respects better than the French, but that, too, is inadequate on many points, and, as presented, is too confusing for use by one not thoroughly acquainted with the Korean language. Gale's system has been adopted by the

1 Ogura Shimpei 小倉 清平: *Omman no Rōmaji Hyōkihō 語文のローマ字表記法* (A System of Romanizing *Omman*) in *Oda Sensei Shōju Kinēn Chōsen Ronshū* 小田先生頌壽紀念朝鮮語集 Keijō, 1934, pp. 85-141.

2 French: *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français*, Yokohama, 1881. Much the same is to be found in M. C. Imbault-Huart, *Manuel de la langue coréenne parlée a l'usage des Français*. Paris, 1889.

German: P. A. Eckardt, *Koreanische Konversations-Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1924.

English: J. S. Gale, *A Korean-English Dictionary*, Seoul, 1897. 3rd. rev. ed., 1931. Ed., A. A. Pieters.

*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, but, unfortunately, is quite incomplete, and in a few places is even misleading.

In recent years certain scholars have proposed various systems for transcribing the Korean language with considerable phonetic exactness, but since these systems introduce various phonetic symbols not familiar to the average person,<sup>1</sup> there is little possibility that they will ever be used for more than philological and phonetic research. Consequently, they do not meet the need for a system of Romanization for general use in scholarly work of a non-philological nature.

Some have argued in favor of the use of the Japanese or Chinese Romanizations for Korean proper names and words written in Chinese characters. As Japanese is now the official language of the land, the use of Japanese Romanizations for certain modern proper names is probably quite justifiable, but despite the fact that most of the scholarly works and reference books on Korean are now appearing in Japanese, few Occidental scholars will feel it wise to ignore the existence of the Korean language. Furthermore, in native Korean words, the use of a Japanese reading is patently impossible. Although the Korean reading of Chinese characters is on the whole quite close to the original Chinese, the use of the Chinese reading in place of the Korean is no more justifiable than is the use of the Japanese reading. Despite these facts, many of the works published outside of Korea in the past have used at least in part either the Japanese or the Chinese pronunciation in place of the Korean.

A few words should be said about the Korean language and its writing. Korean is a polysyllabic agglutinative

1. Examples are ɔ, ø, ʔ, and ɛ, which are used by Ilaguenaer in his excellent article, "Système de transcription de l'alphabet coréen," *Journal Asiatique*, ccxxii, (1933), pp. 145-161. Such symbols are scientifically more exact than the letters of the Latin alphabet in representing certain sounds; and we urge the use of a such scientific systems of transcription for phonetic and philological studies; but for practical reasons phonetic symbols can not be admitted into a system of Romanization for general use.

language, bearing close resemblance in structure and grammar to the Altaic languages and to Japanese, but not to Chinese. The vocabulary is composed primarily of words of two types, native words and Sino-Korean words. The latter are either borrowed words from the Chinese, but pronounced in the Korean manner, or are new words coined in Korea from Chinese characters. Recently many words of Japanese and Western origin have been added.

In writing the language a mixed script is usually employed. Chinese characters (*hancha* 漢字) are used for writing the Sino-Korean words, and *ōnmun*, the native alphabet, is used for spelling purely Korean words and grammatical elements. In the past, men of learning avoided the use of *ōnmun* as far as possible because they considered it to be too vulgar for the educated; and Korean literature until very recent times was written almost exclusively in a modified form of literary Chinese (*hanmun* 漢文). However, except for some minor differences, there are standard *ōnmun* spellings for all Chinese characters, and these are readily found in any character (*hancho*) dictionary of Korean.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Sino-Korean words as well as native Korean words can be written in *ōnmun*, just as both Sino-Japanese words and native Japanese words can be written in *kana*.

Like all alphabets, *ōnmun* is not a perfect phonetic medium, but it represents the pronunciation of the Korean language with considerable exactness. Although invented and first employed in the fifteenth century, not until recently has it come into general use among the educated classes. The *ōnmun* spellings of Sino-Korean words has been rather

1. Throughout this article the spelling found in Gale's dictionary has been used for the *ōnmun* illustrations except where otherwise noted. The Government-General of Korea has published a Korean-Japanese dictionary, *Chōsenko Jiten* 朝鮮語彙典 1st ed., Keijo 1920. The latter in Korea is generally considered to be the standard general dictionary, but the *ōnmun* spelling in both this and Gale's dictionary is usually the same. The best purely character dictionary is the *Sin Chōjōn* 新字典 (The New Dictionary) 56-l. 1916 (6th ed. 1928) by the outstanding Korean scholar, Ch'oe Namson 崔南善.

definitely determined in the past, but the spelling of native Korean words has never been standardized, and the dictionaries, which have appeared, from time to time, have altered the spelling to conform to the changes in pronunciation resulting from the natural evolution of the spoken language. In some respects this lack of standardization is confusing, but the basically phonetic character of the *ōnmun* spellings has reduced considerably the number of obsolete spellings and radical inconsistencies between the present standard orthography and the pronunciation of Korean words. Therefore, as in the case of the Japanese *kana*, *ōnmun* provides the natural and easiest point of departure for any system of Romanization. Our system, like all other Korean Romanization systems, takes the *ōnmun* as the basis for its approach to the problem.

A short description of the formation of words by the *ōnmun* letters will help those unfamiliar with them to understand the problem and follow the examples given in this article. The language is polysyllabic, but the *ōnmun* letters are written together as syllables, probably because of the influence of Chinese ideographs. The individual *ōnmun* letter, however, has a phonetic value and independent form roughly equivalent to those of a letter of the Latin alphabet. The word *hanmun* mentioned above may be used as an example. The first syllable ㅏ (han), is composed of three symbols, the initial consonant ㅎ (h), the vowel ㅏ (a) and the consonant ㅓ (n). The second syllable is also composed of three symbols, the consonant ㅁ (m), the vowel ㅓ (u) and the consonant ㅓ (n), which together form the syllable ㅓ (mun). The two syllables are pronounced together as the single word, *hanmun*.

The variation found in the *ōnmun* spelling is one factor which has made the devising of a Romanization system especially difficult. Recently two Korean philological societies have been revising and standardizing the spelling, and now most publications in the Korean language are employing the

majority of the corrections urged by one or the other of these two societies.<sup>1</sup> The existence of these different spellings, old and new, has increased the demand for a better organized system of Romanization than has hitherto existed. If confusion is to be avoided, a system must be devised which, by certain clear rules, reduces as far as possible all variant *ōnnum* spellings to the same Romanization, as is done in the case of the much simpler problem in Japanese of reducing シヤウ (*shi-ya-u*), ショウ (*shi-yo-u*), and セウ (*se-u*) all to simple *shō*. This ideal in Korean is not always actually possible of achievement, but in the vast majority of cases it can be attained, although hitherto the systems of Romanization for the most part have not faced the problem.<sup>2</sup>

1. These two societies have set up rival systems of *ōnnum* spelling. The older of the two societies, the Chosŏn *Ōhaktoe* 朝鮮語學會 조선어학회, calls itself in English the Korean Language Research Society, and its system of spelling has been named the *Han'gŭl* 한글 or Unified System. The Chosŏn *Ōhak Yŏng'yuhoe* 朝鮮語學會 조선어학연구회 calls its system the *Chŏngŭm* 正音 正音, the name by which *ōnnum* was first designated. The differences between these two systems do not affect to any appreciable degree our Romanization. To illustrate the new spelling we have chosen examples from the Unified System, the general principles of which are to be found in a publication of the Korean Language Research Society called *Han'gŭl mach'um-pŏp t'ongnam* 한글마춤법통일안 (Rules for the Unification of Spelling to Conform to the Unified System), Sŏul, 1933, 6th ed., 1937. A list of native Korean words spelled according to this system, *Chosŏnŏ p'yoyunmai moim* 조선어표준말모음 (A Compilation of Korean Words with their Standard Spelling), 2nd ed. Sŏul, 1937, has also been published by the society. It contains an elaborate index and indicates the variant spellings and pronunciations of each word. At present the society is compiling a complete Korean dictionary including all native and Sino-Korean words and phrases.

2. Many of the variations in the *ōnnum* spelling of Korean words are the result of dialectical differences. No system can reduce these differences to the same Romanization, for they represent different pronunciations, and therefore all one can do is to decide which dictionaries spell according to the standard pronunciation, and Romanize accordingly. However, the greatest differences in *ōnnum* spelling have been brought about by phonetic evolution which has resulted in a plurality of spellings for the same sound in modern Korean. It has been one of our chief aims to devise rules by which these variant spellings can be Romanized alike, just as they are pronounced alike.

Below are some examples to show how different *ōnnum* spellings result in different Romanizations in some of the older systems. It will be noted that the Romanization of our system, given in the last column, is in all cases the same, as it should be in any really adequate system. The first illustration is a native Korean word, while all the others are Sino-Korean words.

The need for a new and adequately analyzed system of Romanization is, we believe, apparent, but before proceeding to the exposition of our system, explanation should be made of its aims and principles. Let us emphasize the fact that the system is not an exact phonetic notation employing the symbols of the phonetician. Good systems of this nature have already been devised by Haguenaer and others. We have not intended that it be used in phonetic or in technical philological research. Rather, we have made it for general scholarly and non-scholarly use where phonetic symbols would be cumbersome and annoying and where strict phonetic exactness is not demanded. We have therefore attempted to effect a compromise between scientific accuracy and practical simplicity. Because of the inadequacies of the Latin alphabet and the complexities of the phonetic structure of Korean, it has not been possible to avoid all diacritical marks; but we have attempted to reduce these to the minimum. In short, we have tried to make the system throughout as simple as possible without being misleading.

Our aim in this article is merely to present the system of Romanization to the public. It has not been our purpose to make a detailed exposition of the phonetic structure of Korean. This has already been done by many fully qualified Korean, Japanese and European phoneticians, although often with differing conclusions. We have discussed the

Spelling System	<i>Ōnnum</i>	Meaning	French	Romanizations	McCune-Reischauer
Gale	치우타	to be	kit-peu-ta	Gale	Reischauer
Gov.-Gen.	치우타	happy	kit-pou-ta	kitpeuda	kippeuda
Unif. Sys.	기쁘다		kit-ppu-ta	kitpeuda	kippeuda
Gale	사기	historical	sā-keui	sā-geui	sāgi
Unif. Sys.	사기	record	sa ki	sa-gi	sagi
Gale	조선	Korea	Tiyo-syen	Cho-sŏn	Chosŏn
French	조선		Tiyo-sŏn	Tyo-sŏn	Chosŏn
Unif. Sys.	조선		Tjo-sen	Chŏ-sŏn	Chosŏn

Gov. Gen. signifies the Government General dictionary, Unif. Sys., the Unified System, and French, the French Dictionary. It will be seen that the system of the French missionaries makes no attempt to meet the problem of variant spellings, whereas Gale's and Eckardt's systems do in some cases.



purely phonetic aspects of the question to a certain extent, in order to explain our reasons for choosing certain Latin letters to represent certain Korean sounds; but we have restricted these phonetic explanations as far as possible, and in cases where there could be no reasonable doubt as to a satisfactory means of Romanization, we have omitted them entirely.

Our Romanization is not merely a method of transcribing *ŏmmun*, letter by letter, into a different alphabet, for which purpose Ogura's literal Romanization will serve.<sup>1</sup> We have devised our Romanization with the purpose of providing a comprehensible guide to the standard modern pronunciation of Korean for those unfamiliar with the language, as well as for those who know it. In this regard our approach differs from that of many Koreans and western scholars who feel that the Romanization can ignore the euphonic changes of Korean and let the reader, who presumably knows the language, supply them automatically. It has been our aim to represent each radically different Korean sound by one distinct symbol, despite variations in the *ŏmmun* orthography.

Our Romanization has been devised only for the modern pronunciation of Korean, and does not take into account obsolete pronunciations; but, since there are dialectical differences, it has been necessary to determine which modern pronunciation should be considered as the standard dialect. In keeping with the practice of most other lands and in keeping with the precedent set by the Korean phoneticians and philological societies which have been sponsoring the revised spelling systems, we have accepted the pronunciation of the educated middle class of the capital, Sŏul (Keijō), as the standard Korean pronunciation.

In Romanizing it is also necessary to determine what is one's criterion for the phonetic value of the letters of the Latin alphabet. There is the possibility of disregarding any

criterion besides the phonetic structure of the language under consideration; but this approach, as with *Nipponshiki Romaji*, the new Japanese Romanization system, would unquestionably lead to Romanizations which would be very misleading to the average foreigner. We believe that there can be little doubt that it is best to follow the general practice of most Romanization systems of basing the Romanization of the vowels on their normal value in the Italian language. The problem of the consonants is more difficult, but we have felt that we might best follow the lead of the Hepburn and Wade-Giles systems in basing our Romanization of the consonants on their normal value in English. The formula "the vowels as in Italian and the consonants as in English" has proved itself to be a great success in the case of the Romanization of Japanese both for the scholar and for the casual user of the system; and, though in Korean the phonetic problems are much more complex than in Japanese, we believe that this formula can be successfully applied to Korean also. Furthermore, in following this formula we make our system conform for the most part to the Hepburn and Wade-Giles systems. This is particularly desirable, because most of those who are interested in Korean studies are familiar with the systems used for the Romanization of the Chinese and Japanese languages.

<sup>1</sup> Ogura, *op. cit.* See the charts, opposite pp. 10 and 24.

## II. THE VOWELS

The *ōmmun* vowel-letters<sup>1</sup> are listed in the chart on the opposite inserted double page. It shows the phonetic transcriptions of Ogura and Jung,<sup>2</sup> Haguenaer's transcription, Ogura's literal transcription, our Romanization, and the Romanizations of Eckardt, the French missionaries, Gale and Jung in the order named.

Each of these *ōmmun* vowel-letters does not represent only one vowel-sound, but several which are closely related. Such a group is called a vowel phoneme. It is impractical to provide Romanizations for each variation within a single phoneme, for this would require a series of purely phonetic symbols. Furthermore, only a phonetician with a thorough knowledge of the Korean language would be able to record these differences correctly. The most noticeable variation is to be found in the length of the vowel-sounds. This is to be discussed in a later section.

For the sake of clarity we have divided the Korean vowel-letters into three categories according to their standard pronunciation: simple vowels, labialized vowels and diphthongs, and yotized or palatized vowels.

### SIMPLE VOWELS

There are eight vowel-letters in Korean which clearly represent simple vowels, but two others are often included in this group to make a total of ten.<sup>3</sup> The following phonetic chart by the Korean phoneticians, Yi, Yi and Jung,<sup>4</sup> will help to indicate the approximate pronunciation of these ten vowel-

1 In order to avoid confusion, we have chosen to differentiate between a vowel-letter and a vowel-sound by these compound words. A digraph or trigraph is a compound vowel-letter, and a diphthong is a compound vowel-sound.

