

Textual distribution of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones and its specific features

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In this paper, the features of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones will be examined and discussed in general as well as in certain types of texts in which we can register high occurrence of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones. These are literary texts, with a particular reference to children's literature, comic books, newspaper headlines, and informal electronic communication, and special attention will be paid to the television show overtiles. Some of the specific phenomena that occur in these texts will be presented.

Keywords: *onomatopoeia, ideophone, sound symbolism, reduplication, Korean language, overtiles*

1. Introduction

To investigate and describe Korean onomatopoeia and ideophones and their textual distribution, which is the subject of this paper, it is essential to define what the actual object of investigation is. Research on Korean onomatopoeia and ideophones is burdened due to terminological ambiguity and different approaches to the definition and defining criteria of this group of words. We will try to define the actual state of the art and point out relevant issues to clarify the position of onomatopoeia and ideophones in the Korean language.

In Korean, onomatopoeias and ideophones are normatively classified as a subgroup of adverbs. They are most referred to by the Korean terms *ũisǒngǒ* ‘words that imitate sound’, and *ũitchaeǒ* ‘words that imitate appearance’. However, many other terms are used to both onomatopoeias and ideophones, e.g., symbolic word, imitating word, or terms referring to their classification as subclass of adverbs such as ‘symbolic adverb’. There are also onomatopoeias especially of some activity or movement which also carry the meaning of the appearance or movement in which the sound arises, thus can be considered both onomatopoeia and ideophone at the same time as pointed out by Chae (2003).

Due to the conception of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones as one group of words, classification problems arise in determining the specific features that define the group. These features are then attributed to both onomatopoeias and ideophones, despite their differences and specific features. Park (2008) presents a total of nine different features cited by various Korean researchers who agree on only four main features. He further specifies the main classification criteria of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones as follows: 1) sound symbolism leading to the emergence of variants due to vowel and consonantal alternations, 2) total or partial reduplications, 3) specific verbal derivations, 4) strong contextual constraints leading to valency to a very limited number of words, esp. verbs. However, as Park summarizes, although the native speakers intuitively recognize onomatopoeias or ideophones in Korean, if they are to delineate the features defining this group, they find that virtually no feature is universal enough to be applied to all onomatopoeias and ideophones. Aware of this Kim (1995) suggests that presence of two of all four main features is sufficient for classifying a certain word as onomatopoeia or ideophone.

The specific features that usually define the group of onomatopoeias and ideophones in Korean have been determined mainly on former analysis of literary texts and dictionaries. Earlier scholars focused their research on onomatopoeias and ideophones excerpted from literature (Fabre 1964) or they conducted research on dictionary material (Führding 1985; Kim 1998; Kim & Park 2001). Chae (2002) is pointing out, however, that the specific features of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones depend to some extent on the type of text in which they are examined. Thus, he finds it necessary to abandon the notion of uniform features for the whole group of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones. He proposes to focus on individual text types in which Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones occur frequently and their specific features in addition to the listed universal features.

2. Textual distribution of Korean onomatopoeia and ideophones and their specific features

Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones are closely associated with specific types of texts, in which they occur with distinctly higher frequency. In those texts, they exhibit unique characteristics, and manifest themselves in specific ways, as mentioned by Chae (2003); Park 2007; Hyun & Rhee (2018), and others. In this section, we will try to describe these specific features of onomatopoeias and ideophones in Korean in terms of their textual distribution in certain types of texts.

Hyun & Rhee (2018) list the types of texts in which they observe a significantly higher amount of ideophones as follows: media essays, novels, newspapers, movie or drama scenarios and conversations. They mainly deal with literary texts (novels, movie, or drama scenarios), as well as journalistic texts (newspapers, media essays) and spoken language (conversations). This list differs from that of Chae (2003). He presents onomatopoeia and ideophone-rich texts, and he also assumes that the form and function of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones will exhibit different features. He lists the following types of texts:

- i. Literature: prose and poetry
- ii. Comics
- iii. Newspaper headlines
- iv. Electronic communication (chat, posts, comments, etc.)

