AN INTRODUCTION TO SOVIET KOREAN

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This paper outlines the characteristic phonetic, phonological, morphological and lexical features of "Soviet Korean" as recorded by the author in a Tashkent bazaar. Comparisons with Putsillo's (1874) dictionary, the Kazan materials (1904) based on Yenhaycu speech, and Kim Thay Kyun's (1986) Ham-puk Pangen Sacen demonstrate that "Soviet Korean" comprehends several varieties of North Ham-kyeng dialect, and retains archaism no longer found on the Korean peninsula.

In September of 1986 I had the opportunity to travel through parts of Soviet Turkestan while on the way from Helsinki to Seoul. The main purpose of my trip was to participate in the Permanent International Altaists' Conference held in Tashkent from Sept. 14-21, but I also took advantage of the opportunity to conduct some field research with a Korean informant in one of Tashkent's bazaars. This report has as its primary goal a description of the facts I observed there. My other goal is to demonstrate the importance of and pressing need for full-scale investigations into the Korean dialects spoken in the USSR and to outline the research questions which any such investigation must take.

Introduction

The history and current status of the Koreans in Soviet Central Asia is poorly understood and under-researched, even within the USSR. The few pages in Kolarz(1954) devoted to the Soviet Koreans are practically the only information available in English. Koh Song Moo(1984) is the best synthesis to date, and brings together many valuable, hard to get Soviet sources.¹

Putsillo(1874) writes in the preface to his dictionary that emigration to the Russian "Primorskij Kraj" or "Dal'nyj Vostok," the territory along the Amur River between the Ussuri and the Pacific Ocean, began in 1863. After a visit to the same area, Isabella Bird Bishop wrote in an 1897 issue of Toklip Sinmun * * * In this paper, I use the Yale system for romanizing Hankul, and the Pinyin system for Mandarin Chinese.

** My thanks go out to Professor Kwak Choong-goo[Kwak Chwung Kwu] for generously providing me with copies of the Kazan materials. I would also like to thank Lee Ki-Moon, Kim Wanjin, An Pyenghuy, Kim Seng Kyu, and Han Misen for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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¹ An updated, expanded English version is forthcoming.

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that at least 100 Hamkyengto residents had moved to Yenhaycwu (the Sino-Korean equivalent of "Primorski Kraj") in 1863. By 1866 the area had 100 households living in the villages of Tizinhe, Jancihe, Sidimi, Adimi, Chapizou, Krabbe, and Fudubaj.

The Korean emigrants were predominantly destitute farmers from the northernmost tip of Hamkyeng Province, and a particularly disastrous harvest in this region in 1869 pushed Yenhaycwu's Korean population up to 8400 by 1870. With the establishment of official Korean-Russian relations in 1884, attempts were made on the Korean side to stem the flow of emigrants, but legislation and agreements had no effect. In the years surrounding Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, anti-Japanese sentiment replaced or reinforced the motives of famine and crop-failure behind immigration, and Yenhaycwu's Korean population had topped 100000 by 1923. It increased at the rate of 17% per year from 1923-1926, giving a population of 170000 in 1927, and as many as 250000 Koreans were living in the Yenhaycwu region by the early 1930s. Of these, 10% resided in cities, and the remainder on farms. Many had adopted Russian names and Russian orthodoxy.

The precise details of the forced emigration of these Yenhaycwu Koreans via freight train to Soviet Central Asia in 1937 are not clear. Like the Korean peninsula itself throughout history, the Yenhaycwu area occupied a sensitive geo-political location. Furthermore, we must recall the following historical background: the Russian-Japanese war of 1904-5, Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, the October Revolution of 1917, the forced Sovietization of Yenhaycwu agriculture in 1922, Japan's advance into Manchuria in 1931 and 1932, and the establishment of a Jewish autonomous region in 1934. Korean freedom fighters, spies and anti-Japanese guerrillas operated out of the Yenhaycwu area, many Koreans had resisted collectivization of their successful rice agriculture, and Stalin may have been worried that Koreans might call for their own autonomous region. Indeed, if Stalin had had his way, he probably would have shipped the whole peninsula to Central Asia.

The number of Koreans shipped to Soviet Central Asia in 1937 is not known, but the 1939 census figures list 182,000 Koreans in Central Asia. As a result of this forced emigration, 182,000 Koreans came to live dispersed across a territory 18 times the size of the Korean peninsula. The 1979 census puts the number of Koreans in Central Asia at 255,000. The republics with the most Koreans are Uzbekistan (147,538) and Kazakhstan (81,598). Kirghizistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan each have 9,404, 8,490, and 3,493 Koreans.

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2 Koh Song Moo. 1984 p. 21.
3 Cf. Ibid., p. 23-30.
4 Ibid., p. 36-48.
5 Thus, Koh Song Moo estimates that if one assumes 100 people per railway car, the forced emigration must have involved at least 1500 cars, or 50 convoys of 30 cars each! (Ibid., p. 49)
respectively. 6 1970 statistics show another 35,396 Koreans on the island of Sakhalin, 7 19,249 in Khabarovsk, 8003 in Yenhaycwu, 4966 in Rostov, 3773 in the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Region, 2521 in the North Ossetic Autonomous Region, 2484 in Kamchatka, and 276 in the Korjak region.

The importance of the language of these Soviet Koreans cannot be overestimated. First of all, language maintenance among the Koreans seems to be higher than almost all other ethnic minorities in the USSR. Haarmann (1981) reports first-language retention rates consistently over 90% for the various Korean settlements. Usually 80% or more claim fluency in Russian, too, but only 2%-3% report a speaking knowledge of other, e.g. Turkic/Iranian languages. 8 Secondly, these Koreans are scattered about in small self-contained communities and have virtually no contact with a peninsular standard, written or spoken. Apparently, there are little or no provisions for Koreans to study their own language in the USSR. Indeed, the only textbook ever published - Cosen.e Kyokwase/Učebnik Korejskogo Jazyka dlja 3-4 Klassov (Tashkent, 1965) - is a rarity. Even in the pre-1937 Yenhaycwu period, there is some question as to how many people had experience with the written language or with standard speech - intensive standardization efforts in speech and writing did not get under way in Korea until the 1930s anyway. Thus, the Soviet Koreans preserve an "unpolluted" dialect which could be of great importance for Korean linguistics, especially for syntax. 9

Thirdly, these dialects are of great value for traditional Kwak.ehak in general, and for dialectology in particular. Because of the division of Korea into north and south, dialect research in the ROK has been very lopsided. Scholars made great strides in describing the dialects of Ceycwu Island, Cenla and Kyengsang Provinces, but for many years the northern dialects were ignored. However, the many monographs and papers of Kim Yeng Pay on Phyengan dialects (cf. Kim Yeng Pay 1984) and Kim I Hyep's excellent North Phyengan dialect dictionary (1981), have rendered many of the Phyengan facts accessible.

6 Ibid., p. 56
7 A team of Soviet linguists from Moscow conducted an extensive survey of the Korean dialects on Sakhalin, but the results have not been published. Apparently, all Korean dialects found on the peninsula are represented on the island in different villages. Furthermore, these dialects are all remarkably well-preserved: movement about the island and even between villages is tightly restricted for obvious military reasons.
8 Cf. Haarmann 1981. His research is based on statistics, not on field research, so one should be cautious. It is clear from my own observations and from reports in Koh (1984) that increasing numbers of Soviet Koreans, especially city-dwellers, are losing their language, but it is difficult to estimate percentages.
9 It is notoriously difficult to conduct syntactic research with educated Koreans from South Korea. English and Japanese influences are pervasive, and judgements very widely. Furthermore, judgements in Korean syntax as researched by Koreans studying in the US seem to follow the particular theory of grammar pursued at their institution of affiliation - witness the 'Buffalo dialect', 'British Columbia dialect', etc.
The true step-child of Korean dialectology has been Hamkyeng province. For the longest time, our only references were Ogura's works and scattered word lists in early editions of Hankul. To be sure, Kim Hyeng Kyu(1982) and Choi(1978) contain some data from Hamkyeng Province, but the first scholar to treat Hamkyeng materials in comprehensive fashion after the war was Ramsey(1974, 1978), who dealt primarily with Hamkyeng South Province (Pukch'eng).

The even sorrier state of affairs in North Hamkyeng dialect studies has been remedied somewhat by the recent works of Kim Thay Kyun(1981, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1986). In particular, Kim Thay Kyun's Hampuk Pangen Sacen(1986) is a great service, but some obvious problems jump to mind: all his informants are "Welnammin" or north Koreans who remained in or fled to the south during the Korean War, and they have all been cut off from their home dialect for over 30 years. Furthermore, despite Ramsey's pioneering efforts in the study of Hamkyeng accent, Kim Thay Kyun never once even mentions the term, and indeed, is silent on some other important phonological matters.

Certainly Kim Thay Kyun's works bring into relief the astounding variety found within North Hamkyeng Province. North and South Hamkyeng differ in a number of significant respects, and North Hamkyeng itself divides into 3 major sub-dialects; the (Nam) Sa.up in the south (Hakseng, Kilcwu, Myeong-chen, Kyengseng), the Musan region in the west and center, and the lYukcin or lYuk.up region in the northern-most tip (Pu.lyeng, Kyenghung, Kyengwen, Onseng, Congseng, and Hoylyeng). This last region is of utmost interest, for both historical and linguistic reasons.(cf. area #1 in map below)

Historically, the lYuk.up region is important for two reasons. First, it was the place of origin of the great majority of early Korean emigrants to Yenhacwu/Soviet Central Asia. Secondly, the lYuk.up region itself was the target of a kind of "forced emigration" in the 15th century. This region was originally inhabited mostly by Jurchen tribes, and Thay Co and Thay Cong had made attempts to pacify this wild border region. But it was Seycong, 4th monarch of the Cosen Dynasty, who succeeded in pushing back the Jurchen and establishing the six garrisons or lYukcin in the 16th year of his reign(1434). As part of his policy of consolidating the border areas, he sent emigrants from the southern provinces. Unfortunately, the Cosen Wangco Sillok do not tell us how many immigrants came, but give only overall population figures: Kyengwen had 1162 households/5271 individuals, and Congseng had 900 households/21815 individuals. As Kim Thay Kyun(1982, p. 13) points out, this does not mean that in the latter case each family had 24+ individuals, but that a large number of military personnel were included in the bargain for this most sensitive border city. Onseng also received emigrant reinforcements, but mostly from parts south of Kilcwu within the same Hamkil Circuit. Thus, it would seem that Hoylyeng, Kyenghung and Pulyeng were already established communities at the time, and the areas of Kyengwen, Congseng and Onseng were developed as
Given the historical background above, as well as the general geographic isolation of the area, it is not surprising that the Yuk.up dialects should show many archaic features in phonology and vocabulary. Kim Thay Kyun (1982, 1986) lists the following characteristic features of Yuk.up dialects:

I. a.) /nya, nye, nyu, ni/ are preserved word-initially and elsewhere.
   b.) /tya, tye, tyu, thya, thyu, thi/ are preserved as such.
   c.) /sya, sye, syo, syu/ are preserved as such.
   d.) /cya, cye, cyo, cu/ and /chya, chye, chyo, chyu/ are preserved as such.