2 Jung Insub, *The International Phonetic Transcription of Korean Speech-sounds*. Seoul, 1935.

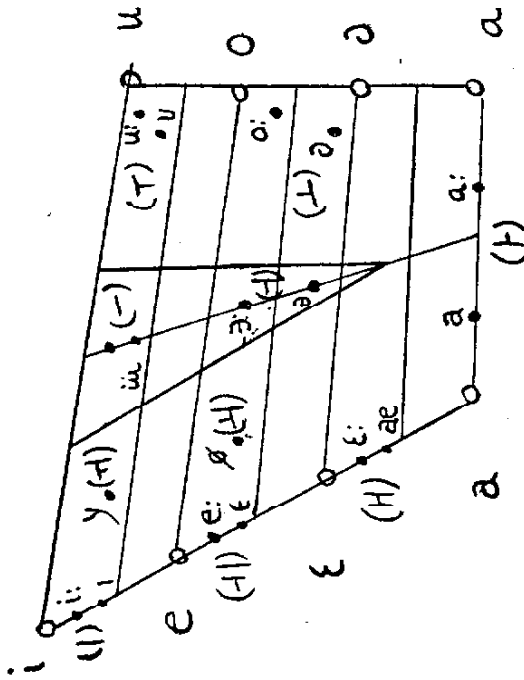
3 The two doubtful cases, ㅓ and ㅕ we have classed among the labialized vowels. See pp. 14-15.

4 Jung Insub, *op. cit.*

V O W E L                      C H A R T

Orman Letter	PHONETIC TRANS'N		Hag'r Trans'n	Ogura Literal Trans'n	McCune- Reischauer Romanizat'n	OTHER ROMANIZATIONS			
	Ogura	Jung				Eckardt	French	Gale	Jung
ㅏ	a	a, a:	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ㅑ	ʼa	ja, ja:	ya	ia	ya, a	ya	ya	ya	ya
ㅓ	ə, ɛ	ə, ə:	ə	ó	ǒ	ǒ (ü)	e	ü, ö	o'
ㅕ	ʼə, ʼɛ	jə, jə:	yə	io	yǒ, ǒ	yǒ	ye	yü, yö	yo'
ㅗ	o	o, o:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
ㅛ	ʼo	jo, jo:	yo	io	yo, o	yo	yo	yo	yo
ㅜ	u	u, u:	u	u	u	u	ou	u	u
ㅠ	ʼu	ju, ju:	yu	iu	yu, u	yu	you	yu	yu
ㅡ	ü	ü, ɥ:	ø	ü	ǔ, u	ǔ	eu	eu	u'
ㅣ	i	i, i:	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
ㅚ	a, ə, ə, o, u...		â	e	a	ǎ	ǎ	a	[a]
ㅜ	ɛ	æ, ɛ:	è (ɛ)	ai	ae	âi (ä)	ai	[ai]	e'
ㅠ	ɛ, ö		âi	ɥi	ae	ǎi	ǎi	[ai]	[e']
ㅞ	ʼɛ	jae, jɛ:	yè	iai	yae	yâi	yai	[yai]	ye'
ㅟ	e	ɛ, e:	e	oi	e	e	ei	[üi, öi]	e
ㅠ	ʼe	jɛ, je:	ye	ioi	ye, e	ye	yei	[yüi, yöi]	ye
ㅢ	ø	ø, œ:	ue	oi	oe	öi (ö)	oi	[oi]	oe
ㅤ(ㅥ)	wi	y, y: wi, wi:	ui	ui	wi, i	üi (ü)	oui	[ui]	wi
ㅦ	üi	üi, üi:	øi	üi	üi, i	üi	eui	[eui]	u'i
ㅧ	wa	wa, wa:	oa	oa	wa	ôa	oa	wa	wa
ㅨ	wə	wə, wə:	uə	uó	wǒ	uǒ	oue	wü, wö	wo'
ㅩ	wɛ	wæ, wɛ:	uɛ	'oai	wæe	oai	oai	[wai]	we'
ㅪ(ㅫ)	we	wɛ, we:	uè	uoi	we	ûe	ouei	[wüi, wöi]	we

letters, although it must be remembered that there is still considerable dispute between phoneticians over the exact values of many of the vowels and consonants of Korean.



Unfortunately, there are only five vowel-letters in the Latin alphabet, *a, e, i, o* and *u*. For Romanization purposes these letters have, as a rule, been used to represent the five vowel-sounds which are closest to the five Italian vowel-sounds thus represented. An analysis of the above chart shows that there are five Korean vowel-letters which represent these five vowel-sounds, and therefore there can be no doubt that these five should be Romanized by the corresponding Latin letters. They are, *ㅏ* (*o*)<sup>1</sup>, *ㅓ*, *ㅗ*, *ㅜ*, *ㅣ* and the digraph *ㅝ* *e*.

Previous systems of Romanization have differed widely

<sup>1</sup> Lower *a* *ㅏ*, as it is called to distinguish it from upper *a* *ㅓ*, is now eliminated in most publications, being replaced usually by upper *a*. Unless one is sure of a better rendering, it is best to treat it as a simple *ㅓ* (*a*) when one finds it in old texts and dictionaries. See p. 21.

in representing the vowel-letters ㅑ, ㅓ, and ㅕ (ㅑ).<sup>1</sup> Phonetic symbols would naturally be the best means of representing their pronunciations, but in a system of Romanization these, of course, cannot be employed. One has, therefore, the choice of Romanizing them either as digraphs (combinations of two Latin letters) or single letters supplemented by diacritical marks.

The vowel-sound represented by ㅑ is phonetically transcribed as *ø* or *ɶ*: by Jung, and as *o* by Ogura and Haguenaer. Jung thus gives it the approximate value of the initial vowel in *above* (*əbʌv*) or the long vowel of *bird* (*bɜ:d*) in southern English pronunciation. According to Ogura it is the vowel-sound of *want* (*wɔnt*). Generally speaking it may be said to belong to the *o* 'family', although it is not characterized by lip-rounding.

We have chosen the Romanization *ø* for this vowel-letter. The Latin letter *o* was selected because it represents the Italian vowel-sound phonetically closest to the Korean vowel-sound represented by ㅑ and because the latter is, generally speaking, most readily identified as a short *o*. The diacritical mark *~* was selected as probably the most intelligible and least misleading diacritic for this vowel-sound. Some examples of the Romanization of ㅑ are: *yōngø* 영ㅑ (English language), *ømøni* 어ㅑㅑ (mother), and Koryŏ *korjŏ* (Korean kingdom).

The second of these three vowels, written ㅓ in *ōmmun*, has no phonetic counterpart in any well-known language; but some phoneticians compare it to the Russian ъ. It may be described phonetically as a close central vowel sounded with lips spread. There is no wholly satisfactory phonetic symbol to represent it. Ogura has devised the symbol *ū*, and Jung uses *ü*, a modification of a standard phonetic symbol.

We have chosen the Romanization *ū* for the vowel-letter ㅓ. We have discarded the commonly used digraph *eu* be-

<sup>1</sup> The symbol ㅑ can be considered, for Romanization, to be merely an old alternative form of ㅑ. It is not used in modern spelling.

cause it calls to mind the French *eu* which is lip-rounded instead of lip-spread. From the phonetician's viewpoint, the symbol *z* would probably be most accurate, but because the pronunciation of *z* is closely related to *u* and is often confused with *ʌ* (*u*) by Occidentals, we have chosen the letter *u* instead. The same diacritical mark as that used with ㅑ (*ø*) is employed in order to minimize the varieties of diacritics and because it serves as well as any other mark to identify this vowel sound. Examples of the Romanization of ㅓ are: *ūmsik* 음식 (food) and *kūrūt* 국릇 (dish).

There is one irregularity in the pronunciation and Romanization of the lip-spread vowel *ū* ㅓ. When preceded in the same syllable by the labials, *m* ㅁ, *p* or *b* ㅂ, *pp* ㅍ and *p'* ㅑ, it loses its lip-spread characteristics and becomes a simple *u*.<sup>1</sup>

The third of the three vowel-letters under consideration is the digraph ㅕ, the standard pronunciation of which is phonetically transcribed as *æ* or *ɛ*. The first is the symbol of the English *a* of *cab* (*kæb*), the latter, the French *é* of *même*, or the German *ä* of *Lärm*. Phonetically it lies between *e* and *a* and therefore there is justification for Jung's use of *é*, and Haguenaer's use of *è*. However, according to Jung's chart, the pronunciation of ㅕ is closer to *a* than to *e* and etymologically it seems to have the *a* element in it.

We have decided to Romanize ㅕ as *æ*. The use of a single letter with a diacritical mark was ruled out for various reasons, particularly because of the difficulty in choosing be-

<sup>1</sup> The Unified System has eliminated the use of ㅓ (*ū*) after these labial consonants and has substituted ㅑ (*u*) for it, except for the spelling of certain parts of speech. An illustration of this change of spelling is afforded by the word *puh* (north), spelled ㅑ by Gale and in most *hancha* dictionaries, but as ㅑ in the Unified System and in the Government-General dictionary.

The vowel-letter ㅓ has also another variant pronunciation. After *s* ㅅ, *ss* ㅆ, *ch* or *j* ㅈ, *ch* ㅊ, and *ch'* ㅊ', it is often pronounced as a short *i*. Since it may be pronounced either as *ū* or *i* in these cases, we have thought it best to disregard this phenomenon in Romanization. Examples are: *kusū* 苦草 (beads), *sūda* 卒다 (to sweep), *chūksū* 卒士 (immediately), *itūchūk* 일숙 (early) and *ch'ūnggye* 忠告 (flight of steps).

tween the letters *a* and *e*. Although the latter is more acceptable phonetically, it would fail to satisfy Germans, who identify the vowel-sound it represents with *ä*, or English-speaking people, who identify it with the "short" English *a*. The digraph *ai* which has been commonly used in the past is not acceptable because it is used in both the Hepburn and Wade-Giles Romanization systems for an *ai* diphthong. The Romanization *ae* is obviously superior from the phonetician's viewpoint. For this combination is used as a ligature (*æ*) to represent one of the two pronunciations of this vowel-letter. The digraph *ae* also calls to mind the alternative spelling of the German *ä*, the normal pronunciation of which is similar to that of *h*. Examples of the Romanization of *h* are: *taemun* **대문** (main entrance), *paektu* **백투** (white-head) and *sae sae* **새 새** (bird).

#### LABIALIZED VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

In Korean the vowel-letters *ㅏ* (*o*) and *ㅑ* (*u*) are both used in certain combinations to represent the half-vowel *w*. The former, *ㅑ*, combined with *ㅏ* (*a*) and *ㅑ* (*ae*), spells *ㅑㅏ* and *ㅑㅑ* which are Romanized *wa* and *wae* respectively. The latter, *ㅑ*, is combined with *ㅑ* (*ö*) and *ㅑ* (*e*) to spell *ㅑㅑ* and *ㅑㅑ*, Romanized *wö* and *wæ* respectively.

The *ömmun* digraph *ㅑㅑ* varies in pronunciation from a labialized *i* (*wi*) through a semi-labialized form to a simple vowel-sound, corresponding closely to the German *ï* and the French *u*. There is some dispute as to the normal pronunciation of *ㅑㅑ* in standard dialect, as the variant renderings of Ogura, Jung, Haguenaue and others clearly show. Although it is generally pronounced as a simple vowel-sound throughout southern and eastern Korea and occasionally in the capital region itself, the simple vowel form cannot be considered its standard pronunciation.

Except as a syllabic initial, however, the labial element in the pronunciation of *ㅑㅑ* in the standard dialect is weaker than it is in the other labialized vowels. This is particularly true when it is preceded by the consonants *s* **ㅑ**, *ch* or *j* **ㅑ**

and *ch'* **ㅑ**. In some respects *wi*, representing a semi-labialized vowel, might be the best Romanization for *ㅑㅑ*. But since the Romanization *wi* is necessary to represent the fully labialized form of this vowel as a syllabic initial, and since *wi* is easily confused in pronunciation with a diphthong, we have preferred to Romanize it *wi* throughout. One exception to this rule is that after the labial consonants *m* **ㅑ**, *p* or *b* **ㅑ**, *pp* **ㅑ** and *p'* **ㅑ**, the labial element is lost in the vowel, and therefore, in these cases, *ㅑ* is to be Romanized as simple *i*.<sup>1</sup>

The digraph *ㅑㅑ*, like *ㅑㅑ*, is pronounced as a simple vowel throughout southern Korea, and some authorities regard this as its standard pronunciation. As a simple vowel it may be phonetically transcribed *ø* or *œ* and it thus quite similar to the German *ö*. Haguenaue, however, describes it as a semi-labialized *e*, which may be phonetically transcribed *wæ*, a pronunciation which is often heard in capital dialect.

We Romanize this vowel-letter, *ㅑㅑ*, as *œ* in order to suggest both the simple vowel form and the semi-labial form, and also because *œ* is close to the *ömmun* spelling, *ㅑㅑ* (*o*) plus *ㅑ* (*ö*). The pronunciation of the labial element of this vowel is more noticeable when it is not preceded by a consonant, as in *œguk* **외국** (foreign states), but is almost negligible after most consonants, as for example, in the common surname Ch'œ **채**.

The only vowel-letter representing a diphthong is the

<sup>1</sup> These consonant and vowel-letter combinations are not very common in *ömmun*, and never occur in words directly derived from the Chinese. Such syllables Gale spells according to the older orthography with *ㅑㅑ* but the Unified System in keeping with its rules, employs the simple vowel-letter *ㅑ* (*i*), and the Government-General dictionary uses *ㅑㅑ*. Examples of uses of this vowel-letter, *ㅑㅑ*, are included in the following list.

Romanization	Gale	Gov.-Gen.	Unif. Sys.	Meaning
<i>nabi</i>	나비	나비	나비	butterfly
<i>miwöhadä</i>	미워하다	미워하다	미워하다	to hate
<i>wisün</i>	위선	same	same	prestige
<i>kwisün</i>	위선	same	same	spirits
<i>twi</i>	뒤	same	same	after, behind
<i>chwi</i>	취	same	same	mouse

digraph  $\rightarrow$ ㅓ. This is a rising diphthong, composed of the two elements,  $\rightarrow$  (i) and ㅓ (i), and the natural and easiest way to Romanize it, is simply  $\rightarrow i$ . This digraph,  $\rightarrow$ , however, represents a diphthong only as a syllabic initial, and after  $h$   $\rightarrow$ . After all the other consonants it is pronounced like the simple vowel-letter ㅓ and should therefore be Romanized as  $\rightarrow$  in these cases.<sup>2</sup>

### YOTIZED OR PALATIZED VOWELS

The Korean vowel-letters ㅑ, ㅓ, ㅕ and ㅗ representing yotized or palatized vowels, are formed by adding one stroke to each of the simple vowel-letters ㅏ, ㅓ, ㅑ and ㅗ to indicate that the vowel-sound is preceded by a yod element. The yod element could be Romanized either as  $i$  or  $y$ , but, since the use of  $i$  for it would lead to confusion between yotized vowels and diphthongs, we have adopted the use of  $y$ . These four vowels, therefore, are to be Romanized  $ya$ ,  $y\phi$ ,  $y\psi$  and  $y\omega$  respectively, except where special rules noted below lead to the omission of the  $y$ .

