The Dynamic Pattern of t-Palatalization and its Hypercorrection: Historical Data from the Korean Central Dialect

Kim Joo-phil

1. Introduction

t-Palatalization in Korean is the phenomenon whereby t, tʰ, and t' changed to ʧ, ʧʰ, and ʧ', respectively, before i or y.¹ The origin and propagation of this phenomenon was based on the consonantal system of late Middle Korean (the 15th century ~ the 16th century).

---

¹ This research was supported by the Yeungnam University research grants in 2000. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 25th Penn Linguistic Colloquium in University of Pennsylvania, in March 2001. I am grateful to the participants who offered their comments and suggestions. In addition, I am particularly indebted to Professor William Labov, who gave kind assistance and encouragements in various ways.

** Department of Korean Language Education, Yeungnam University

1. Various kinds of palatalization and its related phenomena took place between the 16th and 19th centuries in Korean: the change of alvolar /ts/ to palatal /ʧ/, t-palatalization, k-palatalization, h-palatalization, n-deletion and n-insertion before i or y, off-glide y insertion in the nucleus vowel of the syllable preceding i or y

There was no palatal phoneme in the consonantal system of the Korean central dialect\(^2\) in late Middle Korean, even though there were a few palatal allophones before i and y. So alveolar /ts/ first changed to palatal /tʃ/ to fill the empty position of the palatal in the consonantal system. t-Palatalization is thought to have taken place at the almost same time or at a later period than the change of alveolar /ts/ to palatal /tʃ/ in the consonantal system (K. M. Lee 1977; J. P. Kim 1985).

It has been generally claimed that t-Palatalization took place in the central dialect around the turn of the 17th to the 18th century, influenced by southern dialects (Kyŏngsang dialect and Chŏlla dialect), and completed in the end of the 18th century. The dating of t-palatalization is based on the written materials in Han'gŭl (the Korean writing system) and the testimony of Hee, Yu (1773-1837) in Unmunji (Hee, Yu. 1824), which states "知和 [ti.hwa] was distinguished from 至和 [tʃi.hwa]\(^3\) in the days of the great great grandfather of his teacher, Cheong Tong-yu (1744-1808)."

But, if we carefully investigate the data published in the latter half of the 17th century, we can find words in which t-palatalization

---

\(^2\) the consonantal system in the 16th century Korean central dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>laryngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t, ts</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ, tsʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’</td>
<td>t, ts’</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\) "知和 [ti.hwa] and 至和 [tʃi.hwa] are personal names"
applied. The appearance of these words at that time did not coincide
with the testimony in Unmunji. Therefore, the dating of t-palatalization
might be different, in which case its spreading process could be more
definitively clarified if we give careful consideration to the correspon-
dence between writings and sounds related to t-palatalization, and
reinterpret the testimony in Unmunji.

At this point, I will: 1) investigate the correspondence between
writing types and their sounds in the historical data related to
t-palatalization, 2) apply the concept of hypercorrection against
t-palatalization to the sound change which was reflected on one kind
of writing type, and 3) shed light on the dynamic pattern of
t-palatalization and its hypercorrection, which was found in the
development of palatalizations in Korean.

2. Writing Types Related to t-palatalization and Their
Sounds

The following examples show two kinds of writing types related to
t-palatalization:

(1) (a) examples of [bi] > [bi]
    {om.ki.bi} > {om.ki.bi} (F, III, 27a)4 ‘to move,’

---

4 In example (1) above, { } stands for letters, not pronunciations and ' ' stands for
syllabic boundary. The capital letter stands for one of books which are introduced at
the last page in this paper. The Roman numerals stand for volume of the book in
which the datum appeared. Numbers such as '23' out of '23a' or '23b' stand for the
page in which the datum occurred. And 'a' is the front page, whereas 'b' is the back
page.
(a) examples of 

\{\text{tya.ki}\} > \{\text{ffy\k\i}\} (F, V, 16a) 'a little'

(b) examples of \{\text{ff}\} > \{\text{tu}\}

{\text{ka.ff.myan}} > \{\text{ka.ti.myan}\} (F, 1', 23a) 'to have,'

{\text{ffy\u\i}} > \{\text{tyu\u}\} (F, 1', 23b) 'the monk'

As one can see above, (1.a) is the writing on which reflects t-palatalization because the change of [t] to [f] before [i] or [y] was the process of that phenomenon. (1.b) shows the converse change in the writing of historical materials: the appearance of [t] in place of [f] before [i] or [y] in materials. This kind of writing type has been considered false regressive writings, namely errors in writing, caused by a confusion that writers could commit in writing, after the wide propagation of t-palatalization.