In other words, the Yukcin area represents a dialect island untouched by the wave of palatalization (cum affrication) which swept through the rest of Hamkyeng, and every place else in the peninsula except Phyengan Province.

II. The ‘irregular’ -s- and -p- conjugations of Seoul speech are still regular in Yukcin (and other Hamkyeng) Korean.
   a.) Seoul /kusta, kuumyen/ ‘draw, mark’ is [k’isita, k’isiko, k’isimyen, etc.]
   b.) Seoul /tepta, tewumyen/ ‘hot’ is [tɔpt’a, tɔbumyon] etc.

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10 Kim Thay Kyun, 1982, p. 3-4.
III. Archaic Vocabulary

Seoul /kaul/ 'autumn' is [kasil], /kawi/ 'scissors' is [kase], [kanna] for 'girl', Seoul /kwumeng/ 'hole' is [kumgi] or [kungi], etc.

IV. Endings. a.) [-mdung] in polite questions(similar in function to Seoul -upnikka)
   b.) [-pk'uma] in polite statements(similar to Seoul -upnita.)
      Neither (a) nor (b) shows up elsewhere in Hamkyeng.
   c.) -pni[-mni], -ssupni[-ssimni]. E.g. cwuksupni = Seoul cwuk, ulkes i thullim eps. so "will surely die." (c) does not show up in Pu.lyeng or Kyenghung, but also shows up in Samcangmyen in Musan.

Kim Thay Kyun(1986) lists some other features typical of Hamkyeng North Province in general: /oy/ is [we], /uy/ is [i], even in the case of 'genitive' /uy/, the /ye/ in reflexes of /yetelp/ '8' is [ya], e.g. [yadži], [yadž], [yadal] etc., and Seoul [i, tji, tfi]/(i/si, ci, chi/) are here [sí, tší, tsí]/(su, cu, chu/).

As for typical features of the Sa.up region, Kim Thay Kyun lists a.) [-ngi-] for -ni-, where his Hankul -ng- is meant to represent nasalization. E.g. Seoul /ani/'no, not' is [ái], or/nwun i manhi oni/"Is it snowing a lot?" is [núi mái ìi], etc. b.) Palatalization of /k/ before /i/: [tjil] for /kil/ 'road', etc.

With these introductory remarks about history and modern dialect materials behind us, there is another set of materials we should discuss. Researchers of Hamkyeng dialects and their history are particularly fortunate in having at their disposal valuable missionary publications in the form of grammars, dictionaries and conversation guides from around the turn of the century and before. Thus, the works produced by the Scottish Presbyterian missionary J. Ross(1877, 1882) from his base in Manchuria contain predominantly Phyengan Province forms, but also quite a few North Hamkyeng elements.11

Most important of all are the pre-1910 Russian language materials.12 The first such work to appear, and indeed the first dictionary of Korean in a Western language, was Putsillo 1874.13 Putsillo was a Russian official posted to the South Ussuri region, i.e. to the "Primorskaja oblast" = Yenhaycuw, and wrote his dictionary on the basis of fieldwork with Korean emigrants there.

Adami(1982, p. 52) remarks: "...mit Putsillos Wörterbuch erhalten wir einen Einblick in die gesprochene, ansonsten nur wenig bekannte Sprache der Bevölkerung im damaligen Nordkorea...Während sich auf den gesamten 731 Seiten kein einziges Beispiel für -ka finden lässt, begegnet uns an vielen

11 Cf. Hwang Pyeng O (1982) and Ogura Shimpei "Seiyōjin..."
12 Cf. Adami (1982) for details on other works from the same period.
13 This work has been discussed in Ogura ("Shichijü..." and "Seiyōjin..."), Choi Hakkuny [Choy Hak Kun] (1976) and (1982, p. 428-463: "Payknyencen uy Hamkyengto Yukcin CiyeK Pangen ey tay hayse-M. Phuccillo uy Nohan Sacen eyse")
Stellen, an denen wie aus vom modernen Sprachgebrauch her erwartet
würden, statt seiner ein -i.” This same -i gives rise to secondary diphthongs:
(360) ‘nose’ “khoi” = [kʰoi] khoi. -i.14 /uy/ is well preserved: “/uy/ is pro-
nounced like long [i] or almost like [i]”, /ywuy/ like [yui] (pp. xii-xiv).15

Hankul /c/ is consistently noted as [ts], there is no palatalization, and
orthographic /ti, thi/ do not affricate except for a few doublets. There are also
examples of the affricate as a double variant of a velar: (508) ‘swallows’
[samkʰinda, samkʰio, samtsʰio], (287) khi/chi ‘rudder’, (501) cimchuy/cimchoy
= kimchi, (519) cilsQmi=kilsam ‘weaving by hand’.16

Other features of this dictionary cited by Choy(1982).17

- /n/ is retained before /i, y/ : (131)/nyangpani/ = “yangban”, (72)/ni/= /i/
‘louse’, (281)/nyenskoci/= /yenkkoch/= ‘lotus flower’, etc.

-a tendency for final /ng/ to drop before the ubiquitous -i:18 (549)
/hannya/ (一再) =’one liang’, (439)/matai/ (場) = /matang/, etc. Putsillo
seems to have provided for nasalized vowels in this circumstance: he
says in his introduction, “[Cyrillic] H under /’/ is pronounced like the
French nasal n.”

-this same -i can induce fronting in preceding vowels: (195) pyeli/pyeyli
‘star’, (465) syeylsyay/syelsya ‘diarrhea’, etc.

-the vowel of the accusative suffix -lu-u is rounded to /wu/ if the vowel
of the preceding syllable is /wu/ : (145)/cec.u· sca.o/ ‘milks(squeezes
milk)’, but (433) /chwum.wu pas.so/ ‘spits(spits spittle)’.

The similarities between ¹Yuk.up Hamkyeng dialect and the dialect in
Putsillo’s dictionary should be clear.

The other Russian-language materials of interest to us are the 1904(March)
Russko-Korejskie Razgovory (Russian-Korean Conversations, henceforth RKR)
(76p.), and 1904(September) Opyt Kratkago Russko-Korejskago Slovarja (At-
tempt at a Short Russian-Korean Dictionary, henceforth RKS) (138p.), both
published in Kazan by the Pravoslavnoe Missionerskoe Obscestvo, or Ortho-
dox Missionary Society.19,20

15 Ibid., p. 21.
17 Lamentably, Choi reproduces only the Hankul listings. One would especially like to
know how Putsillo transcribed /1/. Martin says Putsillo recognized [1] and [r] as variants,
but also lists the pronunciations [tuur] and [tuuri] for “two.” As we shall see, the phonetics
of /1/ are peculiar in Soviet Korean.
18 Ogura (“Shichiji...” p. 399) also notes the remarkable frequency with which -i is suffixed
to nouns in Putsillo’s dictionary, but claims, incorrectly, that it is not the “nominative” -i.
this opportunity to thank Professor Kwak for kindly supplying me with copies of RKS and
RKR, and for other valuable bibliographical information on Hamkyeng dialect materials.
Professor Kwak is currently preparing a Ph. D. thesis (Seoul National University) on the
Kazan materials and North Hamkyeng dialect.
20 Adami 1982, p. 55 mentions a third work which may also contain valuable information
The first paragraphs of the forward to RKR deserve translation: "The complications in the Far East occasioned by the war with Japan have revived and strengthened our connections with the Koreans, who have long been our neighbours. Already 40 years have passed since the time of our first closer rapprochement with them. Among other things, this rapprochement expressed itself in the fact that a small number of Koreans (60) settled along the river Tizin-h'e [RK: [tidzin-hje]. The accent mark represents pitch accent.] and in so doing laid the foundations of the settlement of the same name, situated in the Adimskoj volost' of the Posetskago district, South Ussuri Circuit, Primorskoj Province.

It fell upon K.F.Kang, a native of Tizin-h'e from a family which emigrated to Russia from the city of K'ohi-ibi, [RK: As explained in a footnote in the same introduction, this is Kang's pronunciation of Kyenghung. up] and currently a pupil in the 3rd class of the Kazan Teacher's College, to compile the present book with the participation of his other Korean classmates in the college. Perhaps it will be of some use to our fighters suffering the burdens of war in the far-away eastern regions.

The letters of Korean speech in this booklet have been transcribed by Kang according to his own pronunciation.

We should warn those individuals who intend to use this booklet in collaboration with Koreans that the language of this people is divided into several dialects, and that this booklet is suitable chiefly for conversations with Koreans living in the Primorskoj Oblast' and in the localities not far removed from the above-mentioned K'ohi-ibi.

The alphabet adopted in this book is located on page 1 and consists of 46 letters. Of these, 26 have either exactly the same or a similar value as the Russian letter, and the remaining 20(with the exception of 'i') express sounds not found in Russian speech. These 20 letters divide evenly into vowels: ò[ɔ], ý[ɨ], y[u], y[i], y[t], ý[u], ɐ[æ], ɐ [ja], Ð[jo] and consonants: 3[dz], u[d3], ł[ɣ], ʊ[cc], ɺ[tt], ɺ[kk], ɺ[pp], ʊ[ʃʃ], ɐ[n], ɐ [ʃ].

The preface to RKS explains the motive behind its publication as follows(p. III): "In our far eastern regions live Koreans who have emigrated from the northern area of their homeland. The children of these settlers of the South Ussuri okrug of the Primorskoj Oblast' attend Russian schools and learn from Russian books. It is for the use of these schools that we have issued the present attempt at a dictionary." Later in the same preface(p. IV) we read: "The transcription of Korean words is given according to the pronunciation of a Korean individual from the South Ussuri region. This is in accordance with the

on Yenhaycwu dialect: JašćinskJ, Georgij Feofilovič. Materiały k Sostaveniju Koreisko-russskogo i russko-korejskogo slovarj. Vladivostok 1903. Unfortunately, the book does not seem to exist anywhere in Western collections.
Thus, both RKR and RKS contain detailed phonetic transcriptions of colloquial, North Hamkyeng province dialect from the turn of this century.

