The Korean Dialect Materials in Matveev's 1900 *Reference Book to the City of Vladivostok*

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This paper analyzes a valuable Russian-Korean vocabulary published in 1900 in Vladivostok, and recently discovered by the author. The Korean of the materials is N. Hamkyeng dialect, and shows many interesting and archaic features at the a) phonetic, b) phonological, c) morpho-syntactic and d) lexical levels. E.g.: a) /1/ is [r] before C, Late Middle Korean (LMK) /sy + V/ is preserved as [š+V], /c/ and /t/ are unaffected by palatalization and affrication, LMK /ay/ has failed to undergo monophthongization in some instances; b) /ŋ/ > Ø/ _+ -i, and / m,n / > [b,d]/ #_; c) V-final words suffix "nominative" /-i/, and there is no sign of /-ka/; WH-questions take a different sentence ending /-ko/ than non-WH questions; d) there are many typically N. Hamkyeng words, e.g. hammuri "river," šodab "laundry," xa-minžu "snack," as well as words of Chinese, Russian and unknown origin.

This article introduces and analyzes the Korean dialect materials found in an appendix to N. P. Matveev's Справочная Книга г. Владивостока published in 1900 in Vladivostok. This book of 250-odd pages is a compendium of useful information about Russia's Far Eastern port, and includes sections on the local climate, communications (post office, telegraph, roads), government, local and international trade, public facilities, etc.

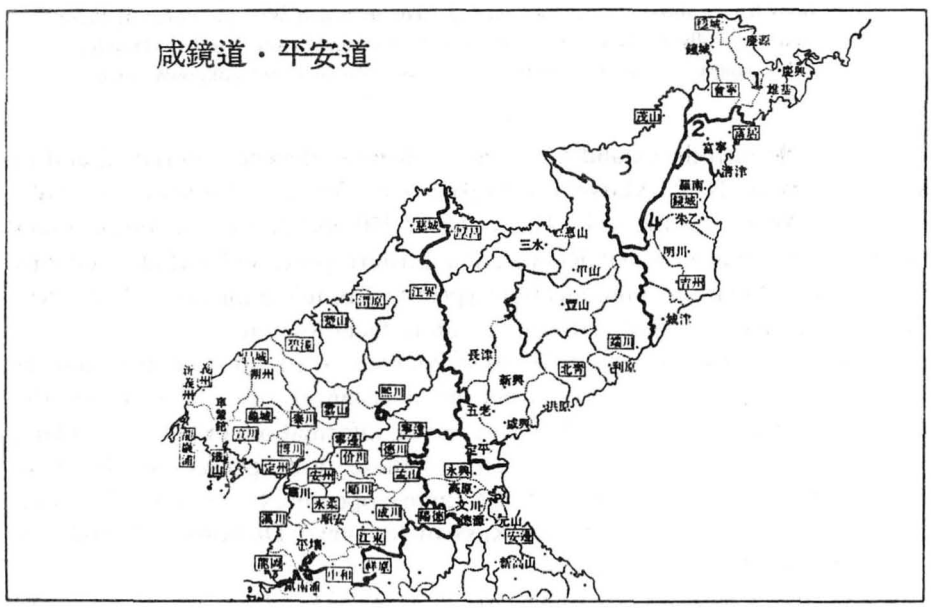
Most interesting for our purposes is Matveev's attention to the cultures and languages of Vladivostok's three main Asian groups: the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Korean. Matveev gives information on the calendars, weights and measures, and currencies of these three peoples in the main body of the book, and then includes three appendices: "A Short Russian-Chinese Dictionary," "A Short Russian-Japanese Dictionary," and "A Short Russian-Korean Dictionary."

While the Chinese and Japanese dictionaries follow the "standard" languages and do not provide much exciting new information (both languages had already been studied in the West for many years), the Korean dictionary is a goldmine. What little information was available by 1900 on Korean was mostly about the Seoul dialect, although some amateur work was done on Phyengan dialects. Matveev does not tell us anything about his

information or how he collected it, but it is clear that he did not rely on other Russian-language sources, and that his informant was a native (or even a Russian second-generation descendant) of the Yukcin or "Six Garrisons" region in Hamkyeng, Korea's northeastern province. (see map)

In this article, I outline all of the interesting features to be found in Matveev, and compare and contrast them with both modern Seoul standard speech (MSS), and Late Middle Korean (LMK), the language preserved in the texts of the 15th century. I reproduce the entire 20-page dictionary in English and modified romanization as an appendix.

Whenever useful, I cite other materials available on North Hamkyeng dialects in Russian / Soviet territory (see references), including my own King (1987), the first description based on fieldwork carried out with a Soviet Korean informant from Soviet Central Asia. I will show that the dialect represented in Matveev shares many features with the speech of King's informant.



About the map: #1 is the Yukcin (also: "Yuk. up") region. What looks like 鐘城 should read 鍾城 (Congseng). The perceptive reader will also note that area #1 contains 5, not 6 units — they are Hoylyeng, Congseng, Onseng, Kyengwen, and Kyenghung (the area of origin of the RKR and RKS informants). This is because Kim Thaykyun(1986) includes Pulyeng

(area #2) with the Musan region (area #3), as a "transitional area" between #1 and the "Saup region," area #4. Area #5 is South Hamkyeng, and area #6 is Phyengan Province.

This map is adapted from Kōno (1942: 303), and the boxed-in names are the areas investigated by Kōno during his three-year survey of Korean dialects. Note that Kōno only visited two out of the "Six Garrisons (Yukcin)"— Hoylyeng and Onseng.

1. Phonetics and Phonology

A. Volwels

Reflexes of LMK /u/ and /o/:

LMK	Gloss	Matveev	Seoul
polom	wind	parɨmi(38)	/palam/
kyeco	mustard	čeo-dzɨ(89)	/kyeca/
pesus	mushroom	posusi(96)	/peses/
kurus	dish	(čamur-) kurusi(201)	/kurus/
but (pinɨr-) kɨrɨsi(301) "soap-dish."			
salom	person	(čëšen-)saræmi(217)	/salam/
tyaruta	short	tiaræo(223)	/ccalpta/
umsik	food	im-šogi(247)	/umsik/
-tulh/-tolh	plural	(saræm-)dori(271)	/-tul/[1]
kilum	oil	(šæ) čirimi(281) "butter"	/kilum/
but čirɨmi(281) is glossed as "oil."			
nuluyta	slow	dæron(284)	/nulita/
The [o] is a mystery.			
kulehota	do so	kirel'man-xao(292) "possible"	
Also kiri gasu(319) "necessary." MSS has:			/kulehta/
kocita	carry	kodžegao(332)	/kacita/[2]

[1] RKS and RKR both have [-dɔri] as well.

[2] Note that Matveev uses [o] for both /e/ and /o/, but in either case, the first [o] here is weird.

yelum fruit eromæ(392) /yelmay/

Again, the [o] is strange, but cf. LMK /yelwom cista/ "to farm," and /yel.[G]wuta/ "to make ripe."

ho-no-n doing xanæn(394) /hanun/

Sometimes this vowel is rounded to [u] after [u,o]: punnundæ(430) "burning," ton munungæ(428) "payment," donungæ(436) "playing; an outing." But there is also [a]: sori xanangæ(441) "a song," and an occasional [ɨ]: tsaraningæ(460) "a plant, growing thing."

ilccuki early irtsu-gao(447) /ilcciki/

I cannot explain the [-ao].

kulimey shadow kɨrɨmdzɨ(535) /kulimcey/

manol garlic manæri(576) /manul/

tangsin you tan-šɨni(602) /tangsin/

But note the palatalized [š], and cf. tan-šinnæ(603) "you (pl.)."

tasos five tasɨ (612) /tases/

acik/ancik/ancuk still, yet andzugɨ(P48) /acik/

The [-ɨ] is the Hamkyeng reflex of the MSS /-un, -nun/ marker of deemphasis, topic/theme.

thwongso interpreter txonsɨ (P50) /thongsa/[3]

Preservation of LMK /u/:

culta muddy tsɨ-o(99) "dirty" /cilta/

cumsung beast san-tsɨmsuɨ(179) /cimsung/

cumsung Cf. also dartsum sui(443) "bird" from /nal cimsung/.