But such a claim for (1.b) must be modified, because the historical materials show (1.b) in the almost same or a little earlier period than when many Korean linguists claim that t-palatalization began. In addition, there were few or no writings of the type (1.b) in the end of the 18th century, which is claimed to be the period in which the phenomenon took place for every word in the Korean central dialect.

In fact, writings similar to (1.b) also appear in the case of k-palatalization from the second half of the 18th century materials. The writings of the following examples of (2) were related to k-palatalization just as examples of (1.b) were related to t-palatalization. k-Palatalization has generally been said not to have taken place in the Korean central dialect. However, the following examples demonstrate the sound changes that we can check out in the current central dialect:
(2) examples of \[\text{[tf]} > [k]\]
\[\text{tfi} > \text{kit} (\text{H, IX, 15a}), \text{a feather,}^{'}
\[\text{tfi.say} > \text{ki.ya} (I, 398a) \text{a tile of the roof,}^{'
\[\text{tf}^{'i} > \text{k}^{'i} (I, 386a), \text{a rudder,}^{'
\[\text{tfim.chiy} > \text{kim.chiy} (>\text{kim.ch}) (J, 67a), \text{kimchi,}^{'

Example (2) shows that palatal \[\text{[tf]} \] changed to velar \[\text{[k]} \] before \(i\) or \(y\) in the same way as examples of (1.b) did. This change in writing demonstrates the sound change that took place in the Korean central dialect, \([i]\) or \([y]\). This phenomenon was caused by the conscious rejection of speakers of \(k\)-palatalization, because they considered rustic the words in which \(k\)-palatalization applied.\(^5\) If so, there is no reason why (1.b) should be approached differently from than (2), because there would be no difference between writing type (1.b) and (2), except that while (2) survives in the current central dialect, (1.b) does not. In addition, if we consider the fact that (1.b) occurred at the same period that (1.a) began to appear, and the fact that (2) occurred in a situation where \(k\)-palatalization hardly or never occurred in the Korean central dialect, (1.b) should also be interpreted in the same light as (2): speakers’ conscious rejection of \(t\)-palatalization, not writers’ errors caused by the spreading of \(t\)-palatalization. In this respect, I will consider (1.b) the writing type in which actual sound changes are reflected.

Thus, this claim is supported by the Yukchin dialect, spoken in the northeasternmost area of Korea, and which is the most conservative

---

5. All words in which \(k\)-palatalization applied were abolished from the standard form in Korean. But the type of (2) partially acquired the qualification of standard Korean, for example, "kimch’yi" (the Korean sidedish), "kat" (the wing), etc..
dialect in Korean (C. K. Kwak, 1994). This dialect, in which t-palatalization partially applied, provides us with the evidence that writing type (1.b) reflected the change at the phonetic level, as shown in (3) (I. K. Kim 1986):

(3) examples of [ listeners] > [ti]

\[\text{fymk} t'a > \text{yymk} t'a 'to write,' \]
\[\text{fym} \text{w} \text{w} > \text{ym} \text{w} \text{w} 'January,' \]
\[\text{fym} \text{n} > \text{ym} \text{n} 'a monk,' \]
\[\text{fym} \text{p} \text{u} > \text{ym} \text{p} \text{u} 'a housekeeping notebook,' \]
\[\text{fym} \text{w} \text{r} \text{m} > \text{ym} \text{w} \text{r} \text{m} 'like,' \]
\[\text{fym} \text{h} \text{o} \text{t} \text{i} > \text{ym} \text{h} \text{o} \text{t} \text{i} 'a paper for the door,' \]
\[\text{fym} \text{y} \text{a} \text{s} \text{a} \text{l} \text{t} > \text{ym} \text{y} \text{a} \text{s} \text{a} \text{l} \text{t} 'to live depending on someone.' \]

Examples in (3) show that the original [ listeners] in the Yukchin dialect changed to [ti] before [i] or [y] in the phonetic level. These sound changes are the same as those reflected in writing type (1.b). Therefore our claim that writing type (1.b) reflects the sound change is supported by the examples in (3).

