

## Between Tensification and Bound and Free Nouns

Hyoungh-Youb Kim

(Korea University)

### 1. Definition of Bound and Free Forms

In the examples below, I show that compounds in (1a), e.g., /hæ toti/, /mul pati/, and /son capi/ contain deverbal nouns whose verbal stems assign a thematic role to their preceding nouns. Thus, the deverbal suffix *-i* and *-(û)m* should move to another node in the Logical Form of the grammar. However, compounds in (1b), e.g., /ton pêli/, /mul kipi/, and /som pup<sup>hi</sup>/ contain deverbal nouns which are lexicalized and do not assign any thematic role. Thus, the deverbal suffix in these compounds should not move to any node in the Logical Form of the grammar. The deverbal nouns in (1a) cannot appear in a phrase or a sentence, while those in (1b) can.

- (1) a. [[hæ]<sub>N</sub> [[tot]<sub>V</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[hæ doji] 'a sunrise'  
           sun    rise       Nominalizer
- [[mul]<sub>N</sub> [[pat]<sub>V</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[mul baji] 'water collector'  
           water    receive Nominalizer
- [[son]<sub>N</sub> [[cap]<sub>V</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[son jabi] 'a handle'  
           hand    hold       Nominalizer
- [[non]<sub>N</sub> [[kal]<sub>V</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[non gari] 'plowing of  
           rice-field plow Nominalizer       rice-field'
- [[sal]<sub>N</sub> [[put<sup>h</sup>]<sub>V</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[sal buch<sup>i</sup>] 'a relative'  
           flesh   stick       Nominalizer
- [[cal]<sub>N</sub> [[coli]<sub>V</sub> + ûm]<sub>N</sub> [[cal] jorim] 'soy hard-  
           soy    hard-boil   Nominalizer       boiling'
- [[maûm]<sub>N</sub> [[kaci]<sub>V</sub> + ûm]<sub>N</sub> [[maûm gajim] 'one's mental  
           mind    possess    Nominalizer       attitude'
- [[nun]<sub>N</sub> [[kali]<sub>V</sub> + ûm]<sub>N</sub> [[nun garim] 'deceiving'  
           eye    cover       Nominalizer    According to
- b. [[ton]<sub>N</sub> [[pêl]<sub>V</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[ton p'êri] 'money making'  
       money   earn Nominalizer
- [[mul]<sub>N</sub> [[kup]<sub>V</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[mul k'ubi] 'a bend in a river  
       water   bend                       stream'
- [[k<sup>h</sup>o]<sub>N</sub> [[kil]<sub>A</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[kho k'iri] 'an elephant'  
       nose    long
- [[yêlûm]<sub>N</sub> [[têp]<sub>A</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[yêrûm t'êwi] 'summer heat'  
       summer   hot
- [[som]<sub>N</sub> [[pup<sup>h</sup>û]<sub>A</sub> + i]<sub>N</sub> [[som p'up<sup>hi</sup>] 'bulk of cotton'  
       cotton   bulky

[[pal] <sub>N</sub> [[kêt] <sub>V</sub> + ûm] <sub>N</sub> [pal k'êrûm]	'a foot step'
foot walk	
[[kyêul] <sub>N</sub> [[ca] <sub>V</sub> + ûm] <sub>N</sub> [kyêul c'am]	'hibernation'
winter sleep	
[[ima] <sub>N</sub> [[cul] <sub>V</sub> + ûm] <sub>N</sub> [ima c'urûm]	'wrinkles on the forehead'
forehead shrink	