(ni+chuta) toothpick ditsɨgæ(173) (/i+chita/)

LMK /chuta/ means "to remove."

etulo whither odiru(odɨ-meru)(239) /etilo/

kichwum/kichim cough titsɨmi(251) /kichim/

Reflexes of LMK /uy, oy/:

uywen doctor ivoni(124) /uywen/

poychoy cabbage tadu-bætsæ(198) /paychwu/

I do not know what the [tadu-] is. If it is not related to LMK /tolta/, MSS /talta/ "sweet," it is related to LMK /tatay/ "Chinese," or Chinese 大的

[3] Note that Matveev's [n] can stand for either /n/ or /ng/. Occasionally, he uses the "hard sign" after [n] to indicate unambiguous /n/: [Нъ].

dàdě "bigone."

cilkuyta	tough, strong	čirgio(236)	/cilkita/
ahoy	child	(šodan-)agi (555) "pupil"	/ai/
syensoyng	teacher	šonsuį(554)	/sensayng/
yekuy	here	ëgiri onara(P9) "comehere"	/yeki/
huyta	white	xin-ge(26)	/huyta/

Other Strange [ɨ]s in Matveev:

wentwu	pea	von-dɨ(88)	/wentwu/
(thywu)	weights	tsɨi(69)	/chwu/
	plank-bed	čëmdzɨ(323)	/cemca/

This is from 簟 + 子

	Cf.R.цыновка(?)	čëm-dzɨ(567)	/cemca/
twuyskan	outhouse	tsɨkani(376)	/twiskan/

The only way to explain the [ts] here is to assume /twiskan/ >tiskan > tsikkan >tsɨkkan. The change /wi/ or /-u+-i/ >ɨ is necessary to explain the correspondence N. Hamkyeng /i/ =MSS /wu/, anyway, and [tsi] could have been lowered to [tsɨ] by analogy with other /dental+ɨ/ syllables which went to /dental+i/ in MSS.

kwui	ear	kutɨį(552)	/kwi, kwittayki/
hye	tongue	šetɨ(595)	/hye/[4]
??	wheat	buzɨ(580)	??
nwupta	lie down	dɨbo...(P58) "Lie down..."	/nwupta/

MSS /wu/= Matveev [i]:

kwuksywu	noodles	ku-si[sic](45)	/kwuksu/
(kamcywu)	rice wine	kamdzi(202) "Kvas"	/kamcwu/

"Kvas" is a slightly alcoholic drink of fermented cereals.

kwangcwo/uli, kwangcu/oli	twig basket	kvan-dzi(219)	/kwangcwuli/
(pwuci(s)tay)	fire poker	puzu-tagi(228)	/pucikkayngi/
ptolki	strawberry	targu(278) "raspberry"	/ttalki/[5]

[4] Kim Thaykyun gives / seytti / for Congseng.

[5] Note that Matveev has no way to write word-initial geminates, and is very in consistent in using [x] to mark aspiration, too.

syeysywu	wash up	šëšir-xao(303)	/seyswu/

The [-r] is the acc. suffix. The two dots over the [e] are a mystery. King (1987) reports [sesir hago...]. Cf. also šoši krisi(452) "wash stand."

—	pepper	xuči(384)	/hwuchwu/
myengcywu	silk	mendi(582)	/myengcwu/

YCT also lists /myengti/(CAHOYCWUNG 31).

chipta	cold	čipso(P4)	/chwupta/
—	rag, duster	sæn-dzi(524)	/hayngcwu/

Matveev [a] vs. MSS /ay/:

Word-internal:

twongsoyng	brother	ton-san-ganъ(21)	/tongsayng/[6]
toykwol(i)	head	tagari(104)	/taykali/
hoy	year	xa-sui(85)	/hay/

From "year" + 數 /su/ "number." Cf. kin-sui(560) "pound (1b.)" < 斤 + 數

choyk	book	tsagi(207)	/chayk/
:soym	a spring	samtsu(192)	/saym/

I do not know what the [-tsu] is.

:woyn	left	vantsagi(269)	/oyn(ccok)/
(-keys-)	"future"	(kiri-)gas[-]u(329)	/-keyss/
maktahi	staff	bagtagi(379)	/maktayki/
saski	animal young	totusaki(405)"suckling pig"	/saykki/
coychwok hota	to hurry, press	tsatsug-xao(488)	/caychokhata/
(moywu)	very	bau tobungæ (551) "very hot"	/maywu/

Word-final:

—	sausage	šunda(195)	/swuntay/
·coy	ashes	tsa(183)	/cay/
penkoy	lightning	ponga(293)	/penkay/
poy	boat	patiį(311)	/pay/

This is from boat(MSS /pay/) + ting "lantern" /pay/.

(pyekay)	pillowcase	pega-isi(318)	/peykay/

Also: pægao(429) "pillow." LMK /ye/ > /ey/ regularly in this dialect. What

[6] Cf. King (1987) [to ŋ sæ] and RKR [to ŋ sä] < tongsa + i < tongsang.

is [isi]?

poy	lighthouse	pašagui(310)"sailor"	/payssakong/
alay	under, below	arake(333)"lower"	/alay/

Cf. LMK /alawuh/ "top and bottom" (WEL 2: 41).

??	corkscrew	magæ-čai(magapanɨnčæi)(413)??	

Note [ppa-] vs. LMK /spayhhyeta/, MSS /ppayta/ "extract, remove."

:say	grass, hay	saị(510)	/say/

But cf. am šoru særi tsora(P60) "Give the cow some hay."

—	trade (store)	kaga(530)	/kakey/
:an'kay	fog	angaị(534)	/ankay/
·nay	I(nom.)	daị(597)	/nay ka/

Contrast this with dæ(598) "you," and LMK /:ney/, MSS /ney ka/ "id."[7]

(tampoy)	tobacco	ëngeša tanbarɨ bokti mao(P57)

"Don't smoke here." YCT lists one occurrence of /tampa/ from early modern Korean: (TONG EN KO LYAK). MSS has /tampay/.

This last group of examples is extremely interesting. According to Kōno (1942:224), the dialects which preserve the LMK diphtongs, e.g. [sai] or [sa:i] for LMK /say/, MSS /say/ ([sæ])"bird" are Hwanghay Province, the western half of south Phyengan, most of north Phyengan, most of south Chwungcheng, and Cinchen in north Chwungcheng. "[Such forms] do not exist in other regions, i.e. Kyengki Province, the southern dialects, and the northeast."

But Matveev clearly has them. While the Matveev data could be dismissed as Phyengan borrowings, I believe the situation is more complex. It is likely that some Phyengan residents were among the first waves of Korean emigrants that began moving to Russian territory from 1863 on, but the overwhelming majority came from the Yukcin area at the northern tip of Hamkyeng. This area is already known as a "dialect island" that differs in significant ways from the rest of the peninsula, most notably in its failure to undergo the wave of palatalization and affrication of /t/ and /c/ that swept through the peninsula. The only other dialect area that failed to undergo these changes was Phyengan.

I believe this lack-of-monophthongization must be interpreted as yet another archaism that Yukcin dialects happen to share with Phyengan. I share Kōno's view of this development: LMK /:say/ [sa:i] "hay" was in Yukcin [sa:i+i], as these dialects all suffix the nominative /-i/ obligatorily to

[7] In fact, / ay / and / ey / have fallen together for many Seoul speakers (due to influence from southern dialects), and Seoul colloquial has shifted /ney ka/ "you" to [ni ga] vs. /nay ka/ [næga].

the citation form. Forms like these were then re-interpreted as [sa:+i], and this explains the failure to monophthongize, as well as compound forms like [pašagui] "boatman," from LMK /poy/ (MSS /pay/)+ /sakong/. Vowel length may also have played a role here, but more data are necessary for a definitive analysis.

Other cases of Matveev V (+i) vs. MSS /Vy/:

mwol.[G]ay	sand	bosoi̯(426)	/molay, mosay/
soacwul	steel chain/wire	sazuri(435)	/soycwul/

Cf. kansoa(507) "steel," soa(147) "iron," vs. tsamursæ(158) "lock." LMK has /·soy/ "iron; steel," but LMK /soa/ does not occur alone.

(toy/tuy)	pond	burundoi̯(439)	(/tey/)
towoyta	become	toiaso(P34)	/toysso/

Umlaut in Matveev:

—	barrel, jar	tundze(8) "jar"	/thong/

Cf. also namut-xunzæ(35) "barrel." MSS has no /thongca/, so this may be a loan from Chinese tongzi 桶子.

kamco	potato	kamdze(199)	/kamca/
yelswoy	key	ersæ(206)	/yelsoy/

This is valid only if from *ersoa. It is more likely just /æ/<*/oy/.