In current Korean society, k-palatalization, h-palatalization, umlaut phenomena, n-deletion in the medial of the word, etc., are markers of rural speech that are similar to those of the lower class. So Koreans in general classify the words in which palatalizations applied under the heading of sat'uri Sat'uri is the term that is used to ridicule speakers who use words that are not part of the Seoul dialect or standard Korean. Therefore, sat'uri is the term that includes sociolinguistic sense, contrasted to the Seoul dialect or standard Korean.

---

6 Most Koreans tend to think that the Seoul dialect equals the standard form. In general, the Korean standard forms are based on the current Seoul dialect, which educated people in Seoul use, but the Seoul dialect doesn't exactly match to the
Related to the Korean attitude, P. K. Lee (1972) provides us with an interesting report. In January of 1972, Professor Lee did a fieldwork study in the Yongtôk area, which is located in the eastmost seaside part of Kyongsang province. Professor Lee reports that the adoption of k-palatalization was different between Sangwôn village and Mulphyun village in the Yongtôk area. While speakers in Mulphyun village, descendants of fishermen, always use the words in which k-palatalization applied, speakers in Sangwôn village, the descendants of the Yangpan (high class), never use k-palatalization forms. Professor Lee explains the linguistic differentiation of these two villages by means of socio-cultural forces of Korean traditional society (i.e., educational, economical forces, folkway, etc.). In other words, such a linguistic differentiation comes from the social awareness of Sangwôn speakers, who try to regard themselves in the same light with Seoul dialect speakers, and subsequently try to differentiate themselves from speakers of the rural dialects or the lower class groups. The social attitude that the speakers in the Sangwôn area show against t-palatalization which was taking place at that time, was influenced by southern dialects. In this respect, example (2) above can be considered a hypercorrection of k-palatalization.

If so, it would be fair to approach t-palatalization of the early modern central dialect in the same way. t-Palatalization is not

---

Korean standard forms: This results from giving the feature [+privilege] to the Seoul dialect.

7. In the Chosôn dynasty, social classes had been differentiated into four classes: the high class (Yangpan), the middle class (Chung'in), the low class (Pyongsun), and the lowest class (Ch'ônmun).
different from k-palatalization, except while the latter did not take place, the former was completed in the central dialect. In addition, the fact that (1.b) had appeared at the beginning period of t-palatalization allows us to infer that this phenomenon, or words in which this phenomenon applied might also be considered the marker of the rural dialects or the lower class groups, and then be rejected by the central dialect speakers. With this socio-linguistic attitude in mind, I will consider writing type (1.b) as a hypercorrection against t-palatalization, in which the phonological change of [ʃi] to [ti] is reflected.

T-Palatalization and its hypercorrection both began to appear in the second half of the 17th century in the central dialect. The difference between two phenomena is their distribution in the phonological word. The data show that t-palatalization appeared in non-initial syllables of the morpheme internally, and hypercorrection mainly appeared in initial syllables of words.\(^8\)

\[(4)\] a) examples of t-palatalization: ti > ti

\[
\text{play.p\,r\,n\,s\,y\,en\,t\,ye\,n} > \text{play.p\,r\,n\,s\,y\,e\,n\,f\,y\,e\,n} \quad (A, 13b), \quad \text{even though,}
\]

\[
\text{a.\,ro\,f\,i\,t\,a} > \text{a.\,ro\,i\,f\,i\,t\,a} \quad (A, 34b), \quad \text{to be colorful,}
\]

\[
\text{kol.t\,m\,k\,a\,l} > \text{kol.t\,f\,i\,n\,k\,a\,l} \quad (E, 17a), \quad \text{to be hollow,}
\]

