

CHAPTER 5

The classification of the Korean language and its dialects

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5.1 Introduction

Languages exhibit dialectal variation ; and the way in which they differ is important, in that it shows that languages vary considerably depending on regional differences and cultural factors in the regions.

Korean exhibits considerable dialectal variation. Because of the relatively small land area and the long-held concept of Korean social collectiveness, the dialects of Korean are often believed to be similar or even homogeneous; however, the Korean language exhibits a rich variety of distinct dialects. In the framework of Korean dialectology, thus, the question of how best to classify and to characterize these dialects, i.e., what particular factors can serve as isoglosses demarcating the dialectal boundary, has been an interesting topic to many scholars.

However, owing to the lack of well-defined and agreed-upon criteria, the division and characterization of the dialects have been presented differently depending on researchers' interests and theoretical backgrounds. Furthermore, systematic analyses of the genealogical relations between the dialects in Korean have rarely been addressed in the literature (see Lee 2015).

There have been many varied attempts to provide principles for marking off isoglosses of the Korean dialects. The principles are aimed at identifying shared features or diagnostic criteria among the dialects. In general, the criteria for dialect classification can be divided into three features: (i) phonological features, (ii) grammatical features, and (iii) lexical features. Phonological features are concerned with the alternation, change, or insertion of particular vowels or consonants in particular phonological environments. Grammatical features are related to features such as idiosyncratic case markers, honorific markers, suffixes, or sentence endings (e.g. declarative, interrogative, imperative, propositive), which are unique to particular dialects. Lexical features pertain to idiosyncratic or indigenous words that are each exclusively used in a specific dialectal zone.

Note, however, that researchers on the dialects of Korean have been, in fact, mainly focusing on identifying and

describing their phonological features. Consequently, the grammatical and lexical features of the Korean dialects have been relatively underrepresented and less well-established in the literature.

This chapter aims to present primary diagnostic criteria for the classification of the Korean dialects and to describe the characteristics of each dialect by three (phonological, grammatical, and lexical) features. For the description of essential criteria, this chapter draws on King (2006), Lee et al. (1997), Lee et al. (1998), Sohn (1999), Lee and Ramsey (2000), Yeon (2012), among others.

To explain the features and characteristics of each dialect grouping, this chapter draws on many studies on Korean dialects: Ramsey (1978), Kwak (1998), King (2006), Kim (1986), Jeong (1988) for Hamgyŏng dialect; Kim B-J (1988), Han (1967), Kang (2001), Kim (1997), Kim (2013) for P'yŏngan dialect; Kwak (1992), Kwak (1997), Lee (1991a), Park (1998), Lee (1981), Doh (1977) Kim (1980) for Central dialects; Kim (1972), Doh (1965), Doh (1987) for Ch'ungch'ŏng dialect; Chun (1965), Lee (1969), Chung (1997), Kim (1974), Kim (1977), Chung (1974), Ji-Hong Park (1983), Choi (1994) for Kyŏngsang dialect; Kim (1997), Lee (1998 a, b), Lee et al. (1998), Lee (1986), Soh (1989) for Chŏlla dialect; and Kang (1988), Chung (1992), Chung (1988), Moon (2003), Sung (1992) for Jeju dialect.

In the body of this research, all Korean words will be transcribed in Yale Romanization, whereas proper nouns, such as personal names, titles of books and articles, geographical names, and names of historical periods will be transcribed by the classical McCune Reishauer. In addition, dialectal forms of Korean will be followed by standard Korean words between round brackets.

5.2 Seven dialectal zones in Korean

The scholar who first marked off the borderlines of the Korean dialects is Lee (1932). He divided the Korean language into five dialectal zones (Hamgyŏng, P'yŏngan,

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K you-Dong A hn A nD JA ehoon yeon

Kyōnggi, Kyōngsang, and Chōlla). Ironically, though, the scholar who formed the basis of Korean dialectology is the Japanese scholar Ogura (1940), whose grouping is based on different geographical regions and the distribution of phonological, grammatical, and lexical features. As Choi (1998: 12–17) noted, studies succeeding Ogura (1940) on the dialectal divisions of Korean are, in fact, additional explanations or elaborations of Ogura (1940).¹ Most scholars, however, seem to agree on seven major dialectal zones of the Korean languages (e.g. Lee 1953; Choi 1968; Kang 1961; Lee 1967; Han 1967; Kim 1992; among others). They are presented in the following list, and shown in Figure 5.1.

- (i) Hamgyōng dialect (Hamgyōng province)
- (ii) P’yōngan dialect (P’yōngan province)
- (iii) Central dialects (Kyōnggi, Hwanghae, Kangwōn provinces)

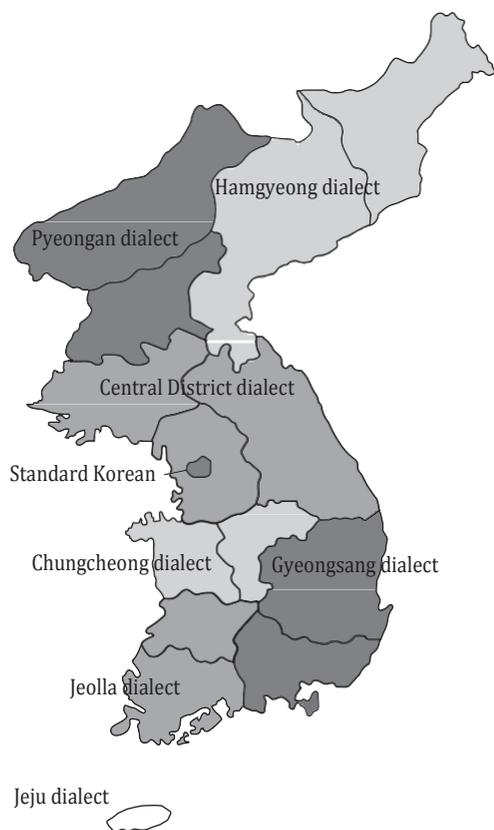


Figure 5.1 Map of Korean dialects
Shin, Kiaer, and Cha (2013)

¹ Some scholars divided the Korean dialects into seven subgroupings: Hamgyōng, P’yōngan, Hwanghae, Central, Kyōngsang, Chōlla, and Jeju. Given that various features of Hwanghae dialects are very close to the standard language spoken in Seoul, however, they are, along with other dialects in the central area, generally regarded as a part of the Central dialects.

- (iv) Ch’ungch’ōng dialect (Ch’ungch’ōng province)
- (v) Kyōngsang dialect (Kyōngsang province)
- (vi) Chōlla dialect (Chōlla province)
- (vii) Jeju dialect (Jeju Island)

5.3 Major diagnostic criteria for the dialectal division of Korean

In this section, we will briefly discuss the primary diagnostic criteria that are usually addressed in studies. As explained above, since the studies on the dialectal division of Korean have been mainly focused on phonological features, the diagnostic criteria are weighted mainly toward phonological features. They are: palatalization, umlaut, relics of Middle Korean tone, and segment insertion or alternation.

5.3.1 Palatalization: *t*-palatalization, *k*-palatalization, and *h*-palatalization

The term “*t*-palatalization” refers to the phonological change of the coronals *t*, *th*, and *tt* into the sibilants *c*, *ch*, and *cc* when the coronals are followed by the high and front vowel [i] or the glide [j] (e.g. K *phath* ‘red bean’ + i ‘NOM’ > K *phachi*, K *kwut*+ i > K *kwuci* ‘in the manner of taking trouble’). Except for P’yōngan and Yukchin dialects in the North Hamgyōng area, this type of palatalization is widely observed in most of the dialects in Korean. According to King (2006), *t*-palatalization is assumed to have first emerged around the early 17th century in the southern dialects such as Kyōngsang and Chōlla. Later, it gradually spread to the central, i.e., Kyōnggi and Kangwōn, dialects (including standard Korean), and finally made an impact on Hwanghae and Hamgyōng dialects, too.

The term “*k*-palatalization” refers to the change of pronunciation in which the velar consonants *k*, *kh*, and *kk* are sounded and realized as the sibilants *c*, *ch*, and *cc* when the vowel [i] or the semivowel [j] are placed after the velar consonants *k*, *kh*, and *kk*. Analogous to *t*-palatalization, *k*-palatalization is also prevalent among many dialects in Korean. Notably, this type of palatalization is quite rampant in Kyōngsang, Chōlla, Ch’ungch’ōng, and Jeju dialects (e.g. GS *cimchi* (K *kimchi*) ‘gimchi’, JEOL *ciphwuta* (K *kipta*) ‘deep’, JEOL *cathulayi* (K *kyetulangi*) ‘armpit’, JE *cilta* (K *kilta*) ‘long’. CHUNG *cetulang* (K *kyetulangi*) ‘armpit’, JEOL *ccita* (K *kkita*) ‘hang’, GS *kachapta* (K *kakkapta*) ‘close’).

Lastly, the term “*h*-palatalization” refers to a sound shift of the glottal consonant *h* into the alveolar fricative *s* before the vowel [i] or the glide [j] (e.g. JEOL *swunghata* (K *hyung-hata*) ‘hideous’, JEOL *swungnyen* (K *hywungnyen*) ‘bad crop

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year', GS *sey* (K *hye*) 'tongue', CHUNG *seng* (K *hyeng*) 'older brother'). What is interesting to note is that this phonological change is usually observed in the regional dialects where *k*-palatalization occurs. Perhaps this is due to the language users' perception, in which the places of articulation of the velar sounds and glottal sounds are adjacent to each other. Thus, *k*- and *h*-palatalization usually, but not necessarily always, occur together in many dialects of the Korean language.

5.3.2 Umlaut

Analogous to palatalization, umlaut is a pervasive phonological feature across the Korean language. Among the dialects of Korean, the Kyōngsang dialect is often regarded as a

central dialect and pronounced as [y] or [ɥ] (or [i]), [u] (or [wi], or [i]) respectively, when the non-front vowels are followed by a sequence of letters consisting of a non-coronal consonant such as velars *k* or *kh* and the vowel [i] or the semivowel [j] (e.g. GS *maykhita* (K *makhita*) 'be jammed', GS *ayngkita* (K *olmkita*) 'move', GS *cikita* (K *cwukita*) 'kill', GS *eymi* (K *emi*) 'mother', PYONG *teypi* (K *tewi*) 'heat').

5.3.3 Relics of Middle Korean

Preservation and alteration of the relics of Middle Korean into other phonemes are also regarded as an important criterion. Among the remaining traces of Middle Korean items, the intervocalic consonants *W* [β] and *Δ* [z], and the vowel *o*, which is called "aray a", serve as diagnostic isoglosses for classification of the Korean dialects.

In the dialects such as Hamgyōng, Kyōngsang, and Chōlla, the Middle Korean *W* [β] is preserved as *p* and pronounced as [b] when followed by the high and front vowel *i* [i] (e.g. MK *saβi* 'shrimp' > HAM, JEOL, and GS *saypi/syaypi*, JEOL *kachapen* (K *kakkawun*) 'close', PYONG *tepi* (K *tewi*) 'heat'). However, in

dialects such as the Central and P'yōngan (including Standard Korean), the Middle Korean *W* [β], in the same phonological circumstances, is preserved as *w* and pronounced as [u] (e.g. MK *saβi* 'shrimp' > CENTR and PYO NG *saywu*).

In contrast to the Middle Korean *W* [β], the MK sibilant *Δ* [z] has wholly disappeared in Korean. However, with the exception of Hwanghae and Kangwōn dialects, Korean dialects invite the consonant *s* in syllables as a reconstructed letter of the Middle Korean *Δ* [z] (e.g. GS *mwuswu/mwusi* (K *mwuwu*) 'radish', GS *nasacita* (K *naacita*) 'improve', JEOL *yese/yasi/yeswu* (K *yewu*) 'fox', JEOL *mosiK* (K *moi*) 'feed').

The Middle Korean vowel *o* "aray a," analogous to the Middle Korean consonant *Δ* [z], is no longer in existence in

Korean. This archaic vowel underwent a sound change into [a], [u], or [o] in most dialects of Korean. The one exception to this is the Jeju dialect. It has preserved this Middle Korean vowel as a tensed central vowel [ʌ], and this vowel is now considered as one of the unique distinguishing features of the Jeju dialect (e.g. JE *phal* (K *phal*) 'arm', JE *kamca* (K *kokwuma*) 'sweet potato', JE *hance opseyey* (K *ese oseyyo*) 'welcome', JE *mal* (K *mal*) 'horse', JE *tali* (K *tali*) 'bridge', JE *phat* (K *phat*) 'red bean').² According to King (2006: 277), what is more interesting is that in Jeju dialect, the preserved vowel [ʌ] tends to occur mainly in the first syllable of words, although we occasionally find the inclusion of this vowel in places other than the first syllable (e.g. JE *kamca* (K *kokwuma*) 'sweet potato').

5.3.4 Tone and vowel length

In the framework of Korean dialectology, tone and vowel length are deemed to be distinctive features demarcating dialectal borderlines in Korean. Although tone was once used as a grammatical marker distinguishing meanings of items in Middle Korean, the semantic functions of tone have been entirely lost in Korean. However, in certain dialects, tone is still preserved and even functioning as a conventionalized item distinguishing the meanings of lexical or grammatical items.³

In Korean, there are two kinds of tonal differentiation. The first pertains to an absolute tone of lexical items, and the second is related to the relative tone of sequences consisting of a lexical item and a neighboring syllable such as a topic or nominative marker. Regarding the absolute tone of a word, for example, the neutrals K *meli* 'head/ hair' and K *kilum* 'oil' are pronounced as with a low-high tone in the Hamgyōng dialect (e.g. HAM *me* (low)-*li* (high), HAM *ci* (low)-*lum* (high)). On the other hand, in the Kyōngsang dialects the same words are pronounced with phonetically different pitches, i.e., a high-low tone (e.g. GS *me* (high)-*li* (low), GS *ci* (high)-*lum* (low)).⁴

² The exact phonetic quality of the vowel sound as [ʌ] has been a matter of dispute. For example, Kang (1988) described it as "neither [a] nor [o] nor [ə] but something in between." The presence of the diphthong [jʌ] is an even more unusual and unique feature in the Cheju dialect. Examples [jʌ] are *yʌtup* (*yelʌp*) 'eight' and *yʌlum* (*yelʌm*) 'fruit'.

³ Just as in Middle Korean, the tone in the modern dialects consists of opposition between high and low pitches.

⁴ If tone is taken as a criterion to set up larger dialect divisions, the Korean language can be divided into two parts: an eastern half and a western half. Tone functions as a distinctive feature in the eastern half of Korea, consisting of Kyōngsang, Hamgyōng, and the east part of Kangwōn, while the tonal distinction is not a distinguishing feature in the western half. However, vowel length instead functions as a distinctive feature for most of the western half (see King 2006).

K you-Dong A hn A nD JA ehoon yeon

When it comes to the relative tone of strings, the meanings of the strings are not solely determined by the absolute tone of the lexical item. Instead, the tone is determined relatively by the intended meaning of the word in the speech context and the sense of a neighboring item. For example, with a neutral tone in isolation, the lexeme K *pay* can mean either ‘pear’ or ‘belly’ in the Hamgyŏng dialect. However, when a particle or the copula follow this word and depending on the speaker’s intended meaning, the strings come to have different tones from one another (e.g. HAM *pay*(low)-*nun*(high) meaning ‘pear-TOP’, HAM *pay*(high)-*nun*(low) meaning ‘belly-TOP’).