In Bloomfield (1933:160), a linguistic form which is never spoken alone is a bound form; all others (as, /John ran/, or /run/, or /running/) are free forms. In Nida (1978:11) the lexical items which never occur in isolation, that is, are not regularly uttered alone in normal discourse, are bound forms. Bound forms include affixes and some roots. The free forms are lexical items which are uttered in isolation, e.g., /boy/, /girl/, /man/, and always consist of a root. In Scalise (1986:81) lexical items are also divided in to free forms and bound forms. Free forms are defined as those that can appear on the surface as they are without the application of additional morphological rules, and bound forms are defined as those that can never occur in isolation. Bound forms do not undergo lexical insertion. For example, In German a compound contains a form which does not coincide with any inflected forms. /Lachkrampf/ [lax-krampf] 'laughing spasms' contains lach which is not equal to any of the inflectional forms such as /lachen/ [lax-en] 'to laugh', (ich) /lache/ [lax-e] '(I) laugh', (er) /lacht/ [lax-t] '(he) laughs', (er) /lachte/ [lax-te] '(he) laughed', /gelacht/ [ge-lax-te] 'laughed'. Thus, /lach/ within /Lachkrampf/ cannot be inserted to any position in a phrase or a sentence by lexical insertion. The deverbal nouns included in (1a) such as toti, pai, capi, colim, kacim, and totum do not undergo lexical insertion, either. The examples in (1a) shows that these deverbal nouns generate ungrammatical phrases or sentences when they are inserted in a phrase or a sentence. However, the deverbal nouns in (1b) such as pêli, kili, têwi, pup<sup>hi</sup>, kêl.ûm, cam, kûm, and kê.lûm undergo lexical insertion and generate grammatical sentences shown in (2a) and (2b).

- (2) a. pêli-ka coh-ayo. 'earning is good.  
 earning-Nom good-SE
- i kwak-ûy pup<sup>hi</sup>-ka k<sup>h</sup>-êyo. 'the bulk of this box  
 this box-Gen bulk-Nom large-SE is large'
- kili-ka calp-ayo. 'the length is short'  
 length-Nom short-SE
- aki-ûy c<sup>h</sup>ês kêl.ûm. 'the baby's first  
 baby-Gen first step step'
- i ai-ka cam-ûl ca-yo. 'this child sleeps'  
 this child-Nom sleep-Acc sleep-SE
- ai-ka kûm-ûl kû-êyo. 'a child draws a line'  
 child-Nom line-Acc draw-SE
- no||pu-ka kê.lûm-ûl cu-êyo 'farmer spreads fer-  
 farmer-Nom fertilizer-Acc give-SE tilizer on the field'

b. <b>pêli-ka</b>	acu	coh-ayo.	'earning is very good'
earning-Nom	very	good-SE	
<b>*toti-ka</b>	acu	coh-ayo.	'rising is very good'
rising-Nom	very	good-SE	
i kwak-ûy	pup <sup>h</sup> i-ka	k <sup>h</sup> -êyo.	'the bulk of this box
this box-Gen	bulk-Nom	large-SE	is large'
<b>*i pati-ka</b>	cak-ayo.		'this collector is
this collector-Nom	small-SE		small'
<b>kili-ka</b>	calp-ayo.		'the length is short'
length-Nom	short-SE		
<b>*capi-ka</b>	putûlêw-êyo.		'the holder is soft'
holder-Nom	soft-SE		
kû aki-ûy	c <sup>h</sup> ês kêl.ûm.		'that baby's first
that baby-Gen	first	step	step'
<b>*kû yêca-ûy</b>	colim.		'her first hard-
that she-Gen	hard-boiling		boiling'
ai-ka	cam-ûl	ca-yo.	'this child sleeps'
child-Nom	sleep-Acc	sleep-SE	
<b>*ai-ka</b>	kacim-ûl	kacy-êyo.	'the child has the
child-Nom	possession-Acc	keep-SE	possession'
ai-ka	kûm-ûl	kû-êyo.	'a child draws a line'
child-Nom	lind-Acc	draw-SE	
<b>*ai-ka</b>	kalim-ûl	hæ-yo.	'a child does a
child-Nom	covering-Acc	do-SE	covering'
næ-ka	kê.lûm-ûl	cu-êyo.	'I spread fertilizer'
I-Nom	fertilizer-Acc	give-SE	
<b>*næ-ka</b>	totum-ûl	hæ-yo.	'I do the raising'
I-Nom	raising-Acc	do-SE	

Therefore, we can conclude that the deverbal nouns in (1a) belong to bound forms, and those in (1b) belong to free forms.

## 2. Tensification in Free Forms

In the above I have showed that the deverbal nouns in (1a) belong to bound forms, and those in (1b) belong to free forms. As shown in (1a) and (1b) the initial obstruent of the deverbal nouns is tensified only when the deverbal nouns belong to free forms. In this part I will show that the initial obstruent of the second word is tensified only when the second word belong to free forms. As shown in (3) Korean compounds can be classified into four categories based on to which form the words in a compound belong. First, both parts of a compound are free forms. Second, the first word is a bound form, but the second word is a free form. Third, the first

word is a free form, and the second word is a bound form. Fourth, both words are bound forms. This is shown in a tabular form below.