(makay)	cork, stopper	pen-magæ(412)	/pyengmakay/
—	blanket	tanzæ(356)	/thanca/
yemsywo	sheep	čmšæ(351)	/yemso/
salom	person	saræmi(394)	/salam/
(chyenge)	herring	čoæ(471)	/chenge/
—	a Russian	maudzæ(453)	—

I believe this word is a loan from Chinese maozi 毛子 "hairy one." I include it under "Umlaut" because it must be mauca +i.

—	kopeck	xon-girtsæ[sic] (P106)

This seems to be from /kulcca/ "letter."

The Correspondence Matveev [a] vs. MSS, LMK /e/:

(cyenyek)	evening	čona-gi(49)	/cenyek/
syekkyeng	mirror	šekiai(168)	/sekkyeng/
cyekta	few	čakso(279)	/cekta/

On the same page (8), [čakso] is glossed as "small." Cf. čaktia aniu(330)

"not a few," and čokæm-tiakso(331) "not many." čagnmuri(375) "ebb" could be seen as either /cekta/ or /cakta/.

mwoncy first mandžio tsundoni(176) "deposit,' advance." MSS has /mence/. Cf. also Jap. mazu "first."

pyensi, kind of meat pie pianše(388) "pirog" —

cywusyek tin šagnabi(374) /cwusek, hamsek/

syeta to stand ščankæ[sic](437) "s.th. standing idle" This must be a misprint for [šankæ]. MSS "stand" is /seta/.

yele(h) various iara gadzi(445) /yele/

(cyeksam) shirt čak sami(450) /ceksam/

(syetang) village school šadaį(553) /setang/ But šoda-xundiaį(554) "school teacher."

yetulp 8 iadu(615) /yetelp/

yelh 10 iarъ(617) /yel/

yetun 80 iadin(635) /yetun/

(chinchyek) relatives činčagi(P93) /chinchek/

-eysye "locative" engeša tanbarį bokti mao(P57) "Don't smoke here." Meaning "from:" dæodimæša maræ txagu van'nia (P67) "Where are you coming from (by horse)?" and pursurgi čiræįša... sara (P77) "Buy...at the RR staion." MSS has /eyse/. This correspondence of N. Hamkyeng [a]=Seoul /e/ can also be found in other works published in Russia before the turn of the century.

Other Vowels in Matveev:

— doll, toy doronkami(190) — The second /o/ in this word is odd. Perhaps it is the /-wo-/ "inserted vowel" of LMK. Recall [eromæ] "fruit" above, from /yelta/ "open." YCT lists /nwolwomnwoli/ "playing; gambling" (SOHAK 5: 95).

:mwolta coachman mar-morakun(246) /molta/ I cannot explain the second [a]. Ditto for the next example:

:mal speech bara-xao(84) "to speak" /mal hata/ Both /mal/ and /mol-/ have long vowels in MSS, and had the "rising tone" in LMK. Perhaps this is an important clue about the origin of vowel length in Korean. (Does txaramodi(39) "gimlet" belong here?)

mwoncoy dust mundzi(423) /menci/

B. Consonants

Lack of Palatalization and Affrication:

Matveev's informant has /tʃ/ for LMK /c/, vs. MSS [tʃ]. He also preserves [t] before [i] where MSS now has /c/ [tʃ]. The 60-odd examples with [č] are nearly all from LMK /c(h)yV/, /c(h)i/, or from palatalization of /ki, kyV/. Here are the examples:

LMK	Gloss	Matveev	Seoul
cywohoy	paper	čo-i(23)	/congi/
cyenyek	evening	čona-gi(49)	/cenyek/
(swucye)	fork	čori(52)	/swuce/

Cf. also MSS /cestalak/ "chopsticks."

chi	1 3/4 inches	či-sui(46)(chi+數+i)	/chi(swu)/
cip	house	čibur-torakao(126) "return home"	

/tip/ is attested spottily for LMK, but also shows up in Matveev: tibi(558) "fanza (Manchurian Chinese house)." MSS has /cip/.

twongita	tie up	tondžio(151)	/tongita/

This form must have arisen through the same sporadic development that gave MSS /mancita/ "feel" from LMK /monita/ (cf. Yu Changton 1980: 43-44): /twongita/ > /twongcita/.

ancywu	snack	xa-mi andžu(156)	/ancwu/[8]
mwoncye	first	mandžio tsundoni(176)	"Deposit."

"Give" was /cwuta/ in LMK, so [ts] is expected in the second word.

cywokwom	a little	čoku-man(221)	/cokum/
cilkuyta	tough, strong	čirgio(236)	/cilkita/
cyakta	small, few	čakso(277)	/cekta/
cyec	milk	čodzi(294)	/cec/
—	hammer	manči(295)	/mangchi/
chipta	cold	čibungæi[9](315) "forst"	/chwupta/

[8] This is a typical N. Hamkyeng word. Kim Pyengcey (1980) lists /haymi, haym, hamsay, haymsay/, but does not get more specific than "N. Hamkyeng." Kim Thaykyun, who is sometimes helpful for pinning down sub-dialects, gives only /haymsey/, for Sengcin.

[9] It is typcial of the Russian-language materials to list adjectives in this way: /adj.-n+ke/, where [ke] is form /kes+i/. This is the typical citation form for adjectives in RKS, where the verbal citation form is verb+ki. Other [-ge] adjective citation forms in Matveev: katsa-bunge (15) "near, close" vs. MSS /kakkapta/, kin-ge (19) "big" vs. MSS /khuta/, xin-ge (26) "white" vs. MSS /huyta/, tol'le-xan-ge (196) "stone (adj.)" vs. MSS/tollo han.../, sæge(337) "new" vs. MSS /say/, and maringe (495) "dry."

kocita	carry	kodžegao(332)	/kacita/
(cikey)	carrier, coolie	čigekuni(340)	/cikeykkwun/
hwochywo	pepper	xuči(384)	/hwuchwu/
cyangkap	gloves	čangabi(386)	/cangkap/
cyemulta	grow dark	čemuo(398) "late"	/cemulta/
cyelpan	half	čer-bani(402)	/celpan/
sywuken	towel	šugoni(403)	/swuken/
cyeksam	shirt	čaksami(450)	/ceksam/
chywong	rifle	čoi(451)	/chong/
chyenge	herring	čoæ(471)	/chenge/
cyang	soysauce	čai(484)	/cang/
swusk	charcoal	namu-suči(537)	/swuch/
acyek	morning	a-dže-ge(546) "in the morning"	

MSS has /achim/[10] for "morning."

cywolwong	hanging cage	čoroi(559) "lantern"	/colong/[11]
cywuzin	host	čuini(565)	/cwuin/
kwoc	flower	kodži(566)	/kkoch/

Matveev's form preserves the LMK exactly.

Examples from velar palatalization:

kisputa	happy	čipuo(suį-puo)(47)	/kipputa/
kic	collar	čidži(62)	/kis/
kyeco	mustard	čeodzi(89)	/kyeca/
kilta	long	čio(119)	/kilta/
kitol.[G]wuta	to wait for	či-dur-guo(123)	/kitarita/
kilum	oil, grease	čirimi(280)"butter"	/kilum/
kilh	road	čiré inin tari(298) "bridge"	/kil/

But cf. tsiri(128)

The following are examples of [č] that I am unsure of:

—	orange	čiuza(2)	/kywul/

This must be a mandarin loan: Ch. 橘子 júzǐ. The reoccurrence of this word in (P49) as [čuiza] confirms my suspicion: the Mandarin [ü] typically

However, while Matveev's typical verbal (and sometimes adjectival) citation form is the "ha-o form" (e.g. sa-o (145) "live," pi-o (415) "beg;" tsi-o (99) "dirty."), Matveev also uses this [-ge] for verbs and other expressions: kadzinin-ge (20) "to take," sam-nin-ge (42) "to boil," nirinige (579) "to read," toridorixangæį (585) "a sphere."

[10] Kim Thaykyun does not list /acek/ or the like, but it must be the older N. Hamkyeng word: RKS has atsok, atsogi.

[11] I am not 100% certain of this identification.

waffles between [wi] and [yu] for Korean learners.

??	clay	čidagi(102)	??

This may be related to the word /cilta/ "slushy, muddy."

(comta> camuta?)	saucepan	čamur-kurusi(201)	??
??	starch	kadžæ-kargi(233)	??
??	plank-bed	čëmdzi(323)	??
??	haymaking; meadow	čukxau(432)	??
??	garden	pan čoni(464)	??
??	account; calculation	xoče(496)	??
cha	tea	čamuri(570)	/cha(+ mul)/

Perhaps this is the [čamur] in [čamur-kurusi] above.