Vowel length can also be a distinctive feature for the dialectal division. This feature is usually observed in the Central dialects. For example, Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn dialects have distinctive vowel length, which distinguishes the meanings of the words (e.g. *pel* ‘punishment’ vs. *pe:l* ‘bee’, *pam* ‘night’ vs. *pa:m* ‘chestnut’). Some areas of the Hwanghae province also have distinct vowel length distinguishing words. Particularly, while the falling sound sequences such as MK [aj], [ɔj], [oj], [uj], [ij] became a monophthong in Korean the words such as K *say* ‘bird’, K *may* ‘hawk’, K *kay* ‘dog’, K *key* ‘crab’, all of which had the upper tone in Middle Korean, are now pronounced as long vowel items [sa:i], [ma:i], [ka:i], and [ke:i] in Hwanghae dialect.

Note, however, that although it is likely that the features of tone and vowel length usually do not occur in the same dialect, some regional dialects, which have tones as a regular feature, are also found to exhibit systematic vowel lengthening of words. According to King (2006) and Yeon (2012), most dialects of North Kyŏngsang and the Yŏngdong area of Kangwŏn have both tone and vowel length functioning to distinguish the meanings of words. On the contrary, other dialects such as Jeju have neither tones nor vowel length.

5.3.5 Segment insertion and alternation

Insertion of a consonant in a word can be a criterion for marking off borderlines of the Korean dialects, since this phenomenon is not usually observed in the P’yŏngan dialect. In the Kyŏngsang and Hamgyŏng dialects and some provincial speeches of the Central and Chŏlla dialects, a typical example of segment insertion is *k*-insertion: a considerable number of words exhibit *k*-insertion in the medial position. The following are representative examples of these dialects: GS, CENTR *nangkwu/nangki* (K *namwu*) ‘tree’, CENTR *elkaymi* < *elaymi* (K *kwulkunchay*) ‘sifter’, CENTR *elkeypis/elkipis* (K *elleypis*) ‘wide-tooth comb’, GS *kaykol/kaykwul* (K *kaywul*) ‘brook’, CENTR *olkay* (K *olhay*) ‘this year’, GS *tolkaci/tolkay* (K *tolaci*) ‘Chinese bellflower’, and GS *silkeng/sikeng* (K *sileng*) ‘wall shelf, rack’.

Insertion of a consonant *l* or a change of *l* into *n* can be another criterion for marking off dialectal zones in Korean. Contrary to *k*-insertion, *l*-insertion usually occurs in the word-initial position. This phenomenon is observed in Hamgyŏng and P’yŏngan dialects, where Sino-Korean or Middle Korean words did not adhere to the rule of word-initial *l*-insertion but were retained as words with a letter *l* or *n* in the word-initial position (e.g. PYONG *niluta* (K *ileta*) ‘tell’, PYONG *neca/neyca* (K *yeca*) ‘woman’, HAM *ni* (K *i*) ‘tooth’, PYONG *nilon* (K *ilon*) ‘theory’, PYONG *nyeca/neca* (K *yeca*) ‘woman’, PYONG *nelum* (K *yelum*) ‘summer, and PYONG *nwuwel* < *lyukwel* (K *yuwel*) ‘June’). The remaining dialects, however, have either lost this consonant before the vowel [i] and the glide [j] or replaced it with a nasal consonant *n*.

5.4 Characteristics of seven major dialects in Korean

In this section, based on the dialectal groupings presented in Section 5.2, we will examine the characteristics of the seven major dialects in Korean.

5.4.1 Hamgyŏng dialect

5.4.1.1 Phonological features

The Hamgyŏng dialect has many unique phonological features that deserve significant scholarly attention. However, as King (2006) notes, the Hamgyŏng dialect has been relatively underrepresented in studies compared to other dialects in Korean, and the vowel inventories of this dialect are still under debate. For example, Ramsey (1978: 58) claims that the Hamgyŏng dialect has a ten-vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [i̯], [ɔ], [a], [u], [ü], [ö], [o]) and 11 diphthongs ([ye], [yɛ], [yø], [ya], [yu], [yo], [wi], [we], [wɛ], [wø], [wa]). Kwak (1998: 634–9), however, claims that there is an “unstable 8-vowel” system in the Hamgyŏng dialect.

The indeterminacy of the vowel inventories of this dialect gets worse if we include the Yukchin regions in Hamgyŏng province. According to King (2006), the traditional Yukchin dialect is reported to have a stable eight-vowel system with the monophthongs [ö] and [ü] being realized as the diphthongs [we] and [wi], respectively. Kwak (1998), in contrast, claims that some Yukchin speakers from China have a stable nine-vowel system with innovated sound [ü]. However, provincial speeches of the South Hamgyŏng dialect show a tendency to move toward an eight-vowel system by shifting of the sounds [ü] and [ö] into [i] and [e], respectively (see King 2006: 270).

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Frequently mentioned phonological features of the Hamgyŏng dialect are umlaut and palatalization. Umlaut is quite dense in the North Hamgyŏng dialect. The density of umlaut in these dialects seems to be because until recently they have had only the high vowel *-i* for the nominative marker.⁵ Thus, when the nominative marker follows words or syllables including vowels such as [a], [ɔ], [u], the fronting of the vowels, i.e., I-mutation or umlaut, as it is generally called, is triggered by the high vowel [i]. The Hamgyŏng dialect also experiences massive *t-*, *k-*, and *h-* palatalization (e.g. HAM *heyngnim* (K *hyengnim*) ‘older brother’).

The weakening of [n] and [ŋ] can be a unique phonological feature of the Hamgyŏng dialect. Specifically, when these nasal consonants follow a vowel and the consonants precede the high front vowel [i] or the semivowel [j] (e.g., a vowel + [n] or [ŋ] + [i] or [j]), the vowel preceding the consonants becomes nasalized, and subsequently, the nasal consonant [n] or [ŋ] becomes a constricted glottal sound (e.g. HAM *peywuli* [pe^huli] (K *pyengali*) and HAM *saywei* [sew^hɔi] (K *sitongsayng*) ‘brother-in-law’).

The sound alteration of a “liquid *l* to a trilled [r]” is also an interesting phenomenon observed in this dialect. King (2006: 271) states that this alteration phenomenon, except before another *l*, occurs in all positions of a word (e.g., HAM *irucuk* (K *ilccik*) ‘early’, HAM *tarki* (K *talk*) ‘chicken’).

The Hamgyŏng dialect preserves the Middle Korean word-medial or intervocalic W [β], Δ [z], and G [k] as *p*, *s*, and *k*, respectively (e.g. HAM *kepwuči* (K *kewus*) ‘pubic hair’, HAM *kipwulta* (K *kiwulta*) ‘incline’, HAM *chipi* (K *chwuwi*) ‘cold’, HAM *nopwuli* (K *noel*) ‘evening glow’, HAM *talpi* (K *tali*) ‘leg’, HAM *epwuleta* (K *awuleta*) ‘embrace’, HAM *kwusi* (K *kwuyu*) ‘manger’, HAM *nasi* (K *nayngi*) ‘shepherd’s purse’, HAM *tasim* (K *taum*) ‘next’, HAM *suwlki* (K *swuley*) ‘wagon’, HAM *kwulki* (K *kuney*) ‘swing’, and HAM *wulkita* (K *wullita*) ‘ring’).

Of particular interest is that in the Hamgyŏng dialect, unlike the Jeju dialect, the Middle Korean vowel *o* “array *a*” becomes a round vowel [o] when it follows bilabial consonants such as *p*, *pp*, or *m*. A typical example of this phenomenon is HAM *polum* (K *palam*, JE *p[A]lem*) ‘wind’, HAM *polsse* (K *pelsse*, JE *p[A]sse*) ‘already’, HAM *mol* (K *mal*, JE *m[A]l*) ‘horse’, HAM *ppolta* (K *ppalta*, JE *pp[A]ta*) ‘wash’, HAM *polpta* (K *palpta*, JE *p[A]lpta*) ‘step on’.

The Hamgyŏng dialect has a distinctive word tone, which is also found in the Kyŏngsang dialect (see <XR>Section 5.3<XR>). For example, as discussed in Section 5.3, the word *meli* ‘head/ hair’ in standard Korean is pronounced as *me* (low)-*li* (high) in the Hamgyŏng dialect, while in the Kyŏngsang dialect the same word is pronounced as *me* (high)-*li* (low). Besides, while the Hamgyŏng dialect is often described as

⁵ However, other Hamgyŏng dialects further south show the subject markers *i/ka*.

lacking distinctive vowel length, it has many long vowels as a result of complex compensatory lengthening processes at the boundaries between noun bases and particles, and between verb bases and endings (see King 2006: 272).

With regard to the phonological features in the Hamgyŏng dialect, the phonological features of the Yukchin dialect (spoken in the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture of China in Manchuria) should be mentioned here, since this dialect originates in the Hamgyŏng dialect. As Yeon (2012: 12–13) notes, the Yukchin dialect has many interesting phonological features. Like the Hamgyŏng, the Yukchin dialect exhibits the sound alteration from a “liquid *l* to a trilled [r]” (e.g., Yukchin *targari* (K *talkyal*) ‘egg’, Yukchin *harmi* (K *halmi*) ‘grandmother’, Yukchin *murkkoki* (K *mulkoki*) ‘fish’, Yukchin *cerpani* (K *celpan*) ‘half’).

The Yukchin dialect also has a distinctive word tone, which is also found in the Hamgyŏng and Kyŏngsang dialects. For example, if Yukchin *swuri* is pronounced as *swu* (high)-*ri* (low), it represents K *swutkalak* ‘spoon.’ However, if this word is pronounced as *swu* (low)-*ri* (high), it represents K *swul* ‘alcohol’ (see Yeon 2012: 12).

This dialect preserves some phonological features of Middle Korean. For example, the Middle Korean intervocalic W [β] and Δ [z] are preserved as *p* and *s*, respectively (e.g. Yukchin *tep-ese* (K *tew-ese*) ‘is hot and’, Yukchin *kop-un* (K *kow-un*) ‘pretty’, Yukchin *cis-umu* (K *ci-umyen*) ‘if [A] builds’, Yukchin *pwus-ese* (K *pwu-ese*) ‘pour and’). Besides, the Middle Korean *su*, *cu*, *chu*, which are pronounced *si*, *ci*, *chi*, respectively in standard Korean, are retained (e.g., Yukchin *sulehata* (K *silhehata*) ‘dislike’, Yukchin *culta* (K *cilta*) ‘muddy/watery’, Yukchin *achum* (K *achim*) ‘morning’).

An interesting feature of the Yukchin dialect, which distinguishes it from the Hamgyŏng dialect, is palatalization. Some words used chiefly by older people in this dialect have not undergone palatalization (e.g., Yukchin *tyelkwi* (K *celkwu*) ‘large mortar’, Yukchin *mwuntyelkwi* (K *tolccekwu*) ‘hinge’, Yukchin *thyelan* (K *chongal*) ‘bullet’, Yukchin *tyungsey* (K *pamcham*) ‘night snack’, Yukchin *tyanghwa* (K *canghwa*) ‘boots’). *l*-deletion before coronal consonants is also frequent (e.g. Yukchin *kita* (K *kilta*) ‘long’, Yukchin *twungguta* (K *twungkulta*) ‘round’, Yukchin *tumuta* (K *tumulta*) ‘rare’).

5.4.1.2 Grammatical features

The Hamgyŏng dialect has many idiosyncratic grammatical endings. One unique grammatical ending of the Hamgyŏng dialect is the accusative marker *-u/-lu* (K *-ul/-lul*). This is a case where the final consonant of the particle has been weakened; we can observe many instances of this weakening phenomenon in Hamgyŏng dialects.

Another unique grammatical feature of the Hamgyŏng dialect is the existence of passive/causative markers *-ki* and

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-wu (-kwu) (K i/hi/li/ki). The marker -ki is usually suffixed to the roots of words that do not end in consonants, such as p, k, z (e.g. HAM *ccalki* (K *calita*) ‘be cut/be fired’, HAM *nolki* (K *nollita*) ‘make fun of’, HAM *tatki* (K *tathita*) ‘be shut’). The marker -wu can also be suffixed to passive or causative word forms. For example, the expression HAM *nol-lay-wu* (K *nolla-key-hata*) ‘make someone surprised’ is derived from the string *nol-lay*, consisting of the verbal lexeme *nolla* ‘surprise’ and the causative marker -i and the passive/causative marker -wu.

Although the Hamgyōng dialect is known to have only one nominative marker -i, the markers -ika and -lasenu (K -ka) are now also functioning as a nominative marker. Hamgyōng dialects have unique possessive markers -u and -wu (e.g. HAM *yekk-usaykki* (K *yewu-uysaykki* (fox-POSS-cub)) ‘a cub of a fox’, HAM *nam-wu swey-lu* (K *nam-uy so-lul* (others-POSS-cow-ACC)) ‘the cow that belongs to other people’). It also has an idiosyncratic conjunctive/comitative marker -ka (e.g. HAM *yesu-ka sungnay* (K *yewu-wanuktay* (fox-and-wolf)) ‘fox and wolf’, HAM *nay-ka kathi ka-ca* (K *na-wa kathi ka-ca* (I-COM-with-com-PROP)) ‘come with me’)). Finally, grammaticalized postpositional particles, such as *-chelu* (K *-chelem*) ‘alike’, *-amsala* (K *-mace/cocha*) ‘even’, also constitute unique grammatical items of the Hamgyōng dialect.

Unlike the Hamgyōng dialect, the Yukchin dialect has only one nominative marker, -i, which is also added to nouns in citation form. This dialect has the accusative markers -u/-ru (K -ul/lul) and the instrumental markers -li/-illi (K -(u)lo). Of particular interest is that the dative-locative and the ablative markers are distinguished according to the properties of animacy. For example, the dative-locative marker -ey (K -ey) is used for inanimate entities, but -(u)key (K -eykey) is used for animate entities. Regarding the ablative markers, -eyse (K -eyse) is marked for inanimate entities, but -(u)keyse (K -eykeyse) for animates.

Sentence endings that are observed in the Hamgyōng and Yukchin dialects are described in Tables 5.1 and Table 5.2.