There are only two *önmum* digraphs and trigraphs representing yotized vowels, ㅑ and ㅓ. The first of these, which

1 There are many other diphthongs in Korean but they are all written in *önmum* as two syllables. For example  $\rightarrow$ ㅓ contains a common Korean diphthong,  $\rightarrow$ ㅓ, the component parts of which are always written separately.

2 Because of the phenomenon, the Unified System has changed the spelling of  $\rightarrow$  to ㅓ where in a single syllable  $\rightarrow$  follows any consonant but  $h$   $\rightarrow$ . When the syllable  $h\rightarrow$  occurs at the beginning of a word it is often pronounced  $hi$ , but this assimilation does not always take place. It rarely occurs when  $\rightarrow$  appears as any but the first syllable. A few examples will illustrate the Unified System of spelling and the principles of the Romanization of  $\rightarrow$ .

Romanization	Gale	Unif. Sys.	Meaning
<i>ätsa</i>	ㅓㅓ	ㅓㅓ	doctor
<i>koüi</i>	ㅓㅓ	ㅓㅓ	summer trousers
<i>kumüi</i>	ㅓㅓ	ㅓㅓ	military doctor
<i>häimang</i>	ㅓㅓ	ㅓㅓ	hope
<i>kich'a</i>	ㅓㅓ	ㅓㅓ	steam train
<i>p'ida</i>	ㅓㅓ	ㅓㅓ	to bloom

3 The two virtually obsolete digraphs ㅑ and ㅓ, which seem to represent yotized vowels are only found in the syllables ㅑ, ㅓ and ㅓ. They are to be Romanized *shwi*, *ch'wi* and *ch'we* respectively, because, as is explained below, the yod element is always dropped after the two consonants ㅓ and *ch'* ㅓ.

is rarely used, signifies a yotized form of the vowel-sound represented by ㅑ ( $\rightarrow$ ), and is therefore to be Romanized  $y\rightarrow$ . The second, the digraph ㅓ, demands special consideration, because, though frequently used,<sup>1</sup> its pronunciation is irregular in so far as the yod element is concerned. As a syllabic initial the yod element is clearly heard,<sup>2</sup> but after consonants it is very weak even in careful diction, and many speakers omit it altogether.<sup>3</sup> To attempt to indicate, in Romanization, a distinction between weak and strong yod elements would be difficult and impractical. We have consequently come to the conclusion that the digraph ㅓ should be Romanized  $y\psi$  in all cases where special rules do not lead to the complete omission of the yod element.

One important rule regarding the Romanization of the vowel-letters ㅑ, ㅓ, ㅕ, ㅗ and ㅓ, is that the yod element of all yotized vowels has been completely lost in standard pronunciation following the consonants ㅓ, ㅓ, ㅕ, ㅗ or ㅓ ( $\rightarrow$ ),<sup>4</sup> *tch* ㅓ, and *ch'* ㅓ ( $\rightarrow$ ).<sup>4</sup> Consequently, in such cases,

1 The digraph ㅓ occurs frequently in Sino-Korean words, while the digraph ㅓ occurs only in two uncommon forms, ㅓ ( $\rightarrow$ ) and ㅓ ( $\rightarrow$ ). The digraph ㅓ, however, is not used often in native Korean words.

2 When pronounced as a syllabic initial it is written ㅓ, ㅓ and ㅓ, since the consonants ㅓ ( $\rightarrow$ ) or ㅓ ( $\rightarrow$ ), occurring at the beginning of a word, are silent before yotized vowels in capital dialect.

3 After  $h$  ㅓ and ㅓ, occurring as other than word initials, the yod element is more distinct than after  $k$  or  $g$ , ㅓ and a medial ㅓ. It is not used after other consonants or else is entirely unpronounced because of a general phonetic law discussed below. Examples of these variations follow.

Romanization	<i>önmum</i>	Meaning	Strength of yotization
<i>yesan</i>	ㅓㅓ	calculation	strong
<i>yemul</i>	ㅓㅓ	gift	strong
<i>unhye</i>	ㅓㅓ	favor	weak
<i>sarye</i>	ㅓㅓ	thanks	weak
<i>kyesan</i>	ㅓㅓ	computation	almost omitted
<i>p'yehang</i>	ㅓㅓ	deserted room	almost omitted

4 When occurring before yotized vowels,  $t$  or  $d$  ㅓ and  $t'$  ㅓ are pronounced the same as *ch* or *j* ㅓ and *ch'* ㅓ. See page 28. Theoretically  $t$  ㅓ should also be included, but it is never used in *önmum* with a yotized vowel-letter.

the *y* is to be omitted in Romanization.<sup>1</sup>

### LONG AND SHORT FORMS OF THE VOWELS

We have already mentioned the variations in the length of the Korean vowels.<sup>2</sup> These variations, which are usually accompanied by differences in articulation, are particularly marked in the cases of *e* ㅔ, *ye* ㅕ, *i* ㅣ, *u* ㅜ and *yu* ㅠ. In native Korean words the length of the vowels differs greatly in the different dialects with the result that both individuals and dictionaries vary considerably in evaluating them. However, in Sino-Korean words the length of the vowel, with but a few exceptions, is determined by the tone of the character in Chinese. Characters of the first or second tone (*shang-p'ing* 上平 and *hsia-p'ing* 下平) usually have short vowels in Korean, while those of the other tones (*shang-shêng* 上聲, *ch'ü-shêng* 去聲 and *ju-shêng* 入聲) are characterized by long vowels. One general exception to this rule is that syllables ending in *k* ㄱ, *p* ㅍ and *l* ㄹ are always short.<sup>3</sup>

Although dictionaries sometimes disagree as to the length of the vowels in native Korean and Sino-Korean words, they usually indicate whether the vowels are long or short. Gale's dictionary indicates the length of the first vowel in all words. The Government-General dictionary goes further in marking all long vowels in each word. Thus it is quite possible, merely through the use of dictionaries, to

<sup>1</sup> The Unified System has taken this phonetic rule into consideration by omitting the sign of yotization in spelling the vowels which follow any of these consonants. A few examples of this rule and of the Unified System's revision of spelling are:

Romanization	Gale	Unified System	Meaning
<i>Chosŏn</i>	조 섰	조 섰	Korea
<i>cheil</i>	대 립	제 립	best
<i>chŏngŏk</i>	저 녀	저 녀	evening

<sup>2</sup> Choi points out in his *Uri mal pon* 우리말본 (The fundamentals of our language), Sŏul, 1934, that there are actually three distinguishable lengths, long, medium and short. However, we have followed the usual method of distinguishing only between long and short forms.

<sup>3</sup> There are minor exceptions as well. For example, the syllable *ch'e* ㅈ is apparently always short no matter what character it represents. Another exception is *ye* or *rye* ㅕ, representing the Chinese character 夜, which also is pronounced with a short vowel in Korean.

determine which vowels are long and which are short. However, it is usually unnecessary to indicate differences in vowel lengths in Romanizing, for the distinction is not important in most words, and with the exception of a few cases in which the vowels *e*, *i* and *u* are concerned, there can be little confusion caused by the failure to mark the length of the vowel.

We suggest, therefore, that the Romanizer employ a dia-critical mark to indicate a long vowel only where he feels that confusion is likely to occur unless a distinction is made between long and short vowels. As an indication of the long vowel, we suggest the use of the long sign - over all vowel-letters but *e*, where we recommend the use of the accent acute, *é*.

A few examples will help to indicate the difference between the long and short forms of a few vowels, and will illustrate how they may be specially Romanized in the cases where it is desirable to distinguish between the two forms. The *i* of 김 is short, Kim, in the common surname, but long, *kîm*, in the word for steam. The letter ㅍ indicates a short vowel in *muman* 문안 (inside the gates), but a long vowel in *mîman* 문안 (respectful salutation). Similarly ㅍ is short in *kyul* 줄 (tangerine) but long in *yûmyŏng* 유명 (famous). The vowel digraph ㅑ represents a short vowel in *megi* 메기 (food) but a long vowel in *méda* 메다 (to carry on shoulders), while the corresponding yotized form ㅓ is short in *yemul* 예물 (present) but long in *yésan* 예산 (agreement).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jung's two phonetic renderings of each of the Korean vowel letters will give some idea of the differences between the long and short forms and the accompanying differences in their oral formation. This can also be roughly illustrated by a few English words. In each case the English vowel is by no means identical with the Korean, but it will at least help to indicate the nature of the change in the Korean vowel. The short and long forms of the Korean vowel represented by ㅑ may be compared to the *i*'s in *hit* and *machine*; the two forms of the vowel written ㅓ to the *u*'s of *put* and *rule*; and the long and short forms of the vowel represented by ㅓ to the vowels of *bed* and *they*.



### IRREGULARITIES IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE VOWELS

There are some other irregularities in the pronunciation of the Korean vowel-letters besides those already taken into consideration. These for the most part occur in native Korean words, but they are also found in Sino-Korean words. They are sometimes regarded as simple corruptions or colloquialisms, but the phonetician naturally recognizes in them expressions of the normal development of the spoken language. As the *ŏmmun* spelling of native Korean words is usually phonetic rather than traditional, new spellings have sometimes conformed to these irregular pronunciations; but this has not always been the case. The result is a number of inconsistencies in *ŏmmun* spelling which cannot be ironed out by rules of Romanization. Therefore, although we take note of them, we cannot make provisions for them in our system of Romanization.

The *Chosŏnŏ p'yŏjŏm mal moim*, a publication of the Korean Language Research Society, mentioned above, indicates the standard pronunciation and the revised spelling of irregular Korean words; but usually it is best to Romanize irregular Sino-Korean words according to the traditional pronunciations reflected in their standard spellings. Fortunately, in ordinary Romanization, these irregularities will rarely be encountered and will, therefore, cause little difficulty.

Studies of Korean dialects by Korean and Japanese philologists<sup>1</sup> have helped to make possible the formulation

<sup>1</sup> Examples of such studies are:

Kim Yongun 金龍雲, Pangon chosa (Iksan chungsim) 方音調査 (釜山中心) (An examination of the dialect around Iksan), *Han'gŭl* 韓語 No. 8.

O Sejun 吳世濬, Sat'uri chosa 四州語調査 (An examination of dialects), *Han'gŭl* (1933), No. 9.

Ogura Shimpei 小倉進平, *Nambu Chōsen no Hōgen* 南部朝鮮の方言 (Dialects of southern Korea), Keijō, 1924, and other similar studies of the dialects of Chejudo and of Heian 平安, Kankyō 咸鏡 and Kōkai 黃海 Provinces.

of certain general principles concerning some of these irregularities. These may be classified in two general categories, first, "disintegration" and variation in vowels which are difficult to pronounce or are subject to change for other reasons, and second, the transformation of vowels through assimilation with other vowels.

### "Disintegration" in Individual Vowels

One vowel-sound in which the process of "disintegration" is already complete is the sound of the original Korean vowel represented by *lower a*, which has lost its phonetic identity. The vowel-letter *ㅏ* naturally has afforded one of the chief problems of the *ŏmmun* revisionists, who have discarded it in modern spelling. Generally it is now pronounced as *a* ㅏ in the standard dialect, but in native Korean words this is not always the case. The most important alternative pronunciation of this vowel-letter is *ä* ㅏ, which is often its pronunciation when it occurs as the second syllable of a word. For example, ㅏ ㅏ (today) is now pronounced *onül*, and is written ㅏ ㅏ in the Unified System.

Much less extreme cases of "disintegration" and variation are afforded by the yotized vowels, labialized vowels, and simple vowels written in *ŏmmun* as digraphs. In the case of yotized vowels there is a tendency to omit the yod element when the vowel is preceded by a consonant in the same syllable. One example of this is *yŏ* ㅚ, which may become *e* or *i* or sometimes *ae*. Occasionally this transformation has become well enough established in certain words to have led to an alteration in revised spelling systems, as in the word *pyŏgae* ㅚㅚ (pillow), pronounced and now spelled *pegae* ㅚㅚ. A more unusual example of this phenomenon occurring in a Sino-Korean word is found in the syllable *kyŏl* ㅚㅚ which in the word 桔梗 (violet) is pronounced and spelled *kil* ㅚ (1933) ㅚㅚ.

Almost all of the *ŏmmun* digraphs have variant pronunciations. For example, in parts of southern Korea the

tendency is to pronounce *ae* ㅐ and *e* ㅔ alike, and *ie* ㅚ and *i* ㅟ alike; in central Korea, *oe* ㅞ and *we* ㅟ are confused in some words; and in the north, *ae* ㅐ is sometimes pronounced *ai* ㅐ이.

The labialized vowels are not commonly used following consonants, but when they do so occur there is a tendency either to omit the labial element or to modify the vowel-sound. For example, 領國 (national isolation), traditionally spelled *swaguk* ㅅㅜ꺠, is now pronounced and spelled *swaeguk* ㅅㅜ꺠.

#### Assimilation between Vowels<sup>1</sup>

Certain Korean vowels often influence the pronunciations of other vowels which precede or follow them. This phenomenon is called assimilation between vowels. A simple example of this is afforded by the word *chami* ㅈㅁㅣ (interest), pronounced *chaemi* ㅈㅁㅣ because of assimilation between *a* ㅈ and *i* ㅣ. The only vowels which affect their neighboring vowels consistently enough to demand consideration here are the yotized vowels and *i* ㅣ, which often affect the vowels which precede them. The affected vowels in these cases are thus pronounced as if written with the ㅈ (*i*) stroke added: *a* ㅈ becomes *ae* ㅐ, *o* ㅜ becomes *oe* ㅞ and *u* ㅜ becomes *ui* ㅟ. In native Korean words this assimilation is frequent but is not always made. Spelling has often conformed to the change in pronunciation. In Sino-Korean words, the assimilation is less frequent and is found only in commonly used words.

In native Korean words, *i* ㅟ is often directly assimilated into a preceding vowel, changing it as noted above. For example, *tiaida* ㅈㅣㅣㅏ (to be under arrest), is pronounced *taeda* ㅈㅏ. In Sino-Korean words, the two vowels do not become one, although assimilation takes place. For example, *kain* 個人 (an individual) is pronounced *kaein* 개인.

<sup>1</sup> Much of the material for this section has been taken from Cho's *Uri mal pon*.