Perhaps the most commendable aspect of these Kazan publications is their effort to write accent. RKR includes accent marks in its transcriptions, but gives no discussion of the problem. RKS, however, remarks on the difficulty of accenting Korean words: “The placing of signs of stress in Korean words demands strict verification. Besides, each word, in connection with stress, is observed to be independent of any connections with the surrounding words, although the presence of such latter nevertheless strongly influences the shift of stress. Only in the direct indication (the stress mark of the base form is not indicated if it shifts in the nominative case to the -i added thereby): 5 braga “home-brewed booze” suur, 1 ; 24 dver’ “door” mun, 1. Despite the view just indicated of each word as independent, it was realized here that the stress of such a base form in connected speech shifts to that substantive which follows after the base form and for which the latter serves as determinant.

In general the question of the placement of stress signs remains open. As a peculiarity we can indicate the presence of 2 stresses: 74 osinik “aspen wood” sasł-namû, sasł-nângi. Here the sign w[ı] likewise has stress on it.

In this regard we should note that the readings â, ö, ø [ã, õ, í], although the sounds represented by them sometimes receive stress, do not take stress signs, because the printing used in this edition does not contain the corresponding signs.”

Obviously, Putsillo, RKR and RKS are a goldmine of information on North Hamkyeng dialects over 80 years ago, and there is much more we could say. Instead, we will confine any further remarks to the context of our discussion of our data collected in Tashkent.

**Post-1910 Research on Soviet Korean**

Regrettably, there is almost nothing available in any language on the language of the Koreans in the USSR. Both Georgievsky(1928) and O. Kim(1962), the only Soviet works available to me, are disappointing in their content. Konevíč/Kanno(1967/1971) laments the state of Korean dialect studies in the USSR, and mentions the following works of tangential interest: a master’s thesis (kandidatskaja dissertatsija) on using Cyrillic letters to transcribe the Korean of Koreans in the USSR - Kim Txja Xen (Kim Cha Hyen or Hyeng) 1939 Sovremennaja Korejskaja Pis’mennost’, and two papers by M.A. Xegaj on Russian loans in Korean(i.e. Soviet Korean ??): 1953 “Leksicˇeskie zaim­stvovanja iz russkago jazyka v korejsikh perevodax” (Moscow, Master’s report=Avtoref. kand. diss.) and 1965 “O morfologii russkix zaimstvovanii v korejskom jazyke” in Narody Azii i Afriki, No. 5. Kim Min Swu(1985, p. 607) lists also O.M.Kim, 1964 Osobennosti Russkoj Reči Korejcev UzSSR-Fonetiko-­morf. Očerk (Tashkent, Avtoref. Kand. Diss.). Thus, what little Soviet work is
available is concerned with problems of bilingualism, not Korean dialectology.

The only other piece available on Soviet Korean is a list of 169 words, with introductory remarks, in Koh 1986. This word list was sent to Koh by a certain Mr. Hay Yen in Alma-Ata, is written in Hankul, and contains no information on accent. We will have occasion to refer to it later.

In Search of Soviet Koreans

My first attempts to find and talk to Soviet Koreans were failures. In Ashkhabad (Turkmenistan), my timing was bad - the Koreans come to the bazaar with their rice, kimchi, vegetables and hot pepper powder only once a week. When I disembarked from my Aeroflot plane at the Tashkent airport, I was met by a pretty young Intourist guide who was obviously Korean, but when I addressed her in Korean, she replied, quite embarrassed and in Russian, that she hadn't spoken the language since she was very little, and had forgotten it all.

The woman operating the postal counter in our Intourist hotel was also Korean, but likewise had lost all competence in the language long ago. The bazaar in Samarkand was swarming with Koreans, mostly old women, and it was there that I first had an opportunity to hear the dialect. But my time was limited, and my only memories are of the sociolinguistic sort. Thus, the women called themselves [korjEsaram] and their language [korjEmar]. Furthermore, they seemed quite embarrassed to speak Korean with me, because my Seoul Korean was so 'clean', 'standard' and 'nyangban', whereas theirs was 'smes­anyj' (mixed), "dialect," and 'sangnomi'(low class). When I asked what province their ancestors had come from in Korea, only one old woman had a vague recollection of 'hamgeendo'.

An opportunity for bona fide informant work finally presented itself on the last day of our conference in Tashkent. A middle-aged Mrs. Cen (Ten in Russian) allowed me to elicit words and phrases from her for nearly 3 hours as she sold boiled corn and carrots with an older Korean woman. Mrs. Cen had no idea where her family's roots in Korea were, and knew only that her father had been born in the Primorskoj Oblast'. She could write her name in Hankul and even knew the Chinese character for it (田), but the several other Koreans I had met earlier in the same day seemed unable to read Hankul. Indeed, they crowded around in virtual amazement when I read aloud from a copy of the Korean-language newspaper Leynin Kichi.21

21 Leynin Kichi is the only Korean language publication in central Asia, and Koh Song Moo (1984, p. 174) rightfully bills it as one of the two pillars of Korean culture in Soviet Central Asia, the other being the Korean theatre troupe from Alma-Ata. But I really wonder just how much of an influence this paper has, especially in Tashkent. The paper is published in Alma-Ata 5 times a week, is only 4 pages long, and in 1979 had a circulation of only 11,000. Koh Song Moo, (op. cit., p. 173-5). Orthography, language and style are completely based on Phyengyang models.
The data that follow are based almost exclusively on the speech of Mrs. Cen. At times, the older woman standing beside us contributed specimens of her speech, and I have noted these where necessary. I also collected some data briefly from a Mr. Jurij Sergejvič Kim, major in a Tashkent fire brigade, and have noted these also. Time was short and working conditions were far from ideal, but I am confident of the accuracy of the following data. Two caveats about my transcription: I was sloppy with the correspondences for Seoul /c/. Where I have transcribed [ts] or non-palatalized/non-affricated versions, these are secure. The rest appeared in my notes in broad transcription, i.e. Yale system /c/. I recall telling myself (foolishly) to just write /c/ for what actually had several different phonetic realizations as I took in all the data so fast. Thus, there may be more [ts]s hiding behind many of my [tʃ]s.

The other problem I am not fully confident about is accent: I simply was not able to note it in all cases.

Phonetics and Phonology

In this section, we discuss those features of phonetics and phonology which differ significantly from Seoul standard.²²

[r] and [l]

One of the most striking features of Soviet Korean is the pronunciation of /l/. /l/ before C is pronounced with a strong roll = [ɾ]. I heard about 3 taps usually. E.g. 闪过티 bargaining “I read a book yesterday.” 타̄기 “chicken,” 포르기 “cheek,” 토르기 “suri,” 율르기 “wine,” 털르기 “clay(Russ. glina),” 코의사사를 “life is difficult there(in ROK), isn’t it?”

One of the allomorphs of the “accusative” marker, -i/-u and -ɾ, also has this pronunciation(after Ns ending in vowels): E.g. 뒤는티디시 “I believe the answer to the questions “how well do Soviet Koreans read Korean?” (even if they can read, what is there to read besides Leynin Kichi?) and “how much are they exposed to standardizing influences?” must be “not very well, if at all” and “not very much.”

This picture is complicated by the fact that in instances where Seoul standard has /-ll-/ and pronounces [-l]-, I heard only one [-l-] in Tashkent. In general, there seem to be cases where [-VIV-] and [-VtV-] contrast: 조래기

²² Transcription: for the reinforced consonants I write geminates. In citing RKR/RKS forms, /f/ is [ʃ]. I have ignored the automatic reinforcement that occurs in stop clusters: ·pt. for [-pt-].

²³ This e.g. from Major Kim.
“love”, mojok halak hage? (kupat’sja poidës?) “Are you going to take a bath?” ppali “quickly,” t’ala gadja “Let’s go to sleep.” if hala tængigo.. “walks to work...” Cf. RKS p. 1 kọnbụ hara kàšo “went to study.”

I heard a clear double [·l·] in the following two words: igiɾ ogillæ(s) pangaptao “I’m glad you’ve come here.” hallař “one day.” Cf. RKS p. 23 nà ogànnìngotì, čëšikillà odi mot hàssìkkuma. “I was going to come, but since it was cold, I didn’t (“couldn’t”).”

One might suppose that the realization of /l/ as [ɾ] in environments other than V_V, i.e. before C and #, could stem from Russian influence, but this is unlikely. The Kazan materials consistently use Cyrillic ꜇= [ɾ] in the same cases. E.g.s from RKR: ãr-ššiũ/ãr-šši “a way of knowing” (p. X), karčśiũ/o/ karčšiω “showing, teaching...” (p. X), morgũ “grape vine” (p. XI), ir-bun ttāi “Japanese land” (p. XVII), irtśisgi “early” (p. XVII). kiɾ-tstå “a letter(bukvə)” (p. XIII), i kīl-lī chīm surg tāngirmān ḥānte? “Is it possible to go this way in a (loaded) wagon?” But note ppali “quickly” (p. XVI). And the accusative suffix after vowels is marked -d:

tar! nobiri tsagliil-H karcsiu. “Show me the width of bridge in steps.” (RKR, p. 5)

Other sources on Hamkyeng dialects analyze the “accusative” suffix as -i, -li (Ramsey 1978, p. 166, Kim Thay Kyun 1986, p. 188-189, Mazur 1961, p. 229). Kim Thay Kyun(1986, p. 188) also lists -ë as a variant (‘abbreviated’ form of ꜩ) in Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Onseng and Musan, but does not tell us if he means [l] or [ɾ]. Kim Pyeng Cey(1980, p. 7) describes Hamkyeng as having <œ, ə> for the accusative, but again, does not specify the phonetics. Ramstedt (1939, p. 45) says (probably based on the same Kazan materials): “The accusative in N. Kor. has the endings -i (after labial sounds -u) in post-consonantic and -ɾi (resp. -ru) in post-vocalic positions.” I see no reason to write /-lu/ if this dialect allows -ɾ anyway.

On this same subject of liquids, Ramstedt (op. cit., p. 12) writes: “There exist somewhere (I have met some individuals in a railway carriage in North Korea) local dialects with an initial sound between n, l and d, probably some kind of nasalized l with the tip of the tongue in the position of d. The word for “four,” elsewhere nê, was pronounced as “dui, “lui, or duin, luin.” I, too, have heard exactly the same thing in the same word, from Major Kim: [“li : j] or [“lo : j]. Cf. RKS p. 132 ne, nó “four.”

The problems with the phonetics of liquids in Soviet Korean/Hamkyeng dialect may provide a hint as to the history of *r and *l in Korean. Lee Ki-Moon (1983, p. 70-1) believes Old Korean had a distinction *r vs. *l. Note also that pre-Hankul Korean writing seems to distinguish two laterals in ꜇ and ꜇. The interpretation of the former is controversial, but Lee Ki-
Moon (ibid., p. 70) speculates that it may have come from *r. At any rate, if one is to compare Korean with “Altaic” *r₁, *r₂, *₁₁, and *₁₂, at some point these sounds fell together in Korean. Lee Ki-Moon believes this collapse of *r and *₁ may be connected with the rule of “implosion,” or what I would call the acquisition by syllable-final Cs of a feature [-release]. This rule would have neutralized *r and *₁ to [I] in the central dialects. If this was the case, then the Korean dialect represented by Mrs. Cen’s speech escaped this development.