5.4.1.3 Lexical features

Lexical items that are idiosyncratic in the Hamgyōng and Yukchin dialects are as follows: HAM *anyephata* (K *kamchwuta/kansephata*) ‘hide/interfere’, HAM *kaktancita/kaktapwunhata* (K *cenglika cal toyta*) ‘be organized well’, HAM *kali* (K *kyeysan/cengli*) ‘calculation’, HAM *kaykita* (K *kasita*) ‘go’, HAM *kaytayki* (K *koyangi*) ‘cat’, HAM *kaypholay* (K *ikki*) ‘moss’, HAM *kengkay* (K *panchan*) ‘side dish’, HAM *kolmali* (K *helichwum*) ‘inside of the waist’, HAM *koyngkihata* (K *sinkihata*) ‘amazing’, HAM *kwunci* (K *kuney*) ‘swing’, HAM *kunchen-sulepta* (K *ongsaykhata*) ‘badly off, cramp’, HAM *kkakkumsali* (K *sokkwupnoli*) ‘playing house’, HAM *kkokkwupcayngi* (K *insaykhan salam*) ‘strange person’, HAM *namciki/namchiki*

Table 5.1 Sentence endings in the

Polite		Int	
Declarative	-up(sup)meyta,- -wu(swuta/vey)ta -o/sota		
Interrogative	-sup/supmeyta,-		
Imperative	-up(sup)sosey,- -up(sup)so,- -wu(swu)ta	-o/so,-	-ulai,- -a(e)la
Propositive	-up(sup)seyta,- -ciota	-up(sup)sey,- -kio, -cip	-ca,-

Table 5.2 Sentence endings in the

Polite		Int	
Declarative	-(s)upkkwuma,- -(u)o,- -(u)pti- <i>kkwuma</i> ,- -(u)ptey	-(s)upkkwuma,- -(u)o,- -(u)pti- <i>mtu</i> ,- -(u)ptey	
Interrogative	-(s)umtwung,- -(u)pti- <i>mtu</i> ,- -(u)ptey	-(u)pti- <i>mtu</i> ,- -so	
Imperative	-(u)pso,- -(s)upsyo,-	-o,- -so	-e,- -ala,- -naLa -kala
Propositive	-keypso,- -kipso	-kio,- -keyo	-c(y)a,-

(K *nameci*) ‘the rest, remainder’, HAM *nayngkal/mayngkal* (K *yenki*) ‘smoke’, HAM *tallongkay* (K *tallay*) ‘wild rocambole’, HAM *tethuta* (K *tetumta*) ‘grope’, HAM *toycaktoycak* (K *chakunchakun*) ‘in a calm and orderly way’, HAM *ttangttuymhata* (K *alanayta*) ‘find out’, HAM *ttaykichita* (K *phayngkaychita*) ‘throw, quit’, HAM *ttukwanghata* (K *mattangchanhta*) ‘unsatisfying’, HAM *mangos* (K *twuem*) ‘manure’, HAM *maysilapta* (K *swuklyentoyta*) ‘become proficient’, HAM *palssasimhata* (K *keccelcwulmoluta*) ‘not know what to do’, HAM *pochowupsta* (K *pelusepsta*) ‘rude’. Yukchin *amaythi* (K *nwulwungci*) ‘nurungji’, Yukchin *pwulswulki* (K *kicha*) ‘train’, Yukchin *ppaypcayi* (K *cilkyengi*) ‘plantain’, Yukchin *sweythwuli* (K *ssumpakwi*) ‘lettuce’, Yukchin *asumthyaynio* (K *komapsunita*) ‘thank you’, Yukchin *ankkani* (K *anak*) ‘married woman’,

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-keyo
-c(y)a,-

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Yukchin *calani* (K *elun*) ‘adult’, Yukchin *kwangchai* (K *sap*) ‘shovel’, Yukchin *tatwupaychay* (K *yangpaychwu*) ‘cabbage’, Yukchin *manthwi* (K *mantwu*) ‘dumpling’, Yukchin *pingko* (K *sselmay*) ‘sled’, Yukchin *ssyaacay* (K *saphalttuki*) ‘squint’, Yukchin *cwullwucay* (K *kkalttayki*) ‘funnel’, Yukchin *chaacay* (K *phokhu*) ‘fork’, Yukchin *chwan* (K *pay*) ‘boat’, Yukchin *thancay* (K *tamyo*) ‘blanket’, Yukchin *thwungcay* (K *mwulthong*) ‘water bottle’, Yukchin *kalumtasi* (K *yenphil*) ‘pencil’, Yukchin *kelumani* (K *hocwumeni*) ‘pocket’, Yukchin *masyen* (K *caypongthul*) ‘sewing machine’, Yukchin *pemitol* (K *thomatho*) ‘tomato’, Yukchin *olosi* (K *kacwuksin*) ‘leather shoes’, Yukchin *khwulimay* (K *oythwu*) ‘overcoat’.

5.4.2 P’yŏngan dialect

5.4.2.1 Phonological features

The P’yŏngan dialect has an eight-vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [ī], [ə], [a], [u], [o]) and ten diphthongs ([ye], [yə], [ya], [yu], [yo], [wi], [we], [wɛ], [wə], [wa]). This dialect shows many interesting phonological characteristics. One peculiar phonological feature of the dialect is that the standard [ü] and [wi] are realized as [uj] and [u], respectively (e.g. PYONG *kwui* [kuj] (K *kwi*) ‘ear’, PYONG *cwui* [tsuj] (K *cwi*) ‘mouse’). More interestingly, the vowels [e] and [ɛ], particularly in the first syllable, tend to be pronounced as the oral and nasalized long diphthongs [əi] and [a:i], respectively (e.g. PYONG *kei* [kəi] (K *key*) ‘crab’, PYONG *kai* [ka:i] (K *kay*) ‘dog’, PYONG *mai* [ma:i] (K *may*) ‘hawk’, PYONG *sai* [sa:i] (K *say*) ‘bird’).

The standard [ö] corresponds to [wɛ], [we], [oi], [o], or [e] (e.g. PYONG *hoi* (K *hoy*) ‘raw fish’, PYONG *swayta* (K *soyta*) ‘bask’), and the standard [yə] and [a] are realized as [e] or [ɛ], and a diphthong [ya] tends to be pronounced as a monophthong [a] (e.g. PYONG *meynwuli* (K *myenuli*) ‘daughter-in-law’, PYONG *songayci* (K *songaci*) ‘calf’).

The P’yŏngan dialect is particularly distinctive because only this dialect allows the occurrence of the nasal consonant *n* in the word-initial position when it is immediately followed by the high front vowel [i] and the glide [j] (e.g. PYONG *niluta* (K *iluta*) ‘state’, PYONG *nilkwup* (K *ilkop*) ‘seven’, PYONG *neca* (K *yeca*) ‘woman’). In addition, the word-initial letter *l* is pronounced as *n* before [i] and [j], only if the lexical items containing the letter *l* as an initial letter are from Sino-Korean words (e.g. PYONG *nangsim* < *lyangsim* (K *yang-sim*) ‘conscience’, PYONG *nichi* < *lichi* (K *ichi*) ‘reason’, PYONG *neksa* < *lyeksa* (K *yeksa*) ‘history’, PYONG *noli* < *lyoli* (K *yoli*) ‘cooking/dish’).

What makes the P’yŏngan dialect more unique and idiosyncratic is that, unlike other dialects, it has never undergone any type of palatalization, which started in the southern dialects such as Kyŏngsang and Chŏlla in the 17th century,

and spread to most of the dialects in Korean (Kim 1988 and Han 1967). Lastly, the P’yŏngan dialect preserves the Middle Korean intervocalic G[k] as *k* (e.g. PYONG *kaykwulchang* (K *kaywul*) ‘brook’, PYONG *saykayngi* (K *saywu*) ‘small shrimp’, and PYONG *molka* (K *molay*) ‘sand’).

5.4.2.2 Grammatical features

The P’yŏngan dialect has many unique grammatical markers. Among frequently mentioned grammatical items is a nominative case marker *-lay/ley*, which is a counterpart of K *-i/ka* (e.g. PYONG *nay-ley kastao-kat-swuta* (the closest semantic equivalent in K *nay-ka kas tao-keyss-eyo* (I-NOM go and come back-will-DECL)) ‘I will go’).

Similar to standard Korean, the P’yŏngan dialect is known to have two accusative markers *-ul* and *-lul* (K *-ul/lul*), whose suffixation is determined by the properties of preceding syllables (for open syllables, *-lul* is suffixed. But for closed syllables, *-ul* is suffixed to the preceding syllables). However, some provincial speeches of this dialect are reported to have only *-ul* as an accusative case marker, whose usage sounds very odd (e.g. PYONG *nay-lay chinkwu-ul manna-ko okat-swuta* (K I-NOM chinkwu-ACC meet-and come-DECL) ‘I am going to meet my friend for a moment.’).

For the conjunctive/comitative case, the P’yŏngan dialect employs *-kwa* (K *-wa*) and *-hakwu* (K *-hako*), whose usage is also observed in the Kyŏnggi dialect (e.g. HAM *chinkwu-kwa/hakwu yayki com hay-s-swuta* (K *chinkwu-wa yayki com hay-ss-eyo* (friend-COM conversation a little do-PST-DECL)) ‘I had a small conversation with my friend’). For the past tense, this dialect employs markers *-es* (K *-ess*), *-tayt* (K *-ess*), and *-telays* (K *-essess*).

To form the future tense and to deliver a sense of supposition, the P’yŏngan dialect uses PYONG *-kas* (K *-keyss*). Finally, to express a conditional meaning, *-umwun* (K *-umyen*) is used. Sentence endings that are observed in P’yŏngan dialects are described in Table 5.3.

5.4.2.3 Lexical features

Like many other dialects, Pyŏngan dialects have many idiosyncratic lexemes. For example: PYONG *nanmwul* (K *khunmwul*) ‘torrents, big water’, PYONG *chanpap* (K *cemsim*) ‘lunch’, PYONG *malwusay* (K *cipwung malwu*) ‘the ridge of a roof’, PYONG *wuthi(os)/nephchakay* (K *hocwumeni*) ‘pocket’, PYONG *tokkayngi* (K *cakun tok*) ‘small earthenware jar’, PYONG *pongdayki* (K *pongwuli*) ‘peak’, PYONG *mongdayngi* (K *menci*) ‘dust’, PYONG *kkunthapwu* (K *kkun*) ‘string, rope’, PYONG *swutekwu* (K *swuth*) ‘amount of hair’, PYONG *saykayngi* (K *cakun saywu*) ‘small shrimp’, PYONG *peylkwuti* (K *pyelwuk*) ‘flea’, PYONG *ttekkangi* (K *ttwukkeng*) ‘lid’, PYONG *saykkolayki* (K *saykki*) ‘child, cub’, PYONG *elkheni* (K *menilka*)

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Table 5.3 Sentence endings in P'yŏngan dialects

	Polite	Intimate/ Familiar	Plain
Declarative	-wu(swu)ta- -um(sum)neyta- -u(so)wayo'	-um(sum)mey- -u(so)wey	-ta- -un(nun)ta
Interrogative	-um(sum)neykka- -u(so)wayo	-umma- -sowa	-ni- -neni
Imperative	-(u)silayo- -(u)sikyo		-lawu
Propositive	-upseyta- -upswuta	-upseyta- -upswuta	

'a distant relation', PYONG *ccilkey/culkey* (K *panchan*) 'side dish', PYONG *kochwu* (K *hwuchwu*) 'pepper', PYONG *ingkan* (K *sikkwu*) 'family member', PYONG *ssata* (K *pissata*) 'expensive', PYONG *nwukta* (K *ssata*) 'cheap', PYONG *caycangpaluta* (K *yeyminhata/yakhata*) 'keen, sensitive/weak', PYONG *huni-heta* (K *sikkulepta*) 'loud', PYONG *pelchata* (K *seychata/hwal-palhata*) 'strong/cheerful', PYONG *yassahata* (K *ttakhata/nanchehata/yalushata*) 'pathetic, embarrassing, strange' PYONG *ssuwakheta* (K *pwukkulepta/mianhata*) 'ashamed, sorry', PYONG *khunapan/khunapay* (K *halapeci*) 'grandfather', PYONG *khulmani/khulman* (K *halmeni*) 'grandmother', PYONG *matapaym* (K *khunapeci*) 'uncle', PYONG *matemaym* (K *khunemeni*) 'aunt', PYONG *sena* (K *namphyen/sanay*) 'husband, man', PYONG *eyminey/nayn* (K *anay/yeca*) 'wife, woman', PYONG *cekuna* (K *tongsayng*) 'brother, sister'.

5.4.3 Central dialects

5.4.3.1 Phonological features

The Central dialects including Kyŏnggi, Kangwŏn, and Hwanghae share many features with standard Korean. This seems to be primarily due to the fact that those provinces are more geographically proximal to Seoul than other provinces, and because of the geographical vicinity, the dialects could often contact and interact with the standard Korean, thus having many common features with it.

In the Central dialects, many distinctive features distinguish these dialects from others. Furthermore, despite many overlapping facets of the Central dialects, there are many peculiar characteristics, by which Kyŏnggi, Kangwŏn, and Hwanghae dialects are distinguished individually. Besides, some of these dialects make a grouping regarding shared features again.

Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn dialects have a ten-vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [ī], [ə], [a], [u], [ü], [ö], [o]) (see Lee 1981: 71–8

and King 2006: 264–80). On the other hand, the Central dialect is reported to have a nine-vowel system ([i], [ə], [a], [u], ([ö], [o]), [o]) and [ȳ], [ya], [yu], [yo], [wi], [we], [we]

One common feature among the Central dialects is that the diphthong [wi] is pronounced [wi] in the word-final position (e.g., CENTR *saekwu* (K *samakwu*) 'crow', CENTR *samakwu* (K *samakwu*) 'mantis'). Besides, the Middle Korean sound string [uj] is realized as three vowels [e] (e.g. CENTR *na-ey* < *na-uy* (K *na-uy* (I-POSS)) 'my'), [i] (e.g. CENTR *usa* < *uysa* (K *uysa*) 'doctor'), and [i] (e.g. CENTR *moi* < *mouy* (K *mouy*) 'mock'). Also, the mid vowel [o] is usually pronounced as the high back vowel [u] in the word final or syllable final position (e.g. CENTR *ne-twu* (K *ne-to* (you-too) 'you too', CENTR *sikwul* (K *sikol* [sikol]) 'countryside').

Another common feature of the Central dialects is that they distinguish different meanings of homonyms through vowel lengthening (e.g. CENTR *pel* 'punishment' vs. CENTR *pe:l* 'bee', CENTR *pam* 'night' vs. CENTR *pa:m* 'chestnut'). Regarding vowel lengthening in certain words, what is idiosyncratic for the Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn dialects is that the distinction of meanings through vowel lengthening disappears in polysyllabic words (e.g. *pe:l* 'bee' vs. *ilpel* 'working bee', *pa:m* 'chestnut' vs. *kkwulpam* 'clout'). Some provincial speech of the Hwanghae dialect also has peculiar vowel length for some words. For example, a vowel [ɛ] in the first syllable is often realized as a nasalized long diphthong [ȳä] (e.g. HWANG *pya:m* < *paym* (K *paym*) 'snake', HWANG *sy:ksi* < *sayksi* (K *sayksi*) 'wife, girl').

While umlaut is a rare phonological phenomenon of the Central dialects, palatalization is quite frequently observed in this dialectal zone. Notably, the Central dialects have undergone massive *t*-palatalization (e.g. CENTR *haytoci* (K *haytoci*) 'sunrise', CENTR *mitaci* (K *mitaci*) 'sliding sideways'). Contrary to *t*-palatalization, however, *k*-palatalization is observed only in the south of Kyŏnggi bordering on Ch'ungch'ŏng province (e.g. CENTR *cil* (K *kil*) 'road', CENTR *cim* (K *kim*) 'dried laver'), and *h*-palatalization is observed only in some provincial speech (such as in Hwangju and Pongsan) of the Hwanghae dialect (e.g. HWANG *sey* (K *hye*) 'tongue', HWANG *sita* > *hyeta* (K *seyta*) 'count').

The Central dialects retain the Middle Korean word-medial or intervocalic W [ɸ], Z, and G [k] as *p*, *s*, and *k*, respectively, (e.g. GANG *kalkangpi* (K *kalangpi*) 'drizzle', GANG *pepeli* (K *pengeli*) 'mute', GANG *nopwul* (K *noul*) 'evening glow').

Regarding the Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn dialects, one interesting common feature is that they exhibit homorganic articulation. Specifically, when the speakers pronounce some words starting with the nasal consonants *n* or *m*, a dental consonant *d* and a bilabial consonant *b*, which have the same places of articulation as the letters *n* and *m* respectively, are pronounced almost together with but a little bit

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prior to the voiced consonants *n* and *m*, respectively (e.g. GG and GANG *nwuna* [^dnuna] (K *nwuna* [nuna]) ‘sister’, GG and GANG *nwun* [^dnun] (K *nwun* [nun]) ‘snow’, GG and GANG *mwusewun* [^bmusəun] (K *mwusewun* [musəun]) ‘scared of’). Another commonality found in these dialects is that the standard vowel [ö] is realized as [we], [we], [ε], or [e], and the standard vowel [ü] is realized as [wi] or [i].