—	to clean	šëdžë-xao(577)	??

But for the two dots on the second [e], we could identify this word with MSS /socey hata/ "to clean." Perhaps it is a misprint. Cf. šëži šugoni(403) "towel."

Examples of [ti/di], [tsi/ dzi]:

tita	burden, load	timi(6)	/cim/
kaci	eggplant	kadi(7)	/kaci/

YCT lists one occurrence of /kati/ (YU MWUL SAM). Typically, N. Hamkyeng dialects have /kkaci/ vs. MSS /kaci/, but Matveev does not show the tense unaspirates (geminates).

mwot	nail, screw	txaramodi(39)"gimlet"	/mos/
pit	debt	pidi(134)	/pic/
chwon	village	tsxo-ni(115)	/chon/
??	wooden	namu-tsa-bun-dagi(116)	??
cwita	to grasp, hold	tsio(117)	/cwita/

This must be reduced from [tswio], as we would expect [čio].

etilta	good-hearted	odio(121)	/ecilta/
:tyem	store;enterprise	tiomi(175)"factory"	/cem/[12]
tiph	straw	tip-kaudæ(241)"330-lb. sack"	/ciph/
tyaluta/tyalota	short	tiaræo(223)	/ccalpta/
nat	scythe	nadi(257)	/nas/

[12]Note that Matveev also has [dəni],a modern Mandarin loan for the same Chinese character: 店.

—	boat	tsuani(264)	—

This is from Chinese 船 chuan, and can also be found in RKS.

meti ani hota	not far	modi-anio(327)	/melci anhta/
nap	monkey	tsæn-nabi(371)	—

The first syllable must be from LMK /con/=MSS /can/ "small." This LMK word has been replaced by /wenswungi/ in MSS.

??	officer	kumbu *tsadi* kvanъ(377)	??
??	passport	tianpe(371)	/??-phyo/

This may be 傳票 /cenphyo/ "chit, voucher," in which case it is another good example of the Matveev [a]=MSS /e/ correspondence.

pwut	writing brush	pudi(385)	/pwus/
tywohta	good	totia aniu(393) "bad"	/cohta/

Cf. tëso(563) "good." If [totia aniu] is not a typo for [tio...], it is a Phyengan form.

tinata	to pass by	tina-kao(418)	/cinakata/
??	wheat	tsamtsamusi(422)	??
(tywosywu)	influx, flood	tiošu(433)	/coswu/
twoth	pig	toti(469)	/twayci/
tye	that one	të-(604)	/ce/

Cf. also tëgæ(607) "that thing," and tëgi(514) "there."

LMK /syV/= MATVEEV [sV]:

Just like RKR and RKS, Matveev preserves LMK /sy+Vowel/ as [š+vowel]. Here are some of the more interesting or puzzling examples.

—	Valdivostok	xa-šua(55)	

This is from the Chinese haishenwai 海蓼威, and is another example of the N. Hamkyeng tendency to re-interpret [-ai] as /a+i/. Another Siberian place-name: soan-nian(334) "Nikol'sk."

(masywo)	horses & cattle	bašu-boginin-de(79) "pasture"	/maso/
(syengtywung)	city	šon-diunъ(87)(城中?)	
??	to complain	šon-særi xagasu(139)	??
hyeta, hhyeta	to light, ignite(tr.)	puru-šo(154)	/khyeta/

The Matveev form is a direct development from the LMK. Cf. also šeti, š [sic](595) "tongue." LMK and MSS both have /hye/. The second [-u] in [puru] is the accusative [-i], rounded to [u] after the first [u].

-syc	"from"	šo(187)	/-(ey)se/

Also egišo(368) "here." This is also a direct holdover from LMK, and holds for the verbal /-sye/, too: kaše...(P12) "Go and..."

??	engineer	punšu(191)	??
??	ticket counter	šæn-pë kan(200)(先票?)	??
(cywosyen)	Korea	čëšen-saræmi(217)	/cosen/
(sywusywu)	corn	šuki(240)	/(ok)swuswu/[13]
—	compass	punšutinam šbogi[sic](255)	

MSS "magnet" is /cinamsek/. [šbogi] must be [šogi]=LMK /syek/ 石.

may	mill	šomaị(313)	/maystol/

From LMK /sywo/ "cow; ox" +"mill."

:syem	island	šemdoi(364)	/sem/

If this is not /syem/+/toy/ "place." it is an interesting case of a native Korean noun becoming "glued" to the Chinese character which it glosses: SK 島 /to/ "island."

—	laundry	šodab-šinænankani(409)	"laundress"[14]
—	Many thanks.	mani ašimtia anio[15](410)	
syeknywuhwang	matches	šæn-niu-va(486)	/sengnyang/

The [e] has been umlauted under the influence of the following [i], and loss of final /-ng/ is common in this dialect. The [v] could be a clumsy attempt at [w], but Matveev could also have written [u] or [o].[16]

(sywuphan)	abacus	šupani(496)	/swuphan/
syeng	surname	šoi(557)	/seng/
??	box	a, kuoš[sic](594)	??

This could be related to 櫃 SK /kwey/.

syelhun	30	šorun(630)	/selun/
yesywuyn	60	yešun(633)	/yeyswun/
—	bottle	pyenša(P35)	/pyeng/

Cf. piondza (24) "id." The latter seems like a re-Koreanization of a Chinese loan pingzi 瓶子. But this seems an unlikely explanation for the [-ša].

There is at least one example with [siV] as such:

—	station	siuim-tomi[17](508)	

[13] Cf. King (1987) [oksukki]. Kim Thaykyun has this for Kyengwen, Onseng, Conseng, Hoylyeng, and Musan.

[14] /setap, syetap/ is a typical N. Hamkyeng word. Kim Thaykyun gives the latter (without indicating whether he means [šɔ] or [siɔ]) for Sengcin, Kyengwen, Congseng, and Hoylyeng. The latter three districts belong to the Yukcin region.

[15] This is a typical N. Hamkyeng expression. Kim Thaykyun lists variants of /asumchayitha, asumthaynikkwuma/, and gives /asimthaynikkwuma/ for Congseng. King (1987) has [azumtʃajtʰa] and [asumtʃajtʰa]. RKS has ašimt'=an [blur] nio.

[16] For more on [v] see below.

[17] I do not know what the [siuim] is, but [tomi] (cf. pursur-gi-tomi (60) "train station.") is

Another manifestation of the lack of palatalization is the retention of word-initial /ly-/ as[ni-]:

lyang Chinese dollar xan-niai(101) "1 ruble" /nyang/

In general, though, this dialect realizes word-initial [n] as [d], for which see "Two Phonolgical Rules" below.

Cases of False Velar De-Palatalization

While velar palatalization occurs in some of the N. Hamkyeng subdialects, there is a less common, but related phenomenon, whereby we find [t] or [ts] corresponding to MSS/LMK /k/ as a result of "undoing" the velar palatalization back in the wrong direction[18]:

kulyeki goose tiro-gi(100) /kileki/

[ki] from LMK /ku/ does not palatalize in: kirel'-man-xao(292) "possible," kirigasu(319) "necessary," cf. LMK /kulehota/, MSS /kulehta/.

kilh road tsiri(128) /kil/

This is a good example of the intermediate stage where speakers would still have a chance to go back to the "correct" /kil/ or on to [čil].

kichum cough titsɨmi(251) /kichim/

The Pronunciation of Korean /l/:

In King (1987), I demonstrated that Soviet Korean pronounces /l/ before consonants as a rolled [ř], and that the Kazan materials of 1904, as well as other Cyrillic script transcriptions of Korean employing [r] where Seoul has /l/, should be taken at face value. Moreover, according to Kwak Choong-gu (p.c.), some old speakers from South Hamkyeng (Hamhung) preserve a rolled, or retroflex pronunciation of /l/ in word-final position, e.g. [maiř] "village." The Matveev materials are in complete agreement with these observations. Here are some examples:

čibur-torakao(126) "go home." The [-ur] is the accusative, rounded after

Chinese 站 zhan, Sino-Korean /cem/. this was LMK /tyem/, so [tomi] here must be a Phyengan form, although Kim Ihyep (1981) lists no such word: Korean has always used Sino-Korean 驛 /yek/ for "station." Cf. also: pursuruči tæm (78) "railroad station," which must be Sino-Korean 地點=MSS /cicem/ "spot; point; place." The only other (remote) possibility is that [tomi] was borrowed from a Manchu-Tungus or Mongolian language much earlier (the ultimate source would still be Chinese). Literary Mongol has jam "post station," Literary Manchu has g'iamun (cf. Cincius, ed. (1975), vol. 1, p. 341).