Even when a consonant intervenes between a vowel and an *i* ㅣ, the former is similarly affected. A familiar example is the native word *paengi* ㅍㅇㅣ (onion), which is pronounced *paengi* ㅍㅇㅣ. A Sino-Korean example is *ch'umi* 趣味 (artistic taste), pronounced *ch'wumi* ㅈㅣㅍㅣ. This phenomenon occurs most regularly and frequently in verb forms where the syllables *i* ㅟ, *hi* ㅟㅣ or *hi* ㅟㅣ are inserted between verb stems and verb endings, either to denote the causative or to make active verbs passive.<sup>1</sup>

Yotized vowels often influence the pronunciation of a preceding vowel in much the same way as *i* ㅣ. They are not directly assimilated, however, even when no consonant intervenes. Examples are *saenghada* ㅅㅇㅇㅏ (to refuse), pronounced *saeyanghada* ㅅㅇㅇㅏ, and *naemp'yon* ㄴㅇㅁㅚ (husband), pronounced *naemp'yon* ㄴㅇㅁㅚ.

Although this general rule of assimilation may be followed for many words, particularly for verb forms, it is impossible to apply it strictly to the rules of Romanization because of its inconsistency. Even though the colloquial speech employs these euphonic changes, the unassimilated form is recognizable and acceptable in standard pronunciation, and thus it is not necessary to alter Romanization rules to meet the assimilation.

#### 1 Examples are:

Romanization	Active Verbs	Meaning	Romanization	Causative or Passive Verbs	Meaning
<i>chapta</i>	잡다	to catch	<i>chaphida</i> (chaephida)	잡히다	to be caught
<i>poita</i>	벗다	to strip	<i>poikida</i> (pekkida)	벗기다	to cause to strip
<i>mokta</i>	먹다	to eat	<i>mogida</i> (megida)	먹히다	to cause to eat
<i>chukta</i>	죽다	to die	<i>chugida</i> (chwigida)	죽히다	to cause to die

### III. THE CONSONANTS

It is generally possible to Romanize each of the *ŏmmun* vowel-letters with but a single Latin letter or digraph, but because of the influence of euphonic change upon the consonants, there must generally be a plurality of Romanizations for each of the consonant letters. To the Korean most of these euphonic changes are so natural that he considers them self-evident, but to those not familiar with the language they are bewildering at first, because they are not phonetically necessary in western languages. Therefore, a system of Romanization which does not take these euphonic changes into consideration will be misleading and inaccurate.

The name of one of the ancient Korean kingdoms is spelled 신라 Sin-ra but is pronounced Silla. The name of the Yalu River is written 압록 Ap-rok but is pronounced Annok. A simpler example is the name of another ancient kingdom spelled 고구려 Ko-ku-ryŏ but pronounced Koguryŏ. Many people familiar with Korean are inclined to dismiss the last case as of small importance, but the distinction between the unvoiced plosive *k* and the voiced plosive *g*, though ignored in *ŏmmun*, cannot be overlooked in any system of Romanization which is to be used by those who do not know the Korean language.

In order adequately to Romanize the consonant letters, it is necessary to take into consideration their positions in the word in relation to the other letters and not merely as individual letters. This is most easily done by treating each *ŏmmun* letter separately as initial, medial and final letters.

The chart on the opposite inserted double page lists all the *ŏmmun* consonant letters, Ogura's literal transcription for them, his phonetic transcriptions for each letter in initial, medial and final positions, our Romanizations for the same three positions, and the Romanizations of Haguenaer, Gale, Eckardt, the French missionaries, and Jung, in the order named. The *ŏmmun* letters are arranged in the usual Korean order.

C O N S O N A N T      C H A R T

Ömmun	Lit. Tran.	Phonetic Transcription			MCCUNE-REISCHAUER ROM.			Hag-uen'r	Gale	Eck-ardt	Fr.	Jung
		Initial	Medial	Final	Init.	Medial	Final					
ㄅ	k	k	k, g, ŋ, ʔk	<sup>k</sup>	K	K, G, NG	K	k, g, ŋ	k, g	k, ng	k	g
ㄌ	n	n, n <sup>d</sup> , 0	n, n <sup>3</sup> , l	n	N, 0	N, L	N	n, l, 0	n	n, l	n	n
ㄊ	t	t, t <sub>ʃ</sub> , t <sub>s</sub>	<sup>t</sup> , t, d, t <sub>ʃ</sub> , d <sub>ʒ</sub>	<sup>t</sup>	T, CH	T, D, CH, J	<u>t</u>	t, d (č)	t, d	t, d tj	t	d
ㄨ	r	(r), n, 0	r, l	l	N, 0	R, L, N	L	r, l, n, 0	r, l n	r, l n	r, l	r, l
ㄇ	m	m, m <sup>b</sup>	m	m	M	M	M	m	m	m	m	m
ㄆ	p	p	p, ʔp, b, m	P	P	P, B, M	P	p, b m	p, b	p, m	p	b
ㄙ	s	s	s, ʔs, t, d, n	<sup>t</sup>	S, SH	S, SH, D, T, N, P, K	T	s, š t, n	s, t	s, d g	s, t	s, d
ㄐ	ŋ	0	0, ŋ	ŋ	0	0, NG	NG	ŋ	ng	ng	ng	ng
ㄗ	č	t <sub>ʃ</sub> , t <sub>s</sub>	<sup>ʔ</sup> t <sub>ʃ</sub> , d <sub>ʒ</sub>	<sup>t</sup>	CH	CH, J	<u>t</u>	č, dž	ch, j	tj	tj	z, d
ㄘ	č'	t <sub>ʃ</sub> ' , t <sub>s</sub> '	ts', t'	<sup>t</sup>	CH'	CH'	<u>t</u>	č'	ch'	tch	tch	tch d
ㄑ	k'	k'	k'		K'	K'	<u>k</u>	k'	k'	kh	hk	k, g
ㄒ	t'	t', t <sub>ʃ</sub> ', t <sub>s</sub> '	t', t <sub>ʃ</sub> ', t <sub>s</sub> '		T', CH'	T', CH'	<u>t</u>	t', (č')	t'	th, tch	ht	t, d
ㄓ	p'	p'	p', P	P	P'	P'	<u>p</u>	p'	p'	ph	hp	p, b
ㄒ	x	x, ç	x, ç		H	H	<u>0</u>	n	n	h	h	h
ㄕ(ㄕ)	sk	ʔg	ʔk		KK	KK	<u>k</u>	kk	g	g	kk	gg, g
ㄌ(ㄌ)	st	ʔd, ʔd <sub>ʒ</sub> , ʔdz	ʔt, ʔt <sub>ʃ</sub>		TT	TT	<u>t</u>	t <sub>ʃ</sub>	d	d	tt	dd, d
ㄍ(ㄍ)	sp	ʔb	ʔp		PP	PP	<u>p</u>	pp	b	b	pp	bb, b
ㄎ	ss	ʔs	ʔs		SS	SS	<u>t</u>	ss	s	ss	ss	ss, d
ㄎ(ㄎ)	sč	ʔd <sub>ʒ</sub> , ʔdz	ʔt <sub>ʃ</sub> , ʔts		TCH	TCH	<u>t</u>	tč	j, tj	dj	ttj	zz, d

0 signifies that the consonant is unpronounced, thus omitted in Romanization.  
 Underlined letters in the McCune-Reischauer "final" column are for Romanizations in the new spelling systems

As will be seen by the chart, an attempt has been made in our system of Romanization to strike a balance between phonetic accuracy and general utility. Therefore, minor variations in pronunciation have been disregarded, but major differences have all been included. Our system of Romanizing the consonants is more complex than that of other systems, and, therefore, some may feel that it is not satisfactory for ordinary use, but when one sees the radical variation in the pronunciation of most of the consonant letters as recorded by Ogura, one will realize that all the simple systems, where most of the *ōmmun* consonant letters have but a single equivalent in Romanization, are very misleading and inaccurate.

In order to make clear the problems involved in the choice of Latin letters for the Romanization of the *ōmmun* consonant letters, we have first analyzed the consonants themselves from a phonetic point of view and have then discussed the variant Romanizations of each *ōmmun* letter. The Korean consonants may be conveniently divided into two general categories, the plosives and the non-plosives.

### PLOSIVE CONSONANTS

The plosive consonants may be divided into four series according to the articulating organs used in each. They are the labial plosives, which we call the *P* series, the dental plosives or the *T* series,<sup>1</sup> the velar plosives or the *K* series and the palatal plosives or affricates, which we call the *Ch* series.<sup>2</sup> The following chart shows the various forms of the

1 The point of occlusion of the Korean dental plosives is actually between the dental and alveolar regions, and, consequently, they are sometimes called alveolar plosives.

2 The consonants written in *ōmmun* as *ʃ*, *ʃʰ*, and *ʃʰ* are transcribed phonetically by Jung as *ʃ*, *ʃʰ*, and *c*, indicating that they are plosives, whereas they are considered to be affricates or fricatives by Ogura (*ʃ*, *ʃʰ*, and *ʃʰ*). Haguenaer and others.

The use of symbols such as *dʒ*, *čč*, *č*, and *čʰ*, might be preferable for their Romanization but would introduce a new diacritical mark. The Romanizations of the French missionaries, *č*, *čʰ* and *čch* imply combinations of voiced and unvoiced consonants and, when written together with other consonants, would result in clumsy and confusing groups of Latin consonant

four plosive series. Each *ŏnmuŏn* letter is accompanied by its Latin equivalent when it is pronounced as a plosive but not when, in accordance with euphonic changes, it is pronounced as a non-plosive consonant.

CHART OF PLOSIVES				
Articulation Characteristic	Labial	Velar	Dental	Palatal
Unvoiced	ㅍ p	ㄱ k	ㅌ t *	ㅊ ch **
Voiced	ㅂ b	ㄲ g	ㅎ d *	ㅅ j **
"Forced"	ㅃ pp	ㄴ kk	ㅍ tt	ㅆ tch
Aspirated	ㅍ' p'	ㄱ' k'	ㅌ' t'	ㅊ' ch' **

\* Also ㅅ as a syllabic final. See p. 28 and 29.

\*\* Also the corresponding letter of the *T* series when followed by *i* or a yotized vowel. See p. 28.

In English the plosives are easily and conveniently classified as pairs of unvoiced and voiced consonants (*p, b; k, g; t, d*). In Korean, however, besides the differentiation of voicing, the degree of aspiration and the presence or absence of glottal closure affect their pronunciation. These variations make it necessary to devise a Romanization scheme for the plosives which will provide proper distinctions between the four types indicated on the chart above.<sup>1</sup>

letters. Since no other substitutes seem satisfactory, we have felt it best to follow our general rule of basing the Romanization of consonants on their nearest equivalent in English. We have, therefore, used the Latin letters *ch, j, tch* and *ch'* for this series. Because most of the foreign residents of Korea are English-speaking people and favor the use of these Romanizations and because the Hepburn and Wade-Giles systems use the same letters for similar sounds, we have chosen these Romanizations in preference to others which might be more satisfactory to non-English-speaking people.

1 The average Korean does not distinguish between the voiced and unvoiced sounds of these plosives, as will be seen by the fact that both are written by the same *ŏnmuŏn* letter. On the other hand the average American or Englishman does not distinguish between Korean unvoiced and aspirated

**Unvoiced Plosives**

There is considerable dispute as to whether the unvoiced plosives as initials are unaspirated or are slightly aspirated.<sup>1</sup> Even if there may be some slight aspiration, these forms are never confused with the fully aspirated plosives by Koreans. As medials these unvoiced plosives vary considerably in pronunciation, especially when they precede or follow voiced phonemes and are assimilated to become entirely different phonemes themselves. When they precede or follow unvoiced consonants they do not change radically, but are somewhat influenced by their neighbors.<sup>2</sup> In the final position the palatal plosive (*ch*) never occurs. The others are incomplete plosives characterized by occlusion at the point of articulation and probably accompanied by glottal closure. For the purposes of Romanization the variations in the phonetic value of the unvoiced plosives may be ignored, because they are slight and because they are clearly indicated by the positions of the plosives in the word.

The unvoiced labial plosive (*p*) is represented by *ㅍ* or plosives. Three Korean words illustrate this, *p'al* 팔 (arm), *p'al* 발 (foot) and *sabal* 사발 (bowl). To an American or Englishman the difference between the first two is very difficult to note, and many foreigners pronounce them alike. The Korean, on the other hand, often insists that he pronounces the *ㅍ* in *p'al* and *sabal* the same, although the difference is striking to the western ear.

Many Koreans prefer to Romanize both the voiced and voiceless forms as *b, d, g*, and *j*, but this is altogether unsatisfactory for westerners. Others wish to Romanize them as *p, k, t*, and *ch*, but this is equally unsatisfactory. A few examples will illustrate the necessity of Romanizing the voiced and voiceless forms differently if the system is to be used as a medium for foreigners.

<i>ŏnmuŏn</i>	Meaning	Variant	Romanizations	McCune-Reischauer
고	fish	<i>rogi</i>	<i>koki</i>	<i>kopi</i>
부	extra expense	<i>bubi</i>	<i>pupi</i>	<i>pubi</i>
단단히	tightly	<i>dandanhi</i>	<i>tantanhi</i>	<i>tandanhi</i>
제	disciple	<i>jeja</i>	<i>checha</i>	<i>cheja</i>

1 Gim Shŏn Gi concludes from recent kymograph experiments that they are slightly aspirated (*Le Maître Phonétique*, 3rd series, No. 58, April-June, 1937), but most other phoneticians claim that they are unaspirated. Jung transcribes them phonetically as *ŏ, ǒ, ǔ, and j*.

2 See note 2 on p. 31.

by the digraph  $\text{æ}^1$  and the velar ( $k$ ) by  $\gamma$  or by the digraph  $\text{æ}$ .<sup>1</sup> The unvoiced dental plosive ( $t$ ) is usually represented by  $\text{c}$ , but as a word final it is represented by  $\lambda$ , as in *tasot*  $\text{타소트}$  (five).<sup>2</sup> The unvoiced palatal plosive ( $ch$ ) is represented usually by  $\text{s}$ , but also by a  $\text{c}$  followed in the same syllable by an  $i$  or a yotized vowel.<sup>3</sup>

One other consonant should be mentioned under the heading of the unvoiced plosives, although it is not regularly represented by an independent *ŏmmun* letter and is not included on the Plosive Chart. It is the glottal stop which occurs as part of the articulation of the "forced" plosives and also elsewhere as a medial. It is customary to represent the glottal stop by the letter  $\lambda$ , but the spelling is not uniform. When this letter is used in the medial position it is called the *sai siot*  $\text{사이}$   $\lambda$  (middle  $\lambda$ ). It is discussed more fully in a later section.<sup>4</sup>

### Voiced Plosives

The voiced plosives occur only in the middle of a word

1 See pp. 41-42 for a discussion of these digraph spellings.

2 In standard spelling no letters of the *T* or *Ch* series occur as syllabic finals, and only  $\gamma$  and  $\text{æ}$  of the other plosives. See pp. 46-47 regarding the appearance of the other plosive letters in new spelling systems.