- (3)
- |    |                   |   |                   |   |            |   |            |
|----|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| a. | Word <sub>1</sub> | + | Word <sub>2</sub> | = | Free Form  | + | Free Form  |
| b. | Word <sub>1</sub> | + | Word <sub>2</sub> | = | Bound Form | + | Free Form  |
| c. | Word <sub>1</sub> | + | Word <sub>2</sub> | = | Free Form  | + | Bound Form |
| d. | Word <sub>1</sub> | + | Word <sub>2</sub> | = | Bound Form | + | Bound Form |

Compounds may also be divided into four subcategories based on whether an element in the compound is an original noun or a deverbal noun. They are: (1) noun + noun, (2) noun + deverbal noun<sub>1</sub>, (3) deverbal noun<sub>1</sub> + noun, and (4) deverbal noun<sub>1</sub> + deverbal noun<sub>1</sub>.<sup>1</sup> The examples of each category are given below.

- (4) a. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = noun + noun

[[pata] <sub>N</sub>	[[koki] <sub>N</sub>	[pata k'ogi]	'a sea fish'
sea	fish		
[[son] <sub>N</sub>	[[tûl] <sub>N</sub>	[son t'ûl]	'the back of a hand'
hand	back		
[[c'ho] <sub>N</sub>	[[pul] <sub>N</sub>	[c'ho p'ul]	'candle-light'
candle	light		
[[ton] <sub>N</sub>	[[cikap] <sub>N</sub>	[ton c'igap]	'money purse'
money	purse		

- b. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = noun + deverbal noun<sub>1</sub>

[[ton] <sub>N</sub>	[[pêl-i] <sub>N</sub>	[ton p'êri]	'money making'
money	earning		
[[mul] <sub>N</sub>	[[kup-i] <sub>N</sub>	[mul k'ubi]	'a bend in a river stream'
water	bend		
[[k'ho] <sub>N</sub>	[[kil-i] <sub>N</sub>	[mom k'iri]	'an elephant'
nose	length		
[[yêlûm] <sub>N</sub>	[[têw-i] <sub>N</sub>	[yêrûm t'êwi]	'summer heat'
summer	heat		

- c. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = deverbal noun<sub>1</sub> + noun

[[nol-i] <sub>N</sub>	[[pæ] <sub>N</sub>	[nori p'æ]	'a pleasure boat'
pleasure	boat		
[[kûli-m] <sub>N</sub>	[[pus] <sub>N</sub>	[kûrim p'ut]	'a paint brush'
picture	brush		

---

<sup>1</sup> The subscript numbers in deverbal nouns indicate to which category they belong.

deverbal noun<sub>1</sub> --> free form  
 deverbal noun<sub>2</sub> --> bound form

[[ca-m] <sub>N</sub>	[cali] <sub>N</sub>	[cam c'ari]	'a sleeping place'
sleep	place		
[[cul-ûm] <sub>N</sub>	[sal] <sub>N</sub>	[curûm s'al]	'winkles'
winkle			
[[nol-ûm] <sub>N</sub>	[pic <sup>h</sup> ] <sub>N</sub>	[norûm p'it]	'a gambling debt'
gambling	debt		
[[ul-ûm] <sub>N</sub>	[soli] <sub>N</sub>	[urûm s'ori]	'crying sound'
crying	sound		

d. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = deverbil noun<sub>1</sub> + deverbil noun<sub>1</sub>

[[kûs-m] <sub>N</sub>	[kil-i] <sub>N</sub>	[kûm k'iri]	'length of the line'
line	length		
[[k'u-m] <sub>N</sub>	[t'æ-m] <sub>N</sub>	[k'um t'æm]	'offsetting the bad dream'
dream	offsetting		
[[tûli-m] <sub>N</sub>	[se-m] <sub>N</sub>	[tûrim s'em]	'payment by installment'
hanging	counting		
[[êl-ûm] <sub>N</sub>	[ci-m] <sub>N</sub>	[êrûm c'im]	'a load of ice'
ice	load		

Second, in (5) compounds with the morphological structure of (3b) are listed. The first word is bound form, and the second word is free form. The structures of these compound words are noun + noun and deverbil noun<sub>2</sub> + noun. In the former the first noun is dependent noun; and, in the latter the deverbil noun<sub>2</sub> indicates the deverbil nouns which cannot occur in isolation.