The Kyönggi dialect has reconstructed verb bases ending a glottal letter *h* and the mid central vowel [i] (e.g. GG *kathuta* (K *kathta*) ‘similar’, GG *kiphuta* (K *kiphta*) ‘deep’, GG *nophuta* (K *nophta*) ‘high.’ This dialect also has reconstructed noun bases exhibiting consonant-cluster reduction in the final position of syllables (e.g. GG *sos-i* < *sot-i* (K *soth-i*) ‘pot-NOM’, GG *kap-ul* (K *kaps-ul*) ‘price-ACC’, GG *mok-i* (K *moks-i*) ‘share-NOM’, GG *tak-twu* (K *talk-to*) ‘chicken-ADD’).

One interesting phonological feature of the Kangwön dialect is *i*-insertion into open syllables ending in the vowels [o], [a], [u], or [ə] pronounced [we], [ε], [wi], and [e], respectively (e.g. GANG *soycwu* (K *soju*) ‘soju’, GANG *saychi* (K *sachi*) ‘extravagance’, GANG *yeswin* (K *yeswun*) ‘sixty’, GANG *tongsey* (K *tongse*) ‘brother/sister-in-law’). Glide insertion in verbal bases is also frequent in this dialect. If a root word ends with a long vowel (e.g. [ə:], [i:], or [u:]), a glide [j] or [w] is inserted after the long vowel (e.g. GANG *tencey* (tenc[i:] ‘throw’ + [j] + -e ‘NF’) (K *tence*) ‘throw and’, GANG *hwumchey* (hwumch[i:] ‘steal’ + -e ‘NF’ + [j]) (K *hwumchye*) ‘steal and’, GANG *chwala* (chw[u:] ‘dance’ + /w/ + -e ‘NF’ + -la ‘IMP’) (K *chwuela*) ‘dance’).

Another salient feature of the Kangwön dialect is that the diphthongs [yə] and [ya] are usually pronounced as [e] and [ε] respectively (e.g. GANG *peylwuk* (K *pyelwuk*) ‘flea’, GANG *haynggi* (K *hyanggi*) ‘scent’). In most Kangwön provincial speech, the mid central vowel [i] tends to change into the high front vowel [i], after an initial double sibilant *ss* (e.g. GANG *ssita* (K *ssuta*) ‘bitter’). Like the Kyönggi dialect, the Kangwön dialect also has reconstructed noun bases exhibiting consonant-cluster reduction in the final position of the first syllable (e.g. GANG *tal-man* (K *talk-man*) ‘chicken only’, GANG *huk-to* (K *hulk-to*) ‘dirt too’). Some areas of the Kangwön province exhibit the nasal [ŋ] deletion in the first syllable of a word (e.g. GANG *yowang* (K *yongwang*) ‘dragon king’, GANG *poyang* (K *pongyang*) ‘serving one’s elder’).

The Hwanghae dialect is somewhat unusual in that it is virtually the only dialect (beside the Jeju dialect) to lack both distinctive vowel length and pitch accent (King 2006 and Yeon 2012). In the Hwanghae dialect, the standard [ö] and [yə] are usually pronounced as [e], and the standard [ü] and [ya] are pronounced as [wi] and [ε], respectively (e.g. HWANG *meynuli* (K *myenuli*) ‘daughter-in-law’, HWANG *peylwu* (K *peylwu*) ‘inkstone’, HWANG *talkayl* (K *talkyal*) ‘egg’). Of interest is that in the Hwanghae dialect, the phonetic values between [i] and [u], and [ə] and [o] became blurred, especially among the older generation. Thus, one vowel of each set is shown to

merge into the other one. According to Kwak (1992), this may be due to the influence of the adjacent P’yöngan dialect.

Finally, while the Middle Korean vowel sequences MK [aj], MK [əj], MK [oj], MK [uj], MK [ij] became vowels such as [ε], [e], [uy], [wi] in PKD, some of these Middle Korean vowel sequences are retained as long diphthong vowels [a:i] and [e:i] in the Hwanghae dialect. For example, K *say* ‘bird’, K *may* ‘hawk’, K *kay* ‘dog’, and K *key* [ke] ‘crab’, all of which had the upper tone in Middle Korean, are now preserved as HWANG *sai* [sa:i], HWANG *mai* [ma:i], HWANG *kai* [ka:i], and HWANG *kei* [ke:i], respectively.

5.4.3.2 Grammatical features

As with phonological features, the Central dialects share most of their grammatical features with standard Korean (Lee 1981: 71–88). While these dialects commonly use *-wa/kwa* (K *-wa/kwa*) and *-hako/hakwu* (K *-hako*) to mark the conjunctive/comitative case, some northern provincial speeches of Kangwön dialect use *-kkwa*, *-kka*, *-hakwa*, and *-hekwa* as conjunctive and comitative case makers (e.g. GANG *na-hakwa* (K *na-hako* (I-COM) ‘with me’, GANG *melkwu-kka talay-kka* (K *melwu-wa talay* (wild grapes-CONN Siberian.gooseberry-CONN)) ‘wild grapes and Siberian gooseberry and’).

To express a meaning of supposition or intention, the Kyönggi and Kangwön dialects, like standard Korean, employ the particle *-keyss*. However, the Hwanghae dialect uses *-kas* to express this meaning. Like the P’yöngan dialect, the Hwanghae dialect has a unique nominative case marker *-lay/ley* (e.g. HWANG *nay-lay* (K *nay-ka* (I-NOM)) ‘I’).

Regarding the formation of tense and aspect of the Hwanghae dialect, it uses a particle, *-thays*, for the past perfect and a particle *-tulays* for the past progressive. What is also unique to this dialect is that it uses interrogative endings, such as *-swikkya*, *-sikkya*, *-nikkya*, *-kkya*, all of which correspond to the standard *-supnikka*, *-eyo*, or *-seyyo*. (e.g. HWANG *eti kasstao-nikkya?* (K *eti-ey kasstao-sy-ess-eyo?* (where-at go and come back-HON-PST-INTER) ‘Where have you been?’)). Sentence endings in the Ch’ungch’öng dialect are presented in Tables 5.4–5.6.

5.4.3.3 Lexical features

Like many dialects, Central dialects have many idiosyncratic lexemes. For example, the Kyönggi dialect has idiosyncratic words, such as GG *kamwulita* (K *kamchwuta*) ‘hide’, GG *kasayngi* (K *kacangcali*) ‘edge’, GG *kelipeteng* (K *penhwaka*) ‘main street’, GG *kemellita* (K *tallapwuthta*) ‘tag along’, GG *kwunyek* (K *kwumeng*) ‘hole’, GG *ccacang* (K *cengmal*) ‘really’, GG *nayhay* (K *naykes*) ‘mine’, GG *no* (K *nul*) ‘always’, GG *nwulle* (K *kyeysokhaye*) ‘continuously’, GG *nulthay* (K *nulimpo*) ‘slowpoke’, GG *talikkopayngi* (K *mwuluph*) ‘knee’, GG *taykkwu* (K *cakkwu*) ‘frequently’,

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Table 5.4 Sentence endings in the Kyōnggi dialect

	Polite	Intimate/ Familiar	Plain
Declarative	-(u)yu, -(u)wu, -(u)seyyu, -(u)syu, -(u)sye, -e(u)sin	-(u) (u)nta, -ta	-e(a), -wui, -ney
Interrogative	-(u)yu, -(u)wu, -(u)seyyu, -(u)syu, -(e)sye, -(u)siwu	-na, -ni, -wu, -ney -lyen, -on,	-a, -ya,
Imperative	-(u)yu, -(u)wu, -(u)seyyu	-(u)syu, -(u)sye,	-a, -kela, -la

Table 5.5 Sentence endings in the Kangwŏn dialect

	Polite	Intimate/ Familiar	Plain
Declarative	-up(sup)ninta, -key,	-o/so, -wayi -wu, -wa	-cey, -ci
Interrogative	-nikkye, -nikye -niye	-umma, -sowa	-ni, -kwa -cay, -un

Table 5.6 Sentence endings in the Hwanghae dialect

	Polite	Intimate/ Familiar	Plain
Declarative	-si(swi)ta, -oyta -neyta, -sweyta	-o, -wu, -ci	-n ta, -ney
Interrogative	-si(swi)kkya, -nikkya, -likkya -kkwa, -kka	-lnao, -lnana, -e, -na, -tay -cile, -twukeyi	-ni, -nya, -nwu -ai, -kai, -i
Imperative	-seyyo,	-kwuli, -kyoli, -key	-lawu, -la
Propositive	-upsita,	-(up)sey	-ca
Exclamative	-nwuna, -kwuna, -nwuman		

GG *toypte* (K *tolie*) ‘instead’, GG *twilan* (K *twittul*) ‘backyard’, GG *ttalamasita* (K *aphciluta*) ‘pass’, GG *ttayngppi* (K *ttangpel*) ‘digger wasp’, GG *malong* (K *malwu*) ‘floor’, GG *maylkan* (K *malccang*) ‘all, completely’, GG *metul* (K *tolmwuteki*) ‘stone pile’, GG *sanghay* (K *kocak*) ‘at most’, GG *yekali* (K *enceli*) ‘edge’, GG *wangthayngi* (K *malpel*) ‘wasp’, GG *wucasulepta* (K *elisekta/milyenhata*) ‘silly, dull’, GG *wuceng* (K *ilpwule*) ‘specially, deliberately’, GG *wuthi* (K *os*) ‘clothes’, GG *casismwul* (*kayswusmwul*) ‘dishwater’, GG

cantung (K *sanmalwu*) ‘ridge’, GG *ca* ‘spoil’, GG *cayepsta* (K *thullimepsta*) (K *kili*) ‘length’, GG *phinthwungali* (K *hantey* (K *pakkath*) ‘outside’, GG *hel* Some idiosyncratic words of the K *kaykkoch* (K *chelccwuk*) ‘royal azalea’, ‘cloth band, ankle strap’, GANG *yuntu*, *capwulum* (K *colum*) ‘pus’, GANG *hw* GANG *swumpakkokcil/otwu* (K *oti*) *thwupayki* (K *ppengthwiki*) ‘puffed sn *kwumswukki* (K *swumpakkokcil*) ‘hide-and-seek’, GANG *cileng/cangmwul* (K *kancang*) ‘soy sauce’, GANG *cwupek/pakccwuk* (K *cwukek*) ‘rice paddle’, GANG *capwulum* (K *colum*) ‘sleepiness’, GANG *ttusola* (K *tephyela*) ‘heat it up’, GANG *ttatumi* (K *tatumi*) ‘ironing stick’, GANG *kwulttek* (K *kwulttwuk*) ‘chimney’.

The Hwanghae dialect has idiosyncratic words, such as HWANG *nuc* (K *cocim*) ‘sign, harb

5.4.4 Ch’ungch’ōng dialect

5.4.4.1 Phonological features

The Ch’ungch’ōng dialect is reported to have seven vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [i̯], [ə], [a], [u], [ɔ], [o]). Some provincial speeches of the Ch’ungch’ōng dialect, however, do not distinguish [e] from [ɛ] but one of them merges with the other, and the standard [ü] and [ö] are usually pronounced as the diphthongs [wi] and [we] respectively. Some researchers, thus, claim that the Ch’ungch’ōng dialect has an unstable vowel system with seven to ten vowels ([i], [e], ([ɛ]), [i̯], [ə], [a], [u], ([ü]), ([ö]), [o]). While the Ch’ungch’ōng dialect is not assumed to have diphthongs in its vowel system, after the glides [j] and [w], monophthongs such as [i], [e], [ɛ], [i̯], [ə], [a], [u], [o] can be realized as diphthongs, [wi], [ye]/[we], [yɛ]/[wɛ], [ji], [yə]/[wə], [ya]/[wa], [wu]/[yu], or [yo], as in other dialects.

One unique phonological feature of this dialect is that the vowels [ɛ] and [e], after consonants *s*, *k*, or (a fortis *k*), or *p*, are usually realized as diphthongs [ya], [we], or a sound sequence [iya] (e.g. CHUNG *syaksi* (K *sayksi*) ‘new bride’, CHUNG *siyam* (K *saym*) ‘spring’, CHUNG *kkway* (K *kkay*) ‘sesame’, CHUNG *piyam* (K *paym*) ‘snake’).

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uccingi (K *cayngki*) ‘plow’, mulberry’, GANG *photiki/ck*, GANG *cayngki/pwuk-*

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NG *thompalli* (K *ppalli*) millstone’, HWANG *mot-* *akwi* (K *kaykwuli*) ‘frog’,

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Glide insertion between verb bases and NF particles is another interesting characteristic of this dialect. If verb bases end in [i], [o], [u], [wi] and are immediately followed by NF particles starting in the vowel [ə], a glide [j] or [w] is inserted between the bases and the particles and the vowels [i], [o], [u], [wi] are deleted (e.g. CHUNG *nwese* < *nwu-ese* (K *nwu-ese* (lie down-NF)) ‘lying down on’, CHUNG *thyese* < *thwi-ese* (K *thwi-ese* (bounce/splash-NF)) ‘because it bounded/splashed’, CHUNG *weti* (K *eti*) ‘where’, CHUNG *welmay* (K *elma*) ‘how much?’, CHUNG *weccayse* (K *eccayse*) ‘why?’).

Labialization is one of the unique features of this dialect. When noun bases ending in an alveolar consonant (e.g. *s* or *t*) are followed by syllables starting in a bilabial consonant such as *m* or *p*, the final alveolar consonant of the preceding noun bases is substituted by an initial bilabial consonant in the following syllables (e.g. CHUNG *pappethem* < *pas-pethem* (K *path-pwuthe* (field-ABL)) ‘from the field’, CHUNG *mwum-mata* < *mwun-mata* (K *mwun-mata* (door-each)) ‘each door’).

Velarization and nasal assimilation are also frequently observed phonological phenomena. Regarding velarization, if noun bases ending in obstruent consonants precede sequences starting in velar consonants such as *k* or [ŋ], these obstruent consonants are assimilated to a following velar consonant and pronounced as the velar consonant (e.g. CHUNG *misekkey* < *misep-key* (K *musep-key* (awful-ADV)) ‘awfully’). Regarding nasal assimilation, obstruent consonants in the final position of the preceding noun and verb bases tend to be assimilated to and realized as [m], [n], or [ŋ], when the nasal vowel [m], [n], or [ŋ] is immediately after the obstruent consonants (e.g. CHUNG *pannunta* < *pat* ‘receive’-*nunta* ‘DECL’ (K *patnunta*) ‘receive’, CHUNG *cengnunta* < *cek* ‘write’-*nunta* ‘DECL’ (K *ceknunta*) ‘write’).

Deletion or weakening of a glottal sound *h* is also one of the idiosyncratic characteristics of the Ch’ungch’ong dialect: the sound of an initial letter *h* of a syllable can be deleted or weakened when it follows a syllable ending in a vowel or a velar consonant *k* (e.g. CHUNG *ttekani* < *ttek-hani* (K *ttek-hani* (boastfully/proudly-ADV)) ‘boastfully, proudly’).

Umlaut is prevalent in this dialect: CHUNG *kekceyngi* < *kekceyng* ‘worry’-i ‘NOMJ’ (K *kekceyngi*) ‘worry’, CHUNG *kyothoyngi* < *kyothoyng* ‘traffic’-i ‘NOM’ (K *kyothoyngi*) ‘traffic’. The phenomenon of *t*-palatalization is also prevalent (e.g. CHUNG *centita* (K *kyentita*) ‘endure, bear’, CHUNG *cetulayngi* (K *kyetulayngi*) ‘armpit’, CHUNG *chi* (K *khi*) ‘winnow’, CHUNG *celkwuk* (K *kyelkwuk*) ‘ultimately’).