3 This is true with all forms of the dental plosive series (except  $t\text{æ}$ ) which become palatal plosives before  $i$  or a yotized vowel. In northern dialects this phenomenon does not occur, and instead the yod element is usually simply omitted from the yotized vowels. However, it occurs throughout the rest of Korea, including the capital, and in the Unified System has led to the substitution of the corresponding forms of the *Ch* series for letters of the *T* series when they are pronounced as palatal plosives. The following are a few examples of this phenomenon with the new spelling.

Romanization	<i>ŏmmun</i>	<i>ŏmmun</i>	Meaning
<i>chihang</i>	(Gale)	(Unif. Sys.)	
<i>cheja</i>	디 방	지 방	territory
<i>sŏnjon</i>	레 스	제 사	disciple
<i>ch'ŏto</i>	생 연	성 천	church
	도	도	railway

It should not be assumed that  $i$  never follows the plosives of the *T* series. For example the *ŏmmun* syllable  $\text{시}$  should be Romanized  $t\text{æ}$ . In such cases care must be taken in Romanizing to be sure that the correct spelling has been used, since  $t\text{æ}$   $\text{시}$  (belt) is often written  $\text{시}$ . The latter spelling has been adopted by the Unified System.

between voiced consonants ( $m$ ,  $n$ ,  $l$ ,  $\text{ng}$ ,  $\text{ŏ}$  and sometimes  $l\text{æ}$ ) and vowels. Because of an established rule of assimilation, the otherwise voiceless plosives,  $p$ ,  $\text{p}'$ ,  $k$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $t$ ,  $\text{c}$  and  $ch$   $\lambda$  have borrowed the voicing of their neighboring sounds and have become  $b$ ,  $g$ ,  $d$  and  $j$ .

The voiced labial plosive ( $b$ ) is always represented by  $\text{b}$  and the velar ( $g$ ) by  $\gamma$ . The voiced dental plosive ( $d$ ) is represented by  $\text{c}$  (used as a syllabic initial) or  $\lambda$  (used as a syllabic final).<sup>2</sup> The voiced palatal plosive ( $j$ ) is represented by  $\text{s}$  or by a  $\text{c}$  followed by  $i$  or a yotized vowel.

### "Forced" Plosives

The "forced" plosives have been the subject of considerable dispute among phoneticians, who disagree about the question of articulation and designation. Haguenaer calls them quasi-geminées, and Jung terms them "implosives" or "double plosives". Ogura transcribes them phonetically with the symbol of a glottal stop preceding the explosion.<sup>3</sup>

1 The  $l\text{æ}$  is quite variable in its influence on following plosives. In native Korean words the presence or absence of assimilation is largely dependent on the degree of independence of the two syllables. For example  $\text{물고기}$  (objects) is *mulgŏn*, but  $\text{물고기}$  (fish) and  $\text{물방울}$  (drop of water) are *mulkoŏgi* and *mulpangul* because the syllable *mul* (water) in these cases is felt to be an independent unit. However, this is not invariably the case, for the word  $\text{물방울}$  (water pestle) is pronounced *mulbangul*. In Sino-Korean words, on the other hand, there is a definite rule that assimilation nearly always takes place between the  $l$  and  $p$  or between  $l$  and  $k$ , but rarely between  $l$  and  $t$  or  $l$  and  $ch$ . The following words illustrate this rule.

Romanization	<i>ŏmmun</i>	Meaning
<i>uŏlbi</i>	침 비	monthly expenses
<i>uŏlŏp</i>	침 값	monthly wages
<i>wŏlio</i>	칼 도	a type of sword
<i>wŏlchong</i>	칼 초	the end of the month

2 Sometimes  $\lambda$  as a syllabic final between vowels represents  $\text{s}$  as it always does as a syllabic initial. This is usually true when it occurs before a postposition or a verb inflection, although this general rule cannot be relied upon except in the Unified System of spelling. When occurring between vowels within the uninflected part of a word,  $\lambda$  represents  $d$ . For example  $\text{자투}$  (hat and clothes) is *kadŏt*, but when the nominative postposition is added it is *kadŏsi*  $\text{자투이}$ .

3 Ogura's phonetic transcriptions are  $\text{g}$  and  $\text{k}$ ,  $\text{b}$  and  $\text{p}$ ,  $\text{d}$  and  $\text{t}$ , and  $\text{dz}$  and  $\text{ts}$ . Jung also indicates glottal closure by the use of the International Phonetic symbols  $\text{p}'$ ,  $\text{p}'$ ,  $\text{b}'$  and  $\text{t}'$ . The only point of complete agreement among phoneticians is that these plosives are unvoiced. Most phoneticians, however, also agree that they are unvoiced and have a certain glottal element.

A possible explanation is that the glottis is first briefly closed and then is opened simultaneously with the explosion of the consonants. These consonants are peculiarly resonant and are therefore commonly confused with the simple voiced plosives by Occidentals. We have called them "forced" plosives in accordance with a Korean term used to describe them, *toen sor-i* 된소리 meaning forced sounds.<sup>1</sup>

The "forced" plosives occur only as initials and medials. There is some discussion as to whether they have the same phonetic value in both positions. Ogura makes a distinction between the two, as can be seen from the Consonant Chart, but his conclusion that the medial is unvoiced and the initial voiced is open to doubt, and, though the force of the explosion is probably lighter when the "forced" plosives are initials than when they are medials, no variation in Romanization seems necessary.

The "forced" labial plosive (*pp*) is usually represented by *ㅍ* or *ㅃ*, the velar (*kk*) by *ㄱ* or *ㄲ*, the dental (*tt*) by *ㄷ* or *ㄸ* and the palatal (*ch*) by *ㅈ* or *ㅉ*. As medials the "forced" plosives may also be represented by an unvoiced plosive preceded by the letter *h*, since the latter symbol when used as a syllabic final preceding an unvoiced plosive usually represents a glottal stop.<sup>2</sup>

1 This is the most widely used name for these plosives in Korea. The small *h* attached to the plosive letters is always called the *toen sot* 된소리 (forced *h*) and the same adjective is applied often to the entire plosive. Sometimes the adjective *tchakkédúp* ㅈㅊㄷ (identical-doubled) is used for them. The Unified System names the forms it uses, *ㅍ*, *ㅃ*, *ㄱ*, *ㄲ*, *ㄷ*, *ㄸ*, the *seang* ㅈ (twin) letters.

2 For exceptions see section on *szi sot*. The unvoiced plosives following another plosive are pronounced very much like "forced" plosives, because the occlusion of the preceding plosive acts as the glottal stop which is a characteristic of the "forced" plosives. Since to Romanize the unvoiced plosive letters as "forced" plosives in these cases would result in large groupings of Latin consonant letters and would probably confuse the reader rather than aid him, it is best to Romanize the "forced" plosives occurring in such cases as common unvoiced plosives in keeping with the *ōnmun* orthography. A person familiar with the language can tell from the combination of the two plosives that the second is a "forced" plosive. An example of this phenomenon and of its Romanization is the name of a Korean kingdom Paekche ㅍ꺤 which is pronounced like Paekche ㅍ꺤.

According to these rules of Romanization the combination of a *ㅍ* or *ㄲ*

The choice of suitable Romanizations for the "forced" plosives is more difficult than in the case of the other plosives. *B*, *g*, *d*, and *j* are not advisable because, first, they have already been employed for the simple voiced plosives, and, second, because these letters should not be used to represent unvoiced sounds. The addition of diacritical marks to these letters or to *p*, *k*, *t* and *ch* would result in further complications and would probably not be very intelligible. Therefore, for want of more suitable Romanizations, we have decided to represent the "forced" plosives, in accordance with one form of their *ōnmun* spelling, as a doubling of the unvoiced plosive letters. The first three, consequently, are to be Romanized as *pp*, *kk* and *tt* and the fourth, the palatal plosive, as *tch*, since *ch* is obviously too awkward.

### Aspirated Plosives

The aspirated plosives occur only as initials and medials. The aspiration is always quite strong. We have indicated the aspiration by the usual symbol ' following the unvoiced plosive letters. Since this is used in the Wade-Giles system for the Chinese aspirates and also in most Korean Romanization systems, it is the most suitable symbol to use as the sign of aspiration.

The aspirated labial plosive (*p'*) is represented by *ㅍ'*, the velar (*k'*) by *ㄱ'* and the dental (*t'*) by *ㄷ'*. The aspirated palatal plosive (*ch'*) is represented by *ㅈ'*, or by a *ë* followed by *i* or a yotized vowel. The aspirated plosives, with the exception of the palatal aspirate (*ch'*), are also often repre-

preceded by the same letter as to be Romanized the same as the medial "forced" plosive digraphs *ㅍ* or *ㅃ*. For example *ㅍ* and *ㅃ* are both Romanized *t'okkai*. Actually their pronunciations are not exactly the same, for the medial consonant of the latter is a simple "forced" *k* and that of the former is a compound consonant with a *k* preceding a "forced" *k*. However, for the sake of simplicity, it seems best to Romanize these two alike, since they are quite similar.



sented by their respective unvoiced letters as syllabic finals (ㅍ, ㅑ, ㅓ) when they are followed by the glottal fricative ㅎ (*h*). When the assimilation is complete between the syllabic final and the fricative, the result is a simple aspirated plosive. But since the assimilation is not always complete and the two are sometimes pronounced separately, we have thought it best not to Romanize such combinations as aspirated plosives but as unvoiced plosives plus *h*.<sup>1</sup>

### NON-PLOSIVE CONSONANTS

There are seven letters in the Korean alphabet representing non-plosive consonants. The sounds which they normally represent together with our Romanizations for them are given in the following chart.

	Labial	Dental	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	ㅁ <i>m</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i>	ㅇ <i>ng</i>	
Lateral		ㄹ <i>l</i>		
Semi-rolled		ㄷ <i>r</i>		
Fricative		ㅅ, ㅆ, ㅈ, ㅊ		ㅎ <i>h</i>

The ㄷ (*l*) and ㄷ (*r*) might better be considered alveolar rather than dental consonants, but because of the relationship between them and ㄴ (*n*) and ㄷ (*t*) we have listed them as dentals.

1. Some examples of these combinations are:

Romanization	Onmun	Meaning
<i>haphada</i>	합 다	to join together
<i>sokhi</i>	속히	quickly
<i>hakhoe</i>	학 회	scientific society
<i>mothada</i>	못 다	to be unable to do

### Nasal Consonants

It should be noted that these consonants have no off-glide when they occur as word finals.

The labial nasal (*m*) occurs as an initial, medial and final. It usually is represented by the letter ㅁ. It is also sometimes represented by the letter ㅂ, since the labial plosive (*p*) becomes a labial nasal (*m*) before nasals, as in *ㅂ내 imnae* (mimicry) and *ㅂ평 simyong* (ten persons). It is also occasionally represented by the digraphs ㅁ<sup>1</sup> and ㅁ<sup>1</sup>.

The dental nasal (*n*) occurs as an initial, medial and final, but it never occurs as an initial before ㄹ *i* or a yotized vowel.<sup>2</sup> It is usually represented by the letter ㄴ, but it is also sometimes represented by the letter ㄷ, since the dental lateral (*l*) becomes nasalized when it occurs as a word initial before a vowel other than ㄹ *i* or a yotized vowel, as in *ㄷ케 nakke* (failure), and when it is a medial following all consonants but the lateral (*l*) itself. Examples of this are *ㄷ라 simni* (ten 'miles') and *ㄷ립 tongrip* (independence). The dental nasal (*n*) is also sometimes represented by the letter ㄴ, since the latter as a dental plosive (*t*) becomes nasalized through regressive assimilation before the nasals and through reciprocal assimilation before the dental lateral (*l*). Examples of ㄴ as a dental nasal are *갓포 kammo* (hat covering) and *갓량 tanyang* (500 cash).

The velar nasal (*ng*) occurs only as a medial and

1. See page 42.

2. In words which were once pronounced and are still usually spelled in standard orthography with an initial ㄴ (*n*) followed by ㄹ *i* or a yotized vowel, the consonant is simply omitted in the capital dialect. In the north it is retained, and there the dental lateral (*l*) is also pronounced as a dental nasal (*n*) when a word initial before ㄹ *i* or a yotized vowel. For example ㅂ (teeth) and ㅂ (a common surname) are both pronounced ㅂ in the north but are pronounced ㄹ in the capital. The Unified System spells both as ㄹ.

Theoretically it is possible for ㄴ to appear before ㄹ as an initial, for ㄴ would be the correct Romanization of the syllables ㄴ and ㄹ. However, the latter is never used and the former occurs only in a very few native onomatopoeic words.

final.<sup>1</sup> It is usually represented by the letter *o*.<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes represented by the letter *ɾ* (and the digraph *ɾʌ*), since the velar plosive (*k*) becomes a velar nasal (*ŋg*) before nasals through regressive assimilation and also before the dental lateral (*l*) through reciprocal assimilation. Examples of *ɾ* as a velar nasal are *국판 kungmin* (the nation) and *작판 changpan* (play).

#### Lateral and Semi-Rolled Consonants

The dental lateral (*l*) occurs only as a medial and final. As the final consonant of a word, like all other Korean consonants, it has no off-glide. Phonetically speaking, this lateral is quite "clear", and thus is more like the French than the English *l*. It is usually represented by the letter *l* as in *pal 팔* (foot) and *halmŏni 할머니* (grandmother). It is also sometimes represented by the letter *ɾ*, since the dental nasal (*n*) becomes a dental lateral (*l*) when preceding or following another dental lateral, as in *Silla 신라* (a Korean kingdom) and *allan 얼른* (quickly).

The dental semi-rolled consonant (*r*) never occurs except as a medial between vowels or between a vowel and the glottal fricative (*h*). Like the lateral (*l*), it is "clear", and thus is not similar to the usual English *r* but is more like the clear French *r*. It is represented only by the letter *ɾ*, which normally represents the dental (*l*) but is pronounced with a semi-roll between vowels and before *h*. Examples are found in *maru 마루* (floor) and *irhŏm 일흔* (name).

<sup>1</sup> In ancient pronunciation it was also used as an initial. For example, the Chinese character for fish 魚 was once probably pronounced *ngŏ*, though now it is pronounced *ŏ*. In compounds employing this character the *ng* sound is often retained in modern pronunciation. For example, 鯉 *pu* plus 魚 *ŏ* is pronounced *puŋg ŏ* (perch) and 鱈 *i* plus 魚 *ŏ* is pronounced *inŋŏ* (carp). In both these examples Gale's dictionary spells the words as pronounced (魚 *o* and 鱈 *ŏ*), and in other similar cases the standard *ŏmmun* spelling has been changed to fit the pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *h* as a syllabic initial is now used as the sign of the absence of a consonant, although at one time there was a distinction between the two letters, one, *ŏ*, representing the absence of consonant sound, the other, *h*, representing the *ng* sound.

<sup>3</sup> See page 42.