(5) a. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = noun + noun

[[um] <sub>N</sub>	[cip] <sub>N</sub>	[um c'ip]	'a dugout mud hut'
dugout	hut		
[[c <sup>h</sup> am] <sub>N</sub>	[pap] <sub>N</sub>	[c <sup>h</sup> am p'ap]	'food for the break'
break	food		

b. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = deverbil noun<sub>2</sub> + noun

[[kal-i] <sub>N</sub>	[kikyê] <sub>N</sub>	[kari k'igyê]	'a plowing machine'
plowing	machine		
[[pipi-m] <sub>N</sub>	[pap] <sub>N</sub>	[pibim p'ap]	'a rice hash'
hash	rice		
[[kuki-m] <sub>N</sub>	[sal] <sub>N</sub>	[kugim s'al]	'wrinkles'
wrinkling	path		
[[kêsûl-ûm] <sub>N</sub>	[ton] <sub>N</sub>	[kêsûrûm t'on]	'change'
change	money		
[[titi-m] <sub>N</sub>	[tol] <sub>N</sub>	[tidim t'ol]	'a step-stone'
step	stone		

[[totu-m] <sub>N</sub> [tæ] <sub>N</sub>	[todum t'æ]	'an elevating stand'
raising stand		
[[kalli-m] <sub>N</sub> [kil] <sub>N</sub>	[kallim k'il]	'a branch road'
branching road		
[[mulli-m] <sub>N</sub> [sö] <sub>N</sub>	[mullim s'ö]	'a clamp'
getting bitten iron		

Third, the examples in (6) are compounds whose morphological structure is same as (3c). They can be subcategorized into two classes based on whether the first word is original noun or deverbal noun: noun + deverbal noun<sub>2</sub> and deverbal noun<sub>1</sub> + deverbal noun<sub>2</sub>.

(5) a. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = noun + deverbal noun<sub>2</sub>

[[hæ] <sub>N</sub> [tot-i] <sub>N</sub>	[hæ doji]	'sun rise'
sun rising		
[[mul] <sub>N</sub> [pat-i] <sub>N</sub>	[mul baji]	'water collector'
water collector		
[[son] <sub>N</sub> [cap-i] <sub>N</sub>	[son jabi]	'a handle'
hand holding		
[[non] <sub>N</sub> [kal-i] <sub>N</sub>	[non gari]	'rice-field plowing'
rice-field plowing		
[[sal] [put <sup>h</sup> -i] <sub>N</sub>	[sal buc <sup>h</sup> i]	'a relative'
flesh sticking		
[[kü] <sub>N</sub> [sal-i] <sub>N</sub> <sub>N</sub>	[kü sari]	'alive at the corner of a checkerboard'
corner of being alive checkerboard		
[[cal] <sub>N</sub> [coli-m] <sub>N</sub>	[cal jorim]	'soy hard-boiling'
soy hard-boiling		
[[maûm] <sub>N</sub> [kaci-m] <sub>N</sub>	[maûm gajim]	'one's mental attitude'
mind possessing		
[[nun] <sub>N</sub> [kali-m] <sub>N</sub>	[nun garim]	'deceiving'
eye covering		
[[pal] <sub>N</sub> [totu-m] <sub>N</sub>	[pal dodum]	'standing on the tiptoe'
foot raising		
[[him] <sub>N</sub> [kyêlû-m] <sub>N</sub>	[him gyêrum]	'a contest of strength'
strength contest		

b. Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = deverbal noun<sub>1</sub> + deverbal noun<sub>2</sub>

[[kêl-ûm] <sub>N</sub> [kêl-i] <sub>N</sub>	[kêrûm gêri]	'one's manner of walking'
step walking		
[[salli-m] <sub>N</sub> [sal-i] <sub>N</sub>	[sallim sari]	'a household'

household loving

[[kûli-m]<sub>N</sub> [kêl-i]<sub>N</sub>] [kûrim gêri] 'a picture-hanger'  
picture hanger

[[cim]<sub>N</sub> [pat-i]<sub>N</sub>] [cim baji] 'a pannier'  
load container

Fourth, in (7) both words in compounds word are bound forms. The structures of this compound words will be noun + deverbal noun, and deverbal noun, + deverbal noun. In the former the noun is bound form.