The other possibility is that, since in this dialect all nouns are obligatorily suffixed with -i in citation and “nominative” forms, [I] never gets a chance to occur in true word-final position. The allophone [ɨ] is generalized to all positions, and original /-ll-/ is optionally realized as [I]. Note that RKS lists words with final “2.” as -f, even without the subject marker -i: 5 suur, -i "home-brewed booze," iokcir, -j "swearing, abuse," 7 isin ɨr, -i "a fact (something that happened)," 95 ɢʊɨɤɭɨm? “really?”

RKS has double -ll- in a.) habullɨ nan ankkan “widow”=habûrɘmɨ; p. 17 č-

‘lambadcism’: e.g. 進F ‘road’=Modern Korean/kil/. He also incorrectly cites Lee Ki-Moon (1983) as interpreting F as *1, whereas Lee Ki-Moon (op. cit., p. 70) in fact reconstructs *r here. (Miller was relying on a Japanese translation.)

Song Cay Cwu (1957, “Hyangka ey nathanan ‘F’ ey tay haye” in Kwuk. e Kwakmunhak 17, p. 96-106) criticizes Yun Chang Sik’s (1956, “Hyangka ey nathanan ‘F’ uy Munpeck Kinung kwa Umka” in Kwuk. e Kwakmunhak 15) attempts at reading /-s/ in F, as well as the attempt to see it as /s/ (→Ih→I). Song wants to read all ‘F’'s as “a” (although he tries, incorrectly, to call certain cases “accusative”) and views the famous cases of F羅 and 古F, which seem to demand /s/ or/s/, as the result of breakdown in knowledge of Hyangchal writing techniques and a concomitant return to reading Chinese characters in their Chinese pronunciation. He also seems to believe (p. 106) that ‘F’ was originally a graphic representation of the articulator for /l/ (?).

Yang Cwu Tong (1942. Koka Yenkwu, p. 567) interpreted 東F in 東星歌 as soys, i.e. soy +s, and claimed that here ‘F’ was a ‘unique example’ of ‘F’ in 順音 “original sound.” But CI Hen Yeng (1962. 次時伊還 ey tay haye” in Choy Hyen Pay Hwauctions) rejects this, and claims(p. 445) that “Z” and “F” must both be “a” He also speculates (p. 447) as to whether they might represent an /l/ and /ʃ/, respectively. Kim Wanjin[Kim Wan Cín] in his authoritative Hyangka Haytokpep Yenkwu (1983. Seoul Tayhakkyo Chwulphanu) interprets 東F as soyl, and says: “Only the final F as “a” is certain, but… speculation as to the preceding native Korean element meaning “east” is moot, as it is not attested in the Middle Korean documents.”

While the use of “F” in Hyangka seems to be confined to the representation of /l/, Hashimoto Mantaro and Yu Chang Kyun (1973, “Archaism in the HYANG-TSHAL Transcription” in Journal of Asian and African Studies 6, p. 1-21) present excellent arguments for a strict distinction between the use of “F” in Hyangka and in the transcription of proper nouns in the Samkwuksaki. In the latter case, they marshall impressive evidence, based on recent advances in Chinese dialectology and historical phonology, for a reading of “s” besides *1.

Finally, we can mention that Werner Sasse, too, has presented some interesting evidence for reading “F” as /s/ (1982. “A Corps is a Corps and Corpses Don’t Flap in Korean” in Linguistics in the Morning Calm. v. 2, ed. Linguistics Society of Korea, and 1982 “byo (rice kernel) and The Question of F in Old Korean Writing” in Kwuk. ehak 10, p. 127-134.) The entire question remains open.

From the above, it should be clear that the phonetics and phonology of liquids in Soviet Korean are different in a number of respects from Seoul speech, but a definitive solution must await further research.

“Cucumber”: The Seoul standard word “oi” has as reflex in many N. Hamkyeng dialects(Kim Thay Kyun, 1986, p. 385): way [wáʔ]=Kyengwen, Onseng, Congseng, Hoylyeng, Musan; woy [we, wéʔ]=Myengchen, Chengcin. Mrs. Cen pronounced this word as [ve]. The “v” sound is not as strong as it is in English, but the sound I heard was distinctly labio-dental.

Long vowels:
The only long vowel that I noticed was in “after:” k’i-dame ‘after that’ (the long V also has high pitch here). RKS has taíme (p. 87). I elicited ‘snow’ and ‘eye’, and ‘spoon’ vs. ‘booze’, but heard only a difference in accent. Major Kim seemed to drop only one of the final -n’s before -i, but this didn’t make it into my notes. I have recorded [nuni] for both. RKS has nín, -i

25 This is an old word. Cf. Kokwulye & namar “lead” = Jap. namari. (Lee Ki-Moon[1 Ki Mun] 1983, p. 35)
26 These could be Seoul forms: Hamkyengo causatives usually have -igu- or ·lgi- where Seoul has -ll-.
27 See note 26.
'eye' and nun, -i 'snow', with no length. Kim Thay Kyun (1986, p. 137) does not record length for 'snow' in any N. Hamkyeng dialects. RKS has tuur for 'two' but I heard [tur]. For 'spoon' I have suri (HL), and for 'booze' suri (LH). Mrs. Cen was quite delighted at this minimal pair, and said they differed somehow, "probably 'udarenie' (stress)." She said there were many such pairs, but when I pressed her for more, she was stumped. RKS has silr, -i 'spoon', suud 'booze', but also with long vowel.

For 'mal', 'speech', with long V in Seoul, I have [mar], as does RKS. Other cases where RKS has long Vs: 4 m06rgon nat sák "pale in the face," 8 nöódörkkë "your(pl.)," 9 pódër käädći, 10 kuńır hää någi "think of s.th.," p-ää "rope," 11 kée tırókagi "crawl in," 18 päär "a top(toy)," määm "will," 15 nåátedigi "throw out," 16 pösér "a top(toy)," 17 maam "will," 18 tárđigi "to present," 24 t’aándži "always," 26 nå nän-gë mää targ’ósso "I’m hanging on to a tree." 30 pööngë "catch(of fish)," 31 sääk "unmarried woman," sääk-a "a girl," 30 püršan hää hagi "feel sorry for," 31 määdję "foal, colt," hińdźigirè hange "liquid, watery, scarce," 32 cip tűuru "around the house," 33 näär "tomorrow," 38 k’öör, -i "winter," 41 ani òò "doesn’t come," 49 puudök tšüi "a rat," 56 mää targarigi "clamber up," 57 t’aamg’am-han "haze, mist; darkness," 60 t’eër "most(Seoul ceyil)," 64 coğuna "with difficulty, hardly," 67 hää tu "even if one does," maami t’oči mot hää "he is not of good character," 69 tsämääkčirì hagi "to dive," 73 kkääm, l "nut," 81 čińjuļuli "along the roof," 82 tűu tørugà känin särìmdör "people chasing behind," 86 mëe kagi "carry on shoulder, back," 91 nätägirì hagi "to talk about," 98 pëegi "hew, chop," 99 X kúa kádzuräni "beside, next to X," 106 há-an, -i "servant," 109 maamè sōrì tırugi "like each other," 117 mōgídör kúa tsänt särìmdörì tšimsi tingdörü muo "midges and mosquitoes bite animals," 121 púsükki tťäggi "stoke the stove," 124 kamànì "quiet, secret, stealthy," 125 tšток t’häädigi "get smart," 129 tarăümì "name of a little animal that eats nuts," sóoni tugi "want, desire (SKjīfWji)," t’oon "good," 132 mǒō nǒnò "across, through the grave," 136 kā-kädži "puppy.

[z]: Ever since Putsillo wrote that /s/ is sometimes pronounced [z] (p. xiii), the presence/status of [z] in these dialects has been an enigma. Martin (1982, p. 20-1) cites the following examples of -z- from Putsillo’s transcriptions: (598) ‘soldier’ /kunzre, kunza/ for (599) kwun.soý, kwun.so; (544) ‘rhinohorn’ [muzyoispuri] for (545) mwu.sywoy.spwulì. Martin also notes that “there appear to be no cases where the affricate /c/ [ts] is marked as voiced.”

RKR and RKS show just the opposite of Putsillo. The sign ʒ = [dz] represents the voiced version of u = ts, and p. VII of RKR states: "Sometimes, by the way, instead of ʒ one hears z." There are no cases of /s/ as [z] in either RKS or RKR. The only secure [z] I heard in Tashkent was in the word
[bazar] “market”, a loan. Major Kim very definitely had [əzumʃʷajtʰa] for “thank you,” which was [əzumʃʷajtʰa] in Mrs. Cen’s speech. Koh Song Moo(1986, p. 13) records this expression as /əsum-chanh.tə/, and says the original form must be /əsum-chanh.tə/, which was /əsum-chanh.tə/ in Mrs. Cen’s speech. Koh Song Moo(1986, p. 13) records this expression as /əsum-chanh.tə/, and says the original form must be /əsum-chanh.tə/. RKS (p. 110) has asim’t = an[blur]nio, and seems to support this etymology. At any rate, this is an appropriate environment for voicing, if the rule should exist for /s/. Major Kim had been removed from a Korean-speaking environment for over 20 years, so the status of [z] must remain an enigma until I can do proper field work in the USSR.

**Loanword Phonetics**

Not surprisingly, there is a large number of Russian loan words in Soviet Korean. These loanwords have brought with them sounds originally alien to Korean. We have already noted the [z] in bazar above. There is also a [x] in saxar “sugar, and [ʃ] in mašina “car, bus.” The phonemic status of this latter sound is complicated by the status of palatalization in my data, for which see below.

Russian loans have also introduced some clusters originally alien to Korean. [ɔtpusk] “vacation, leave,” [stroj ha-] “to build” from ‘strojt’. On the subject of clusters, Martin(1982, p. 25) writes: “The most startling surprise is Putsillo’s phonetic transcription of initial consonant clusters. There is ample evidence in the dictionary that he heard a sibilant in sp- and -sk, and perhaps even in sc-[sts]. On the other hand, he explicitly notes (p. 196) that the initial s- in the word for “earth,” given as [staɪ], sta.i “is barely pronounced as if instead of ‘s’ there were ‘t’ [ttai]. The same applies to all words where ‘s’ stands before ‘t’ (‘siot’ before ‘tikit’).” Martin goes on to speculate, “Is it possible that the sibilant in these clusters survived intact in a northeastern dialect spoken before 1874?... I conclude that Putsillo’s principal informant, and perhaps other speakers referred to in his introduction, articulated the sibilant in these clusters, at least when words and phrases were being elicited.”