#### Fricative Consonants

The dental fricatives (*s*), (*sh*) and (*ss*) occur as initials and medials only. The first two are represented by the same letter, *ʌ*. Before *wi* ㅟ (*ㅟ*), *ʌ* is pronounced much like the sound written *sh* in English, and, consequently, we have Romanized it *sh* in this case, as in the word *shwin* ㅟ (fifty). Before the vowels *i*, *o* ㅛ and the labialized vowels, it has this same tendency, but less noticeably except in non-capital dialects, and so we have Romanized it before these and all other vowels as a simple *s*. For example, *san* ㅟ (mountain) and *ŏmmun* 신문 (newspaper) have quite different initial consonants although they are Romanized the same. This consonant is usually accompanied by aspiration, but there is no agreement among phoneticians as to its degree or significance.<sup>1</sup> Since there is this disagreement, and since the Occidental usually does not notice the aspiration, it seems best not to add the sign of aspiration in Romanizing this consonant.

The third dental fricative (*ss*) is known as a "forced"<sup>2</sup> *s*. Like the "forced" plosives its articulation is probably accompanied by glottal closure and greater tension, which produce somewhat stronger pressure at the point of friction than in the case of the simple *s*. In accordance with the *ŏmmun* spelling of this consonant and our Romanizations for the "forced" plosives, we have Romanized it as *ss*. This fricative is represented by the compound letter *ʌ*, as in *ssuda* (to be sour).

The glottal fricative (*h*) occurs only as an initial and medial. As an initial it is pronounced with more friction in some words than in others, but, since the difference is slight and usually of no importance in the identification of the word, we have not made provisions for this variation. As a

<sup>1</sup> Haguenauer and Ogura do not note this aspiration in their transcriptions. Gim Shŏn (기) notes that this fricative is consistently aspirated wherever it occurs. Pieters notices a distinct glottal aspiration when the *s* is a word initial followed by the vowels *a*, *ɾ*, *ŏ* ㅟ, *o* ㅛ and *ae* ㅟ.

medial between vowels and between voiced consonants and vowels the aspiration is generally very light and sometimes scarcely noticeable. As noted above, this fricative (*h*), following unvoiced plosives, is sometimes assimilated with them to produce aspirated plosives. For example the word *sokhi* 속히 (quickly) is pronounced *sok'hi*. However, because this assimilation is not always complete, it is best to disregard it in Romanization. The glottal fricative (*h*) is represented only by the letter *h* and is always Romanized *h*.

### RULES FOR THE ROMANIZATION OF THE CONSONANT LETTERS

In the preceding two sections the Korean consonants and their euphonic changes have been discussed from the phonetic point of view. In this section each *ŏnmun* consonant letter will be considered from the point of view of its Romanizations. The rules governing these Romanizations are listed in the following pages, applying only when standard spelling is used. Romanization problems introduced by new spelling systems are discussed in a later section especially devoted to them. The order of letters is the common Korean order found in the Consonant Chart. The definitions are from Gale's dictionary.

ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. ŏnmun Meaning
ㄱ ( <i>k</i> )	Initial	1. Always <i>K</i> 1. <i>G</i> between vowels and after <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>o</i> <i>ŏ</i> , and <i>l</i> . 2. <i>NG</i> before <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , and <i>l</i> . 3. <i>K</i> before and after all other consonants.	<i>ku</i> 古 view <i>ku</i> 古 view <i>kum</i> 谷 mine <i>ka</i> 加 electricity <i>ka</i> 加 western world <i>ka</i> 加 objects <i>ka</i> 加 the nation <i>ka</i> 加 the youngest child <i>ka</i> 加 a trick
	Medial		<i>ka</i> 加 sum total <i>ka</i> 加 discouragement <i>ka</i> 加 one by one <i>ka</i> 加 quickly <i>ka</i> 加 earthenware jar
	Final		1. Always <i>K</i> (occlusive); <i>ok</i>

ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. ŏnmun Meaning
ㄴ ( <i>n</i> )	Initial	1. <i>Not Romanized</i> before <i>l</i> and yotized vowels. 2. <i>N</i> before other vowels. 1. <i>L</i> when preceded or followed by <i>l</i> . 2. <i>N</i> in all other cases. 1. Always <i>N</i> .	<i>ni</i> 尼 teeth <i>ni</i> 尼 a woman <i>ni</i> 尼 ancient times <i>na</i> 拿 day <i>na</i> 拿 farmers <i>na</i> 拿 quickly <i>na</i> 拿 connection <i>na</i> 拿 God <i>na</i> 拿 Chinese <i>na</i> 拿 mountain
	Medial		<i>na</i> 拿 territory <i>na</i> 拿 electricity <i>na</i> 拿 five <i>na</i> 拿 heaven and earth <i>na</i> 拿 paddy-fields <i>na</i> 拿 appraisal <i>na</i> 拿 monotone <i>na</i> 拿 God <i>na</i> 拿 sorceress <i>na</i> 拿 where? <i>na</i> 拿 third class <i>na</i> 拿 bean-jam <i>na</i> 拿 bun <i>na</i> 拿 wild cherry <i>na</i> 拿 contract <i>na</i> 拿 barren <i>na</i> 拿 ground <i>na</i> 拿 agreement <i>na</i> 拿 without <i>na</i> 拿 doubt <i>na</i> 拿 brass dish <i>na</i> 拿 shop <i>na</i> 拿 brick <i>na</i> 拿 combine <i>na</i> 拿 temperature <i>na</i> 拿 by and by
	Final		
ㄷ ( <i>t</i> )	Initial	1. <i>CH</i> before <i>l</i> and yotized vowels. 2. <i>T</i> before other vowels. 1. <i>J</i> before <i>l</i> and yotized vowels when preceded by a vowel or by <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , and <i>ng</i> . 2. <i>D</i> before other vowels when preceded by a vowel or by <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , and <i>ng</i> . 3. <i>Ch</i> before <i>l</i> and yotized vowels when preceded by <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>l</i> and <i>s</i> . 4. <i>T</i> before other vowels when preceded by <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>l</i> and <i>s</i> . (Used in new spelling only)	<i>da</i> 大 <i>da</i> 大 five <i>da</i> 大 heaven and earth <i>da</i> 大 paddy-fields <i>da</i> 大 appraisal <i>da</i> 大 monotone <i>da</i> 大 God <i>da</i> 大 sorceress <i>da</i> 大 where? <i>da</i> 大 third class <i>da</i> 大 bean-jam <i>da</i> 大 bun <i>da</i> 大 wild cherry <i>da</i> 大 contract <i>da</i> 大 barren <i>da</i> 大 ground <i>da</i> 大 agreement <i>da</i> 大 without <i>da</i> 大 doubt <i>da</i> 大 brass dish <i>da</i> 大 shop <i>da</i> 大 brick <i>da</i> 大 combine <i>da</i> 大 temperature <i>da</i> 大 by and by
	Medial		
	Final		

Ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ŏnmun Meaning
ㄴ (n)	Initial	1. <i>N</i> Not Romanized before <i>l</i> and yotized vowels. 2. <i>N</i> before other vowels.	<i>in'gūn</i> 인근 neighbour <i>yōksū</i> 역사 history <i>yanqban</i> 양반 the nobility <i>nakcūn</i> 낙대 failure
	Medial	1. <i>R</i> between vowels and before <i>h</i> . 2. <i>L</i> before all other consonants and after <i>l</i> and <i>l</i> . 3. <i>N</i> after other consonants.	<i>maru</i> 마루 wooden floor <i>ir-hom</i> 이름 name <i>halmoŋi</i> 할머니 grandmother <i>mulgōn</i> 물건 objects <i>Silla</i> 신라 Korean kingdom <i>mulhwah</i> 물리학 physics <i>Chongno</i> 충로 Bell Street <i>tongnip</i> 독립 independence <i>simni</i> 십리 ten "miles"
	Final	1. Always <i>L</i> .	<i>pal</i> 발 foot
ㅁ (m)	Initial	1. Always <i>M</i> .	<i>mal</i> 말 horse
	Medial	1. Always <i>M</i> .	<i>mamu</i> 나무 wood <i>ūmsik</i> 음식 food
	Final	1. Always <i>M</i> .	<i>pam</i> 밤 night
ㅂ (p)	Initial	1. Always <i>P</i> .	<i>pal</i> 발 foot
	Medial	1. <i>B</i> between vowels and after <i>p</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>o</i> , <i>ng</i> and <i>l</i> . 2. <i>M</i> before <i>p</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>n</i> and <i>l</i> . 3. <i>P</i> before and after all other consonants.	<i>sabul</i> 쌀 a dish <i>to-mūac</i> 토마토 tobacco <i>chūmbū</i> 준비 preparation <i>yanqban</i> 양반 the nobility <i>kaibi</i> 갈비 the ribs <i>simnyōng</i> 십영 ten persons <i>imnūe</i> 임내 mimicry <i>sōmt</i> 소문 providence <i>tapchang</i> 답장 written reply <i>yakqang</i> 약방 dispensary <i>chōpsi</i> 첩시 plate
	Final	1. Always <i>P</i> (occlusive)	<i>pop</i> 밥 food

Ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ŏnmun Meaning
ㅅ (s)	Initial	1. <i>SH</i> before <i>l</i> (ㅅ) <i>ws</i> . 2. <i>S</i> before others vowels.	<i>shwipta</i> 십다 apt to <i>san</i> 산 mountain
	Medial	1. <i>SH</i> when a syllabic initial before <i>l</i> (ㅅ) <i>ws</i> . 2. <i>S</i> when a syllabic initial before other vowels (except after <i>l</i> ) and when a syllabic final before <i>l</i> , <i>s</i> and <i>ss</i> . 3. <i>N</i> before <i>n</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>n</i> and <i>l</i> . 4. <i>T</i> before <i>h</i> and letters of the <i>T</i> and <i>Ch</i> series, and before other plosives when in a compound word. 5. <i>D</i> when a syllabic final before vowels except before post-positions. 6. <i>P</i> before <i>u</i> , <i>p</i> when not in compound words. 7. <i>K</i> before <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> when not in compound words. 1. Always <i>T</i> (occlusive.)	<i>senshwipta</i> 손쉽다 to be easy  <i>moksa</i> 목사 pastor <i>naengsu</i> 냉수 cold water <i>mausik</i> 무식 illiteracy <i>kyōssun</i> 겹송 extra sprouts <i>kassagi</i> 깃사기 hat cover  <i>lanmo</i> 란모 nat covering <i>channabi</i> 창나비 monkey <i>tanmyang</i> 탕양 500 cash  <i>titae</i> 이태 two years <i>titaga</i> 이태가 by and by <i>chōit'ong</i> 초롱 the breasts <i>chūm</i> 처첩 siesta <i>natcham</i> 납침 fan <i>natchae</i> 납채 hat manufactory <i>katpung</i> 갓방  <i>yōtkarak</i> 엿가락 candy stick <i>midām</i> 믿음 belief  <i>kippuda</i> 기쁘다 to be happy  <i>skkae</i> 어깨 shoulder  <i>kat</i> 갓 hat
	Final	1. Always <i>T</i> (occlusive.)	<i>al</i> 알 egg <i>Tojil</i> 독일 Germany <i>nongmin</i> 농민 farmer <i>pang</i> 방 room

Ōnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ōnmun Meaning
ㅈ (ch)	Initial Medial Final	1. Always CH. 1. J between vowels. 2 And after P, m, n and ō ng. 2. CH after all other consonants, ㅈ, k, h, p, ㄹ, and ㅅ s. (Used only in new spelling.)	장 a cabinet 토끼 seal 감자 potato 민족 country 명조리 Korean silk 목장 meadow 아저씨 house in front 물고기 matter 옛적 old times
ㅊ (ch')	Initial Medial Final	1. Always CH'. 1. Always CH'. (Used only in new spelling.)	차 tea 김치 Korean pickles
ㅋ (k')	Initial Medial Final	1. Always K'. 1. Always K'. (Used only in new spelling.)	코 nose 땅콩 peanut
ㅌ (t')	Initial Medial Final	1. CH' before   i and yotized vowels. 2. T' before other vowelized vowels. 1. CH' before   i and yotized vowels. 2. T' before other vowelized vowels. (Used only in new spelling.)	천당 heaven 계산 calculation 토끼 rabbit 동전 copper 포자 to be good
ㅍ (p')	Initial Medial Final	1. Always P'. 1. Always P'. (Used only in new spelling.)	팔 arm 서판 writing board
ㅎ (h)	Initial Medial Final	1. Always H. 1. Always H. (Used only in new spelling.)	하나 one 만화 many 학회 scientific society 학회 society

Ōnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ōnmun Meaning
ㅉ (kk)	Initial Medial Final	1. Always KK. 1. Always KK (except after ㅈ, k, where it is K). (Used only in new spelling.)	까치 sheil 토끼 rabbit 박꽃 gourd flower
ㅊ (tt)	Initial Medial Final	1. Always TT (theoretically tch before   i and yotized vowels, but never used). 1. Always TT (except after ㅅ s, where it is T). (Not used.)	땅 the earth 하리띠 girdle 잇떡 yet
ㅍ (pp)	Initial Medial Final	1. Always PP. 1. Always PP (except after ㅂ p, where it is P). (Not used.)	뿌리 root 소뿔 ox horn
ㅆ (ss)	Initial Medial Final	1. Always SS. 1. Always SS (except after ㅅ s, where it is S). (Used only in new spelling.)	쓰다 to write 콩씨 bean seed 좁쌀 millet 낱가지 hat cover
ㅊ (tch)	Initial Medial Final	1. Always TCH. 1. Always TCH (except after ㅅ s, where it is CH). (Not used)	차르다 to be short 깜짝 suddenly 밧짝 under half

Only three consonant digraphs, ㅉ, ㅊ, and ㅍ, appear in standard spelling, and these only as syllabic finals in native words.<sup>1</sup> The general rules for the Romanization of these

1 In ancient Korean, compound consonants occurred as initials. For example *ssal* 粟 (grain) was formerly pronounced *psal* ㅍ쌀. For this reason the names of grains often contain a *ps* medial, as in *chopssal* 粟 (hulled millet) and *ppssal* 稗 (hulled rice), which are compounds of *psal* with *cho* ㅈ (millet) and *l* ㄹ, the surname of the last dynasty of Korean kings.

digraphs are given below. Only ㄷ and ㅈ are used as word finals. The other, ㅌ, is used exclusively for verb roots and is thus always followed by syllables indicating inflectional endings. The ㄷ is often silent in consonant combinations, as shown by the rules of the following chart, and in such cases the vowel is usually slightly prolonged.<sup>1</sup>

Ōnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ōnmun Meaning
ㄷ ( <i>lk</i> )	Initial	(Not used)	
	Medial	1. <i>LG</i> between vowels. 2. <i>L</i> before letters of the <i>K</i> series. 3. <i>NG</i> before <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> and <i>ㄷ</i> . 4. <i>LK</i> before <i>h</i> . 5. <i>K</i> before all other consonants.	<i>kaigi</i> 鎌이 rake <i>mǎlkūmhada</i> 맑음하다 to be clean <i>ōngmaeda</i> 읽히다 to tie up <i>pulkhada</i> 풀히다 to dye red <i>kūckōktaeda</i> 긁히다 to scratch
	Final	1. <i>K</i> (occlusive)	<i>tak</i> 닭 chicken
래 ( <i>lp</i> )	Initial	(Not used)	
	Medial	1. <i>LB</i> between vowels 2. <i>L</i> before letters of the <i>P</i> series. 3. <i>M</i> before <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> and <i>ㄷ</i> . 4. <i>LP</i> before <i>h</i> . 5. <i>P</i> before all other consonants.	<i>nǎlbi</i> 넓이 the width <i>yalp'anhada</i> 얇관하다 to be thin <i>nǎmmamul</i> 남아물 name of flower <i>sūlp'hūm</i> 슬픔 grief <i>nǎp'ek'i</i> 넓적 the sole
	Final	1. <i>P</i> (occlusive)	
래 ( <i>lm</i> )	Initial	(Not used)	
	Medial	1. <i>LM</i> between vowels. 2. <i>L</i> before <i>m</i> . 3. <i>M</i> before other consonants	<i>ōimagađa</i> 옮기다 to move <i>kūmgida</i> 굶기다 to starve
	Final	(Not used)	

<sup>1</sup> In some dialects the pronunciation of the ㄷ, *l* is retained, particularly with ㄷ. For example, *tak* 닭 is pronounced *talik*.