In this paper, we will shortly summarize the already investigated features of those four types with some remarks of possible approaches or progress. We then will proceed to the type of texts that have been less explored by researchers so far, which is:

- v. overtiles in television shows

The overtiles or commentaries in TV shows have been addressed in only several studies, e.g., Lee (2019), partially also Ahn (2014), and therefore more space will be devoted to them and their specific features.

The most prominent feature of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones is claimed to be the manifestation of sound symbolism - vowel and consonantal alternation, which is described by many authors (Kim 1996; Pucek 2003; Chae 2003; Park 2008). It is often listed as the first feature that defines the group of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones in most studies.

Vowels in Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones may alternate between so-called yang vowels, e.g., /a/, /o/ and yin vowels, most commonly /ʌ/, /u/. Yang vowels generally carry the connotation of something small, bright, and positive, while yin vowels carry the connotation of something larger, dark and stronger. Consonantal alternations in a syllable

initial between plain - tensed - aspirated consonants of the same type e.g. /k/ - /k̚/ - /kʰ/ depict increasing intensity or force, in case of aspirated also diffusion. These are the consonants /k/, /t/, /p/, /t̚/, and /s/ (which is only plain and intensive, not aspirated). A less frequent type of alternation is that of the syllabic coda. Only seven consonants may occur in the syllable coda and only some of them may alternate. For example, /l/ in a coda is referred to as smooth, while /k/ is more abrupt (Martin 1993).

- (1) a. *pant̚sak* / *pant̚sʌk* 'glitter, twinkle, with a flash'
 b. *piŋ-piŋ* / *piŋ- piŋ* / *pʰiŋ-pʰiŋ* ' (turn) round and round'
 c. *piŋgul* / *piŋgut* 'smile gently, beamingly'

In Example (1) a. the vowel alternation of the nucleus in both syllables of an ideophone is shown. The later form containing yin vowel is depicting a stronger, brighter light or flash of light than that preceding one. Example (1) b. shows three consonantal variants of an ideophone, each having stronger, more intensive meaning than the previous one. Example (1) c. shows alternation of a syllable coda, when /l/ carries the meaning of a somehow smoother smile, while /t/ in coda could be considered more lively, quicker.

Sound symbolism in Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones is a very prominent feature, however, we can find examples, especially among onomatopoeias where neither vowel alternation nor consonant alternation occurs. These are some onomatopoeias of animal voices, as well as sounds produced by people, machines, musical instruments, etc. (Chae 2003).

- (2) *malŋ malŋ* 'sound of dogs barking'
puʌŋ 'sound of an owl'
etsʰwi 'sound of sneeze'
talkuk 'sound of hiccup'
tsʰikitsʰikpʰokpʰok 'sound of train'

Examples in (2) illustrate the onomatopoeias which have no variants based on sound symbolism, thus not fulfilling the first feature to define onomatopoeias and ideophones in Korean.

The second feature of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones are reduplications, total or partial. Since reduplications are word-formative means also in common vocabulary, they cannot be considered a typical and group-defining feature of onomatopoeias and ideophones exclusively. However, reduplications in this group of words are much more frequent.

- (3) *kʌndul* → *kʌndul-kʌndul* '(walk or move) swagger'
tun̚sil → *tun̚sil* '(float) lightly, buoyantly'

Examples (3) show total, and partial reduplication of ideophones. Total reduplication expresses iteration or, as well as partial reduplication, emphasizes the duration of a movement, state, sound, etc.

The next feature of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones is a specific word-formation of verbs. Korean onomatopoeic and ideophonic base may form verbs by attaching up to four verb suffixes, /-hada/, /-ida/, /-kʌrida/ and /-teda/. The last two word-forming suffixes derive verbs only of onomatopoeic and ideophonic bases, as opposed to the very versatile and frequent

/-hada/ which form verbs of numerous nouns, and the very restricted /-ida/. Verbal suffixes /kʌrida/ and /tɛda/ can thus be understood as markers of verbs derived from onomatopoeias and ideophones.