These are very provocative remarks, indeed. The Kazan materials show no trace of sC- clusters, and the only hint my materials offer is the [s] that the older woman pronounced in [ɔpskuma] “does not exist” when I tried to elicit a set of verbal endings from her. She claimed that this was the way the “old folks” used to talk. I am by no means confidant of this example, though, and have my doubts about Martin’s interpretation of Putsillo, too. The matter will only be settled after we have a thorough survey of the Korean dialects in the USSR.

**Palatalization Problems:**

We have already noted that the lack of palatalization of [tsi] and the lack of affrication of [tʃʰi] are a distinguishing feature of both the 1-Yukcin area and Putsillo’s dictionary. The Kazan materials have [ts] and [ʃ] = č for x, where č appears before /i, j/. m = ʃ in these materials likewise corresponds to what was/s+i, j/in MK. Examples of ʃ, č, and dʒ: 1 ʃūbak, šubāgi “watermelon,” 2 kaššin, -i “shoe,” mogl əmnin šabāgi “topless boots.” Cf. Russian
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28 This word still has [s] in 'baby talk'.

29 This is a Chinese word: 船 chuán "boat."

30 The aspiration here is unusual.

The language of the Kazan materials preserves initial n- before i, j(e.g. s from RKS): 1 n’auban, -i “nobility,” 4 n’ak-parîngë “bold, lively,” n’ôkkuru “side, flank,” pâ n’óppari “side of a ship,” 14 niró nagl “stand up,” n’ôk “insert,” pundzû han’a hagi “to knock (sound of empty wagon),” 25 kañ’n “smaller, rear part of yard behind opposite wall of house,” 29 kûn “hole,” 31 pûršāi n-

33 This is a Russian loan, from spîčka, -i “matches” and is typical of all of North Hamkyeng, as well as of much of South Hamkyeng. Koh Song Moo (1986, p. 311) lists /suppichukkay/ and /phichikkay/ for “Kangtong” dialect, or present-day Yenhaycwu speech.
34 Note that this form is closer to the original Chinese loan than Seoul sengnyang. 石裸黄 sek. lu. hwang.
35 Is this chh. ki from cis??
36 [kusl] “water trough” is an old word. Seoul standard has /kwuyu/. MK had kwuži. (Yu Chang Ton 1979, p. 84)


37 In these words I was hearing something close to the [d'] in Russian djadja “uncle” or the like.
I confess that I shot myself in the foot with my inconsistent transcription in certain cases: I had no recording technology, and the confusion in my notes on this point is due partly to my own ex post facto paranoia/realization that I might have overlooked certain facts, and partly to inconsistencies in the data themselves. Thus, I hesitate to draw any firm conclusions, but would still like to risk the following tentative suggestions.

First, it is clear that there is no initial n- before i,j in Mrs. Cen's speech. Korean linguists conventionally associate the dropping of n- before i,j with the phenomenon of palatalization in general. Thus, Lee Ki-Moon(1982, p. 68) notes that the dropping of n/ _i, y in Seoul speech occurred shortly after the change t > c took place in the same environment.

Second, as we shall demonstrate below, the Kazan materials show a rule of "velar weakening" whereby [ŋ] drops before -i, leaving behind nasalization on the preceding vowel. In Mrs. Cen's speech, on the other hand, this rule has advanced much further: both [ŋ] and [n] drop before -i, and no trace of nasalization remains. Third, one can imagine influence from Russian phonetics. The feature of palatalization is one of the most salient characteristics of Russian, and while it probably did not cause palatalization in Soviet Korean, it may have abetted or encouraged it. Fourthly, Mrs. Cen's speech shows evidence of a (historical) rule of velar palatalization; t'jm't'í for kimchi, t'jt'í for 'build' = Kazan čik'í. The Kazan materials show inconsistencies on this matter, too: samč'ígi "swallow" = Seoul samkhita, k'ór for "temple, church," =Seoul cel < tyel, k'ôqšim, -i "lunch" = Seoul cemsim < tyemsim. But velar

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38 This must be an error. I probably heard [t'] or the like. Everywhere else I have [tjip], as do the Kazan materials. On the other hand, Yu Chang Ton (1979, p. 254) lists an occurrence of/tip/for "house" in Twusi Enhay Cwungkan 9. 14.

39 The meaning of "difficult" for /papputa/, which in Seoul means "busy," is typical of Soviet Korean as well as of Yenpyen Korean. Kim Thay Kyun (1986) does not have this for any North Hamkyeng dialects.

40 Kim Thay Kyun (1986, p. 434) lists 'kyemsim' as occurring in Kyengwen, Onseng, Congseng, Hoylyeng, and Musan, and 'tyemsim' as occurring in Congseng and Hoylyeng, also. He does not list kyengsim, nor does he list a form for Kyengcheng. The doublet ky/-ty- in Congseng and Hoylyeng is suggestive. The same dictionary has 'kyel' for "temple" in
palatalization probably should be treated separately from dental/alveolar palatalization.

Fifth, it is clear that Kyenghung speech in 1904 had some form of palatalization from the use of Ɡ for underlying s+i, j: Ɡubak = MK sywupak “watermelon,” etc. Note also cases like Ɡŏ “paper” for MK tyohuy, the doublet maďuŋ hagi “go to meet” vs. madzůŋ ttiugi “meet each other,” c"uttor, -i “a weight” = MK thywuç (鍾) + ‘stone’, măădzi “foal,” not măădzi, Ɡot, Ɡôôzi for Ɡôôzi “milk,” etc.

Sixth, Kim Thay Kyun (1986, p. 1) notes that, in the speech of Kim Yong Cuun, a native of Onseng who escaped to the south three years ago, palatalization is fully in place. Certainly it would be rash to consider Mrs. Cen’s speech as a direct descendant of the Kyenghung dialect represented by the Kazan materials, but it would be interesting indeed if present-day 41 Yukcin speech and the Korean dialects spoken in the USSR had independently developed palatalization over the last 50 years.

One major obstacle in equating Mrs. Cen’s speech with the dialect of the Kazan materials is the correspondence Kaz. Ɡ = Cen s, e.g. Kazan Ɡte “bovine” vs. Cen se, Kaz. šapku “hat” vs. Cen sakke. It seems unlikely (though not impossible) that the same dialect would lose the distinction between Ɡ/s, acquire palatalization, including the dropping of Ɡ/i, j, and merge [pk] with [kk] in a short period of 82 years. Obviously, we need detailed surveys of the dialects spoken in the USSR before we can approach problems of diachrony with any confidence.

Some Important Phonological Rules

The rule of velar nasal weakening in the Kazan materials is realized (graphically) as Ï/H/ → /H/_ + i, where H_ is defined in the introduction to RKS as representing nasalization of the preceding vowel. This -i often induces umlaut, and in some cases disappears, its original presence detectable only from its effect on the preceding /V/. In other cases, it seems already to have become a permanent part of the word. Here are all the examples I found in RKS: 2 ti-rē “tub” (i incorporated from tīrōŋ + i?), t’aŋ, t’a “market” (i incorporated), sū-jàŋ iā “ram,” pù-h’ōŋ, pùh’e “father,” 3 ni ppa’dā “a toothless person (< ni ppa’d’aŋ + i),” 4 p’ōŋ, p’ei “sickness,” 5 before the copula: sāngāk hāa ham’ōŋ, purunin h’sina, tōŋsāna [error for ina?] ǒrābina, ȁkkiraniñ màri “a word meaning ‘little sibling’ used for calling an older brother, younger brother, or

Kyengwen and Congseng, ’tyel’ in Hoylyeng, and ’tyelkan’ in Congseng.

The example of tĳmti’=kimchi need not be considered a backformation, though. The word is originally Chinese (see MK timchoy (CaHoy Cwung 學會 227) Cf. Yu Changton 1980, Ehwisa Yenkwu, Seoul : Iwu.

41 Kim Thay Kyun (1986, p. 214) gives sakkway for Congseng, Sakkay for Sengcin, Hakseng, and Kyengseng, and “saskay” (one really shouldn’t use Hankul for dialect work) for Sengcin, Hakseng, Chengcin, and Congseng.
brother (with respect to a sister) if she [= caller] loves him = definition of 'bratets', diminutive of 'brat' "brother." 42 Note the archaic meaning preserved in sängak ha-. It now means "think" in Seoul standard.

Cf. also 49 ôbudzagi + (also ôbudzagiri) t'igi "shout."


Sani = “mountain” and sikani opta “I have no time.” are exceptions. Never-
theless, it is clear that the obligatory suffixation of the "nominative" -i to bases in citation form has occasioned a stronger rule of nasal dropping, and may even have led to the reshaping of some underlying forms. Ramsey (1978, p. 52-3) has noted a similar rule of "Nasal Weakening" for South Hamkyeng dialect: "The South Hamkyeng nasals n and ng are not fully articulated when they follow a vowel and precede i or y." Thus, san+i is [sâi]. Ramsey's Pukchong dialect then occupies a midground between Kyenghung 1904, which has nasalization and nasal drop, but only in the case of /ŋ/, and Mrs. Cen's dialect, where both /n/ and /ŋ/ disappear altogether.

**Lateral Dropping in Tashkent Korean**

Lateral dropping before coronals is common in many Korean dialects. Mrs. Cen had [hatstsurarga?] "Do you know how to do? < ha-r tsur a-r-n-ka. But Mrs. Cen seems to drop laterals before -kk-: [hatstsurakkuma] "knows how to do (formal) < ha-r tsur a-r-kkuma. Cf. also [uri džibiso jösi si sakkuma] "Six live in our house." < sar-kkuma.

The only N. Hamkyeng dialect in Kim Thay Kyun's (1986) materials which shows a similar phenomenon is Sengcin in the south of the Sa.up region: kakka? "Shall we go? teykka = toyl kka "Will it be OK?" These same materials show that Sengcin, as well as Myengchen further north in the same Sa.up region, also drop /n/ and /ŋ/ completely before i, y.