### THE MEDIAL GLOTTAL STOP (SAI SIOT) AND IRREGULAR ASSIMILATION BETWEEN CONSONANTS

There are certain exceptions to the rules for the Romanization of the consonants which demand special consideration. The largest group of exceptions are in the Romanizations of ㅂ, ㄱ, ㄷ and ㄴ as *b*, *a*, *d* and *j*. Under certain conditions the normal assimilation, which would result in the voicing of those consonants, does not take place, as, for example, in the word *hancha* 한차; which, according to the rules, should be *hanja*. In such cases the voice is stopped by glottal occlusion before the pronunciation of the plosive. This irregularity is often found in words in which the semi-independent character of a part of the word has prevented the normal assimilation, or in compound words which may have once been separated by a postposition. There are also other factors which may produce the medial glottal stop.<sup>1</sup>

There are several ways in Korean orthography to denote the presence of this glottal stop. This is generally accomplished by the use of the letter ㄱ, called the *sai siot* in this case. Sometimes this is done by attaching the letter ㄱ to a preceding syllable ending in a vowel, as in the spelling *twikkaŋ* 튀깁간 (outhouse). Sometimes the glottal stop is indicated by changing a plosive letter of the second syllable to its 'forced' form, as in *soniŋg* 손쌍 (the back of the hand). Perhaps the most satisfactory method of indicating its presence, at least for dictionary purposes, is that used by the Government General dictionary, where the letter ㄱ is inserted independently between syllables when the glottal

<sup>1</sup> Some commonly used Chinese characters which are usually preceded by a glottal stop in combination with other characters are 字 (character or word), 章 (chapter), 徵 (symptom), 契 (contract), 痼 (disease) and 法 (law). One cause for the presence of this glottal stop is probably phonetic. That is, the dentals *t*, *c* and *s* and the palatal *ch* ㄷ are preceded by a glottal stop when following the dental *t* ㄷ. In native Korean words the glottal stop is commonly found after prefixes which may once have contained a final consonantal element, such as *hwi* 휘 (rear), *u* 우 (above) and *hwi* 후 (after). Several studies on the cause of the medial glottal stop have been made by Korean philologists, but as yet the problem has not been fully investigated.

stop occurs.<sup>1</sup> Thus the word *hancha* is written 한 차. Gale's dictionary makes no attempt to indicate these irregularities in Sino-Korean words, but in native words the spelling has generally been adapted to them.

It has been necessary to make special rules of Romanization for these irregularities, but at the same time these rules have been formulated with a view to keeping the system as simple as possible. First, when the *sai siot* is used in the Government-General dictionary between vowels and plosives, or at any time before the letter *λ* *s*, the plosives or *λ* *s* should be Romanized as their respective "forced" consonants, that is, doubled. Second, when the *sai siot* occurs between consonants and plosives, the plosives are to be Romanized as if they were initials and the preceding consonants as if they were finals. This irregular spelling is sufficient to indicate the break between the two consonants caused by the glottal stop.<sup>2</sup>

Other exceptions to the rules of Romanization occur with the use of *λ* as a syllabic final in the medial position. As shown above it is often used to indicate a glottal stop, but at other times it is used to represent *s* or the dental plosive *t* and its phonetic variations. Of the rules governing its Romanization (see page 39) the last three need further explanation.

Rule 5, the Romanization of *λ* as *d*. When a syllabic final before a vowel. *λ* is Romanized *d* unless the following vowel is an inflexional ending, in which case it is Romanized

1 The use of this symbol in the Government General dictionary does not always indicate the glottal stop, but often indicates a brief pause between the syllables, or at times represents the various pronunciations of a syllabic final *λ*. Before plosives and *s* it always indicates the glottal stop, however. Before other consonants it should be Romanized as follows: 1) after vowels, as if it were attached to the preceding syllable, thus *우-λ-옷* *udot* (outer clothing) and *예-λ-칼* *yenmal* (ancient sayings); 2) between consonants to be disregarded, as in *한-λ-칼* *kallal* (knife-blade) and *강-λ-탕* *kanggyot* (black candy).

2 Examples of the medial glottal stop, the variant spelling of the Government General and Gale dictionary, the Unified System's orthography and our Romanization follow.

s. This rule is invariable in the Unified System of spelling but may have exceptions in other systems. It may be followed as a general rule. Thus *옷* is *udot* (outer clothing) but *옷이* (the same word with the nominative postposition added) is *udosi*.<sup>1</sup>

Rules 6 and 7, Romanization of *λ* as *p* and *k* before *ㅍ* and *ㅌ* respectively. These rules only apply to words which cannot be broken up into separate independent words. According to Rule 4, the *λ* is Romanized *t* before these plosives in all compound words. In non-compounds, however, the *λ* usually indicates a glottal stop before *ㅍ* and *ㅌ* *k*, (which transforms them into "forced" plosives). Even words formed by adding prefixes should be considered compounds, but there is considerable variation in pronunciation and it is impossible to make a hard and fast rule for the Ro-

Romanizations	Gov. Gen.	Gale	Unif. Sys.	Meaning
<i>tuikhan</i>	뒤-λ-칸	뒤(뻬)칸	뒤칸	outhouse
<i>kippal</i>	끼-λ-발	리 쎄발	깃발	flag bunting
<i>tanbaettae</i>	담배-λ-대	담 비 대	담뽕대	smoking pipe
<i>utchari</i>	우-λ-차리	웃 차 리	웃차리	upper seat
<i>issae</i>	이-λ-새	니 쎄	잇새	space between teeth
<i>munkan</i>	순-λ-간	문간(란)	문간	space inside gate
<i>chinpup</i>	진-λ-법	진 법	진법	military tactics
<i>sonlung</i>	손-λ-등	손 등	손등	back of hand
<i>paengchang</i>	방-λ-장	방장(쟝)	방장	room curtain
<i>hancha</i>	한-λ-차	한 차	한차	Chinese characters
<i>sangssori</i>	상-λ-소리	상 소 리	상소리	low language

1 Although Gale's dictionary may be used of a guide for the standard pronunciation and Romanization of words containing the *λ* between vowels in the body of the word, it cannot be used for adding postpositions. For example, *iket* icket (flower) followed by the nominative postposition *i* *e* is not *kicot* but *kicoch'i* (spelled *꽃이* in the Unified System).

The Government General dictionary has even greater variation in orthography, for example *한 차* is the spelling for *keyun got* 韓 國 茶 (all sorts).

manization of these combinations.<sup>1</sup>

Other irregularities in assimilation between consonants occur but are not generally important. One such is the occasional pronunciation of two medial  $l$  as  $ll$ , when the second is followed by a yotized vowel. An example of this irregularity is *mannyōn* 만년 (ten thousand years) which may be pronounced *malliyōn*. Another case is the assimilation of  $p$  by a following  $k$ , through which the labialization of the former is lost and the two together become the "forced" plosive *kk*, as in *paphkūrūt* 밥그릇 (rice bowl), which may be pronounced *pakkūrūt*. Another example is the change of the dental nasal  $n$  to a labial nasal  $m$  before labial consonants, as in *sinbal* 신발 (shoes), sometimes *simbal*, and in *sinmun* 신문 (newspaper), sometimes *simmun*. There is also the common change of the nasal  $m$  and  $n$  to the velar nasal *ng* before the velar plosives, as in the word *kam-gi* 감기 (a cold), usually *kanggi*, and *chōn-gi* 전기 (electricity), usually *chōnggi*. In all these cases the unassimilated pronunciations of the consonants are quite understandable and are usually considered more correct. Therefore, in ordinary Romanization, problems of this sort are best ignored.

#### THE CONSONANTS IN NEW SPELLING AND THEIR ROMANIZATION

In new systems of orthography the spelling of the consonants has been considerably revised in order to divide clearly between word roots and inflexional endings or positions. For the most part this has resulted in the shifting of letters from their positions as syllabic initials to the bottom of the preceding syllable, as in *nat*에, formerly spelled *나제* *naje* (daytime), and *nat*이, formerly *납시* *ŏpsi* (without).

1. One factor which complicates this problem is that, through accidental assimilation, the  $t$  of compounds sometimes is assimilated with the following  $p$  or  $k$  to produce the "forced" plosives. For example *ŏtkōri* 가거리 (string to hang hat by) may be pronounced in rapid speech as *kakōri* 가거리. The latter, however, is not considered good pronunciation and should be avoided.

Such cases afford little difficulty in Romanization.

The use of  $h$ , however, as a syllabic final, generally serves another purpose. Before unvoiced plosives it indicates that the plosives are aspirated, as in *ŏh*, formerly *ŏ*, *chō'a* (to be good).<sup>1</sup> In the new spelling the letters  $ㄷ$  ( $t$ ),  $ㄸ$  ( $t'$ ),  $ㅌ$  ( $ch$ ) and  $ㅌ'$  ( $ch'$ ), when used as syllabic finals, should all be treated like the letter  $ㄴ$  of standard spelling, except when they occur as medials between vowels or before  $h$  ( $h$ ). Between vowels they may be Romanized as if they were syllabic initials rather than syllabic finals; and before  $h$  ( $h$ ), the  $ㄷ$  ( $t'$ ) and  $ㅌ$  ( $ch'$ ) are unaffected, but the  $ㄷ$  ( $t$ ) and  $ㅌ$  ( $ch$ ) are assimilated, usually, with the  $h$  ( $h$ ) and become aspirates.<sup>2</sup> Similarly the aspirate  $ㅍ$  ( $k'$ ) and the "forced" plosive  $ㅍ$  ( $kk$ ) may be treated as  $ㅍ$  ( $k$ ), and the aspirate  $ㅍ$  ( $p'$ ) as  $ㅍ$  ( $p$ ).<sup>3</sup>

New spellings also use many new consonant digraphs as syllabic finals. Below is a small chart showing those used in the Unified System. The chart includes, 1) rules for Romanization as medials before vowels, 2) as word finals, 3) the *ŏmmun* letter which may be used as a substitute for the digraph when the problem of determining the assimilation before consonants comes up, and 4) examples of words in which these digraphs are employed.

1 This spelling preserves the verb root within the syllable as well as the independent character of the postposition. Thus the relative participle is written *ㅍ는* and the verbal connective *ㅍ고* instead of *포는* and *포고* as formerly. The form *ㅍ소* is pronounced *포소* (as it was formerly written). Thus in Romanization, a syllabic final  $ㅍ$  should be represented as follows:  $h$  before vowels,  $s$  before  $s$ , aspiration for the unvoiced plosives, and disregarded elsewhere.

2 Examples of these plosives are as follows:  
*mitō* 믿다 (to believe); *mitōm* 믿음 (belief); *tatta* 타타 (to shut); *tach'i-da* 타치다 (to shut up); *tachūn* 타춘 (shut, adj.); *pat* 밭 (field); *pach'i* 밭이 (field, nom.); *pat'e* 밭에 (to the field); *kkok* 꽃 (flower); *kkoch'i* 꽃이 (flower, nom.); *kkonnari* 꽃매지 (flower fruit); *nat* 낮 (day); *naje* 낮에 (in the day); *nacham* 낮잠 (day sleep).

3 Examples are: *puok* 부엌 (kitchen); *pakke* 밖에 (outside); *ap* 앞 (the front); *ammun* 앞문 (front door).



DIGRAPHS USED IN THE UNIFIED SYSTEM			
Digraphs	Between Vowels	Final	<i>Ōnumun</i> substitute before consonants
ㅈ	ks	k	ㄱ ( <i>k</i> )
ㅊ	kk	k	ㄱ ( <i>k</i> )
ㅊ	ls	l	ㄹ ( <i>l</i> ) plus <i>sai stot</i>
ㅊ	mg	g	ㄱ ( <i>k</i> )
ㅊ	ps	p	ㅍ ( <i>p</i> ) plus <i>sai stot</i>
ㅊ	nj	n	ㄴ ( <i>n</i> ) plus <i>sai stot</i>
ㅊ	nh	n	ㄴ ( <i>n</i> ) plus aspiration
ㅊ	rh	l	ㄹ ( <i>l</i> ) plus aspiration
ㅊ	ll'	l	ㄹ ( <i>l</i> ) plus <i>sai stot</i>
ㅊ	lp'	p	ㅍ ( <i>p</i> )
ㅊ	ss	t	ㅅ ( <i>t</i> )

#### IV OTHER CONSIDERATIONS SYLLABLES AND WORDS IN ROMANIZATION

It has been customary in Romanizing Korean to divide words into syllables by means of hyphens. Ordinarily hyphens are used in Chinese Romanizations and not used in Japanese, thus providing a choice of precedents for the Romanization of Sino-Korean words. Although the Korean language is strongly influenced in vocabulary by the so-called monosyllabic Chinese language, it retains its characteristics as a polysyllabic agglutinative language. Thus in Korean, a given syllable may vary widely in pronunciation according to the nature of the other syllables in the word, whereas in Chinese a syllable is little affected by its neighbors except in tone. A simple example, the word Silla, will help to clarify the point. In Chinese, *hsin* 新 plus *lo* 羅 are pronounced Hsin-lo but in Korea, *sin* 新 plus *na* (la) 羅 are pronounced Silla. To hyphenate this name as Sil-la would imply that it is composed of two parts which individually are *sil* and *la*, which is obviously misleading.