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| (4) | <i>pantɕak-hada</i> | ‘to glitter, to shine’ |
| | <i>pantɕak-pantɕak-hada</i> | ‘to glitter, to shine (repeatedly, many objects)’ |
| | <i>pantɕak-ida</i> | ‘to glitter, to shine (repeatedly, many objects)’ |
| | <i>pantɕak-kʌrida</i> | ‘to glitter, to shine’ |
| | <i>pantɕak-tɛda</i> | ‘to glitter, to shine’ |

Examples in (4) illustrate verbal derivatives from the ideophone base /pantɕak/ ‘glittering, shining’, which denotes a brief flash of light. The word-forming suffixes /-ida/ or /-hada/ (attached to the reduplicated stem) depict repetition or longer duration of the phenomenon, unlike the suffixes /-kʌrida/, /-tɛda/ and /-hada/ if attached to the non-reduplicated base. While the word-forming suffixes /-hada/, /-kʌrida/ and /-tɛda/ are all frequent, /-ida/ forms verbs of only some bases with /k/ or /ŋ/ coda.

Also, this feature cannot be considered universal for all onomatopoeias and ideophones since some do not derive verbs at all (Pak 1961) as exemplified in (5):

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| (5) | <i>s^haruru</i> | ‘softly, gently’ |
| | <i>k^huk</i> | ‘strong or deep (stab)’ |

The last feature that researchers agree on is the strong constraint on the context and word environment of onomatopoeias and ideophones. Seo (1994) describes the binding of onomatopoeias and ideophones to certain verbs as very tight. The verbs that can be linked to a particular display word: “are one or two, at most, we can count something over ten.” (Seo 1994, 703).

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| (6) | a. <i>koŋ-i</i> | <i>tɛgul-tɛgul</i> | <i>kull-ʌ</i> |
| | ball-NOM | rolling ID | to roll-PRST |
| | ‘The ball rolls round and round.’ | | |
| | b. <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>k^hilk^hil</i> | <i>unuda</i> |
| | (s)he-TOP | giggling ONOM | to smile-PRST |
| | ‘She giggles.’ | | |

Examples (6) a. and b. show ideophone and onomatopoeia with very strong constraints on their lexical surroundings. The semantics of ideophones or onomatopoeias often depicts a certain specific phenomenon (auditive, visual, etc.), and therefore the words describing this phenomenon are limited. However, considering the polysemy and synonymy there are some ideophones and onomatopoeias, that can occur in various lexical surroundings, e.g. *pantɕak* ‘with a glitter, flash’, which has also the meaning ‘suddenly’ and ‘(to lift) lightly’.

The four main features of Korean ideophones and onomatopoeias mentioned above, which Korean authors consider to be the most prominent for defining the group, all have certain exceptions. Kim (1995) presumes that any two of those four features are sufficient for classifying a certain word as onomatopoeia or ideophone. As mentioned above, these features were proposed based on analysis of literary texts mostly. We will now observe them in different types of texts while describing other typical features as well.

3. Overview of the main features of onomatopoeias and ideophones in terms of their textual distribution.

In this section, we will briefly characterize the features of onomatopoeias and ideophones in various types of texts, paying attention to the main classifying features and their representation in various texts. The aim of this section is not only to provide a general overview but also to suggest certain specifics and fields that are less investigated yet. Such as, more attention will be paid to the features of onomatopoeias and ideophones in the overtitles of TV shows.

3.1 Literature texts - fiction, poetry, children's literature

To characterize the whole area of a certain type of text is a very difficult task; the sources of older authors, however carefully their selection was made, captured only a certain part of linguistic reality. Literature texts have traditionally been the main source for Korean onomatopoeia and ideophones analysis.