The Ch’ungch’ong dialect has retained the Middle Korean word-medial or intervocalic W [ɸ Δ [z], and G [k] as *p*, *s*, and *k* respectively. Typical examples are CHUNG *nasunggay* (K *nayngi*) ‘shepherd’s purse’, CHUNG *yeswu* (K *yewu*) ‘fox’, CHUNG *aswu/asi* (K *awu*) ‘brother’, CHUNG *saypwunggay* (K *saywu*) ‘shrimp’, CHUNG *masil* (K *maul*) ‘village’. In the Ch’ungch’ong dialect, the Middle Korean vowel o “aray a”

developed into the sound [a] and [ə] (CHUNG *hata* < MK *hota* (K *hata*) ‘do’, CHUNG *nalta* < MK *nalta* (K *nalta*) ‘fly’).

In colloquial speech in the Ch’ungch’ong dialect, like the Central dialects, the vowel [o] is frequently raised to [wu] in final syllables of certain native morphemes (e.g. CHUNG *sikwul* (K *sikol*) ‘countryside’, CHUNG *mek-etwu* (K *mek-eto* (eat-can/although)) ‘can/although/(someone) eats(something)’, CHUNG *na-twu* (K *na-to* (I-ADD)) ‘me too’).

5.4.4.2 Grammatical features

Although the Ch’ungch’ong dialect shares most of its grammatical features with standard Korean (e.g. CHUNG *-ka* (K *-ka*), CHUNG *-kkeyse* (K *-kkeyse*), CHUNG *-i/ise* (K *-i/ise*) for the nominative case, CHUNG *-ul/lul* (K *-ul/lul*) for the accusative case, CHUNG *-i/ey* (K *-ey*) for the locative case), this dialect also has many idiosyncratic grammatical endings. Examples of them are locative case markers *-lwu*, *-ilwu*, *-henti*, *-hanti* (K *-ey*), a conjunctive and comitative case marker *-hekwu* (K *-hako*), and comparative case markers *-potem* and *-potam* (K *-pota*).

The most distinctive grammatical feature of the Ch’ungch’ong dialect is an honorific declarative ending *-ywu* (corresponding to K *-yo*) whose prosody is usually pronounced as a rise in pitch (↑) followed by a slow fall in pitch (↓). This feature is closely related to a slow tempo of speech, which is a typical characteristic of this dialect. Another idiosyncratic grammatical ending is a declarative ending *-ya*, which is a plain style form of an honorific *-ywu*. Sentence endings in the Ch’ungch’ong dialect are presented in Table 5.7.

5.4.4.3 Lexical features

Like many dialects, the Ch’ungch’ong dialect has many interesting vocabulary items. For example: *perezl* ‘ax’, CHUNG *sannaykki* (K *saykki*) ‘cub’, 2020-01-15 12:46:08

Table 5.7 Sentence endings in Ch’ungch’ong dialect

	Polite	Intimate Family
Declarative	-yu, -uway, -supnita/ (up)nita	-(un)ta, -ney, -ci, -uway
Interrogative	-yu, -sup(up)nikka	-(u)nya, -na/nam, -(un)ka -unkam, -ulkka, -ni, -e, -ci, -(un)ta
Imperative	-yu	-ela, -kela, -key, -e, -ci
Propositive	-ciyu	-ca, -ci

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montayki (K *menci*) ‘dust’, CHUNG *otolkay* (K *oti*) ‘mulberry’, CHUNG *twumpeng* (K *mos*) ‘nail’, CHUNG *kengkeni* (K *panchan*) ‘side dish’, CHUNG *koksikphalta* (K *koksiksata*) ‘buy grain’, CHUNG *koksiksata* (K *koksikphalta*) ‘sell grain’, CHUNG *yewuta/eywuta* (K *sicipponayta*) ‘marry’, CHUNG *ssichta* (K *ssista*) ‘wash’, CHUNG *talputa* (K *taluta*) ‘different’, CHUNG *mikkalmacta* (K *mipta*) ‘upsetting, ugly’, CHUNG *swukkumhata* (K *coyonghata*) ‘quiet’, CHUNG *naytwung* (K *yethaykkes*) ‘up to now’, CHUNG *teypssey* (K *ohilye*) ‘on the contrary, rather’, CHUNG *pwulnaksi/ssakey* (K *ppalli*) ‘quickly’, CHUNG *kecin/kecipan* (K *keuy*) ‘almost’.

5.4.5 Kyōngsang dialects

5.4.5.1 Phonological features

Although the exact number of vowels in the northern and southern provincial speeches is still debated, the Kyōngsang dialect is generally assumed to have a six-vowel system ([i], [ə], [e], [a], [u], [o]). In this dialect, standard [i] and [ə] have merged as [ə], and [e] and [ɛ] have merged as [e]. Regarding the number of diphthongs in northern and southern provincial speech, however, they show considerable differences: northern speech is reported to have nine diphthongs ([ye], [yə], [ya], [yu], [yo], [wi], [we], [wə], [wa]), whereas southern speech is reported to have six to seven diphthongs ([ya], [yə], [yu], [yo], [wa], ([we]), [wi]).

One of the most salient phonological features of the Kyōngsang dialect is umlaut. Before [i] or [j], vowels [a], [e], [o], and [u], if there is no intervention by coronal consonants *s*, *ss*, *z*, *zz*, *ch*, are pronounced as [ɛ], [e] (or [ɛ] in some provincial speeches), [e] (or [ɛ] in some provincial speeches), and [i] respectively (e.g. GS *maykhita* (K *makhita*) ‘be blocked’, GS *pangmayngi* (K *pangmangi*) ‘mallet’, GS *maykita* (K *mekita*) ‘feed’, GS *eymi* (K *emi*) ‘mother’, GS *aynggita* (K *olmkita*) ‘move’, GS *cikita* (K *cwukita*) ‘kill’).

Both *k*- and *h*-palatalization are also salient features in the Kyōngsang dialect (e.g. GS *cimchi* (K *kitmchi*) ‘gimchi’, GS *cilem* (K *kilum*) ‘oil’, GS *swungnyen* (K *hyungnyen*) ‘bad harvest’, GS *swunghata* (K *hyunghata*) ‘ugly, hideous’).

The Kyōngsang dialect exhibits massive vowel fronting and raising. One typical example of vowel fronting is a change of vowels [u] and [i] to a vowel [i], when they are preceded by consonants such as *s*, *ss*, *c*, *cc*, *ch*, *l* (e.g. GS *khalcali* (K *khalcalwu*) ‘knife handle’, GS *kochi* (K *kochwu*) ‘red pepper’, GS *kasim* (K *kasum*) ‘chest’). An example of vowel raising is a change of the diphthong [wi] to the high front vowel [i] after dental consonants *t*, *tt*, *th* (e.g. GS *ti* (K *twi*) ‘back’, GS *ppengthiki* (K *ppengthwiki*) ‘puffed snack, exaggeration’, GS *ttimpakcil* < *ttwimpakcil* (K *taliki*) ‘run’).⁶

⁶ However, this tendency is somewhat restricted after *l*.

Unlike the Ch’ungch’ōng dialect, glide deletion is a unique feature observed in the Kyōngsang dialect. Although this dialect is reported to have glides [j] and [w] in the vowel system, the occurrence of these semivowels is quite restricted. Specifically, regarding the glide [w], except for the word-initial position, it is usually deleted after consonants and vowels (e.g. GS *saka* (K *sakwa*) ‘apple’, GS *haksilhi* (K *hwaksilhi*) ‘surely’, GS *keni* (K *kwenwi*) ‘authority’, GS *kan-kang* (K *kwankwang*) ‘sightseeing’).

The vowels [i], [u], [a], and [e] also exhibit vowel fronting. For [i] and [u], they are realized as the high front vowel [i] in the word-final position (e.g. GS *kasim* (K *kasum*) ‘chest’, GS *kkali* (K *kalwu*) ‘powder’). For the vowel [a] and [e], the low back vowel [a] is fronted and raised to [e] in the word-final position (e.g. GS *chimey* (K *chima*) ‘skirt’, GS *acimay* (K *acumma*) ‘auntie, lady’).

Another peculiar feature of this dialect is that it exhibits monophthongization of diphthongs in standard Korean. Notably, a diphthong after an initial consonant of a syllable is realized as a monophthong (e.g. GS *ppey* (K *ppyey*) ‘bone’, GS *ppeyngali* (K *pyengali*) ‘chick’).

Of particular interest is that while tensification of initial consonants is known as one of the typical characteristics of this dialect (e.g. GS *kkaca* (K *kwaca*) ‘snack’, GS *kkuchita* (K *kuchita*) ‘stop’, GS *kkasi* (K *kasi*) ‘thorn’), some provincial speech forms (e.g. Daegu and Yeongcheon) of the Kyōngsang dialect do not distinguish between lax *s* and tense *ss*, especially in the word-initial position (e.g. GS *sata* (K *ssata*) ‘pack, cheap’, GS *sal* (K *ssal*) ‘rice’).

The Kyōngsang dialect preserves the Middle Korean word-medial or intervocalic W [ɰ], G [z], and G [k] as *p*, *s*, and *k*, respectively (e.g. GS *hopwulaypi* (K *holapi*) ‘widowed father’, GS *nwupi* (K *nwui*) ‘sister’, GS *ipwus* (K *iwus*) ‘neighbor’, GS *melkwu* (K *melwu*) ‘wild grapes’, GS *pakwu* (K *pawi*) ‘rock’, GS *yeswu* (K *yewu*) ‘fox’).

Like the Hamgyōng dialect, the Kyōngsang dialect has interesting pitch systems, in which meanings of some homonyms suffixed by particles are distinguished. According to Lee (1995), the northern and southern spoken varieties of the Kyōngsang dialect have different pitch systems. Lee (1995) claims that northern provincial speech has H, L, and L: (long low) pitches, while southern provincial speech has H, L, and M (mid) pitches. Note, however, that as King (2006) pointed out, while scholars who advocate the three-pitch system of the south Kyōngsang dialect provide example sets such as (H) GS *son*+ *-i* ‘guest’, (M) GS *son*+ *-i* ‘hand’, (L) GS *son*+ *-i* ‘grandchild’, it is still highly controversial whether the southern form of speech has two pitches (H and L) or three pitches (H, L, and M).

Apart from enabling the recognition of lexical or phrasal meanings, pitch can also function as a marker distinguishing a passive meaning from a causative meaning of a single

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phonetic expression (e.g. (H) GS *caypphita* (K *caphita*) ‘make (someone) catch’ and (L) GS *caypphita* (K *caphita*) ‘is/get caught’). In this case, the high pitch of *cayp* (and the low pitch of *phi*) yield a causative sense, ‘make (someone) catch’; whereas the high pitch of *phi* (but the low pitch of *cayp*) yields a passive sense, of ‘is/get caught’.

5.4.5.2 Grammatical features

The Kyöngsang dialect has many unique grammatical markers. To mark the nominative case, the ending *-ika* is frequently used (e.g. GS *kasim-ika aphuta* (K *kasum-i aphuta* (heart/chest-NOM sick)) ‘My heart aches/I have a chest pain’). The ending *-lo* is used to mark the accusative case (e.g. GS *mwul-lo mekko* (K *mwul-ul mek-ko* (water-ACC eat-NF)) ‘(I) drink water and’). For the dative case, the ending *-intay* is used (e.g. GS *ikenay-intay mal-hanke ai-ka?* (K *ike na-eykey malhay-ssten ke ani-ya?* (this thing I-DAT tell-PST thing not-INTER)) ‘this is what you have told me before, isn’t it?’), and for the comitative case, the ending *-khang* is used (e.g. GS *nay-khang kathi ka-ca* (K *na-wa kathi ka-ca* (I-COM with go-PROP)) ‘Come with me’).

The sentence-final ending *-te* is used to make declarative sentences and the sentence-final ending *-no* is used to form interrogative sentences. Regarding these endings, of particular interest is that they have undergone extensive contractions (e.g. GS *eps-sim-te* (K *eps-supnita* (not exist-DECL)) ‘I don’t have it/have anything’, GS *ci-ka hay-s-simte* (K *cey-ka hay-ss-supnita* (I-NOM do-PST-DECL)) ‘I did it’, GS *me-lak ha-no?* (K *mwe-lako ha-ni?* (what-CMP say-INTER)) ‘What is he/she talking about?’). Sentence endings in the Kyöngsang dialect are presented in Table 5.8.

5.4.5.3 Lexical features

Some of the vocabulary in Kyöngsang dialects is presented in the following list: GS *kapuntali* (K *cintuki*) ‘quietly, in

earnest’, GS *sikkephayssta* (K *nollassta*) ‘was surprised’, GS *melakhwunta* (K *kkwucissta*) ‘to scold’, GS *hamo* (K *am*) ‘of course’, GS *ppucileyki* (K *pusuleki*) ‘fragments’, GS *tongkayta* (K *phokayta*) ‘to overlap’, GS *hwupita/totikkhita* (K *hwumchita*) ‘to steal’, GS *hama* (K *pelsse*) ‘already’, GS *kkapchita* (K *caycho-khata*) ‘to urge, hurry’ (Choi 1994).

5.4.6 Chölla dialect

5.4.6.1 Phonological features

Although some provincial forms of speech have a nine-vowel system as a result of merging [e] as [ɛ], the Chölla dialect is reported to have a stable ten-vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [i̯], [ə], [a], [u], [ü], [ö], [o]). When it comes to diphthong vowels, the Chölla dialect has seven diphthongs in its vowel system ([yɛ], [yə], [ya], [yu], [yo], [wə], [wa]).

As in the Kyöngsang dialect, one interesting phonological feature of this dialect is vowel fronting accompanying vowel lengthening. For example, vowels [ə] and [e], usually in the first syllable, can experience vowel raising and lengthening into [i:] and [i:] respectively (e.g. JEOL *k[ɪ:]cismal* (K *kecismal*) ‘lie’, JEOL *h[ɪ:]nos* (K *henos*) ‘old clothes’, JEOL *c[ɪ:]msim* (K *cemsim*) ‘lunch’, JEOL *u[ɪ:]lun* (K *elun*) ‘adult’, JEOL *t[ɪ:]ta* (K *teyta*) ‘burn oneself’, JEOL *m[ɪ:]ta* (K *meyta*) ‘carry on one’s shoulder’). The vowels [i̯], [u], [a], and [e] also exhibit vowel fronting. [i̯] and [u] are realized as the high front vowel [i] in the word-final position (e.g. JEOL *kasim* (K *kasum*) ‘chest’, JEOL *kali* (K *kalwu*) ‘powder’). As to the vowels [a] and [e], the low back vowel [a] is fronted and raised to [e] in the word-final position, and the mid front vowel [e] undergoes fronting and raising to [i] in the word-final position too (e.g. JEOL *chimey* (K *chima*) ‘skirt’, JEOL *ki* (K *key*) ‘crab’).

Another distinctive feature of this dialect is that it exhibits monophthongization of diphthongs in standard Korean. In particular, a diphthong after an initial consonant of a syllable is

Table 5.8 Sentence endings in the Kyöngsang dialect

	Polite	Intimate/Familiar	Plain
Declarative	-yo, -so, -simte, -nite, -site, -umnite, -amyē	-ney	-(n)ta, -la, -lay
Interrogative	-yo, -so, -(n)unkyo, -nikkye, -ikkye, -umnikka, -yey -simnikka	-yo, -so, -(n)unkyo, -nikkye, -ikkye,	-ka, -ko, -no, -na -la, -lo, -cey, -ulkka, -ulkko
Imperative	-uiso, -usiiso	-uso, -ya	-ala, -kela
Propositive	-ipsite	-ipsite	-ca

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realized as a monophthong (e.g. JEOL *ppey* (K *ppyē*) ‘bone’, JEOL *ppeyngali* (K *pyengali*) ‘chick’, JEOL *peys* (K *pyeth*) ‘sunlight’). What is more interesting is that the monophthong can undergo vowel raising into [i] again, as discussed in Sections 5.4.5 and 5.4.5.1 (e.g. JEOL *ppye* > *ppey* > *ppi* ‘bone’, JEOL *pyengali* > *ppeyngali* > *ppingali* ‘chick’, JEOL *pyeth* > *peys* > *pis* ‘sunlight’).