The use of the hyphen may be justified if it is either an aid in identifying the Chinese character or a help in pronunciation. The phonetic individuality of the Chinese character is much less marked in Korean, because of euphonic changes than in Chinese. For example, the character 年 with the *ŏnumun* spelling 年 is pronounced and Romanized *yōn*, *nyōn*, *lyōn* and *yōl*,<sup>1</sup> depending on the preceding and following syllables; and *chōng* might represent the *ŏnumun* spellings 昌, 政, 惝, 捰, each of which denote independent groups of Chinese characters. Obviously, then, the identity of the character behind the Romanization is no clearer with the hyphen than without it if euphonic changes are to be included in the Romanization. From the standpoint of pronunciation the hyphen is generally just as unnecessary and often

1 E. g. *yōnp'yo* 年表 (chronological chart), *sinnyōn* 十年 (ten years) *ch'ilyōn* 七年 (seven years), and *yōllae* 年來 (for years).

actually misleading. To hyphenate Togil 독일 (Germany) as Tog-il would lead to its mispronunciation. One may conclude, therefore, that the use of the hyphen to separate syllables has no justification either as an aid in identifying the Chinese character or as a help in pronunciation, and is consequently best avoided.

Without doubt it would be convenient to use a hyphen to separate letters which represent two separate sounds but which, when occurring together, might otherwise be thought to represent digraphs, such as *oe*, *ae*, *üi* and *ng*. However, the common practice in the case of such vowels is to indicate a break in the pronunciation by placing the mark '·' over the second vowel. The first two vowel combinations would thus be Romanized *oe* and *ae*.<sup>1</sup> With *üi* no distinguishing mark is necessary, since the digraph itself represents a diphthong.

When *n* and *g* are pronounced separately the symbol ' may be used to separate them. Thus 전기 is to be Romanized *chō'ŕgi* (electricity) and 정인 as *chōngin* (lover).

In Romanizing sentences, book titles and the like, the problem of a correct division into words is important. It is difficult to define what is a word in any language, and the problem is particularly complicated in Korean where divisions have been traditionally made by syllables and by clauses. Therefore in Romanizing groups of words a division into units roughly comparable to those in European sentences should be made if the Romanization is to be intelligible to the average Occidental.

One can not lay down hard and fast rules for word divisions, and much depends on the special considerations and needs of each individual problem of Romanization. How-

1 These combinations very rarely occur except in sentences when a noun is followed by a postposition as, for example, *itaz' ŕi-ŕi* (in the earth) and *Chongnoŕ: ŕō ŕō-ŕi* (on Bell Street). In other cases also where two independent vowels occur together in Romanization, the same sign may be used over the second vowel if the Romanizer fears that otherwise the word might be mispronounced. For example, *noŕk ŕō-ŕi* (prison).

ever, a few recommendations will help bring some uniformity. The problem with native Korean is different from that of Sino-Korean and these two types of words should therefore be considered separately. In native Korean, as in native Japanese, the verb, including what may be called adjectival verbs or verbal adjectives, should be written together as a single unit, no matter what its length or complexity. Thus, verb stems with their auxiliary verbs and inflexional endings are to be Romanized as single words.<sup>1</sup> The nouns, likewise, should be written together with their postpositions, including those called case endings, not separately as in Japanese, because phonetically the two are so merged that it would often be difficult and misleading to attempt to divide them. The few remaining native words, such as adjectives, adverbs, and the like, may be Romanized individually as their corresponding form would be in English.

In the case of Sino-Korean words, as in modern Chinese and Sino-Japanese, there can be no clear criterion for the separation of groups of syllables by words other than the word-feeling of the language itself. The character combinations found in dictionaries serve as good indications of this division; but only through much experience can one master the division of Sino-Korean words, which, after all, is always partially a matter of individual interpretation.

Despite the above recommendations, in all Romanization problems, except the most simple, there will be considerable doubt as to the proper division of a phrase into words. This problem will have to be solved in most cases by the individual. There are many cases where there is a partial division does not seem great enough to justify writing them as separate words. It is for such cases that we have reserved the use of the hyphen; but we believe that on the whole it should be used as sparingly as possible.

1 It is possible in Romanization to divide verbs formed by Sino-Korean nouns plus such verbs as *hada* 하다 (to do) and *toeda* 태다 (to become) into their two component parts, but since many of them have become common Korean verbs we prefer generally to Romanize them as single words.

Euphonic changes often occur in spoken Korean between independent words, as in many European languages. Thus the Romanization of a sentence word by word does not represent as clearly as it might the pronunciation of the sentence as a whole. Nevertheless, a division of the sentence into word units seems to provide a more intelligible Romanization for the use of Occidentals, than a division by syllables or clauses.

The following sentence illustrates our suggestions for the division of a sentence by words.

한글 운동은 燕山君朝에 이르러 큰 厄運을 당하였다

*Han'gul undongun Yönsan-gun chöi irürö k'un aegunul tanghayötta.*

(The Han'güi movement was placed in an extremely critical position during the reign of the ruler Yönsan.)

#### THE ROMANIZATION OF PROPER NAMES AND TITLES

Proper names like words should not be divided into syllables, as has often been done in the past. For example, the geographic term 光州 should be Romanized as Kwangju. Irregularities occurring in proper names such as in P'yöngyang 平壤 which is colloquially pronounced P'iyang or P'e-*yang*, should usually be ignored in Romanizations intended for scholarly use.

Personal names demand special consideration. As in China, the great majority of surnames are monosyllables representing a single character, while a few are two character names. The given name, which follows the surname, usually has two characters but sometimes only one. In both two character surnames and two character given names the general rules of euphonic change should be observed, and the two syllables should be written together.

The problem of the euphonic changes between a surname and given name or title is very difficult. A man known as Paek Paksa 白朴 (Dr. Paek) might prove to have the

full name of Paeng Nakchun 平각준 because of the assimilation of the final *k* of his surname and the initial *n* of his given name. The use in Romanization of both Dr. Paek and Paeng Nakchun for the same person would result in considerable confusion. Therefore it seems best for Romanization purposes to disregard euphonic changes between surnames and given names or titles, so that the above name should be Romanized Paek Nakchun.

For ordinary social use our Romanization often may not prove suitable for personal names. Even in scholarly work there are also a few instances of rather well established Romanizations for proper names which might be left unchanged, just as the names of some of the provinces of China still have traditional Romanizations not in accord with the Wade-Giles system. There is, for example, Seoul, which some may prefer to the Söul of our system. Another very important example is 李, the surname of the kings of the last Korean dynasty and still a very common Korean surname. Actually it is pronounced in the standard dialect and should be Romanized *L*, but some may prefer to retain the older Romanization, *Yi*, because that is already the familiar form. In any case the other Romanizations of 李, *Ri* and *Li*, should not be used.

#### THE SIMPLE USE OF THIS SYSTEM OF ROMANIZATION

This Romanization system, with but a very few exceptions, may be applied by the use of two simple charts, the Syllabic Table and the Chart of Euphonic Changes of the Consonants which are to be found at the end of this article.

In using the Syllabic Table, the corresponding "forced" plosive letters, ㄱ *kk*, ㅋ *pk*, ㆁ *ng*, ㆁ *ng*, and the aspirated forms, ㅋ *k'*, ㆁ *ng'*, ㆁ *ng'*, may be substituted when called for in the columns of the four unvoiced plosive letters, ㄱ *k*, ㅋ *p*, ㆁ *t* and ㆁ *ch*. Also ㅅ *ss* may be substituted for *s* and *sh* in the ㄱ column. Special note should be taken of the double Romanizations given in the ㄴ and ㄹ

columns. The first in each case should be used for the first syllable of a word and the second for all other syllables. The Romanizations of the consonant letters as finals are included at the bottom of each column.

For those inexperienced in Romanizing Korean we suggest the following procedure:

1. Write the word in *ōmmun*, transcribing it from the Chinese characters if it is a Sino-Korean word.

*Examples:* Sino-Korean word, "museum" 博物館 equals 박물관. Native word, "bowl" is 사발.

2. Romanize each syllable separately according to the Syllabic Table, adding the syllabic consonantal endings as given.

*Examples:* *박* equals *pa* plus *k* and is therefore *pak*. This process will give *pak mul kwon* and *sa pal*.

3. Correct the medial consonants according to the Chart of Euphonic Changes of the Consonants and then write the syllables together.

*Examples:* *pak* plus *mul* gives a medial of *k* plus *m*. In the horizontal *K* column, where it intersects the vertical *M* column, will be found the correction *ngm*. Therefore *pak mul* becomes *pangmul*. This process will give the words correctly Romanized as *pangmulkwon* and *sabal*.

This very simple process will prove adequate for almost all Romanization problems, but occasionally there are irregularities which do not come within the scope of these two charts, and for these reference must be made to other sections of this paper. For example, the variation in the value of *λ* as a syllabic final in the medial position is discussed on pages 44 to 46. The Romanization of the three consonant digraphs, ㅍ, ㅑ, and ㅓ, is discussed at the end of

the section on "Rules for the Romanization of the *ōmmun* Consonant Letters." Other irregularities are discussed in "Irregularities in the Pronunciation of the Vowels," "The Medial Glottal Stop (*Sai Siot*) and Irregular Assimilation between Consonants" and "The Romanization of Consonants in New Spelling."

SYLLABIC TABLE

Consonants	ㅇ	ㄱ	ㅂ	ㄷ	ㅌ	ㄴ	ㄹ	ㅁ	ㅅ	ㅇ
		(ㄱ, ㅋ)	(ㅂ, ㅍ)	(ㄷ, ㅌ)	(ㅌ, ㅍ)	1st 2nd	1st 2nd		(ㅅ)	
Vowels										
ㅏ	a 아	ka 가	pa 바	ta 다	cha 차	na 나 na	na 라 ra	ma 마	sa 사	ha 하
ㅑ	ya 야	kya 가	pya 바	cha 차	cha 차	ya 나 nya	ya 라 rya	mya 마	sa 사	hya 하
ㅓ	o '어	kō 가	pō 바	tō 다	chō 차	nō 나 nō	nō 라 nō	mō 마	sō 사	hō 하
ㅕ	yō 여	kyō 가	pyō 바	chō 다	chō 차	yō 나 nyō	yō 라 ryō	myō 마	sō 사	hyō 하
ㅗ	o '오	ko 고	po 보	to 도	cho 초	no 노 no	no 로 ro	mo 모	so 소	ho 호
ㅛ	yo 요	kyo 고	pyo 보	cho 도	cho 초	yo 노 nyo	yo 로 ryo	myo 모	so 소	hyo 호
ㅜ	u '우	ku 구	pu 부	tu 두	chu 추	nu 누 nyu	nu 루 ryu	mu 무	su 수	hu 후
ㅠ	yu 유	kyu 구	pyu 부	chu 두	chu 추	yu 누 nyu	yu 루 ryu	myu 무	su 수	hyu 후
ㅡ	ū '으	kū 구	pu 부	tū 두	chū 추	nū 누 nū	nū 루 rū	mu 무	sū 수	hū 후
ㅣ	i '이	ki 기	pi 비	chi 디	chi 지	i 니 ni	i 리 ri	mi 미	si 시	hi 히
ㅑ	a '에	ka 마	pa 바	ta 데	cha 차	na 나 na	na 라 ra	ma 마	sa 사	ha 하
ㅓ	ae 에	kae 가	paе 바	tae 데	chae 차	nae 나 nae	nae 라 rae	mae 마	sae 사	hae 하
ㅕ	ae 에	kae 가	paе 바	tae 데	chae 차	nae 나 nae	nae 라 rae	mae 마	sae 사	hae 하
ㅛ	yae 예	kyae 가								
ㅜ	e '에	ke 게	pe 베	te 데	che 제	ne 네 ne	ne 레 re	me 메	se 세	he 헤
ㅠ	ye 예	kye 게	pye 베	che 데	che 제	ye 네 nye	ye 레 rye	mye 메	se 세	hye 헤
ㅡ	oe 외	koe 고	poe بو	toe 두	choe 초	noe 노 noe	noe 로 roe	moe 모	soe 소	hoe 호
ㅣ	ū '외	ki 귀	pi 뷔	ti 두	chi 추	ni 니 ni	ni 리 ri	mi 미	si 시	hi 히
ㅑ	wi 위	kwi 귀	pi 뷔	twi 두	chwi 추	nwi 니 nwi	nwi 리 rwi	mi 미	shwi 시	hwi 히
ㅓ					ch'wi 추				shwi 시	
ㅕ	wa 와	kwa 파	pwa 파	twa 따	chwa 차	nwa 나 nwa	nwa 라 rwa	mwa 마	swa 사	hwa 하
ㅛ	wae 와	kwae 파	pwaе 파	twae 따	chwaе 차	nwaе 나 nwaе	nwaе 라 rwaе	mwaе 마	swaе 사	hwaе 하
ㅜ	wō 워	kwō 파	pwō 파	twō 따	chwō 차	nwō 나 nwō	nwō 라 rwō	mwō 마	swō 사	hwō 하
ㅠ	we 웨	kwe 파	pwe 파	twe 따	chwe 차	nwe 나 nwe	nwe 라 rwe	mwe 마	swe 사	hwe 하
ㅡ					ch'we 차					
Syllabic finals	ng ㅇ	k ㄱ	p ㅂ	[t]	[t]	n ㄴ	l ㄹ	m ㅁ	t ㅅ	[h]

CHART OF EUPHONIC CHANGES OF THE CONSONANTS

(Syllabic finals are listed vertically and initials horizontally.)

	Vow els	CH ス	CH' ツ	H フ	K ク	K' ク	M ム	N ヌ	P フ	P' フ	R ル	S ス	T ツ	T' ツ
Vowels	—	ch tch	ch' tch	h	g	kk kk	m	n	b	pp	r	s ss	d	t' tt
K(ク)	g	kch ktch	kch' ktch	kh	kk	kk' kk	ngm	ngn	kp	kp'	ngn	ks kss	kt	kt' ktt
L(ル)	r	lch ltch	lch' ltch	lh	lg	lk' lkk	lm	ll	lb	lp'	ll	ls lss	lt	lt' ltt
M(ム)	m	mch mtch	mch' mtch	mh	mg	mk' mkk	mm	mn	mb	mp'	mn	ms mss	md	md' mmt
N(ヌ)	n	nch ntch	nch' ntch	nh	n'g	nk' nkk	nm	nn	nb	np'	ll	ns nss	nd	nd' nnt
NG(オ)	ng	ngch ngtch	ngch' ngtch	ngh	ngg	ngk' ngkk	ngm	ngn	ngb	ngp'	ngn	ngs ngss	ngd	ngt' ngtt
P(フ)	b	pch ptch	pch' ptch	ph	pk	pk' pkk	mm	mn	pp	pp'	mn	ps pss	pt	pt' ptt
T(ツ)	d	tch	tch	th	tk	tk' tkk	nm	nn	pp	tp'	nn	ss	tt	tt' ttt

The letters of this chart are arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet for the convenience of users. Combinations which are italicized may be subject to exceptions. Irregularities are also likely to occur in all combinations in which the unvoiced plosives, *k*, *p*, *t* and *ch*, become voiced plosives, *g*, *b*, *d* and *j*. These exceptions are discussed in the section entitled "The Medial Glottal Stop (*Sai Siot*) and Irregular Assimilation between Consonants."