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| (7) | a. <i>pusurak-karinun sori</i> | ‘sound of rustling leaves’ |
| | b. <i>pasurak-karimya</i> | ‘it rustles and...’ |
| | c. <i>tʰok</i> | ‘pop’ |
| | d. <i>tʰok tʰok</i> | ‘pop-pop’ |
| | e. <i>tʰok tʰok tʰo dok</i> | ‘pop-pop-pop-pop’ |
| | f. <i>tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰok tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo tʰo</i> | ‘pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop’ |

In Example (7) a. and b. the verbal derivatives of onomatopoeias for rustling leaves are used, in a. with yin vowels, and in b. with yang vowels to indicate the feeling that the sound evokes. The manifestation of sound symbolism in literary texts is very common, as well as the verbal derivation and reduplications, total, partial, and multiple as shown in Example (7) d., e., and f.

Chae (2003), in agreement with Park (2008), claims that this type is strongly defined by its textual involvement of onomatopoeia and ideophones in the sentence structure, as shown in Example (6). Onomatopoeia and ideophones take on different sentence functions and are very often used in the form of verb derivations. Confinement to a particular context, on the other hand, can be a strategy to elicit the desired effect in the reader, as Chae shows in his analysis of poetry.

In Korean literature for children, the frequency of onomatopoeia depends strongly on the age category to which the text is addressed. Texts for the youngest children (0-3 years) usually present a wide scale of onomatopoeias of animate objects (animals or humans) as well as inanimate objects (sounds of nature, machines, musical instruments, etc.). The books for the youngest children are illustrated and the onomatopoeia given here serves to indicate not only e.g. the voice of an animal, but also the animal itself. Some onomatopoeias are substantivized by the addition of the suffix -i, forming a noun, which is sometimes used only as a child’s word for the animal.

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| (8) | a. <i>agidzy tɕik-tɕik</i> | |
| | | Little mouse squeek squeek ONOM |
| | | ‘A little mouse squeeks.’ |
| | b. <i>puʌŋji puʌŋ-puʌŋ</i> | |

owl hoot hoot ONOM
 ‘An owl hoots.’

Onomatopoeia in Example (8) a. indicates the squeak of a mouse and is used independently in the first sentence instead of a verbal predicate. In the similar example sentence b., the derivation of the animal's name from the onomatopoeia denoting its voice is evident. The simple texts containing onomatopoeias or ideophones, because of their brevity and iconicity, serves here as a means of development of children's language and speaking abilities. Korean children also learn, usually since the start of primary school, about the differences in meaning based on sound symbolism.

3.2 *Korean comics*

In Korean comics and webtoons the features of onomatopoeia and ideophones depend on the type of text in which it occurs. There are basically three types of text in a comic, i.e., narrative, ‘bubbles’ of direct speech, and sound effects, while the sound effects attract most of the attention regarding onomatopoeias and ideophones.

The narrative is the text presented often in the bottom of a comics cut, providing background or explanation for the scene. It is usually whole sentences or sentence equivalent. In the narrative, we can then expect that onomatopoeias and ideophones would have similar features as those found in the literature. In the case of text of speech bubbles, they are presenting mostly direct quoting of characters, thus the characteristics would be close to spoken language, depending on the character.

The type of text which was investigated concerning onomatopoeias and ideophones mostly are so-called sound effects, free words and expressions accompanying the scene and providing additional information on the sounds, state of mind, movement, appearance, etc. (Chae 2003; Park 2008). The sound effect is part of the text and the image at the same time. The use of both standard and non-standardly formed variants of onomatopoeia is frequent in comics compared to literary texts, also due to their high frequency, as shown in Park (2008). Sound symbolism is prominent here, as well as reduplications, both total and partial. Partial reduplications are remarkably frequent and vary a lot. Typical is extending of the original onomatopoeia or ideophone by adding a syllable or syllables, coda elision, etc. However, due to the typical occurrence outside the sentence structure as an isolated word, there is almost no evidence of verbal word formation specific to onomatopoeias and ideophones. The features of limited collocability may be applied though the onomatopoeias and ideophones are not sentence-based. The context is provided by the picture and in a broader sense we can consider this feature valid. On the other side, there are some specific features of onomatopoeias and ideophones in comics, and it's provided by their graphical form. The meaning of an onomatopoeia or ideophone is often further amplified by the graphic aspects of the sound effect, e.g. the shape and size of the letters, the direction of writing, colour and additional pictures, etc.