[18] A relarted confusion that can arise at the [k, ts, č] crossroads is the "undoing" of a /ts/ word to a [k] found in RKS, e.g. /kyemsim/ for "lunch" =MSS /cemsim/, or /kyel/ "temple; church" for /cel/ from LMK /tyel/. There are no such examples in Matveev.

the labial [b]; kargi nao(138) "Thirst." MSS has /kalki/: termuri(142) "steel." MSS has /chelmul/; tsamursæ(158) "lock;" tatargu(167) "wild strawberry;"[19] bosɨr-pioi(177) "plague;" čoku-man-kɨr-tægi "piece;" torpæ(592) "apple."

Two examples write a hard sign after the [r]:

purъ punnundæ(430) "fire," and korъ-mogi(542) "street." I am not sure what Matveev intended with the hard sign here.

Words with [v] and [f]:

King (1987) reported hearing a [v] in the word for "cucumber:" [ve] (MSS /oi/, often realized as [wɛ]). The Russian language materials on Korean as spoken in the Maritime Province contain examples of orthographic "v" (written with "в"), but it is difficult to determine whether they really meant [v], or were using it for the [w] which Russian lacks: they could have used combinations of [o] or [u] plus vowel for the same purpose. More field work is needed to settle the issue. Here are the examples in Matveev:

wentwu	pea	von-di(88)	/wantwu/
uywen	doctor	ivoni(124)	/ɨywen/
kwangcwoli	reed basket	kvan-dzi(219)	/kwangcwuli/
:woyn	left	vantsagi(269)	/oyn(ccok)/
:woy	cucumber	væ(353)	/oi/
(kwan)	officer	kumbu tsadi kvanъ(377)	/kwan/
??	hard, callous	kvakva-zao(575)	/kkwak?/
(kwantiang)	an official	kvandiaį(581)	/kwancang/
—	came-Question	van'nia(P67)	/wassn[un]ya/

There is also one word with [f]:

	consulate	ensa-fan'(213)	/yengsakwan/

There is no apparent Chinese source for the [fan'], so perhaps Matveev's informant sloughed over the /k/ of [kvan] and Matveev misheard the [v] as [f].

The [z] Problem in the Russian Sources:

Ever since Putsillo (1874) recorded [z] for /s/ in certain Korean words, the status of [z] in Northeast Korean dialects has been a puzzle.[20] Even if one

[19] From /tta/ "earth"+/talkwu/, the latter corresponding to MSS /ttalki/ "strawberry," and LMK /ptolki/ "id." Cf. also Matveev targu (278) "raspberry."

[20] For discussions of Putsillo's dictionary, see Adami (1982), Choi (1976), Martin (1982), and Ogura (1944).

concedes that Putsillo's dictionary consists in large part of a mechanical transfer of materials from Medhurst (1834), and that subsequent Russian language works on Korean (e.g., Starchevskii 1890 and 1892, and Taishin 1898) borrowed heavily from Putsillo, the problem does not go away.

Traditional Korean philology recognizes that LMK had a /z/ (or at least [z]: some dispute its phonemic status), but no research in dialectology (e.g. Kim Pyengcey 1959, 1965, 1975, Kim Hyengkyu 1974, Choi Hakkun 1982) has turned up a Korean dialect that preserves [z] from /s/. LMK [z] shows up as dialect [s], if it shows up at all.

And yet, I myself have heard a [z] from a Soviet Korean speaker in Tashkent, and [z] keeps turning up in Russian language sources which clearly owe nothing to Putsillo (1874). The [z]'s in Matveev can be divided into four types: 1) [z]'s from /c/ (over [dz]: these are the overwhelming majority), 2) [z]'s from /s/, 3) [z]'s from Chinese 子 zi, and 4) [z]'s of unknown origin:

1. [z]'s from /c/:

nacoy	in the day	nazi [sic](120)	/nacey/
nicta	to forget	dizopurio(149)	/icepelita/[21]
pwuci(s)tay	fire poker	puzu-tagi(228)	/pucikkayngi/[22]
(tungcan)	lamp	tain zani(261)	/tungcan/[23]
??	puddle, pool	burz'ntsai(275)	??

From /mul cin [cilta] ca(ng)+i/, but /ca(ng)/=??

cecta	damp, wet	tsæzoso(497)	/cecessta/
koskoci	clean	kaka-zao(578)	/kkaykkus hata/

In fact, the verb in LMK was /koskos hota/, but the /koskoci/ form (MONGSAN 2) and Matveev form indicate that this was originally */kockoc/. Note also kakadzao(421) "sweet; insipid." In MSS, /kkaykkus hata/ can refer to taste, as in a smooth wine.

ancta	sit down	anzara(P52)	/ancara/

2. [z]'s from /s/:

—	Thank you.	azim-tianiu(33)

I accept Kho Songmoo's (1986: 13) suggestion that this is from /ansim 安心 h(a)c(i) anh.ta/.

[21] For the second member of this compound, cf. RKS nidzoppurigi "to forget," and King (1987) t^hɛpp(u)risso "I threw it away."

[22] Another nice example of an intervocalic velar surviving.

[23] "tain" seems to be a misprint.

kozay scissors kazæ(338) /kawi/

Kōno 1942 lists no less than 17 different reflexes of this word across the Korean peninsula. /kasay/ ([kasɛ] is the N. Hamkyeng form, but of course Kōno lists no [kazɛ]. this word appears in the 12th century Kyeylimyusa as 割子蓋: Lee Ki-moon (1983:95) interprets [kʌzgai], but Kōno (op. cit.:166), on the basis of [kasigɛ] from Cenla (Namwen, Wunpong), Kyengnam (Wulsan, Phyenghay), as well as some Kyengpuk and Chwungcheng locations, reconstructs *[kʌsigai]. Kōno envisions a change kʌsigai>kʌsiai>kaʃai, and would interpret LMK /kozay/ as [kʌʒai]. Whichever reconstruction is correct, Matveev [kazæ] remains an intriguing example: if it is to be believed, one can imagine one of two possible developments: 1)*[kʌzgai]>[kʌzˠai]>(LMK)[kʌzai]>[kazæ], or 2)*[kʌsigai]>*[kʌsiai]>[kʌʃiai]>[kʌʒiai]>(LMK) [Kʌʒai]>[Kazæ]. If this example were the only one Matveev had, this would all remain highly speculative, but there is also:

puzep kitchen puzuke(387)"stove" /puekh/[24]

But it is possible that this is from /c/ after all. Kōno lists two rare forms, [puʤɔk] and [puʤik], occurring of South Kyengnam's eastern seaboard (Yangsan and Wulsan for the former, Yenghay and Kyengcwu for the latter), and supposes these are more archaic forms of this word: [puʤɔk]> *[puʃɔk]> [pusɔk]. On this account, Matveev [puzuke] would be /pucuke/.

musu what buzi(buzuge)(580) /mues/

musu(n) which, what ige buzu geragu xao?(P22) "What is this called?" Also: dæge onur buzun (oton) irinia?(P70) "What business have you today?" MSS has /musun/.

In fact, the LMK record is diverse here: YCT lists /muso/, /musom/, /musos/, /muses/, /musukes/, /musuk/, /musum/, /musus/, etc. He lists only one example with /z/: /muzus/ (Twusi Enhay 10:16). Note that there is also /muus/ (from earlier /muzus/), both examples cited from the re-edition of the Twusi Enhay (1632).

Kōno's belief that LMK /z/ was [ʒ] from [ʃ(i)] from /si/ is crucial for him. As part of his argument, he cites the LMK distinction between /sa/ and /sya/, /se/ and /sye/, etc., and supposes the latter member of these pairs

[24] In fact this word has at least two meanings, depending on the region: "place where one cooks food" = "kitchen," and "place where the fire-hole is" = "stove; hearth; etc." Kōno (op. cit.) lists [pusuk] as occurring in Hamkyeng, as well as in South Kyengsang (Hyepchen, Hamyang), but also notes that certain Hamkyeng varieties add [-ki] or [-ku]. He lists [pusukɛ] for all of Hampuk, as well as for Tanchen in South Hamkyeng. Nobody lists dialect forms with [z].

would have been realized as [ʃa, ʃe], and says: "But this phonological distinction was later totally lost. Even in the dialects, no area is found which uses the palatals as a phoneme in opposition to the plain series." And yet Matveev's informant clearly had just such an opposition, and the extremely accurate Kazan' materials show the same situation. I am still not confident that these dialects had [z] from /s/, or that LMK /z/ was [ʒ], but the Matveev materials are suggestive, and the question deserves more attention and fieldwork.