\(^8\) In the data which t-palatalization and its hypercorrection appeared in documents, data of the Cholla dialect is earlier than that of the Kyongsang dialect. But the data from both these dialects show that examples of hypercorrection appeared in the same period or earlier than those of t-palatalization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t-palatalization</th>
<th>hypercorrection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyongsang dialect</td>
<td>1603</td>
<td>1567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholla dialect</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>1562</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) examples of hypercorrection: \[\text{tfi} > \text{ti}\]

\[\text{tfi.tals'a.ta} > \text{ti.tals'a.ta} \quad (\text{E, II, 34a}, \text{'}a \text{ kind of farming tool',)}
\]
\[\text{tfi.kə.ta} > \text{ti.kə.ta} \quad (\text{D, II, 22a}, \text{'}to lose',)}
\]
\[(\text{kan}) \quad \text{tfʰi.ta} > (\text{kan}) \quad \text{tʰi.ta} \quad (\text{E, II, 38b}, \text{'}to put in (season)'},)
\]
\[\text{tfyo.hAY} > \text{tyo.hAY} \quad (\text{B, 13a}, \text{'}a paper',)
\]

Based on these data, t-palatalization must have begun at least around the second half of the 17th century from the non-initial syllable; and hypercorrection must have taken place in initial syllables at almost the same period.

But this inference brings up a new problem: that these appearances of t-palatalization in written materials would then not coincide with the testimony in Unmunji. This discrepancy is presumably caused by the difference between t-palatalization, change from below, and its hypercorrection, change from above (Labov, 1972). Even though t-palatalization was taking place in non-initial syllables, speakers in Seoul influenced by southern dialects, did not recognize that t-palatalization had occurred. If so, speakers must have thought that they were not using words in which t-palatalization applied, regardless of the fact that t-palatalization was in progress in the non-initial syllables. This difference between objective fact and subjective awareness explains the discrepancy between t-palatalization in progress and the testimony in Unmunji, which states “[tfi.hwa] was distinguished from [tfi.hwaj] in the days of the great great grandfather of his teacher, Cheong Tong-yu (1744-1808)."
3. The Process of t-palatalization and its Hypercorrection

As I mentioned above, t-palatalization appeared in non-initial syllables of the morpheme-internally, while its hypercorrection mainly occurred syllable-initially in materials from the second half of the 17th century. In the first half of the 18th century, these two phenomena began to appear more than ever. And hypercorrection occurred more than t-palatalization, not only in onsets of initial syllables, but also in onsets of non-initial syllables. At this time, two phenomena also occurred at the boundaries between lexical morphemes and functional morpheme, as seen in (5) below:

(5) a) t-palatalization in the morphological boundary: \( t^{h}i > t^{h}\)

\( hyot.k^{h}th + \text{-}i, hyot.k^{h}t^{h}i > hyot.k^{h}.t^{h}i \) (E, I, 25b).

\( hyot.k^{h}t^{h}: \) 'the blade of the tongue', \( -i \) 'nominative case marker'.

b) hypercorrection in the morphological boundary. \( t^{h}i > t^{h}i \)

\( an.t^{h} - \text{-}hi- + \text{-}ra, an.t^{h}ri \) \( ra > an.t^{h}.ra \) (E, VII, 14b).

\( an.t^{h}: \) 'to sit down', \( -hi- \) 'causative suffix', \( -ra \) 'imperative ending'.

\( mat^{h} - \text{-}hi- + \text{-}ti; ma.t^{h}.ti \) \( > ma.t^{h}.ti \) (E, I, 4b).

\( na^{t}h: \) 'to be right', \( -hi- \) 'causative suffix', \( -ti \) 'negative ending'.
while the former examples became greater, the latter examples became fewer than before, informs us that the former was gradually extending, but latter was diminished. Thus we can conclude that t-palatalization was losing its function as the marker of the rural dialects or the lower class groups. Related to this process of t-palatalization and its hypercorrection, we can now understand why hypercorrections of k-palatalization, as demonstrate in example (2), began to appear in this period.

Speakers seemed for the first time to have recognized that speakers of the central dialect considered k-palatalization the maker of the southern dialects. So, at this time, examples such as (2) began to appear for the first time.

But this was caused by the speakers’ rejection of k-palatalization, in spite of the fact that k-palatalization did not occur in the central dialect. If so, this would not be parallel to hypercorrection which interacted with t-palatalization in the central dialect. Even though k-palatalization never occurred in the central dialect at that time, speakers knew that k-palatalization was taking place in southern dialects; thus they considered k-palatalization to be the marker of southern dialects. So speakers hypercorrected palatal [tʃ] to velar [k] before [i] or [y]. Therefore, speakers began to hypercorrect k-palatalization instead of k-palatalization. In the second half of the 18th century, while hypercorrection of t-palatalization greatly lessened, hypercorrection of k-palatalization began to appear.