**Umlaut**

RKS shows a productive process of umlaut, triggered by suffixation of -i: a →ä, ó→ë. E.g. 1 šubak, šubāgi "watermelon," 2 t’aŋ, t’a “market” 3 mur iō-k, iēgi “shore,” 4 tād’ōp, tād’ēbl “dish, plate, 5 asī, ākkl “younger brother,” 21 šōk, šēgi=griva= “mane; wooded ridge,” sonak, sonāgi “thunder,” 23 šenap, še-nābi “payment for land,” 25 namū, nāngi “tree, wood,” 43 pap, pābi “rice,” 48 kamā” cauldron” < kama+i (not synchronic?), 53 īōsi, īkkkl “fox,” 54 nimā “forehead” < nima+i (not synchronic), 71 hānā “one” < hānā+i (not synchronic), 77 son-karak, -karāgi “finger,” 79 imšōk, imšēgi “food,” 82 natsak, -sāgi “daily wages” (Cf. Seoul saks). 93 ttōk, ttēgi “bread” (but elsewhere, e.g. p. 92, ttōgi), 97 ōbudzak, ōbuzāgi “cry, shout,” 98 čōksam, čōksāmi “shirt,” 101 sī-emi, sī-ōma-nīm “mother-in-law.” Eme here looks like an umlauted form of ōma, but I suspect this is non-synchronous, and that sī-ōma-nīm is a Seoul form. 105 taçap, tapā “boredom, melancholy,” 106 n’er’ōm, n’er’ēmi and cer’ōn, cer’ēni, both meaning "a settlement exempted from usual state obligations; village" 108 hōd’ōk, hōd’égi “agreement,” 113 tstsak, tstsāgi “side, half,” 124 čonak, čonāgi “supper” but cf. 126 adžōk, adžōgi “morning,” 125 kuăn’ōk, kuăn’ēgi “goal, target,” 126 ǧandzä “teacup” < wanca. But this is probably a direct loan from Chinese: 宛子 wânzi. 136 kidžōk,

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46 This word appears in the Puksay Kilyak (see note 55 above): 芗瀝日域 = yek in modern Seoul reading. (Choi 1982, p. 461)
kidžëgi “splinter, chip.”

The data show that umlaut occurs most frequently across a velar (q, k). Examples over /p/ are rare and should be contrasted with: 17 póp, pòbi “law.”

Umlaut does not occur across /n/ or /r/, and is rare across /m/ (98, 106).
Contrast 136 ppyam, -i “cheek,” 75 šöm, i “island,” 69 pam, i “night,” 107 tsugöm, i “death,” etc. In one word, -i seems to have affected umlaut on /u/: 45 čorũ, čorũ “cage.”

My own data from Tashkent are meager: kamdže “potato” < kamdža + i (diachronic), p(*)emidori “tomato” < Russ. pomidor, korje mar “Korean language” < korjo (progressive here), tjõŋgægi “young man” < tjõŋgak, namdža “man” but næ namdžã “my husband.”

Konje “cat” < konjaŋgi (diachronic), t’e gi “chin” < t’ok, hanae “one” < hana + i, tænginda “walk, go” < tanginda, tjok’sæ “nephew” < tjok’a, ttæ “earth” < ttæ(n) + i. tæmbæ “tobacco” < tambæ, hæř sotta “I got angry” > huă > hua + i. My data are too scanty to permit firm conclusions, but the cases above seem to be diachronic, not synchronic.,

Accent

Below are the words for which I was able to record accent patterns during my elicitation (H = high, L = low, F = sharp fall.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cen</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Ramsey</th>
<th>Kazan*4</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kmadʒé HL</td>
<td>potato</td>
<td>kāmdʒē(RKR)</td>
<td>kamčō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’ari LH</td>
<td>arm</td>
<td>phal</td>
<td>p’ar, ī</td>
<td>pōl’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokkaragi</td>
<td>finger</td>
<td>sons-kalak</td>
<td>sonkarāgi</td>
<td>swŏnskalak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLLF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko’t’i LF</td>
<td>pepper</td>
<td>koč’i</td>
<td>kwŏchywo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’jonaj LH</td>
<td>in peace</td>
<td>p’jonăn hào?</td>
<td>phyenan.i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ægi HL</td>
<td>book</td>
<td>cháyk</td>
<td>ts’ægi</td>
<td>cháyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>næjri HL</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>nār</td>
<td>nŏyīl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sægi HL</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>sāgĩ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īrīna HLL</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ērīna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’i bi LF</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>cip</td>
<td>cibī</td>
<td>cip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jokki LF</td>
<td>fox</td>
<td>yeyengkki</td>
<td>iōst, iekki</td>
<td>yēzū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komi LF</td>
<td>spider</td>
<td>kēmĩ</td>
<td>kōmĩ</td>
<td>kēmũy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibi HL</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>īp</td>
<td>ibi (no mark)</td>
<td>īp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>port’ægi LH</td>
<td>cheek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pwol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mori LF</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>melĩ</td>
<td>mōrĩ</td>
<td>mělĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kori HL</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>kōr, ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sani LF</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>sni</td>
<td>sni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjokkuman HL little</td>
<td></td>
<td>cŏkkumhan</td>
<td>cywokwomán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanae LF</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>hanna</td>
<td>hōnah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4 Recall that š, ő, į carry no accent on them in these materials.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>세이/세이</td>
<td>soi</td>
<td>세이</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>네이/네이</td>
<td>ne, noi</td>
<td>네이</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>스무울</td>
<td>sëum, -i</td>
<td>sëumůl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take it</td>
<td>캐드초카-</td>
<td>woksywusuwu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn</td>
<td>와우 울</td>
<td>paci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoes</td>
<td>코스키</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socks</td>
<td>패디</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trousers</td>
<td>티오크사미</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirt</td>
<td>채크사미</td>
<td>쿨고사미</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>산쿠아</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wine</td>
<td>스율</td>
<td>수르, i</td>
<td>스율울</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoon</td>
<td>스율</td>
<td>시르, i</td>
<td>스율</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>테תק</td>
<td>테티크</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>이롱게</td>
<td>이근구유</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>티옹게</td>
<td>티enght</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newspaper</td>
<td>신음</td>
<td>신음</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eggplant</td>
<td>카씨</td>
<td>카씨</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>watermelon</td>
<td>승바기</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>grape</td>
<td>포도</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>peach</td>
<td>팡새</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>헤안울</td>
<td>헤안리</td>
<td>헤안울</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>말리</td>
<td>마리, i</td>
<td>모리</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>난규-</td>
<td>난무, 난규</td>
<td>난무/난뮬-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>(iph)</td>
<td>(니프)</td>
<td>(니프)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>(키, no mark)</td>
<td>(키유)</td>
<td>(키유)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale</td>
<td>묵스, i</td>
<td>캐무스, i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winter</td>
<td>토잠</td>
<td>토잠, i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summer</td>
<td>레邬m</td>
<td>노르름, i</td>
<td>레邬m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spring</td>
<td>포姆</td>
<td>포姆, i</td>
<td>포姆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>카알/카술</td>
<td>카시, i</td>
<td>코조물</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>탕</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skirt</td>
<td>티오만</td>
<td>씨им야</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa.'s older sis. (éymi)</td>
<td>(émi)</td>
<td>émi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older sis. of male nwipi</td>
<td>nibit</td>
<td>nwûuy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older bro.</td>
<td>소니임</td>
<td>신임임</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sis. of sis.</td>
<td>토_MEDIA_5</td>
<td>토مص</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older sis. of girl</td>
<td>흑기에</td>
<td>흑에기</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>소고미</td>
<td>소고미, i</td>
<td>소고미, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>토grily</td>
<td>토므티</td>
<td>토므팅위</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watch</td>
<td>팟 ali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quickly</td>
<td>궁سرعة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after that</td>
<td>탈메</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other (phrasal) examples: ( =low,  =high) ingir "came here, and..." and sao "sit down, and..." (atonic verb), sisou "at home..." Cf. Kazan pat'eso "from the field." singosa "plant, and..." (atonic verb), issimo "Do you have?" hatstsuranga "Do you know how to?" kaipo "Go!" (Honorable command), pèwatà "learned."

Again, my data are too scant to allow firm conclusions. However, of at least 35 nouns which match with Ramsey's South Hamkyeng data, all but "shirt, older sister, spring, and paper" agree in so far as the location of accent is concerned. Ramsey's data agree with the Kazan materials in the case of "shirt, paper" and "spring." Note that at least 53 nouns show perfect agreement between Mrs. Cen's forms and the Kazan forms (but older brother, salt, shirt, spring, winter, paper, and shirt differ.) Phonetically, Mrs. Cen's forms seem to differ slightly from Ramsey's in that atonic nouns followed by -i in isolation tend to realize the high tone on the latter as a falling accent. This does not seem to be distinctive, though.

A full-scale investigation into Hamkyeng North Province accent, and its differences, if any, with South Hamkyeng accent, is a desideratum.

Morphology and Lexicon

"Case-Modifiers" and Postpositions

"Nominative" -i. We have already discussed this marker, and the absence of -ka. -ka appears in Kim Thay Kyun's (1986) materials, but is obviously due to Seoul standard influence.

"Accusative" -f, -to. This marker, too, we have already discussed.

"Topic." In my data, the shapes corresponding to Seoul -un/-nun are -n, -ni- n, -ni, and -un (after onur 'today'.) RKS (p. 1) glosses Russian 'a' with this particle, and says its function is similar to Russian 'že'. The shapes in RKS are
nin, inin, ini, in, ni. In O Sey Cwun (1933) we find nin, inin, ni.

“Dative.” -gae in nægæ toni òpsò “I have no money.” ni-gæ toni ina? “Do you have money?” òndge-gæ kamdo? “When are you going?” Cf. RKS -ge in 66 pikkungë murò tsrur-kke òpsò “The debtor has nothing to pay back.” 74 tædʒ-a-ge nuni mórøssé “The smithy has gone blind.” (< -ige ?) and ûge in 66 sari-muge “to a person” (< acc. + -ge ?). Cf. also 89 i ankkankkë a tʊuri issò “This woman has two children.”

“Locative.” -e in ki dame “after that,” ogi ðæene “before coming,” næ apʰe ss-o go issò. “is standing in front of me,” atʰime “in the morning,” and nad’e “in the daytime.”

“Dynamic Location.” -so in ðib-is/dʒibes “at home,” kʊŋeso “over there.”

“Ablative.” -so in hækko so waso “comes home from school, and...”

“Directive.” -ru in hækkoru tæŋgigó “goes to school.” The usual way to mark the goal of a verb of motion is with “accusative” -i. We have already discussed Kazan equivalents to Seoul “instrumental” -ulo.

“Genitive.” I have one (insecure) example of an -i genitive: tjibi iriso kkita-i ði optim. “There is no end to the housework.” This -i could just be the “nominative.” On the other hand, this -i could also be a relic of MK locative -uy/-ay.

I Sung-nyong (1980) notes Seoul dialect /cipi kanta/ “going home,” /cipise nolasse “played at home.” The -iso on ir is probably from isye.

Postpositions: mad’i “every” in nař mad’i “every day.” RKS 142 has madaug. Kim Thay Kyun (1986) does not list a form /mati/ or the like. boda “than” is used in comparatives, but note the mixed construction: pab-u to tjoba handa čem tʊgi boda

rice-acc more like than (<Russ.) bread than

“I like rice more than bread.”

In RKS, comparison is formed with pøgu: t’o sàrim pògù câgin “smaller than that person.” t= “also, even” in namd3ae do “my husband, too,” tjokʰae do “my nephew, too,” Note that, in theory, -do is occurring after -i here.