- (9)
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| a. | <i>sogon-sogon / sugun-sugun</i> | ‘sound of a whisper’ |
| b. | <i>kupɛin-kupɛin ← kupɛin</i> | ‘with one's head down, with a deep bow’ |
| c. | <i>kwaaaaŋ ← kwaŋ</i> | ‘sound of hit or explosion’ |
| d. | <i>tutututututuj ← tuŋtuj</i> | ‘sound of drumming’ |

Examples in (9) show sound symbolism and reduplications in comics. In a., the alternation of yang a yin vowels provides a semantic difference of whispering, in the first case very quiet and in the other one yin vowels are indicating the louder sound of several people whispering to each other.

The Example (9) b. shows total reduplications, (9) c. and d. multiple partial reduplications internal and initial. The later examples of partial reduplications are not normative in terms to be covered by standard dictionaries; however similar examples of multiple reduplications can be found in literature as well.

To sum up, onomatopoeias and ideophones in comics' sound effects are formally very variable, especially in terms of reduplication, Manifestations of sound symbolism are very frequent. In sound effects, onomatopoeias and ideophones appear as independent forms, without word or sentence surroundings. However, considering the visual information provided by a certain scene, the feature of contextual constraint in a broad sense seems to be valid.

3.3 *Onomatopoeia and ideophones in newspaper headlines*

Onomatopoeias and ideophones in newspaper texts and headlines received already a lot of attention (Kim & Park 2001; Chae 2002; Jo & Kang 2013). They occur frequently in newspaper headlines specifically, but usually not in the following text of the article (Chae 2002). To summarize Chae's findings, onomatopoeias and ideophones occur in form of a single root, less frequently reduplicated. The typical position is the very beginning or the end of a headline, or in case of complex headlines at the end of the first part. Onomatopoeia and ideophones used in newspaper headlines usually function as the predicate or subject. They attract attention due to their specific phonological structure, the reduplicated onomatopoeias and ideophones catch visually the reader's attention.

- (10) a. (...) *ul-go hokchan-e tal tal*
 cry and cold LOC tremble ONOM
 '(they) cry and tremble in cold'
- b. *112e mal opei suttʃa pʌtʰun tu pʌn tʃuk tʃuk*
 (...) 112-LOC speech without number button two times tap tap ONOM
 'to 112 without speaking press the number button twice'

The newspaper headline in Example (10) a. is describing the plight of refugees and is concluded with an ideophone expressing shivering or shaking, usually associated with coldness. The ideophone is in apostrophes that emphasize its syntactic independence, but the appropriate verb is missing. The position at the end of the headlines in both Example (10) a. and (10) b. emphasizes the content and thus affects the reader with increased emotionality. Example (10) b. shows a similar use of onomatopoeia.

In the newspaper headlines, like in the previous text types, we can observe variants based on sound symbolism. Reduplications are mostly limited to a simple total reduplication, the evidence for derived verbal forms is quite minimal. In contrast, the feature of typical context and its associated collocation is evident; onomatopoeia and ideophones are used in the headlines mainly in a very specific context, which must be predictable by the reader.

3.4 Korean colloquial speech in electronic communication

Electronic communication includes a very diverse range of texts, from text messages, to chat posts, and comments under social media posts, etc. The onomatopoeias and ideophones in electronic communication have been addressed by Chae (2002, 2003) and Lee (2014, 2015). The common functions of them are to fill in the personal characteristics of the communicators, their mood, attitude, etc. because the participants of the communication usually cannot see each other (Chae 2002). Very frequent are various signs of good mood such as onomatopoeias and ideophones of laughter. Since they are used in informal communication, there is more freedom in forming variations, e.g., multiple total reduplications or abbreviations to onset consonant only. Lee (2014) points out other features such as a tendency to form new onomatopoeias by changing certain words from the common word stock, especially those that express a certain mental movement. The original word is reduced to a root, which can be reduplicated. He also observes a significant tendency toward neologism.