The Chölla dialect exhibits massive tensification of consonants such as *k*, *p*, *t*, *s* (e.g. JEOL *kkaykwulakci* (K *kaykwuli*) ‘frog’, JEOL *kkalangkuta* (K *kalaancta*) ‘sink’, JEOL *kkaci* (K *kaci*) ‘branch, eggplant’, JEOL *ppo:ccak* (K *passak*) ‘completely’, JEOL *ppok:ci* (K *pakwi*) ‘bat’, JEOL *ttaylong* (K *taylong*) ‘tube, straw’, JEOL *ttwupwu* (K *twupwu*) ‘tofu’, JEOL *ssoycwu* (K *socwu*) ‘soya liquor’).

Aspiration of consonants is also a frequent phenomenon (e.g. JEOL *khamani* (K *kamanhi*) ‘quietly’, JEOL *chalcalhata* (K *cacalhata*) ‘tiny’, JEOL *chakko* (K *cakkwu*) ‘frequently, repeatedly’, JEOL *chamsi* (K *camsi*) ‘moment’, JEOL *honcha* (K *honca*) ‘alone’, JEOL *thampakcil* (K *talliki*) ‘run’, JEOL *phamnac* (K *pamnac*) ‘day and night’).

Apart from these, deletion of the second vowel and lengthening of the first vowel in syllables are very common. That is, if a word or a syllable has a CV₁V₂C structure, and the second vowel is followed by a bilabial consonant *m*, this vowel is deleted, and the first vowel becomes a long vowel as compensation (e.g. JEOL *t[a:]m* (K *taum*) ‘next’, JEOL *m[a:]m* (K *maum*) ‘heart, mind’, JEOL *m[i:]m* (K *miwum*) ‘hatred’, JEOL *ss[a:]m* (K *ssawum*) ‘fight’).

As in other southern dialects, umlaut is rampant in the Chölla dialect (e.g. JEOL *twulwumayki* (K *twulwumaki*) ‘durumagi’, JEOL *saymil* (K *samil*) ‘three days’, JEOL *ttayngkita* (K *tangkita*) ‘pull’, JEOL *kaylita* (K *kalita*) ‘hide’, JEOL *soyk-i* (K *sok-i*) ‘inside-NOM’, JEOL *payp-i* (K *pap-i*) ‘rice-NOM’). *K*- and *h*-palatalization are also widespread (e.g. JEOL *ccitulanhata* (K *kiltalahta*) ‘long’, JEOL *cciwuttwungcciwuttwung* (K *kiwuttwungkiwuttwung*) ‘moving in a slantwise manner’, JEOL *celttan* (K *kyeltan*) ‘decision, resolution’, JEOL *cesil* (K *kyewul*) ‘winter’, JEOL *ccyeipta* (K *kkyeipta*) ‘dress in layers’, JEOL *sey* (K *hye*) ‘tongue’, JEOL *seng* (K *hyeng*) ‘older brother’).

The Chölla dialect preserves the Middle Korean word-medial or intervocalic W [β], Δ [z], and G [k] as *p*, *s*, and *k*, respectively (e.g. JEOL *kachapun* (K *kakkawun*) ‘close’, JEOL *kasey/kasikey* (K *kawi*) ‘scissors’, JEOL *kasim* (K *kam*) ‘material’, JEOL *masil* (K *maul*) ‘village’, JEOL *tolkaci* (K *tolaci*) ‘Chinese bellflower’, JEOL *pakwu* (K *pawi*) ‘rock’, JEOL *nangkwu* (K *namu*) ‘tree’, JEOL *pelkeci* (K *pelley*) ‘worm’).

5.4.6.2 Grammatical features

The Chölla dialect has many idiosyncratic grammatical markers (Lee 1986: 128–36). Typical examples of these are adverbial markers: *-(u)ngkkey/ningkkey* (K *-(u)nikka*) ‘because,

thus, therefore’; *-(u)msilong* (K *-(u)myense*) ‘while doing/being’; and *-ttamsi/-ttamsey* (K *-ttaymwuney*) ‘because of’.

This dialect has unique causative suffixes *-hwu*, *-ki*, *-kwu*, *-khi* (e.g. JEOL *ikhwuta* (K *ikhita*) ‘cook, boil’, JEOL *ssekhwuta* (K *ssekhwuta*) ‘rot, spoil’, JEOL *sakhwuta* (K *sakhita*) ‘ferment’, JEOL *malkita* (K *mallita*) ‘dry’, JEOL *nuckwuta* (K *nuchwuta*) ‘delay’).

Noun suffixes, such as *-kasim*, *-keli*, *-teyki*, *-po*, *-cayngi*, *-payki/payngi*, *-kaci*, are also unique grammatical markers that are not observed in other dialects (e.g. JEOL *kolchiskasim* (K *kolchiskeli*) ‘nuisance, headache’, JEOL *tungkeli* (K *tungeli*) ‘lump, mass’, JEOL *solakteyki* (K *solli*) ‘sound’, JEOL *kasimateyki* (K *kasum*) ‘chest’, JEOL *halttakpo* (K *taymeli*) ‘baldhead’, JEOL *ttakcayngi* (K *ttakci*) ‘scab’, JEOL *seyccalpayki* (K *hyecccald-un salam* (tongue short-ADNZ person)) ‘a person who has a short tongue’).

Along with the suffixes discussed above, this dialect has unique adjectival suffixes such as *-wulwum*, *-kwulwum/kolom*, *-op/wup*, *-silop*, *-(ccak)cikun*, and the adverbial suffix *-heni*, which corresponds to *-key* in standard Korean (e.g. JEOL *meyng-kolomhata* (K *nalssi-ka cha-ko hulita* (weather-NOM cold-CONN cloudy)) ‘It’s cold and cloudy’, JEOL *ssil-opta* (K *ssuta*) ‘bitter’, JEOL *kkos-wupta* (K *kosohata*) ‘nutty flavor, smile bitterly’, JEOL *kkaykkas-silopta* (K *kkaykkushata*) ‘clean’, JEOL *meyncakcikunhata* (K *micikunhata*) ‘lukewarm’, JEOL *kkaykkas-heni* (K *kkaykkusha-key* (clean-ADJ) ‘cleanly’, JEOL *mian-heni* (K *mianhakey* (sorry-ADJ)) ‘regretfully’, and JEOL *nwule-heni* (K *nwulehkey* (sallow-ADJ)) ‘in yellow’).

Apart from the grammatical features discussed earlier in this section, some honorific suffixes make the Chölla dialect unique. For example, suffixes *-suptita*, *-suptikka*, *-suptiye*, *-lau* (K *-eyo*) are used as endings marking honorification. Also, pre-final endings *-ke* and *-kye* serve as honorific markers, instead of *K -si* (e.g. JEOL *kumsaypo o-kye-lau?* (K *ppelsse o-si-eyo?* (already come-HON-INTER)) ‘Have you come back already?’) Also, a nasal sentence final ending [ɪŋ], with question intonation, is often used as a confirmation-seeker in interrogative sentences (e.g., JEOL *na-y mal-i mac-cyo, ing?* (K *na-y mal-i mac-eyo?* (I-POSS talk-NOM correct-INTER)) ‘You agree with me, don’t you?’). Other typical grammatical forms are *-mayngilo* (K *chelem*) ‘like’, *-kanti* (K *killay*) ‘as, since’, and *-ullako* (K *ulyeko*) ‘intending’. Table 5.9 illustrates the unique sentence endings that can be observed in Chölla dialects.

5.4.6.3 Lexical features

The following words are characteristic of Chölla dialects: JEOL *kkalkkumak* (K *kyengsa*) ‘slant’, JEOL *kkaytayngi* (K *almom*) ‘naked body’, JEOL *nakhey* (K *nacwungey*) ‘later’, JEOL *ttayk-kawu* (K *kewi*) ‘goose’, JEOL *polpta* (K *palpta*) ‘step on’, JEOL *thwungkepta* (K *twukkepta*) ‘to be thick’, JEOL *potopsi* (K *kyewu*) ‘barely’, JEOL *pilimppak* (K *pyek*) ‘wall’, JEOL *ppokkacil*

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Table 5.9 Sentence endings in Chŏlla dialects

	Polite	Intimate/Familiar	Plain
Declarative	-ulawu, -syo, -so	-lsey, -si, -pwule, -ney	-eya, -cey
Interrogative	-elawu, -so -(su)pnikkye	--ti, -tanya, -tangka -ye, -ya	-eya, -nya, -ye, -ya
Imperative	-so	-lankkey, -ya	-lankkey, -ya
Propositive	-yo, -cayo	-key, -kkwuna, -tulako	-tulako, -cey

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(K *ttalkkwukcil*) ‘hiccup’, JEOL *ilchekepta* (K *eiepsta*) ‘absurd’, JEOL *cosuta* (K *caluta*) ‘chop’, JEOL *ccallay* (K *cellumpali*) ‘cripple’, JEOL *changsi* (K *changca*) ‘gut’, JEOL *phwungsinnata* (K *polphwumepsta*) ‘unattractive’, JEOL *haney* (K *halapeci*) ‘grandfather’, JEOL *hilkata* (K *huyta*) ‘white’, JEOL *cankkobang* (K *cangtoktay*) ‘jangdokdae’, and JEOL *ocita* (K *hupcokhata*) ‘satisfied’.

5.4.7 Jeju dialects

5.4.7.1 Phonological features

The Jeju dialect has a nine-vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [i̯], [ə], [a], [u], [o], [ʌ]) and 13 diphthongs ([ye], [yɛ], [yə], [ya], [yu], [yo], [yʌ], [wi], [we], [wɛ], [wə], [wa], [iy]).

The most idiosyncratic phonological feature of the Jeju dialect is the existence of the vowel [ʌ], which is a relic of the Middle Korean o “aray a” (e.g. JE *n[ʌ]m[ʌ]* (K *namuwl*) ‘wild vegetables’, JE *at[ʌ]* (K *atul*) ‘son’, JE *on[ʌ]* (K *onul*) ‘today’), and the standard [ü] and [ö] are pronounced as the diphthongs [wi] and [we], respectively.

It is interesting that a considerable number of older middle-aged speakers (between the ages of 50 and 59) of this dialect do not distinguish the vowel [ɛ] from [e] (usually [e] is pronounced as [ɛ], which is similar to the Ch’ungch’ōng dialect). Furthermore, most younger middle-aged speakers (between the ages of 40 and 49) of this dialect pronounce the vowel [ʌ] as [o] or [a] and a diphthong [ye] as [yɛ]. Even among some speakers of this age group, the vowel [i] is pronounced as the diphthong [yo] or [yə]. Meanwhile, the Jeju dialect does not have vowel length, pitch, or word accent as distinguishing phonological features.

The Jeju dialect exhibits many interesting phonological features. For example, a homorganic rule, i.e. nasal place assimilation (e.g. JE *ssokomman* < *ssokop* ‘inside’-man ‘only’ (K *sokman*) ‘only inside’), weakening of initial consonants and nasalization of stop consonants after *n* or *m* (e.g. JE *seng-*

nun < *sek-nun* ‘ADNZ’ (K *sseknun*) ‘be decayed’), *h*-weakening (or deletion) between the vowels [i] and [ʌ] (e.g. JE *konpiata* < *kongpihata* (K *kongpwuhata*) ‘study’), glide insertion in verbal bases (e.g. JE *pwupyen* < *pwupi* ‘rub’-[j]-en ‘NF’ (K *pipyese*) ‘rub [and]’, JE *caywan* < *caywu* ‘put someone to sleep’-[w]-an ‘NF’ (K *caywese*) ‘put someone to sleep [and]’).

Among interesting phonological features of the Jeju dialect, one unique feature that distinguishes the Jeju dialect from other mainland dialects is tensification of consonants in the second syllables (e.g. JE *ciciptto* < *cicip-to* (K *kyecip-to* (girl-ADD)) ‘girl and’), weakening of initial tense consonants (e.g. JE *sekkko* < *sek-ko* (K *ssek-ko* (decay-ADD)) ‘decay and’). Another distinctive feature is duplicating and doubling of the final consonant in the first syllable and insertion of the doubled consonant in the initial position of the second syllable starting in a vowel (e.g. JE *mat-ttatel* < *mat-atel* (K *mat-atul* (first-son)) ‘first son’, JE *cicippai* < *cicip-ai* (K *kyecip-ai* (girl-child)) ‘girl’, JE *chil-lwel* < *chil-wel* (K *chil-wel* (the seventh month)) ‘July’, JE *hankwuk-kkumsic* < *hankwuk-umsik* (K *hankwuk-umsik* (Korean-food)) ‘Korean food’).

In the Jeju dialect, some noun bases exhibit glottalization of velar stop consonants, i.e. from *k* to *h*, in word-initial position, and consonant-cluster reduction in the final position of the first syllable (e.g. JE *hwukko* < *kwulk-ko* (K *kwulk-ko* (thick-CONN)) ‘thick and’, JE *p[ʌ]pta* < *p[ʌ]lpta* (K *palpta*) ‘step on’).

The vowel [i̯] after verb bases ending in the consonants *s*, *c*, *ch* is usually pronounced as [i] (JE *t[ʌ]-sinay* < *t[ʌ]-sunay* (K *ttattusha-nya* (warm-INTER)) ‘is it warm?’), JE *kkoc-inan* < *kkoc-unan* (K *kkoc-unikka* (put-because)) ‘because (you) put this’). The Jeju dialect, like the Hwanghae dialect, does not have a distinctive pitch accent. Umlaut is not observed in the Jeju dialect either. However, *i*-insertion in noun bases ending in a vowel can be understood as traces of umlaut from the past: the standard [u], [ə], and [a] are pronounced as [wi], [e], and [ɛ] respectively. (e.g., JE *kkochwi* (K *kochwu*) ‘red pepper’, JE *kamcwi* (K *kamcwu*) ‘sweet rice wine’, JE *kotungey* (K *kotunge*) ‘mackerel’, JE *pay* (K *pascwul*) ‘rope’).

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The Jeju dialect preserves the Middle Korean word-medial or intervocalic W [β] and Δ [z] as [w] and [u] respectively, (e.g. JE *saywi* < *say[β]i* (K *saywu* ‘shrimp’, JE *taywat* < *tay[β]at* (K *taynamwupat*) ‘bamboo field’, JE *k[ʌ]um* < *k[ʌ][z]m* (K *kasum*) ‘chest, heart, breast’). Besides, Middle Korean consonant clusters *pt* and *pc* are realized as aspirated stop consonants *th* and *ch* respectively (e.g. JE *thalki* < MK *ptalki* (K *ttalki*) ‘strawberry’, JE *ch[ʌ]ta* < MK *pcota* (K *ccata*) ‘salty’). Lastly, the Middle Korean diphthong [oi] is retained as [e] in the first syllable of a word (e.g. JE *keyng* < MK *koing* (K *kwuk*) ‘soup’, JE *meypa* < MK *moipta* (K *maypta*) ‘spicy’). However, the diphthong [oi] placed other than in the first syllable is realized as [i] in the Jeju dialect (e.g. JE *monci* < *moncoi* (K *menci*) ‘dust’).

Finally, like southern dialects, the Jeju dialect shows evidence of palatalization. It has experienced massive *t*-palatalization and has also undergone *k*- and *h*-palatalization (Sung 1992: 289).