Verbal Endings

Indicative

-kkuma polite formal; -n-da, -tʰa < (ha)ta plain style;
-dʒim/-tʃim story-telling? habitual? (cf. text below);
-djida obviously related to dʒim, but status unclear;
-o/-u after V, plain? authoritative? E.g. iru ‘reads,’ ssu ‘writes,’ moro so after C “don’t know,” arso “I’m sick.”
-tao “old style” according to the old woman. E.g. pangaptao “I’m happy, pleased.” morundao “I don’t know.”
-ɡə/a “infinitive:” òpsò “I don’t have...”
-ɡesso future infinitive; -ɔsɔ past infinitive: hæssɔ
atta < -ass. ta plain past, e.g. ɔdbatta “found it.”
-m morum “I don’t know.”
Questions
-(i)mdo  polite ("old style"), e.g. issimdo "does it exist?" kamdo "are you going?" Also -mdu.
-ga    polite (new style?) haninga? hagenninga?
-ja (-nja) plain style: aja "do you know?" kaja "are you going?"
-o      hao?
-na     dubitative, e.g. toni ina "Do you have any money (I wonder?)"
-ge     hage?

Imperatives
-psō    polite. E.g. kapso "go" and t'apsupso "eat."
-gora   plain, with ka- "go."
-nara   plain, with o- "come."
-(r)ra   plain, e.g. issira "stay," cf. also mgora "eat."
-ge     kadzige "take it."
-dza    let's...(plain) vs. gepso let's (polite);
-ke     shall we...? E.g. suru mōke? "Shall we have a drink?"
-o after V, -so kao "go." ansso "sit."
After C

Converbs
-t*æso  "because" (< ?) in korjo sarimi ajt*æso, korjomar morum.
        "Because I'm not a Korean, I can't speak Korean."
-gillæ(sō) "because, since;" -gi dżene "before doing;"
-go/-gu "and..." -goso "do and..." -go isso = progressive;
-ta     'transferentive', e.g. katta waso "having gone and then come back..."
-tago/-rago quotative
-lak ha- 'intend to do'; -la ga- "go to do;"
-m      "if." O Sey Cwun(1933) has -mwu, -mwun, -myeng. RKS has -m'ōj, RKR has -mun. Seoul standard=-myen.
-ςo     "do and..."

Negation
We have seen that Seoul /ani/ is here [aj]. Seoul /mos/ is here [mot], but I have three examples of [mo]: mo dżasso "I couldn't sleep." and the corresponding long-form t'adzi mo[t] hæsso, where the [t] is optional, and mosigjatta "bad." Cf. Seoul mos ssukeyssta. RKS has na-mot-kakey "so as not to be able to go out." Lee Pyonggeun(1985, p. 222) has pointed out the differences in negation word order in northeast dialects, and cites examples like: mek.e mos passummay=mek.e poci mos haysso. "I wasn't able to taste it."
For negative imperatives, I have kadʒi malla “Don’t go” and kadʒi mao, the latter being more polite.

**Word List**

Below I list the forms elicited from Mrs. Cen and compare them with forms from other descriptions of Hamkyeng dialects.

**Pronouns**

| nae | “I, my” naega “to me” nan “I (topic) nař “me(acc.)” |
| ni | “you (subject)” noř “you (object)” |
| tjo | “that one” |
| i ge | “this thing” |
| amu gotto | “nothing.” Cf. RKS amu-gottu. |
| ki | “that one.” |
| iŋgê | “here” ingir (acc.). Cf. RKS iŋŋê forty. O Sey Cwun (1933) has both uyngkey, yengkey for Onseng. |
| tŋŋe | “over there.” Cf. RKG tŋŋe |
| kongse | “there(dynamic).” Cf. RKG konge. O Sey Cwun(1933) has kungkey, kengkey for Onseng. |
| nug | “who? (subj.)” nugir (acc.). Cf. RKS nugí |
| odimæ | “where(at)?” Cf. RKS odir? odimeri = kuda? |
| musun | “what kind of?” |
| misige | “what(thing)?” misir “what(acc.)?” Cf. RKS musi-ge, O Sey Cwun has misikey for Onseng. |
| otisæ | “why?” |
| odir | “whither?” odiso “whence?” |
| me[t] | “how many?” in mesi tæninga “What time is it?” |
| onddege | “when?” Cf. RKS ondze |
| otkæ | “how?” |

**Numerals**

| hanæ | one Cf. RKG hannä. Kim Thay Kyun has hana, hanna. |
| tur | two Cf. RKG tuiri |
| so | 3 Cf. RKG söi. Kim Thay Kyun has se/sei (and ne/nei) co-occurring in most regions. |
| no | 4 Cf. RKG noi. |

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47 Kim Thay Kyun (1986) does not list any forms with a velar nasal for yeki, ceki, keki.
49 Kim Thay Kyun lists etumey for Sengcin, Hakseng, Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Kyengwen, Congseng, and Musan.
50 Kim Thay Kyun lists musukey for Sengcin, Myengchen, Kyengseng, Chengcin and Musan.
tasi 5 Cf. RKG tasįsi. Kim Thay Kyun has tasu, yesu in Onseng, Congseng, Hoylyeng, and Musan.
josi 6 Cf. RKG josįsi
irgu 7 Cf. RKG nirgūi. There is no form ilkwu or the like in Kim Thay Kyun, but O Cey Cwun(1953) has nilkwu for Onseng.
jadi 8 Cf. RKG jadirbi. There is no yatu in Kim Thay Kyun, but O Sey Cwun has it.
aop 9 Cf. RKG aūbi
jor 10 Cf. RKG jar. Kim Thay Kyun has yal in Kilcwu, Pulyeng, Hoylyeng, yel elsewhere.
simir/tudon 20 RKG simuri
södon/sörin 30 Cf. RKG sörin
nödon/mahin 40 Cf. RKG main
tatton/sin 50 Cf. RKG sūin
jodon/yuksip 60 Cf. RKG ještûn/njukšip
irgupton 70 Cf. RKG nirîn
jadîpton 80 Cf. RKG jadîn
paek 100 Cf. RKG îrbâk
joabæk 200 Cf. RKG njajbâk
hanæ toban52 “for one year”
mari soi “three horses”
it*î “two years.” Also tuhæ.
hallar “one day” and it*îr “two days.”

Kinship/People

sarimi person RKS sârimi
sægi girl RKS sâgi. Kim Thay Kyun has this for Sengcin, Kyengsen, Kyenghung, Kyengwen, and Congseng.
sæga girl

51 The suffix -don/-don in the series 20-90 is puzzling. It does not occur in Kim Thay Kyun’s materials. The only hint I can find in the Kazan materials is in the following sentence from RKR (p. 39): nā hal-lare čuěni iimšōgē nō-don-‡ passô. “I receive 40 kopeks a day with meals.” Thus, the original meaning of -don seems to be 10 kopeks, or a unit of money. (= ton “money” or ton = “don,” a unit of weight(3.7565 grams)).

52 This word, as well as the expression ṭjohahanda “to like,” would indicate that, at some ancient period, this dialect chose -b- as a hiatus tilger, while other dialects chose -p-. [Toban] is /tongan/ in Seoul speech, [ṭjohahanda] is /coh. a hanta/ Note also padaumul “sea”=MK patah, and Kazan nalaŋ “country”=MK nalah. Can we imagine the following developments?

\* h\to\phi in Seoul  \* V\gamma V \( VbV \) in Yukcin
\* n in Yukcin  \* (VhV) in Seoul

All the pertinent examples in Soviet Korean should be collected.
Irina

†young unmarried man

sosina

mal’čil RKR sina ’mal’čik’

namdga

id.

ajkka

wife, woman

jods

id.

ppappa/abae

father RKR abil

amae

mother RKR ēmi

adzæ

fa.’s younger sis. RKR adzibâni. Kim Thay Kyun has acay for Sengcin, Congseng.

madæmæ

fa.’s older sis. Kim Thay Kyun has matamay for Congseng.

adzabae

fa.’s younger bro. RKR adzibâni. Cf. O Sey Cwun= acupay for Onseng.

madabae

fa.’s older bro.

nubi

male’s older sis. RKR nibil

honjimī

older bro. RKR sōn-nm

oræbi

girl’s older bro. RKS orăbi. Kim Thay Kyun has olaypi for Sengcin, Kilcwu, Myengchen, Kyengseng, Kyengwen and Musan.

toŋsæ

younger sis. of girl RKR toŋsā

hae

older sis. of girl

toŋmi

friend RKS toŋmī

a

child

ægi

baby

adiri

son RKR adiri

tjok*æ

nephew RKS tsōk*ā

Body Parts

pari

arm

sokkaragi

finger

sont*obi

finger nail

part*obi

toenail

nuni

eye

ibi

mouth

ippari

tooth. Kim Thay Kyun has ippal for Sa.up area and Pulyeng, Musan.

53 Kim Thay Kyun lists sensuna, sensena, sensunai and sensina, but not sesuna.
54 Kim Thay Kyun has ankkai for Sengcin, Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Pulyeng.
55 Kim Thay Kyun has apay for Sengcin, Hakseng, Musan.
56 Kim Thay Kyun has amay for Myengchen, Kyengseng, Congseng.
port*ægi cheek. Kim Thay Kyun has polthayki for Sa.up area, Musan and Pulyeng.
mori hair
kori head.
t*ægi chin
k*oi nose
kkitti ear\(^{57}\)
semi beard

**Edibles**
ve cucumber
muri id. Kim Thay Kyun has mwulway, muloy occurring across all three sub-areas.
tjimtj\(\text{t}^{i}\) kimchi. Kim Thay Kyun has cimchi mainly in the Sa.up area, but also in Kyenghung.
kamdʒæ potato. Kim Thay Kyun has kamcay for Onseng, Hoylyeng, Musan. The typical form for 'Yukcin seems to be kamci.
kotj\(h^{i}\) a pepper
p(\*emidori) tomato(\(<\) Russ.). Kim Thay Kyun has pemintoli for Congseng.
pabi rice
targigogi beef
okskuki corn. Kim Thay Kyun has oksukki for Kyengwen, Onseng, Congseng, Hoylyeng, Musan.
samun oksi boiled corn. Kim Thay Kyun has okssi for Sengcin, Kilcwu, Kyngseng, Onseng.
porgon suri wine (red booze)
ttɔgi bread
tjaŋmuri soup
sogomi salt
kad'i eggplant
subagi watermelon
nингьимi apple. Kim Thay Kyun has nunkgum for Musan, Sa.up area and Kyengwen, Congseng, Hoylyeng.
poksæ peach. Kim Thay Kyun has poksay for Sengcin, Hakseng, Kilcwu, Myengchen, Kyengseng, Kyengwen.
k*oi bean
k*omur khongmul