- (11)
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|----|---|----------------------------------|
| a. | <i>hahahahaha</i> ← <i>haha</i> | ‘sound of laughing, ha-ha’ |
| b. | <i>hhhhh</i> ← <i>haha</i> | ‘sound of laughing, ha-ha’ |
| c. | <i>k^h k^h k^h</i> ← <i>k^hik</i> | ‘tittering, giggling’ |
| d. | <i>ḱubak</i> ← <i>ḱubak-ḱubak</i> | ‘bow one’s head (in a greeting)’ |
| e. | <i>puḱuu-puḱuu</i> ← <i>puḱuurapta</i> | ‘to be shy, to feel embarrassed’ |

Example (11) a. shows multiple total reduplications of the onomatopoeia of laughter. In Example (11) b., the same onomatopoeia is abbreviated to onset consonants, which is particularly noticeable in Korean because of the features of syllabic writing not allowing isolated letter notation. The reason for the abbreviation is both the economy of writing and the surprising spelling, which stands out significantly from the normally structured text and catches the attention of a reader. Example (11) c. is another very frequent abbreviated onomatopoeia of laughter. Example (11) d. shows an ideophone formed by deduplication from the ideophone for the bowing of a head. The newly formed ideophone expresses a greeting bow, a common Korean greeting. This example shows the deduplicated form which is not independent in the standard language. The last Example (11) e. illustrates a specific word formation of a new ideophone derived from a qualitative verb root by total reduplication.

In these examples, we observe the frequent manifestations of reduplications, especially multiple and specific word formation. Due to the economy of the language, there is a low incidence of onomatopoeia and ideophones in sentences and their verbal derivatives.

3.5 Onomatopoeias and ideophones in overtitles in Korean television shows

The type of texts that we will introduce in this section has not received much attention in terms of onomatopoeia and ideophones research yet. Moreover, respected monographs such as that of Chae (2003) or Park (2008) do not mention it at all, so we will discuss the specifics of onomatopoeias and ideophones in overtitles in a Korean television shows in more detail.

The overtitles in TV shows have been investigated by Lee (2019) or, in terms of their use in Korean language teaching by Park (2009). The overtitles frequently appear in various functions, interpret, emphasize some scenes, evaluate or in some cases even mock characters or their action and facial expressions to increase the entertaining potential of the show.

Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones are often used in overtitles in a way close to that of comics, as mentioned by Park (2009), especially in terms of position and visual appearance. However, a comics' sound effect is static and accessible to the reader for an unlimited time period while overtitles appear in the show for a very short period of time and disappear or may be replaced by a following overttitle. This constraint leads to the presumption that while in comics the non-normative variants of onomatopoeias and ideophones may appear frequently, the form of onomatopoeic and ideophonic overtitles should remain easily recognizable, while also being easy to read in a short time during which it appears on the screen. However, on the contrary, we can observe phenomena that are specific to overtitles and do not correspond to this presumption.

From the functional point of view, onomatopoeias and ideophones in overtitles are used to specify and explain the certain scenes. However, the individualizing and attitudinal evaluation function is significant, since a large part of onomatopoeia and ideophones is used as a reaction to the sound, appearance (e.g. facial expression) and activity (specific movement or action) of the characters of the show. It takes the form of a way of commentary through which the editors of the programme communicate with the audience. This interpretation is intended to serve both to speed up the understanding of the scene and to enhance the entertainment and comic effect. Park (2009) specifies the function of overtitles as follows: "What do graphic overtitles do? I argue that they bring the interaction close to the home audience by simulating a conversation between explicit (those who can be shown on TV) and implicit (the home audience, and the producer) participants of the show, and evolve the relationship between the audience and the show." Thus, rather than completing a scene as in comics, the overtitles interpret a scene viewed and heard by the audience. This interpretation may seem redundant in terms of understanding the scene, but its purpose is not simply informational, but specifically entertaining, to increase amusement and keep the attention of the audience.