(7) Word<sub>1</sub> + Word<sub>2</sub> = noun + deverbal noun<sub>2</sub>

[[um]<sub>N</sub> [tot-i]<sub>N</sub>] [um toji] 'a bud'  
bud rising

[[um]<sub>N</sub> [sal-i]<sub>N</sub>] [um sari] 'life in the mud hut'  
mud hut living

[[c'ok]<sub>N</sub> [mo-i]<sub>N</sub>] [c'ok moi] 'collection of pieces'  
piece collection

[[so]<sub>N</sub> [pak-i]<sub>N</sub>] [so bagi] 'stuffed-cucumber'  
stuffing insertinpickles

[[ko]<sub>N</sub> [tal-i]<sub>N</sub>] [ko dari] 'an attached finger'  
loop attaching loop'

[[c<sup>h</sup>æ]<sub>N</sub> [pat-i]<sub>N</sub>] [c<sup>h</sup>æ baji] 'beef shoulder'  
switch receiving

From the examples in (4), (5), (6), and (7) we see that the initial obstruent of the second nouns is tensified when they are free form no matter what the first noun belong to. The initial obstruent in the second nouns of (6) and (7) where the second nouns are bound forms is not tensified, instead it becomes voiced. Therefore, in compounds the initial obstruent of the second noun is tensified only when the noun is free form. (8) shows the condition of tensification of the initial obstruent in the second noun within compounds.

#### (8) Free Form Condition of Tensification

In compounds a initial obstruent of a second noun is tensified iff the second noun belongs to free form when tensification is not motivated phonologically.

The condition above can account for compounds in which the second noun is /kuk/ 'soup' and its initial *k* is tensified even though other studies dealt with them as exceptions. For example, in K-H. Lee (1982:146) the extra rule {X [kuk]<sub>N</sub>}<sub>N</sub> → [-condition 1 for t-epenthesis (a)] is assigned to /kuk/ in order to account for tensification of the initial *k* in /kuk/. In this rule t-epenthesis (a) is one of six negative conditions, which prevent t-epenthesis from being applied when the constituent preceding the compounding boundary has the semantic feature specification [+material].

(9) a. **kuk-i**      **acu**    **masiss-êyo.**  
          soup-Nom very    delicious-SE 'the soup is very delicious'

     b. **sênsə]** **nim-k'esê**    **kuk-ûl**    **cohaha-si-êyo.**  
          teacher-Nom          soup-Acc like-honor-SE  
          'the teacher likes the soup'

[illegible]

This condition is applied only to compounds which are constructed with nouns. If one of the words in compounds is a prefix or a suffix the initial obstruent of the second word is not tensified even though it belongs to free form. In Korean, there are compounds in which are constructed with a word and an affix (prefix or suffix). According to H-B. Choi (1937:657-685) the affixes are bound forms because it is defined as a grammatical element which cannot occur in isolation. The affixes should be attached to words. Especially, when a prefix and a word form a compound the initial obstruent of the word is not tensified even though the second word fullfills the condition in (5.84). The examples in (11) shows that the initial obstruent of the word in compounds is voiced when it is preceded by a prefix.

- Copyright (C) 2003 NuriMedia Co., Ltd.



wild	pear		
[[mæn] <sub>BA</sub> [cumêk] <sub>N</sub> ]	[mæn jumêk]		'an bare fist'
bare fist			
[[me] <sub>BA</sub> [co] <sub>N</sub> ]	[me jo]		'non-glutinous millet'
not sticky millet			
[[min] <sub>BA</sub> [tækali] <sub>N</sub> ]	[min dægari]		'a bald head'
bald head			
[[pan] <sub>BA</sub> [tal] <sub>N</sub> ]	[pan dal]		'a half moon'
half moon			
[[æ] <sub>BA</sub> [pêl] <sub>N</sub> ]	[æ bêl]		'a rough job'
first job			
[[êl] <sub>BA</sub> [kan] <sub>N</sub> ]	[êl gan]		'salting lightly'
rough salting			
[[on] <sub>BA</sub> [tal] <sub>N</sub> ]	[on dal]		'a full moon'
full moon			
[[ol] <sub>BA</sub> [pyê] <sub>N</sub> ]	[ol byê]		'the early-ripening rice plant'
early-ripening rice plant			
[[ch'a] <sub>BA</sub> [tol] <sub>N</sub> ]	[ch'a dol]		'silicates'
sticky stone			
[[ch'al] <sub>BA</sub> [pap] <sub>N</sub> ]	[ch'al bap]		'cooked glutinous rice'
glutinous rice			
[[ch'am] <sub>BA</sub> [kilûm] <sub>N</sub> ]	[ch'am girûm]		'sesame oil'
sesame oil			
[[ch'o] <sub>BA</sub> [cênyêk] <sub>N</sub> ]	[ch'o jêñêk]		'early evening'
first evening			
[[han] <sub>BA</sub> [kil] <sub>N</sub> ]	[han gil]		'a main street'
big road			
[[han] <sub>BA</sub> [pam] <sub>N</sub> ]	[han bam]		'deep night'
deep night			