5.4.7.2 Grammatical features

The Jeju dialect can be distinguished from other dialects on the basis of its case endings and its grammatical system of speech levels.⁷ The case endings that are idiosyncratic in this dialect are those of *-le*, *-i*, *-ti*, *-anthi*, *-sinti*, *-kola*, *-teley*, all of which mark the locative, dative, and allative cases at the same time (e.g. JE *hyeng-anthi sakwa-lul chelswu-sinti cwu-leyn h[ʌ]-la* (K *hyeng-eykey sakwa-lul chelswu-eykey cwu-lako hay-la* (brother-DAT apple-ACC Chelswu-DAT give-CMP say-IMP) ‘Tell Chelswu to give the apples to his brother’). Conjunctive/comitative case markers *-iyeng*, *-kwang* are also unique (JE *nu-yeng na-yeng* (K *ne-lang na-lang* (you-COM I-COM)) ‘you and me’).

Another unique grammatical feature of the Jeju dialect is that it has some fossilized nominal suffixes such as *-ng*, *-(ay)ngi*, and *-ayki* (e.g. JE *patang* (K *pata*) ‘sea’, JE *sayngi* (K *say*) ‘bird’, JE *ppelkenghata* (K *ppalkahta*) ‘crimson’, JE *apang* (K *apeci*) ‘father’, JE *emeng* (K *emeni*) ‘mother’, JE *cwuneyngi*

(K *ciney*) ‘centipede’, JE *kangsayngi* (K *kangaci*) ‘puppy’, JE *taksayki* (K *talkyal*) ‘egg’, JE *songayki* (K *songaci*) ‘calf’).

For the progressive aspect, the Jeju dialect uses *-ams*, *-ems* (e.g. JE *kai-ka cikum ci-lul mak-ams-ce* (K *ku ay-ka cikum kil-ul mak-koiss-ta* (that kid-NOM road-ACC block-PROG-DECL)) ‘That kid is blocking the road.’). Moreover, for the past and present perfect aspects, the endings *-as* and *-es* are used (e.g. JE *ecey-n kai-ka cil-ul mak-as-ce* (K *ecey-nun ku ay-ka ki-lul mak-ass-ta* (yesterday-TOP that kid-NOM road-ACC block-PST-DECL)) ‘Yesterday, that boy blocked the road.’). To express a sense of supposition, *-khu* is used (e.g. JE *na-ka maku-khu-la* (K *nay-ka mak-keyss-e* (I-NOM stop-SUPP-END)) ‘I will stop it’, JE *ci-leyn kai-ka ciil khu-khu-la* (K *khi-nun ku ay-ka ce-yil khu-keyss-ta* (height-TOP that kid-NOM mosttall-SUPP-DECL)) ‘I suppose that the kid might be the tallest one (when she grows up).’). To express a sense of recollection, the past particle *-a* or *-e* is used (e.g. JE *kai-ka k[ʌ]ssa cil-ul mak-a-la* (K *ku ay-ka akka kil-ul mak-te-la* (that kid-NOM ago road-ACC block-PST-DECL)) ‘I remember that that boy blocked the road.’).

This dialect has idiosyncratic connective particles suffixed to verbal bases. For example, *-umeng* (e.g. JE *mek-umeng* (K *mek-umyense* (eat-while)) ‘while eating’) for simultaneity, *-una* (JE *mek-unan* (K *mek-unikka* (eat-because)) ‘because you eat’) for reasons, *-umin* (JE *mek-umin* (K *mek-umyen* (eat-COND)) ‘if you eat’) for conditionals, *-lay* (JE *mek-uley* (K *mek-ule* (eat-PURP)) ‘to eat’) for purposes, and *-asa/esa* (JE *mek-esa* (K *mek-eya* (eat-must)) ‘must eat’) for importance or necessity.

Regarding the grammatical system of speech levels, when the speaker demonstrates deference to a high-ranking person, the sentence ending *-hepso* is usually used. For a friend or an equal, the endings *-heyo* or *-hera* are used respectively. On the other hand, when a higher-ranking person speaks to an equal or to a lower-ranking person, the ending *-massum*, *-massim*, *-masum*, or *-masim* is used (Sung 1992). Sentence endings unique to the Jeju dialect are presented in Table 5.10. For a more detailed structural overview of the Jeju dialect, see Shin et al., this volume: Chapter 16.

Table 5.10 Unique sentence endings in the Jeju dialect

	Polite	Intimate/Familiar	Plain
Declarative	-emsswuta, -ta -sswukwe, -kwe	-e, -la, -cwu- -unkey	-ta, -ce, -ye, -la, -unyey
Interrogative	-sswukwa	-unko-, -unka, -i, -ia, -la, -swun	--ko, -ka, -uni, -unya
Imperative	-upse		-(u)la
Propositive	-upcwu-		-ca, -key

⁷ This dialect has three speech levels: high/respect, equal, and low.

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5.4.7.3 Lexical idiosyncrasies

There are also many idiosyncratic words in the Jeju dialect, for example, JE *kalam*[A]l (K *kemunmal*) ‘black horse’, JE *k*[A]l*keyngi* (K *homi*) ‘hoe’, JE *kkwang* (K *ppy*e) ‘bone’, JE *pappuli*/*papchwuli*/*pammeli* (K *camcali*) ‘dragonfly’, JE *puay* (K *hepha*) ‘lung’, JE *sayngi/chopsayngi* (K *chamsay*) ‘sparrow’, JE *hwang-koci* (K *mucikay*) ‘rainbow’, JE *n*[A]*tanson* (K *olunson*) ‘right hand’, JE *n*[A]*mppi~mwuswu* (K *mwuwu*) ‘radish’, JE *t*[A]*kseyki* (K *talkyal*) ‘hen’s egg’, JE *pipali* (K *chenye*) ‘single woman’, JE *seywuli* (K *pwuchwu*) ‘leek’, JE *olum* (K *san*) ‘mountain’, JE *cisil* (K *kamca*) ‘potato’, JE *kamce*, *kamcey* (K *kokwuma*) ‘sweet potato’, JE *kwulmay* (K *kulimca*) ‘shadow’, JE *keyyemci* (K *kay-mwi*) ‘ant’, JE *taysani* (K *manul*) ‘garlic’, JE *wuley* (K *wulthali*) ‘fence’, JE *kkay* (K *kkway*) ‘fairly’, JE *kkway* (K *kkay*) ‘sesame seed’, JE *san* (K *myo*) ‘grave, tomb’, JE *homi* (K *nas*) ‘sickle’, JE *kwutek* (K *pakwuni*) ‘basket’, JE *olley* (K *copunkolmok*) ‘alley’, JE *montok* (K *menci*) ‘dust’, JE *pipali* (K *kyeycip.ay*) ‘girl’, JE *namphi* (K *muu*) ‘turnip’, JE *cengcey* (K *puekh*) ‘kitchen’, JE *hepek* (K *mwultongi*) ‘water jar’, JE *kumsung* (V *han sal*) ‘one year old’, JE *iswu* (V *twu sal*) ‘two years old’, JE *samswu* (K *sey sal*) ‘three years old’, JE *phaymanong* (K *pha*) ‘green onion’, JE *taysani* (V *manul*) ‘garlic’, JE *kkwengmanong* (V *tallay*) ‘wild rocambole’, and JE *k*[A]l*lwuki* (K *ssangtwungi*) ‘twin’.

5.5 The genealogical relationship among the Korean dialects

5.5.1 Previous analyses of the relationship among the Korean dialects

These discussions of some diagnostic criteria and of the characteristics of the dialects of Korea shed light on how similar and how different they are. Notably, the characterization of three different, i.e., phonological, grammatical, and lexical, features furthers our understanding of the uniqueness and idiosyncrasies of each dialect.

However, it should be pointed out that most of the so-far-presented research on the Korean dialects seems to have viewed each dialect as separate and independent, each having its unique values of phonological, grammatical, and lexical systems. Perhaps because of this general perspective on the uniqueness of each dialect in Korean, research on the internal genealogical relationship among the Korean dialects has rarely been presented.

From a historical point of view, the rarity of genealogical research on the Korean dialects can be explained by the scant written materials before the invention of the writing system of the Korean alphabet, Hangul, in the 15th century (in 1446). This means that the language’s change and variation

before Hangul can only be inferred indirectly from historical records, especially the information preserved in Sino-Korean words. As a result, the question of the genetic relationship between the dialects of Korean is underrepresented. Moreover, the relationship of Korean to other neighboring languages is still unresolved; and it is surmised to be a branch of Altaic or a lone language with no demonstrable relatives.

A simple example of underrepresentation of the internal genealogical relationship of Korean can be found in ASJP (Automated Similarity Judgment Program), *World Language Tree of Lexical Similarity* by Müller et al. (2009). The *World Language Tree* graphically illustrates the relative degrees of lexical similarity pertaining among 3,384 of the world’s languages and dialects (henceforth, languages) currently found in the ASJP database.

The underlying assumption of this research is that if some languages share more similar lexemes than other languages, they are considered to be closer to each other than others, and are branched more closely together on the ASJP tree. According to this, most lexical similarities and resemblance illustrated in the tree indeed demonstrate genetic affiliation among languages. However, the authors claim that closely branched languages should not necessarily be understood as strictly genetically associated “since lexical resemblance among languages can be due to factors other than genetic relatedness” (Müller et al. 2009).

Regarding the genealogical relationship among the Korean dialects, of particular significance is that while the Japonic languages are internally classified in the ASJP tree (although it is not a detailed description of the genealogical relationship among the Japanese dialects), the internal mapping of Korean is not depicted in the tree diagram at all, but only the relative degrees of similarity of Korean, as a whole entity, to other languages are charted in the tree (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3). This fact shows us that although Korean is the 13th largest among languages on Earth (with about 77 million speakers in and around the Korean Peninsula), little is known about the genealogical relationship among the dialects of Korean, in comparison to other languages of similar size.

Recently, however, fascinating studies on the distinction and classification of the Korean dialects have been published. These studies are “A Sketch of Language History in the Korean Peninsula” conducted by Lee (2015), *Cenkwuk Pangen Cito Ceycak (Korea Linguistic Atlas)* conducted by Chung et al. (2015), and “Dialectometric Approaches to Korean,” conducted by Barnes-Sadler (2017).

Using statistical methods adopted from evolutionary biology, Lee (2015) provided a systematic analysis of the genealogical relationship among the Korean dialects that collected and surveyed 2,316 lexicons for 246 essential vocabulary items from 15 Koreanic language variants, i.e. the northern

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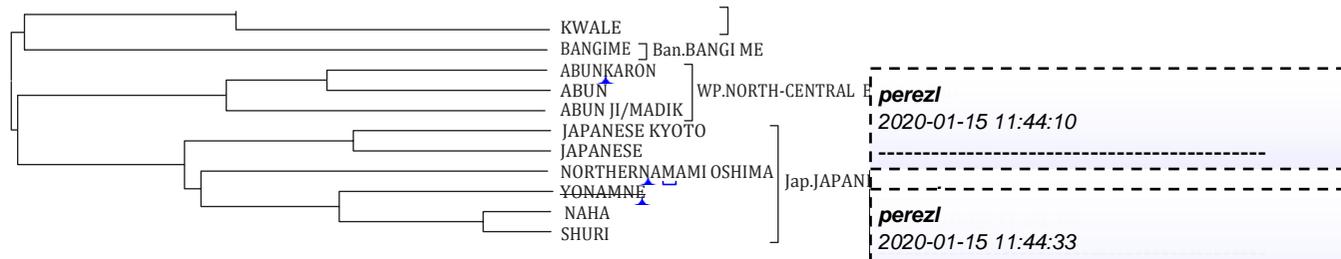


Figure 5.2 Language tree and relative degrees of lexical similarity of Japanese to other languages (Müller et al. (2009))



Figure 5.3 Language tree and relative degrees of lexical similarity of Korean to other languages (Müller et al. (2009))

and southern sub-dialects of seven dialects and Middle Korean (for a more detailed description, see Lee 2015).

The primary goal of the *Korea Linguistic Atlas* (KLA) is to find differences among the dialects of South Korea and to represent the distribution of some traditional Korean vocabulary on the dialect map. In order to achieve this goal, Chung et al. (2015) select ten traditional South Korean words. They are *Kpyeskali* ‘a stack of rice straw’, *Ksaykkwayki* ‘an unsheathed stalk of a straw’, *Kpyenso* ‘toilet’, *Kkawi* ‘scissors’, *Keleyimi* ‘a coarse sieve’, *Kkhi* ‘winnow’, *Ktaluta* ‘different’, *Kmokmal* ‘riding on another’s shoulders’, *Keksay* ‘Flame Grass’, *Kwupak* ‘hail’.

According to Chung et al. (2015: 78), *Kkawi* ‘scissors’, for example, has three different dialectal forms (*kawi*, *kasey*, and *kasikyey*), and they are uniformly distributed among the dialects. The *kawi* form is usually observed in the Kyōnggi, Ch’ungch’ōng, and Chōlla dialects, and this form is also found in some peripheral areas of Kangwōn and Kyōngsang provinces. The *kasey* form is prevalent in the Kyōnggi, Ch’ungch’ōng, and Chōlla, Kangwōn, and Jeju dialects. On the other hand, the *kasikyey* form is only used in the Kyōngsang dialect.

Chung et al. (2015: 78) explain that considering the fact that MK *koΔay* (*Kkawi*) is an original form of *Kkawi*, it is plausible to claim that a new vocabulary *kawi* first spread out its use into Kyōnggi and Ch’ungch’ōng provinces, where MK *koΔay* was exclusively used, and further extended its use to the Chōlla dialect and some provincial speeches of the Kangwōn and Kyōngsang dialects. As a result of this process,

the *kasikyey* form is observed only in the Kyōngsang dialect. Of particular interest is that apart from those three forms, the *kkakkay* form is observed only in the southern part of Kangwōn province and the Yeongdong area including: Gangneung, Sokcho, Donghae, and Taebaek. This is illustrated in Figure 5.4.

Despite visualizing distributions of dialectal forms of particular words on the map, however, this approach does not provide us with precise information about the genealogical relationship among the dialects. The first reason is that this research, as an experimental operation, selected only ten words to produce a dialect map. In order to increase the reliability of this research, an extensive analysis of sample words is required. The second reason is that because the distribution of dialectal forms of some selected words is different from the forms of other words, this research is not sufficient to provide convincing information about the genealogical relationship among the Korean dialects.

Employing “computational and quantitative (dialectometric) techniques in dialectology” (Nerbonne and Kretschmar 2013) and the concept of the “Levenshtein” or “String-edit” distance (Levenshtein 1966), Barnes-Sadler (2017: 3) says that a dialectometric approach to Korean exhibits a profound difference from “the traditional approach to linguistic variation over the Korean peninsula,” since traditional approaches are focused on the geographical distribution of particular linguistic items over surveyed areas and rely on either single or very small numbers of features.