For analysing onomatopoeias and ideophones in TV shows and its specific features a sample of the popular television show *The Return of Superman* was chosen. The show shows parents, especially fathers caring for their young children. The featured Korean celebrities and their children are presented in various ordinary and special activities such as games, meals, visits, etc. The selection of the programme was influenced by the assumption that, given the considerably high frequency of onomatopoeias and ideophones in literature for young children, we can expect an increased incidence of them also in this type of programme. This research, however, did not aim to statistically confirm the frequency of occurrence, but only sought to capture certain features typical of these programmes concerning onomatopoeias and ideophones in Korean.

Formally, the overtitles in television shows take mainly two forms. Often it is a short sentence or a simple noun, capturing the hypothetical inner thoughts of the featured character, or onomatopoeias and ideophones related to the content. There are many that resemble comics sound effects or electronic communication texts.

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| (12) | a. <i>teusam-teusam</i> | ‘collecting things one by one’ |
| | b. <i>turiban</i> ← <i>turiban-turiban</i> | ‘to be looking around’ |
| | c. <i>hudadadak</i> ← <i>hudadak</i> | ‘to run or move quickly, nimbly’ |
| (13) | a. <i>hihiŋ hihiŋ</i> | ‘sound of horse whinnying; horse’ |
| | b. <i>haha</i> | ‘sound of laughing ha-ha’ |

- c. *uhuhahakhak* ‘sound of laughing’
 d. *k^hollok! k^hollok! k^hollok!* ‘sound of coughing’

Example (12) present various forms of ideophones. In a., the ideophone is in its basic, dictionary form, which is very common. Example (12) b. shows the originally reduplicated ideophone used only in its root form, which, however, cannot be used independently in the standard language. Similar deduplications are attested from electronic communication as mentioned above. In Example (12) c. there is a partially reduplicated form of ideophone denoting quick run or move. This ideophone is very frequent and is also often graphically placed along the way of a running character (usually a child) and reduplicated to fill the provided space. Examples in (13) present onomatopoeias, in a. an animal sound, which was used to depict an animal itself, the phenomenon mentioned in the section about children’s literature. Examples (13) b. and (13) c. present onomatopoeias of laughing, a standard one in b, non-standard in c. Example (13) c. seems to be attempting to capture the sound of actual laughter of a character. It is a compound of three other onomatopoeias of laughter. Given the visual and auditive information, understanding the meaning of this new onomatopoeia is easy despite its length and complicated spelling. In (13) d. onomatopoeia of a child’s cough is used three times with an exclamation mark to further emphasize its purpose to get attention or the other character.

In the above examples, we can observe phenomena attested in both comics and electronic communication. As in the two types of texts, verbal forms are rare. Similarly, as comics sound effects, the onomatopoeias and ideophones in overtitles show contextual restraints. The sound symbolism and reduplications are very productive, as well as non-standard compounding.

We will now point out one phenomenon in more detail to illustrate the formal variability of this yet the less investigated type of onomatopoeias and ideophones rich text. A specific feature of overtitles, which we will now focus on here, is the formation of blends based on ideophones and onomatopoeia.

In the resource Korean TV show, the blends of onomatopoeias and more often ideophones and a child’s name often appear. Blends in Korean are closely related to acronyms, as shown, for example, by Borowiak (2016), Ahn (2014), and Shin (2019). A specific feature of the overtittle blends is that the names of the child characters are often reduced to a monosyllabic form. The most frequent type appears to be the right-hand head type, where the child’s name precedes the head, which is an ideophonic root. In some cases, there is a partial overlap which helps identify the original head and the meaning of the blended overtittle, sometimes the child’s name is graphically differentiated.