3. [z]'s from Chinese 子 zi:

Recall čiuza (2) "orange," namut-xunze (35) "barrel," piondza (24) "bottle," maudzæ(453) "Russian," and the mysterious čemdzɨ(323) "plankbed" mentioned above. Ultimately, these are a subgroup of [z] from /c/.

4. [z]'s of unknown origin:

??	salary; reward	kazagi(146)	??
(kwuzywu?)	(wash-)tub	kuzuro mur kurusi(266)	??[25]
??	perch (fish)	xalъ gouzæ(R. окунь)(359)	??
??	postal counter	sæzurkani(407,P75,P76)	??
??	matting	kozægi(448)	??
??	stale; callous; hard	kvakva-zao(575)	??
??	Change; money back	ën zaton(P54)"the change"	??
??	clean up	konzu[-]ru xa-(P64)	??

Also: urarɨ kondzurɨ xaæra(P61). "Clean the yard."

Preservation of [-s-], [-b-] and [-g-]:

Hamkyeng dialects tend to preserve [-s-], [-b-] and [-g-] where the Central dialects (including LMK sometimes) lost them. Matveev has only one example of (-s-]:

pusta	to pour	pusora(P33)"Pour!"	/puela/

Examples of [-b-]:

teWun(:tepta)	hot	tæbun-muri(204)	"boiling water"

The /-p-/ was on its way out already in LMK. MSS has /tewun/. Cf. also bau tobungæ(551) "ugor" (? Cf. R. горячий "hot")=MSS /maywu/ tewun key/.

[25] This looks suspiciously like LMK /kwuzywu/, MSS /kwuyu/ "trough; manger," followed by (instrumental?)[-ro] then another expression. [mur kurusi]. A garbled entry.

chiWun	cold	čibungæi(315)"frost"	/chwuwun/
ho.Wol	single	xabul'liburi(416)	"sheet"

LMK /ho.wol/+/nipwul/ "cover." MSS has /hothipul/ ([honnibul]).

nwupta	lie down	dibo(P58)"Lie down!	/nwue/

Examples of [-g-]:

There exists a class of vowel-final nouns in LMK which, when before the nominative /-i/, accusative /-ul, -ol/, and locative /-ey/, show an unusual syllabification: e.g. citation-form /nwolo/ "deer," but nom. /nwol. i/, rather than the expected */nwo.li/. Kōno (op. cit.:171), citing N. Hamkyeng forms like [p^hɛkki] "bean" vs. MSS /phath/<LMK /phosk/, analyzes these forms as p^hat+ki, and calls them the "ki-Conjugation."

However, Lee Ki-moon (1961, 1983), following an idea of Ramstedt's, has shown that the LMK orthography was a device to write a velar fricative, which he writes as [ɦ]. Originally, this was a lenited -g-(Martin's Yale system writes -G-), analogus to the "light /p/ (ㅸ = β)," [z] from /s/, and [r] from /t/. This velar was part of the stem. Here are the examples from Matveev:

swul.wi (swul.uy)	cart; wagon	pur-sur-gi(41)	"train (fire-cart)"

Cf. also su-rgi(517) "cart." MSS has /swuley/. Note that the citation form and nominative /-i/ form are the same in N. Hamkyeng.

mel.wi	grape	morgui(54)	/melwu/
namwo/nam.ki	tree	nangi(130)	/namwu/
yezo/yez.i	fox	ioki(272)	/yewu/
kolo/kol.i	flour	kargi(299)	/kalwu/

LMK acc. was /kol.ol/: cf. kargi tsio(304) "knead dough."

mwuzwu	radish	buki(455)	/mwuwu/

Other examples of preserved [-g-]:

el.eypis	comb	or-ge(95)	/elleypis/
noy	smoke	naguri(135)	/nay/

The only other dialects with the [-g-] in this word are N.E. Phyengan, S. Kyengsang Milyang, N. Kyengsang, and parts of S. Hamkyeng.

kitol.[G]wuta	wait for	či-dur-guo(123)	/kitarita/
suyta	sour	sikuo(205)"sour, fermented"	

This is also a typical N. Hamkyeng form. Kōno (op. cit., 254) gives [siguda] for N. and S. Hamkyeng ([sigulda] for N. Phyengan Hwuchang), and [sik'uda] for N. Hamkyeng Onseng and Hoylyeng in the Yukcin region.

el.wuta	freeze (tr.)	orgumi(315) "frost"	

Cf. MSS /elum/ "ice," /elta/ "freeze(intr.)," and /ellita/ "id.(tr.)"

(ssias) seed tsigasi(512) /ssias/

Unfortunately the earliest cited example for this word is rather late, from the Hanchengmunkam (mid-1800s). The [tsi-] outcome for LMK /psi/ "seed," is strange, if it is not a typo.

nilota, nil.e to say te saramu dirgora...(P34) "Tell that person..." MSS has /iluta/, imperative /illela/.

Attempts at Recording Accent:

Hamkyeng dialect has a pitch-accent system similar to that of Kyengsang province and LMK. Ramsey (1978) was the first scientific treatment of Hamkyeng accent, and King (1987) introduced accent data from Soviet Korean and the Kazan' materials. Unfortunately, Matveev was not as attentive to accent as the authors of the Kazan' materials, but he did make a few feeble attempts at recording it:

?? salary kazági(146) ??

kil 'ey on a road čiré inin tari(298)

:cyang soy sauce čái (<čang+i)(484)

-'ya vocative(?) xæá(503) "sun"

pas'kwota to exchange i kimuru dáru pakátsuo(P47) "Please exchange this thing for me." Note the accent on [dáru] also.

enough kumán(P55)

to'li'ta bring along ...tárira kagæra(P63) "Go to fetch..."

'wo'ta come taræ ónæra(P64) "Bring..."

-'a'la imperative tonu kadzerá(P54) "Take the money."

C. Two Phonological Rules

Two major phonological processes stand out in Matveev: 1) a rule of /ŋ/-loss, primarily before the nominative /-i/, and 2) a nasal>voiced stop rule for /m/ and /n/.

1. The rule of /ŋ/-loss can also be found in the speech of King's (1987) Tashkent informant, as well as in RKR and RKS, with the difference that the latter writes the vowel preceding the /ŋ/ as nasalized after the /ŋ/ drops. Perhaps there was also nasalization in the speech of Matveev's informant, but Matveev missed it. Examples from Matveev:

a) /ŋ/>ø/—i

khwong bean ko-i(18) /khong/

cywohoy	paper	čo-i(23)	/congi/

But cf. čoniktiaị(274) "sheet of paper." The [k] is a mystery.

pyeng	sickness	pioịi(36)	/pyeng/

Cf. pion-kani(37) "hospital," and bosɨr-pioi(177) "plague."

thwong	bucket	to-i(43)	/thong/
stah	earth	taị(166)	/ttang/[26]
syekkyeng	mirror	šekiai(168)	/sekkyeng/
cumsoyng/cumsung	animal	san-tsɨmsuị(179)	/cimsung/
pang	room	pai(211)	/pang/
sang	chair	anɨn-saị(234)	/sang/[27]
—	roof; lid	tsibui(235)	/cipung/
??	R. "okrug"	tobaị(373)	??

"Okrug" is a Russian administrative unit. Is this 道+方 ?

chywong	rifle	čoị(451)	/chong/
—	Russian	iain(453) This is from 洋人= /yangin/,	

which in MSS means "Westerner; European."

(syetang)	school	šadaị(553)	/setang/

But cf. šodanag(555) "pupil."

skwueng	pheasant	koi(556)	/kkweng/
syeng	surname	šoi(557)	/seng/
cywolwong	hanging cage, basket	čoroi(559) "lantern"	/colong/
(kwantiang?)	official	kvandiaị(581)	??
lyang	Chinese dollar	xan-niai(P101)"1 ruble"	/yang/

b) Other / ŋ /> ϕ Configurations:

—	steambath	xandzɨ-kani(9)"bath"	/hancungkan/
pa.ngwol	small bell	pauri(210)	/pangwul/
syeknywuhwang	matches	šæn-niu-va(486)	/sengnyang/
syetanghwun -tiang	school teacher	šoda-xundiaị(554)	/setang hwun-cang/

An exception:

yang	sheep	ian-i(10)	/yang/

2. The nasal>voiced stop rule for N. Hamkyeng dialects cannot be found in the Kazan' materials, and shows up only twice in Putsillo(1874), but is

[26] It is difficult to say whether this is from underlying /tta/ or /ttang/. Recall [tatargu] "wild strawberry."