\(^{57}\) Kim Thay Kyun lists kwitti and kwistti separately, which is quite incomprehensible. 
\(\text{-tti seems to be a body-part suffix. Cf. RKS pa, pāttā “stomach.”}\)
saxar sugar
kot’i kargi pepper power

Nature
pi onda it is raining
t’onjogi tora onda. “It is becoming evening.” Cf. RKS 54 pôm č’ori ki-m’man tora onl... “as soon as the spring season comes...”
jokki fox
koje cat. Kim Thay Kyun has koyay for Sengcin, Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Onseng.
sut’ařgi cock
komi spider
sani mountain
padaŋmuri sea. Kim Thay Kyun has patangmwul for Kilcwu, Onseng, Congseng, Hoylyeng.
hanuri sky
mari horse
ipsagi leaf. Kim Thay Kyun has ipsaki for Kilcwu, Myengchen, Kyengseng, Hoylyeng, Musan.
p’uri grass
ppuri horns
puri fire
tosam winter
jorimi summer. Kim Thay Kyun lists only nyelum, yelum, the latter for Myengchen, Chengcin.
pomi spring
kasiri fall
nari weather
t’ip t’i straw
pori wasp, bee
pomi tiger
mosae sand
hirgi dirt, earth
ttæ land, field

Adjectives and Verbs
mæbun kot’i hot pepper. Note retention of -b-.
tjot’a good
tjoum muri a good cucumber
t’ojkkuman sani a small mountain
t’ajgin sani id.
kobun jodʒa a pretty woman
noř koba handa I love you.
nan pabu t'joba handa I like rice. Cf. note 65.
nurunge yellow\(^{58}\)
sip'oronge green
ttægi t'appargan very red. Neither Kazan nor Kim Thay Kyun seems to have ttægi.
tada sweet.
t'tjapta salty
ttagapta hot to the touch
t't'agapta cold to the touch
t'opta hot
t'iibatta it was cold
't'adzæ han toymi closest friend
mottæda bad, evil
nop'un sarimi a tall person(note odd semantics)
k'hi k'ida be tall
k'oi do k'ida What a big nose!
pappuda difficult.
t'ok'ekkuma! Nice!
tjar hatstsuradjida speaks well
nomi too much

Verbs
næ t'tægi iru. “I'm reading a book.”
ødze t'tægi irgosso. “Yesterday I read a book.”
næ p'jondzir ssiu. “I'm writing a letter.”
næjri p'jondzir ssigesss “Tomorrow I'll write...”
næ nad'e irhao. “I work during the day.”
morunda. (old folks = morundao) “I don't know.”
hatstsur amdo? (‘old style’) “Do you know how to do?”
nar t’idzæi malla. “Don't hit me.”
kajo kapso. “Take it.”
suru masigessimdo? “Will you have some wine?”
mojok hagenninga? “Are you going to bathe?”
odbwara! “Look for it!” Kim Thay Kyun has etepota in the sense ‘seek’ for Kyengwen, Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Congseng, and Hoylyeng.

puri punninda “There's a fire.”
tirira! “Listen!”
moënæn saj/annæn saj “table/chair.” RKS has the same split for /sang./

\(^{58}\) For the first 32 pages of RKS, adjectives are listed with -ge, e.g. allinge = bol'noj “sick,” etc.
nari kitšinda  "The weather is getting bad."
moıkiregetta/kiregetta  "I can't do it."59  "I'll do it."
ængø kkagø tænginda  "Wears glasses." Kim Thay Kyun has no form ængø.
štšeäkiræja?  "What are you doing?"
t'cpp(u)risso  "I threw it away. Cf. RKS nidzóppurigi "forget."
tjala gadjæ  "Let's go to sleep."
sænsæ nasso  "Died. (honorific)" Cf. RKS saⁿst-nagi. Kim Thay Kyun has sangsay nata for Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Kyengwen, Onseng, Congseng, and Hoylyeng.
tjugøtta  "died."
kongeso saɾgi pappidʒi  "Life is rough there, isn't it?"
nadu!  "Leave it!"
hæf søtta  "Got angry." Cf. RKS huari ssige

Other Sentences and Expressions
asumšajkkuma  "thanks." (’vy’)
asumšatša  id. (’ty’)
Korje mar hatstsuræng?  "can you speak Korean?" (’vy’)
Korje mar hatstsur aja?  id. (’ty’)
tjo sarimi korjemar hatstsuranda “That person speaks K.” (’ty’)

phj:naj kapso/kasipso  "Goodbye= go in peace"
’issipso  "Goodbye=stay in peace.”
nađ’i musun ir handa?  "What do you do in the day?"
ɔdir kanga?/ɔdir kaja?  "Where are you going? (vy/ty)"
tjibur kapegpsø  "Lets go home (polite)"
ɔdiso wassimo?  "Where are you from?"
i ge misigimdo?  "What is this?" (’old style’)
nae meg ɔpta/mægi ɔpkkuma  "I'm tired." (latter is ‘old style’)
irimi misigemdu?/misige ja?  "What's your name?"
ɔdime inninga?  "Where do you live?"

Other
kari  knife
kses  scissors
sakkæ  hat. O Sey Cwun=sakkway for Onseng.

59 This is a strange form. It would be unusual for kuleh. ta to turn out as kire-, and Kim Thay Kyun lists no such form. It is tempting to connect this with Uzbek/Turkic qil- "to do, make." The extent of Turkic influence on Soviet Korean is an open question.
A Short Text

onur atžim-e ir-ɔ na-so, sesi-r ha-go, kiçi dam-e nin
today morning-at get up-and wash face do-and that after Top
mašina andžasö bazar wasso. Bazar waso, kotži-r pžadžim.
car sit-and bazar came bazar come-and pepper-acc sell-?

conježi torao-m, tžibur kadžim. uri džibibiso joci sakkuma.
eve. come-if home-acc. go-? our home-at 6-nom. live.
adir-i szi-e namdžae i tžokžae. namdžae do ir ha-la tžengi-go
son-nom 3-at husband and(Russ.) nephew. husband-too work-purp. go
adir-ni hækkoru tængi-go, a na-nin tžibeso tækkiman a-r
son-top school-all. go but(Russ.) I-Top home-at little baby-acc.
kadži-go tžib-ë ikku, tžib-esö tžoŋ-i sínso mokko sadžim.
carry-and home-at be-and home-at garden-acc plant eat live-?
ir ha-la katta wa sò tžib-ì ir iso kkitži optžim. adir-ini
work go-purp. return home work-ess. end-nom. not-? son-nom-top
hækko-so wasò kír iri-go a uri no tibì ir hago edžan oradžae
school from come letter write but we-top home work do soon
namdžae otpusk nao-m tžib-ì stroj hadžago, kireŋe morugettago...
husband leave (ıtRuss) come-if house acc build do-lets such don't know

Translation

This morning I got up and washed my face, and after that, got in the car and
came to the bazar. I come to the bazar and sell peppers. When it gets to be
evening, I go home. In our home there are six people living; (on top of) three
sons, my husband, and my nephew. Both my husband and nephew walk to
work, and my son(s) go to school, but I stay at home with the little one(s). At
home, we provide for ourselves by planting a garden. After coming home from
work, there is no end to the housework. When my son comes home from
school, he does his homework, and we do the housework. Soon, when my
husband's leave comes up, we plan to build a house, but (we) don't know...

Notes to the Text

[sesi]  = SK洗手 seyswu. The correspondence Taškent ·i=
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Seoul -wu can also be seen in kot[i]=kochwu, kargi=kalwu, yokki=yewu, tant[i]=tanchwu, etc.

-d3im : This a mystery to me and everybody I've asked. It seems to be a story-telling or habitual sentence-final ending.

josis-i : In elicitation, 5 and 6 lack final -s[t].
soi : In elicitation, this was [so].
i/a : Note the use of Russian particles and recall čem "than." Note also that a "and (contrastive)" pairs with -ni/-nín.

adiri-ni : This cannot be adiri-ni, as the environment does not call for an accusative. [-ř n-] = -l n- is an inconceivable sequence in Seoul or other Korean speech.

tojon : Mrs. Cen glossed this as "ogorod"=garden. It is probably SK庭園 cengwen.
siŋsiŋ : Notice the lack of tensing, vs. Seoul simkkó, and that the original /m/ has been assimilated to /ŋ/.

ti̯bi iris̯ & ti̯bi ir : I don't know if -i is the "nominative," genitive, or old locative -i/-ay here.

adiri-ni : Notice -ni after "nominative" -i.

ɔdɔn orad3æ : Mrs. Cen glossed this as "skoro"=soon. Cf. Phyengpuk(Kim I Hyep 1981, p. 384)/ay: cin-ey/ = a) in the early evening b) early at the outset. orad3æ <olad ani hay?

stroj had3ago : Like the earlier example of tʃʰi̯tʰa ha- "to read," this is a VN+ha- construction formed by separating -t' from the Russian infinitive. This seems to be the usual strategy for adopting Russian verbal loans.

Conclusions

Despite the glaring inadequacies and deficiencies in my data, I hope to have demonstrated the basic outlines of "Soviet Korean" as spoken by one Mrs. Cen. This dialect clearly belongs to North Hamkyeng Province, and has points in common with Yukcin region speech(vocabulary, endings, e.g. -kkuma, -mdu) and with Sa.up region speech (vocabulary, and phonology, esp. nasal weakening and palatalization). However, the inadequacies of my own and of others' data should also demonstrate the pressing need for full-scale investigations into Korean dialects in the USSR.

My data and the Kazan materials show forms with velar nasals for /yeki, keki, ceki/and are thus closely related to MK ingekuy, kungekuy, tyengekuy. My data also show forms like toban=Seoul tongan "during" and tobahanda=Seoul cohahanta "likes." None of these forms appear in Kim Thay Kyun's
dictionary or in other works on Hamkyeng dialect. They are an eloquent testimony to the archaism of the Soviet Korean dialects, and at the same time demonstrate the hopelessness of doing serious Hamkyeng dialect work within the Republic of Korea, perhaps even within the Korean peninsula.

Intensive investigation of the Soviet Korean dialects promises the following: 1.) valuable hints as to Korean historical phonology, e.g. \( r/*l, r\gamma\rightarrow h/\theta/b, \) palatalization, affrication, umlaut and accent. 2.) solid dialect data largely "unpolluted" by a peninsular standard. This should help in recovering archaic vocabulary and patterns, and may aid in other areas of historical grammar. 3.) Fascinating data on language-mixing. In particular, comparative data on the code-switching/borrowing continuum in the USSR(and PRC) will provide materials for the study of language contact in general, but will also provide clues as to how Korean may have interacted with other (i.e. "Altaic") languages in its pre-history.

We hope this paper will encourage further research in these directions.

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