- (14) a. *yl-muruk* ← *yl-liam* + *ei-muruk* ‘William’ + ‘sulky’
 b. *tɛem-muruk* ← *tɛem-tɛem* + *ei-muruk* ‘personal name Jeamjaem’ + ‘sulky’
 c. *to-dadak* ← *to-hayoŋ* + *hu-dadak* ‘full name To Hyeong’ + ‘swiftly’
 d. *pen-* ← *pen-t^hulli* + *hu-dadak* ‘Bentley’ + ‘swiftly’
 dadadak
 e. *pen-gut* ← *pen-t^hulli* + *pɛŋ-gut* ‘Bentley’ + ‘smilingly, gently’

In Example (14), child’s personal name or family name replace the first syllables of ideophone. In a. child’s personal name William is reduced to one syllable Will and blends with an ideophone depicting the appearance and mood of the character. Example (14) b. shows the

same ideophone blended with a deduplicated form of the child's name. On the contrary to the example a., in b. the deduplicated form is not independent. In Example (14) c. less often blend of a family name and ideophone is presented. The reason for the use of a family name instead of a personal name, in this case, is the difficulty of appropriate reducing the original personal name (Hayeong) to one syllable segment. In Example (14) d., the same ideophone *hudadak* 'swiftly' is partially internally reduplicated and blends with another child's name Ben, which is reduced from its original form Bentley. Example e. shows an overlap in the child's name and the ideophone. As Ahn (2014) mentions, the overlap refers not only to the identical segment, but also to similar segments, (ie. differing in only one feature). In the Example (14) e., both the nasal coda and the vowel nucleus of the child's name can be considered such similar segments.

These blends, in which the first segment is a reduced child's name, appeared in the sample mainly with the ideophonic head segment. The blending in overtiles manifests as internal and word-final too. The most frequent blended segment is again a reduced, rarely an unabbreviated child's name, but interestingly, there are also cases of onomatopoeia used as a final segment.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (15) | a. <i>puḵurʌp-teen</i>
to by shy-Jeam
'(Jeamjeam is) shy.' | ← <i>puḵurʌp-ta</i>
to be shy-SFS
'(I am) shy.' |
| | b. <i>pangapta-mε</i>
be glad-maa ONOM
'Nice to meet you (maa).' | ← <i>pangapta</i>
to be glad SFS
'Nice to meet you.' |
| | c. <i>pogo eipʰos-umε</i>
see-CVB want- maa ONOM
'I missed you (maa).' | ← <i>pogo eipʰos-ʌ</i>
see-CVB want SFS
'I missed you.' |

In Example (15) a., a reduced child's name segment is used instead of the verbal final ending suffix attached to a verb stem. Examples (15) b. and (15) c. show blends of onomatopoeia of the voice of a goat. The onomatopoeia in b. is blended with an already complete utterance, while in c. it functions as the verbal final ending suffix attached to a verb stem. The verbal part of the utterance would remain ungrammatical without the verbal final ending, so the onomatopoeia of the goat's voice replaces this verbal ending, as if the utterance were spoken by an animal. The variability of verbal endings is attested in electronic informal communication too, as Chae (2003) mentions. To sum up, onomatopoeias and ideophones in overtiles perform great variability and specific features similar to comics or electronic communication yet are very specific in terms of word-formation.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to present the typical features of Korean ideophones and onomatopoeias depending on their textual distribution. The main features of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones in literary texts were described regarding the specifics of children's literature, as well as in newspaper headlines, comics, and informal electronic communication. More attention was paid to the less explored area of overtiles in Korean television shows, where blending of reduced shortened forms of children's names with ideophones was attested, as well as the use of onomatopoeia as a final verb ending suffix.

In particular, the four main features that define onomatopoeias and ideophones in Korean texts were observed, which are sound symbolism, reduplication, verbal derivatives, and strongly restricted compatibility. In the overview, sound symbolism and reduplications in Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones were attested in all the mentioned text types. The other features of verbal derivatives and restricted compatibility were not attested as universal, especially in the types of texts where onomatopoeia and ideophones are mostly not used in sentences, such as comics or overtitles. The literary texts as an original source of the outlined features have therefore confirmed themselves as the main source of the main defining features of Korean onomatopoeias and ideophones, however, it is also necessary to consider the specifics of other text types.

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In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2023, vol. 20, no. 1 [cit. 2023-03-16]. Available on web page <http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL52/06.pdf>. ISSN 1336-782X