[27] Cf. anæn-sai (492) "chair," and sai (491) "table." The /ng/ may have fallen away completely in this word: cf. saækadtsara (p39) "Lay the table (Put it on the table)." King (1987) reports [mɔŋɲinsaj] "table" vs. [anɨnsaj] "chair." RKS has (104) [kɔr anɨn saŋ.-sāi] " a long bench for sitting," and (113) saŋ , sāi "table, stool, bench."

reported in Ramstedt(1939:12) and King (1987:244) for /n/. Martin(1951:523) also noticed this phenomenon, and has described it (Martin 1982:31) as "the premature release of nasality [^{m}b-] and [^{n}d-]."

A number of 18th century Japanese-language materials on Korean (cf. Martin 1982:31) also show this phenomenon, but its exact geographic origin, if in fact it is a dialect isogloss, is not yet clear. Here are some of the examples from Matveev:

a) m>b:

—	shore	burъ-ëgi[28](12)	
mith	down; below	biti(56)	/mith/
melta	distant	bo-o(110)	/melta/
(mwul+ptita)	to steam	burtimi(425)"steam"	/ccim/
mulskwoki	fish	burkogi(454)	/mulkoki/

Matveev's [-kogi] rather than [-gogi] reflects LMK /-skwoki/.

??	slippers	bekri[sic](525)	??

b) n>d:

ni+sik	profit	dissogi(30)	/isik=利殖/

This is a good example of archaism in Sino-Korean readings. Cf. Sino-Japanese /rissoku/ "id" Cf. imšogi(247) "food" (vs. MSS /umsik/) and Sino-Japanese /insyoku/ for 飮食 "id."

(nel)	oar	dori(72)	(/nel/)[29]
nwukta	cheap	dukso(118)	/nwukta/

The usual MSS meaning for /nwuk-/ is "soft, loose; damp, wet; placid."

(ni+chuta)	toothpick	ditsɨgæ(173)	—
(nuph)	lake	dɨpi(357)	/nuph/

MSS /nuph/ means "swamp, marsh," whereas the usual word for "lake" is SK 湖水 /hoswu/. Cf. Taishin (21) nɨp-pxi "lake."

—	cheese	dugi(498)	??[30]
—	sidewalk	dærpani(522)	

This corresponds to MSS /nelphan/ "board," and refers to the board-walk type sidewalks in Vladivostok.

wonol	today	odur(P2)	/onul/

But cf. onur(P3) "id."

[28] This is a typical N. Hamkyeng form: RKS (3) mur-iɔk, -iegi. Putsillo (18) murëgi, Cf. also Matveev čir-ëgi (522) "pavement (roadside)."

[29] /nel/ means "board, plank/ in both LMK and MSS Cf. Matveev doru-paginɨnge (108) "rowing." The latter verb seems to be from LMK /spahita/, MSS /ppayta/ "to pull out; draw; remove."

[30] This word does not exist in LMK or MSS, but cf. MSS /nwukta/: "damp, moist; soft, loose."

A phrase with both rules: dugi dæri bopsi xodænia?(P91) "Who offended you?" In MSS, this would be: /nwuka ne lul mopsi hatenya/. Note that the [d] in dæni(530) "trade; store" is from Chinese 店 dian.

A Minor Phonological Rule:

Data in Matveev are sparse, but it appears this dialect had an /l/ > ϕ rule much like LMK. That is, morpheme-final /l/ in LMK goes to zero before dentals (/s,t,n,c /). MSS has a very similar rule, with the difference that /l/ is maintained before /c/: LMK /meti anhta/ "not far" < /mel-/ vs. MSS /melci anhta/ "id." The only such example in Matveev is modi-anio(327) "not far," but other Russian-language sources, e.g. Taishin (1898) show this phenomenon, too. Cf. also utari(174) "fence," vs. MSS /wulthari/.

II. Morphology

A. Case System

Here are the various "case endings" that occur in Matveev, compared to their LMK and MSS reflexes:

-i nominative [-i] everywhere in citation forms /-i, -ka/

The obligatory suffixation of [-i] to nouns is a typical feature of N. Hamkyeng. There is no trace of the nominative marker /-ka/ which spread throughout the peninsula after the LMK period, and this is also true of Putsillo (1874) and the Kazan' materials.

-oy/-uy locative tsibi-iso(125) "at home" /cip ey isso/

Cf. also tibi iso obso(P44) "Is he at home or not?" and dazi(120) "in the day" for MSS /nac ey/. King(1987:271) reported an insecure example of just this form, and the Matveev forms confirm it. Note that I Swungnyeng(1980) reports "Seoul dialect [not MSS]" /cipi kanta/ "going home" as a relic of LMK locative-directive /-uy, -oy/.[31] In general, LMK /uy/ > /i/ in N. Hamkyeng.

Note the following example of a genitive in [-i], like wise from LMK /-uy, -oy/: tanšini šoi buzugeo?(P17) "What is your surname?" The only other examples of genitives have [-u]:

[31] That is, if it is not just an example of raising, as in [ni ga] "you (nom.)" for /ney ka/.

twotthoy kwoki pig's meat totukogi(468) "pork" (/twaycikoki/)
(〃 saski) piglet totusaki(405)"suckling pig"[32]
From tot+saki "animal young."
-lwo/-ulwo instr., directional čilliu(129)"on the way" /kil-lo/
Cf. also tol'le-xan-ge(196) "made of stone"=MSS /tol-lo han key/ ([tol'le] for [tol'lë]). The [i] and the soft sign ['] in these forms must be Matveev's attempt to record the "soft" pronunciation of double /l/. The other reflexes in Matveev of this morpheme are [-ru]:
etu-lwo whither odiru(odi-meru)(239) /etilo/
LMK has /etumey/, but YCT lists no /etumeylwo/. Also: en-geru(500) "hither" from LMK /ingekuy+lwo/, and: i kimuru dá[-]ru pakátsuo(P47) "Exchange this thing for me," from /na-lo/. An example after consonant: čim[-]u pursuruči tæm[-]uru širo kagæra(P78) "Take my baggage to the station."

This [-ru] shape of the instrumental/directional can be homophonous with the N. Hamkyeng accusative, which is /-ɨ/ after consonants, /-lɨ/ after vowels. The [ɨ] rounds to [u] after a labialized vowel and/or consonant in the preceding syllable: šon-sæ[-]rɨ xagasu(139) "to complain," pur[-]u-šo(154) "to set on fire," karg[-]ɨ-tsɨo(304) "to knead dough," kadze kagæra tenbo [-]ru...(P75) "Take this telegram..."

The LMK acc. had several shapes: /-lol, -lul/ after vowel, /-ol, -ul/ after consonant, and reduced /-l/ after vowel. The N. Hamkyeng reflexes are the result of the LMK forms losing the final /-l/, but there are also Matveev forms which jibe with LMK (and MSS /-ul, -lul, -l/): čib[-]ur-torakao(126) "to return home," čemsim[-]ur tire onara(P36) "Bring lunch," ormær pakaso(P89) "How much do you want?" šëši[-]r-xao (303)"wash up."

The first]-ru] in the next example could be either directional /-lu/ or accusative /-lɨ/: amšo[-]ru sæ[-]rɨ tsora(P60) "give the cow some hay." The following [-ru] must be a mistake for [-rɨ]: tansur penša[-]ru ërora(P35) "Open a bottle of wine." The following seems to involve a (mis-spelled) instrumental on an accusative: išil'lɨ kagæra(P71) "Go away now."<i時 (/si/)+/-l/+/-lo/. Another combination, of allative-plus-accusative:...sæzur kan[-]æ[-]rɨ(P75)"...to the Post Office." Also:sæzur kan[-]æ[-]r(P76) "id."[33]

[32] Taishin (1898) has: (14) komu katsugi "bear hide," (14) pæmu-katsugi "tiger skin," (14) saramu-katsugi "person's skin," and (39) namugæ "of another; somebody else's" besides [nami] "id.," with [-i]<LMK /-uy/. All these examples involve a preceding rounded vowel and/or labial consonant, so perhaps the [ɨ] of LMK /-uy/, like the vowel of the accusative, was rounded by this dialect under these conditions, with loss of the /-y/ analogous to the case of [saɨ] "hay" vs. MSS /say/ [s ɛ] discussed above.