This development of t-palatalization and its hypercorrection is

---

9. At that time, k-palatalization could be partially taking place to the extent that speakers could recognize it in the central dialect, even if materials did not show examples.
shown below:

(6) The process of t-palatalization in materials

1) The 1st stage: t-Palatalization began to apply to non-initial syllables within phonological words in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

2) The 2nd stage: t-Palatalization extended to the boundary between the lexical morpheme and the grammatical morpheme in the 1st half of the 18th century.

3) The 3rd stage: t-Palatalization extended to initial syllables of phonological words in the middle of the 18th century.

4) The 4th stage: t-Palatalization almost arrived at the completed stage in the end of the 18th century.

(7) The process of hypercorrection in materials

(There was no hypercorrection in the 1st half of the 17th century.)

1) The 1st stage Hypercorrection against t-palatalization mainly occurred on the initial syllables in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

2) The 2nd stage: Hypercorrections appeared in every environment and appeared more often than examples of t-palatalization did in the 1st half of the 18th century.

3) The 3rd stage: Most hypercorrections disappeared, except for a few words in the middle of the 18th century, and hypercorrection of k-palatalization began to appear on initial syllables of words.

4) The 4th stage: Hypercorrection rarely appeared in the end of the 18th century, and hypercorrection of k-palatalization continually appeared on initial syllables of words.
t-Palatalization gradually extended by means of interactions of t-palatalization and hypercorrection. The relative tendency of these two phenomena seems to be explained by the speaker’s attitude towards phonological change in progress at that time, i. e., speakers were extending t-palatalization which is change from below, and rejected the usage of words in which t-palatalization applied above the level of consciousness. But it seems that they gradually extended t-palatalization by choosing words containing t-palatalization over those containing hypercorrection. In this process of the propagation of t-palatalization, the fact that the appearance of words with hypercorrections gradually lessened, signifies that t-palatalization was thought of less and less as the marker of the rural dialects or the lower class groups. Therefore, from the middle of the 18th century, t-palatalization continually extended, but hypercorrection suddenly lessened.

By the end of the 18th century, words to which t-palatalization applied were common, while hypercorrection hardly appeared. In addition, hypercorrection of k-palatalization continually appeared in this respect, t-palatalization was almost completed by the turn of the 18th century to the 19th century central dialect.

4. The Dynamic Pattern of t-palatalization and Hypercorrection

If speakers considered t-palatalization the marker of the rural dialects or the lower class groups, they would have at first tried not to use words to where t-palatalization had applied. At the same time,
they more than likely would have tried to turn back to the original form for words in which t-palatalization had already applied. But at this stage, hypercorrection might not have yet appeared, because the speakers might not have hyercorrected the words which originally had had palatal [ʧ] before [i] or [y]. Therefore one can infer that hypercorrection appeared in the next stage.

After the period in which t-palatalization had spread to the extent that it could be recognized by speakers, they might have confused the original [ʧ], which was not palatalized, with the [ʧ̩], which palatalized before [i] or [y]. At this stage, they might have hypercorrected even the original palatal [ʧ] to non-palatal [t] such as example (1.b), even though the segment originally was palatal, not palatalized. Here, we can infer that t-palatalization had begun earlier than the period in which hypercorrection appeared.

Here we need to focus on the fact that the hypercorrected words were not borrowed from the southern dialects, because hypercorrection resulted in speakers’ rejection of words which had characteristics of the southern dialects. Furthermore, we cannot claim that hypercorrected words were formed by analogy, because hypercorrection was based not only on its similarity with t-palatalization, but also on its difference from t-palatalization, because hypercorrection occurred above the consciousness of the speakers who tried to reject the words to which t-palatalization applied.