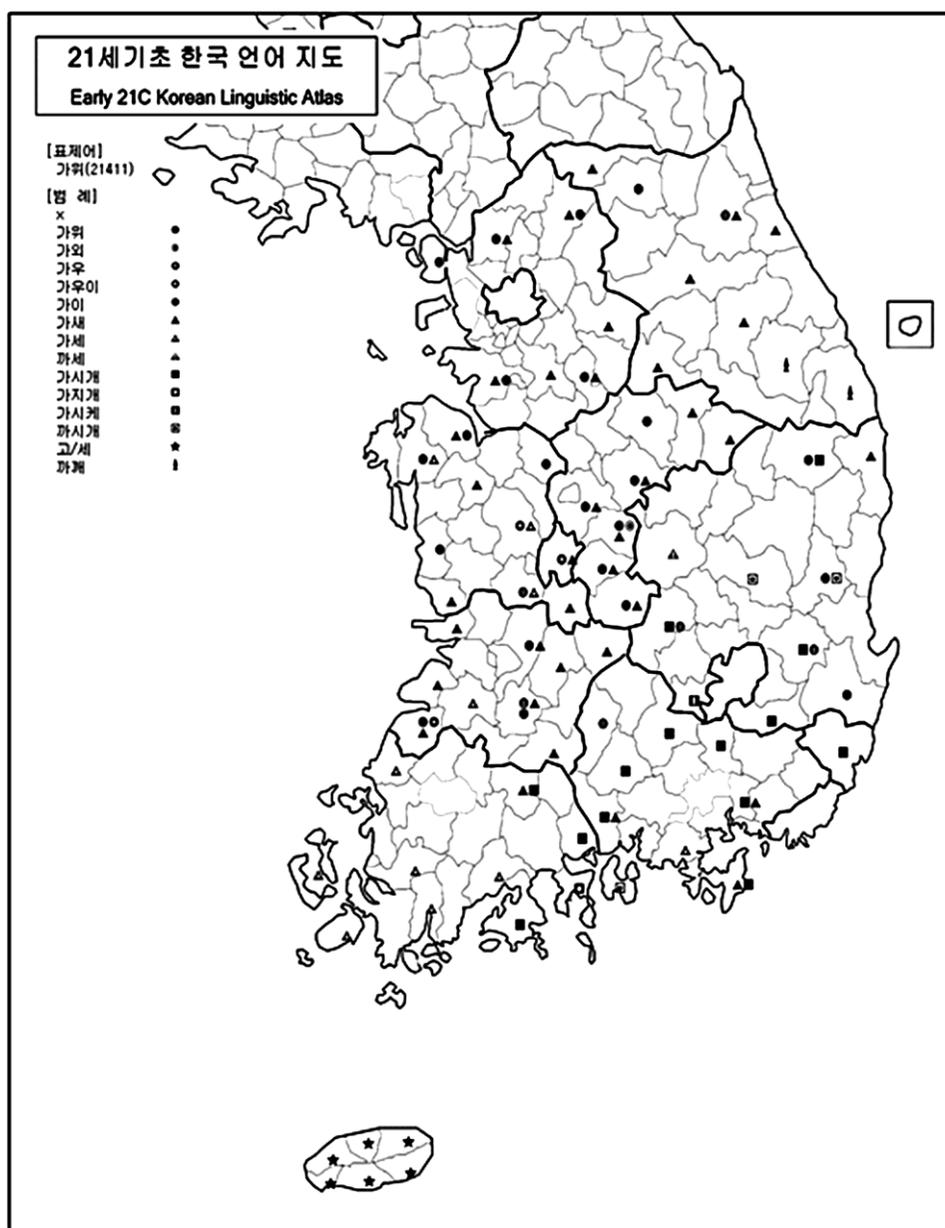


Figure 5.4 Dialect map of *K kawi* ‘scissors’
 Chung et al. (2015: 77)

The “Levenshtein” or “String-edit” distance is a numerical representation of the dissimilarity between two strings. Barnes-Sadler (2017: 3) calls this concept “linguistic distance” and explains that the dissimilarity between the strings is measured by the number of operations (e.g., insertions, deletions, and substitutions), which are involved in producing an output string. Barnes-Sadler (2017: 3–4) articulates that “applying the concept of linguistic distance allows us to

acknowledge the difference between two notional dialect forms which differ in the articulation of a specific consonant, but are otherwise identical, while also recognising that they are more similar than entirely lexically distinct dialect forms. Furthermore, this has implications for the production and interpretation of dialect maps.”

According to him, the advantages of a dialectometric approach lie in the fact that it allows us to portray and

K you-Dong A hn A nD JA ehoon yeon

demarcate similar or dissimilar dialectal zones. Additionally, this approach enables us to determine the degree of linguistic (dis)similarity of vast numbers of linguistic items exhibiting a continuum of orthographic variations observed over surveyed areas (aggregation). Furthermore, “it contributes to removing researcher biases in the identification of features which may be taken as representative of linguistic variation” (Barnes-Sadler 2017: 4).

To verify the advantages of a dialectometric approach to Korean, Barnes-Sadler (2017) collected 21,114 lexicons for 153 vocabulary items taken from The Linguistic Atlas of Korean (LAK), comprising data gathered from one 138 survey areas in South Korea. Then, these 21,114 lexicons were transcribed using the IPA and compared to one another for

measuring degrees of linguistic distance and processing Gabmap, Beam maps, Clustering algorithms (For detailed descriptions, see Barnes-Sadler 2017: 5–8).

Despite the merits of computational and quantitative techniques in dialectology, the application of dialectometric techniques to these data entails some problems: the clusters of dialect areas established by different clustering algorithms are not congruent with one another. As Barnes-Sadler (2017: 9) notes, what is notable is the fact that the clusters established by Ward’s Method, which is generally considered to be “the preferred clustering algorithm for quantitative dialectology (Heeringa et al. 2002: 451), groups together Jeju Island data with some areas of the traditional Central dialect area in a radical departure from all prior Korean dialect taxonomies.”

From the discussions presented above, it is clear that dialectometric methods present serious problems in the establishment of dialect areas. Furthermore, “these methods are also quite susceptible to statistical outliers having a disproportionate influence on the ultimate composition of the clusters” (Barnes-Sadler 2017: 12). Thus, as Barnes-Sadler notes, “a range of techniques may be employed in order to avoid these issues” (2017: 12).

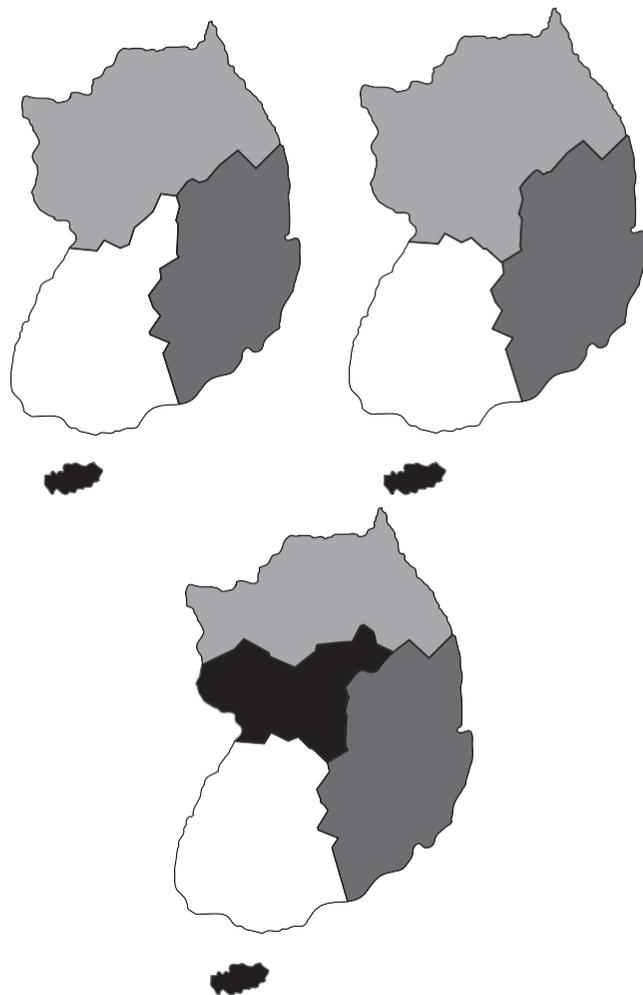


Figure 5.5 Maps showing clusters of LAK data using Complete Link, Group Average, and Ward’s Method Clustering Algorithms (top-right, top-left, and bottom) Barnes-Sadler (2017: 10)

5.5.2 Shared innovations and groupings of the Korean dialects

Although it is temporary and subject to modification, from the discussions about the features presented in Section 5.4 we can generate a rough genealogical tree of the Korean dialects. The most important criterion of this task should be how much the dialects share features with one another. Note, however, that the lexical features are not included in this task, since they represent individual peculiarities and uniqueness of the dialects, thus not standards of comparison. Considering the phonological and grammatical features of the seven dialects, we can divide the dialects into five groupings: the Jeju dialect; the Central dialects; the Ch’ungch’öng dialect; the Kyöngsang and Chölla dialects; and the Hamgyöng and P’yöngan dialects.

5.5.2.1 First dialectal grouping: The Jeju dialect

As is immediately apparent, the Jeju dialect has many features that are distinct from all mainland dialects. The most distinctive feature of this dialect is the existence of the vowel [ʌ], which is a relic of the Middle Korean *o* “*aray a*.” Other idiosyncratic features of the Jeju dialect are some fossilized nominal suffixes such as *-ng*, *-(ay)ngi*, and *-ayki*, the

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case endings *-le, -i, -ti, -anthi, -sinti, -kola, -teley*, all of which mark the locative, dative, and allative case at the same time, the progressive aspect markers *-ams* and *-ems*, and the connective particles suffixed to verbal bases such as *-umeng, -una, -umin, -lay, -asa/esa*, and so on.

5.5.2.2 *Second dialectal grouping: The Central dialects*

The Central dialects (the Kyōnggi dialect, the Kangwŏn dialect, and the Hwanghae dialect) constitute the second sub-grouping of the dialects in Korean. The primary reason for this grouping is the fact that the Central dialects share many features with Standard Korean. As discussed in Section 5.4.3, this seems to be due to the fact that those provinces are more geographically proximal to the capital city, Seoul, than other provinces: because of the geographical vicinity, they could contact and interact with Standard Korean rather than with other dialects, thus having many common features. Apart from this, those dialects share the features

of dentalization, palatalization, and the glottal stop, *h*, and the Middle Korean vowels *ŏ* and *o*, and so on.

Despite similar features among those three dialects, the Hwanghae dialect should be regarded as separate from the Kyōnggi and Kangwŏn dialects. One reason is that while the Kyōnggi and Kangwŏn dialects each have a ten-vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [i̯], [ə], [a], [u], [ü], [ö], [o]) (see Lee 1981: 71–8 and King 2006: 264–80), the Hwanghae dialect is reported to have a nine-vowel system ([i], [e], [ɛ], [i̯], [ə], [a], [u], ([ö], [o]), [o]) and 11 diphthongs ([ye], [yɛ], [yə], [ya], [yu], [yo], [wi], [we], [wɛ], [wə], [wa]). Besides, there are some interesting phenomena of the Kyōnggi and Kangwŏn dialects, such as homorganic articulation, which are not observed in the Hwanghae dialect. The Hwanghae dialect is somewhat unusual in that it is virtually the only dialect (besides the Jeju dialect) to lack both distinctive vowel length and pitch accent (King 2006 and Yeon 2012), and the Middle Korean vowel sequences MK [aj], MK [əj], MK [oj], MK [uj], MK [ij] are now preserved as [sa:i] or [ke:i].

The same is true for the grammatical features. For example, to express a sense of supposition, the Kyōnggi and Kangwŏn dialects, like standard Korean, employ the particle *-keyss*. However, the Hwanghae dialect uses *-kas* to express this sense. Besides, analogous to the P’yōngan dialect, the Hwanghae dialect has a different nominative case marker *-lay/ley*. The Hwanghae dialect also uses a particle *-thays* for the past perfect and a particle *-tulays* for the past progressive. What makes the Hwanghae dialect different from the Kyōnggi and Kangwŏn dialects is the fact that the Hwanghae uses interrogative endings such as *-swikkya, -sikkya, -nikkya, -kkyä*.

5.5.2.3 *Third dialectal grouping: The Ch’ungch’ōng dialect*

The third grouping is the Ch’ungch’ōng dialect. The main reason for regarding this one as the third dialectal grouping is the fact that although the Ch’ungch’ōng dialect shares many features with the Central dialects, it has the unique declarative ending *-ywu* pronounced as a rise in pitch (↑) followed by a slow fall in pitch (↓). This feature is closely related to a slow speech tempo. Another idiosyncratic grammatical ending is a declarative ending *-ya*, which is a plain form of an honorific, *-ywu*. Another reason for this grouping is that it exhibits deletion (or weakening) of a glottal sound *h*, the glide [w] insertion between verb bases and NF particles, and labialization, all of which are not found in other dialects.

5.5.2.4 *Fourth dialectal grouping: The Kyōngsang and Chōlla dialects*

The fourth grouping consists of the Kyōngsang and Chōlla dialects. While it is true that these two dialects have unique vowel systems and grammatical features that are different from each other, these dialects also share many phonological features. The first shared phonological feature is umlaut. In the Kyōngsang and Chōlla dialects, before [i] or [j], vowels [a], [e], [o], [u] are pronounced as [ɛ], [e], (or [ɛ] in some provincial speech), [e] (or [ɛ] in some provincial speech), and [i] respectively. The second shared feature is massive tensification of the word- or syllable-initial consonants such as *k, p, t, s*. The third shared feature is vowel fronting.

In both the Kyōngsang and the Chōlla dialects, the vowels [i] and [u] are realized as the high front vowel [i̯] in the word-final position, and as to the vowels [a] and [e], the low back vowel [a] is fronted and raised to [e] in the word-final position. Another shared feature of these dialects is monoph-

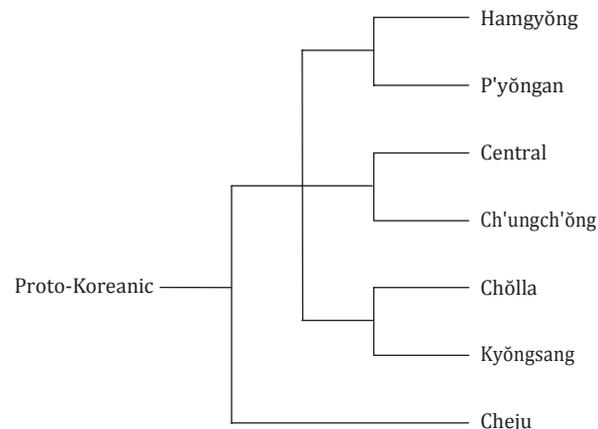


Figure 5.6 A genealogical tree of Korean dialects

K you-Dong A hn A nD JA ehoon yeon

thongization of diphthongal vowels in standard Korean. For example, a diphthong [ye] following a word- or syllable-initial consonant is realized as a monophthong [e]. Lastly, *k*- and *h*-palatalization is also a feature common to the Kyöngsang and Chölla dialects.

5.5.2.5 Fifth dialectal grouping: The Hamgyöng and P'yöngan dialects

Lastly, the fifth dialectal grouping consists of the Hamgyöng and P'yöngan dialects. As discussed in Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2, from a phonological point of view, they are very different from each other. For example, unlike the Hamgyöng dialect, the P'yöngan dialect does not undergo any type of palatalization. Besides, while the Hamgyöng dialect preserves the Middle Korean vowel *o* “*aray a*” as a vowel [o], the P'yöngan dialect does not retain any form of this archaic vowel. There is one key phonological feature shared between these dialects: they have a similar but not identical vowel system, including diphthongs. Note that they are also very close in the use of grammatical endings that are not observed in other dialects, except the Hwanghae dialect. Unique grammatical endings in the Hamgyöng and P'yöngan dialects are, for example, *-up(sup) meyta*, *-wu(swuta/wey)ta*, *-up(sup)seyta*, *-up(sup)sey*, etc. A genealogical tree of the Korean dialects is proposed in Figure 5.6.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, we have distinguished seven Korean dialectal zones by various linguistic criteria and examined some noticeable differences among the dialects of Korean. Such differences could be regarded as substantial divergence or minor divergence, depending on the researchers' viewpoint. Nevertheless, each dialect has a common phonological and grammatical structure and speakers have no real difficulties in communicating except for a few different usages of vocabulary. The question of the origin and evolution of the Korean language as well as the genealogical relationship among its dialects will remain an important topic of future research.

Acknowledgments

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