In H-S. Sohn (1987:260) the left elements were regarded as adjective stems. In order to apply tensification compounds should have subcompounding structure in which both words are nouns. The Denominal adjective derivation of the first noun provides tensification with the phonological environment by inserting the Denominal adjective morpheme between nouns. However, the first words in (11) are lexically adjectives, and hence the denominal adjective derivation is not allowed to be applied. Therefore, the initial obstruent of the second words is voiced. In my view the left elements should be prefixes, not adjectives grammatically because they do not occur in isolation. In Korean prefixes are bound forms which cannot occur in isolation, but the adjectives can occur independently.

- (12) a. na-nûn kip'ûta. 'I am happy'  
           I-Top happy  
           \*na-nûn nal.
- b. hanûl-i p'ulûta. 'sky is blue'  
           sky-Nom blue  
           \*hanûl-i pan.
- c. nals'i-ka têpta. 'weather is hot'  
           weather-Nom hot  
           \*nals'i-ka on.
- d. san-i nop<sup>h</sup>ta. 'mountain is high'  
           mountain-Nom high  
           \*san-i ol.
- e. kû cip-i cohta. 'that house is good'  
           that house-Nom good  
           \*kû cip-i han.

### C. Summary

In this paper I have shown that compounds with a deverbal noun shows tensification when the deverbal nouns are free forms like original nouns. The t-epenthesis rule applies to the compound words when the second noun in the compounds is free form except the compounds consist of a prefix as shown in (12). This condition is defined in (8).

### References

- Ahn, Sang-Cheol. 1985. *The Interplay of Phonology and Morphology in Korean*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Aronoff, M. 1976. *Word Formation in Generative Grammar*. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 1. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Choi, Hyên-Pæ. 1937. *U-li-mal-pon* [The Grammar of Korean]. Seoul: Cêngumsa.
- Di Sciullo, A. and E. Williams. 1987. *On the definition of word*. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 14. MIT Press.
- Huh, Wung. 1968. *Kuk-ê Um-un-hak* [Korean Phonology]. Seoul: Cêngumsa.
- Kim, Chin-Wu. 1970a. Boundary Phenomena in Korean. *Papers in Linguistics* 2, 1-26.
- Kim, Hyoung-youb. 1990. *Voicing and Tensification in Korean: A Multi-face Approach*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- . 1993. Compounding and Affix Movement in Korean. *Linguistic Journal of Korea* 17.
- Kim, Kye-Kon. 1971. Hyên-tæ kuk-ê-ûy im-ca-s'i-ûy hap-sêng-pêp [The Formation Rules of Noun Compounds in modern Korean]. *Hangul-hak-hö 50 tols ki-nyêm non-mun-cip*, 145-154.
- . 1987. Hyên-tæ Kuk-ê-ûy co-ê-pêp yên-ku [A Study of Word Formation in modern Korean]. *Hangul* 196, 65-145.

- Lee, Kang-Hun. 1982. Tensification in Korean Noun Compounds. *Linguistics Journal of Korea* 9.1, 133-153.
- Nida, Eugene.A. 1978. *Morphology: the Descriptive Analysis of Words*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Scalise, Sergio. 1984. *Generative Morphology*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Sohn, Hyang-sook. 1987. Derivational Morphology and Tensification in Korean Compounds. *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics* II, 443-455.
- Yu, Jae-Won. 1985. *A Reverse Dictionary of Modern Korean*. Seoul: Cêong-ûm-sa.

Department of English  
Korea University  
Jochiwon, Chungnam 339-800