Speakers took advantage of the paradigmatic relation of phonemes that alternated between the palatal /ʧ/ and the non-palatal /t/ before [i] or [y] on the one hand; and the syntagmatic relation with the phoneme that triggered the alternation on the other hand, namely the palatal /ʧ̩/ + [i] or [y], or the non-palatal /t̩/ + [i] or [y]. Here the
input and the output of these two phenomena were decided by the paradigmatic relation; and the environment that triggered the paradigmatic alternation was conditioned by the syntagmatic relation. The two rules of t-palatalization and its hypercorrection generalized throughout the processes of these analyses.

In fact, if our discussion is limited only to t-palatalization, we cannot decide whether the sound change had taken place by means of lexical diffusion by borrowing or analogy; or by means of a rule. But if we put t-palatalization and hypercorrection in our discussion together, we would then be able to conclude that this sound change took place by means of a rule internalized to speakers.

The above-mentioned hypercorrection is the change from above. Even though t-palatalization were influenced by the southern dialects, hypercorrection was based on the central dialect at that time. The speakers changed the original palatal [tʃ] to the alveolar [t] in the central dialect, because they sensed that the [tʃ] before i or y was palatalized, in spite of the fact that the target segment was not palatalized, but an original palatal. Therefore, one cannot claim that hypercorrection of t-palatalization was the result of borrowing or lexical analogy. Instead, one could claim that speakers knew about the rule of t-palatalization and took advantage of this rule during the process in which they were hypercorrecting the original palatal sound. Therefore, hypercorrection gives us the evidence that the t-palatalization rule existed in the speakers' consciousness, i.e., the interaction of these two phenomena informs us that a rule of sound change existed in speakers' consciousness as psychological reality.

In this respect, we can conclude that speakers had these two rules from the stage of t-palatalization in which hypercorrection first
appeared. Therefore, in the process of the propagation of these two competing rules, speakers either gradually selected one of these two rules and applied it to words, or gradually selected words to which it had already applied. Therefore, if the period of this propagation was a very long one, the other rule could have been in a competing relation with this rule.
References


Wang, W. S.-Y., "Competing Change as a Cause of Residue," Language 45, 1969

SELECTED MATERIALS

A: Kyung.min.phyun.un.hae (vol.1, 1656), The book which teaches people the correct customs.
C: No.kul.tae.un.hae (vol.1-2, 1670), A textbook for Chinese conversation (2nd ed.).
D: Bak.thong.sa.un.hae (vol.1-3, 1677), A textbook for Chinese conversation (2nd ed.).
E: Yuk.eo.yu.hae (vol.1-2, 1699), The book which explains the Chinese words.

H: *Sam.Yuk.chong.hae* (vol. 1-10, 1774), A textbook of Mongolian vocabulary (the 2nd ed.).

I: *Han.Chung.mun.kam* (vol. 1-15, 18c?), Dictionary of Manchurian

J: *Chung.eo.no.kul.tae* (vol. 1-8, 1765), A textbook for Manchurian conversation (the 2nd ed.).

K: *Chung.kan.no.kul.tae.un.hae* (vol.1-2, 1795), A textbook for Chinese conversation (the 4nd ed.).
<Abstract>

The Dynamic Pattern of t-Palatalization and its Hypercorrection: Historical Data from the Korean Central Dialect

Kim Joo-phil

t-Palatalization gradually extended by means of interactions of t-palatalization and hypercorrection from the second half of the 17th century to the end of the 18th century in the Korean central dialect. The relative tendency of these two phenomena can be explained by the speaker's attitude towards phonological change in progress, i.e., t-palatalization is change from below and its hypercorrection is change from above.

Based on this consciousness for the phonological change in progress, speakers took advantage of the paradigmatic relation of phonemes and the syntagmatic relation with the phoneme that triggered the alternation. The two rules of t-palatalization and its hypercorrection generalized throughout the analysis of opposite relations of phonemes in the phonological system at that time. Therefore, hypercorrection gives us the evidence that the t-palatalization rule existed in the speakers', i.e., the interaction of these two phenomena informs us that a rule of sound change existed in speakers' consciousness as psychological reality.

In this respect, we can conclude that speakers had these two rules
from the stage of t-palatalization in which hypercorrection first appeared. So, in the process of the propagation of these two competing rules, speakers either gradually selected one of these two rules, and applied it to words; or gradually selected words to which it had already applied. Therefore, if the period of this propagation was a very long one, the other rule could have been in a competing relation with this rule.