[33] The following sentence calls for an accusative, and if it is not a case of nominative /-i/ being

(-ey-)sye from;at šo(187)"from" /(-ey-)se/

Cf. also egišo(368) "from here." The expanded form, from LMK /-eysye/: dæ odɨmæša maræ txagu van'nia?(P67) "Where are you coming from (on horseback)?" The homophonous morpheme for "at(dynamic location):" pursurgi čir[-]æɨša...(P77) "(Buy it...) at the railroad station;" engæša tanbarɨ bokti mao(P57) "Don't smoke here," dæ egiša sargi tai-tapxania?(P92) "Is it boring for you to live here?"

For non-dynamic location and allative "to," Matveev has [-æ] and [-e]: čir[-]e inɨn tari(298) "bridge on a road," ap[-]æ(382) "in front," bit[-]æ patinɨnge(396) "a tray," a-dže-g[-]e(546) "in the morning." For the "to" of possession, Matveev has [-ge], also reported in King(1987): dæ[-]ge onur buzun irinia?(P70) "What business have you today?"

I find only two examples of the "topic" or "theme" marker (LMK /-on, -un/, /-non, -nun/, /-n/; MSS /-un, -nun, -n/). na[-]nɨ boru(P23) "I cannot; I do not know how," i imšog[-]ɨ tsar motæso(P40) "This food is not prepared well." RKS has [nɨn, ɨnɨn, ɨn, nɨ], and King(1987) has [-n, nɨn, nɨ, un].

B. Verbal Morphology

The most common verbal ending is the "ha-o" style: [-o] after vowels, [-so] after consonants: tsosim obso(31) "safe," ta-o(476) "sweet" (underlying /tal-o/). Sometimes this is realized as [u]: azim-tianiu(33) "Thank you."

The "polite" /yo/ of MSS /hay yo/ "does" shows up once, but slightly differently from MSS: tɨræo-ë(411) "bring," vs. MSS /tur-e wa yo/.

Endings for imperatives and requests: a) [-geo] in čon-agɨ-tsapos[-]geo(539) "Eat supper." Cf. King(1987: 262): [kadzige] "take it," and [suru mɔkke] "Shall we have a drink?" b) [-ara/-ora; -gæra/-gara /gɨra] in: padara(431) "take it;" buro para(P12) "ask;" kapsu burora(P88) "Pay for it;" kagæra(P71) "go·" orun tsagærɨ tor'[-]gara(P79) "turn right;" tsagɨra(P58) "sleep." c)[-so] in: anso(P10) "Sit down." d) [-nara, -næra] in: taræonara(P50) "bring...;" (19) taræonæra(P59) "id."[34] e) polite [-psë] in: irabopsë(P83) "Hey you ! (look here)"

Two examples of indirect requests: tesaræmu dirgora odɨmærɨ kadi

incorporated permanently into the stem, is an error: čiri ao moruo? (P56) "Do you know the road or not?" Also: txonsiri taræonara (P50) "Bring an interpreter."

[34] The [æ] in the next e.g. is from /kkulhi+ela/:čamuru kiræra (P42) "Boil some tea."

maliagu(P43) "Tell him not to go anywhere," sodzir si taliagu pio (P87) "Ask him to write a petition." The latter verb, in direct form: šimunu [sic] satagu (satsuo)(P73) "Buy a newspaper for me." Another quoted order: taræ onæra konzuru xanæn saræmu [,] konzuru xa[-]ragu...(P64) "Bring a contractor [and tell him] to clean up..." The regular "quotative particle:" ige buzu ge[-]ragu xao(P22) "What is this thing called?"

The MSS "future" /-keyss/ comes out predominantly as [-gasu]. The past tense is: ta-tæsu(94) "ready" =MSS /ta toyss.so/, tsæzoso(497) "damp" = MSS /cec.ess.so/. A double past: čemsimi toiaso ani toiasoso(P34) "Is lunch ready or not?"

For questions, the A-not-A type is well-represented: bugopso ani bugopso(P84) "Is it heavy (or not)?"[35] MSS /-nya/ is here:... odimæša... van'nia?(P67) "Where have you come from?" =MSS /wass. [nu] nya/;... buzun irinia(P70) "What is (your) business?" =MSS /il i-nya/; buzi un'nia "Why are you crying?"(P90) =MSS /wun[u]nya/.

The most interesting question form is the following: dai boru dæ busun bar xanengo(P45) "I don't understand what you're saying." Both LMK and Kyengsang dialects make a distinction between questions with and without WH-(question) words: /-ko/ is the [+WH] question morpheme and /-ka/ is the [-WH] question morpheme. (Cf. Se Congmok 1987). This is yet another area where the Northeast and Southeast dialect share features lost in MSS.[36]

For negatives corresponding to LMK /-ti anhta/, MSS /-ci anhta/ Matveev has: diktia-anieso(328) "not ripe," ige sedia anio(P19) "This is not expensive." There are some exx. with LMK /mwos/ "cannot:" bo kirigasu(329) "impossible;" tsar motæso(P40) "Is not prepared well." King (1987) reports [mo]. A direct negative imperative: obutsagъčir xadi mara(P81) "Don't shout."

The progressive in [-go iso] is like MSS /-ko issta/: tago iso(92) "hot." The purposive in [-ra] corresponds to MSS /-le/:... tari[-]ra kagæra(P63) "Go to fetch..." Matveev has some interesting exx. with /-ki/: boki sonio ani sonio(P51) "Do you want to eat (or not)?" This is the typical N. Hamkyeng pattern for "want to VERB," vs. MSS /ha-ko siphta/. [son] is 所願 SK /sowen/. Other constructions: dari čemodan kadze ka[-]gi kuxæra(P72) "Help me carry this suitcase;" kadze kagi bugopso ani bugopso?(P84) "Is it heavy to carry (or not)?" dæ egiša sargi tap-tapxania [sic]?(P92) "Is it boring for you to live here?"

[35] Also a nice example of untruncated /ani/ "not."

[36] The next e.g. seems to contain the same /-ko/: taræ onæra konzuru xanæn saræmu konzuru xaragu kekæ zadi aningou (P64) "Bring a contractor for the removal of sewage."

III. Lexicon

A. Pronouns (Matveev p. 17):

I	[daị]	you	[dæ]	he	[te-saræmi]
she	[te-ankani]	we	[uri]	you(вы)	[tan-šɨni]
you(pl).	[tan-šinnæ]	they	[të-saræm-tori](fem.:[të-ankandori])		
this	[ige]	that	[tëgæ]		

ion-ge(164) "here," en-geru(500) "hither," and ëngeša(P57) "here" are quite archaic: N. Hamkyeng is the only dialect to preserve the /ng/ from LMK /ingekuy/ "here." King(1987) reports [ingir] (acc.), RKS has [i ŋ ge], and a 1933 list in the journal *Hankul* (O Seycwun 1933) lists /uyngkey/ and /yengkey/ for Onseng in the Yukcin region. Matveev also has the newer [egi](P92).

B. Question Words

nwuy	Who?	ige dugio?(P13) "Who is this?"	/nwukwu, nwuka/[37]
musu(k)	What?	buzuge(P11) "What?"	/mues/

Cf. also buzɨ(P90) "Why?"

:enma/:enme	How much?	ormæ(P89) "How much?"	/elma/

Cf. ol'mæ(P49) "id."

etumey	Where?	odɨmæ(P93)	/eti/

Cf. also odɨ(239, P65) "id." In LMK, /etu/ was a bound morpheme.

C. Numerals (Matveev p. 17):

1	xanæ	11	iar-xannaị[38]	21	sumur-xanna
2	turi	12	iar-turi	22	sumur-turi
3	soị	13	iar-soị	30	šorun

[37] This is a typical N. Hamkyeng form: Kim Thaykyun has /nwuki/ for Kyengseng, Kyengwen, Hoylyeng, and Musan. He also lists /nwiki/, /nwikwi/, and /nikwi/.

[38] [xannaị] is the typical N. Hamkyeng form for "one." The Kyeylimyusa has 河屯 *[hʌtʌn] and Kōno (op. cit.: 145) reconstructs *hʌdʌna > *hʌdna > *hʌnna > [hanna] in N. Hamkyeng and Cenla Province, [hana] in MSS.

4	doi̯	14	iar-doi̯	40	magi̯n[39]
5	tasi̯	15	iar-tasi̯	50	suin
6	ëso	16	iar-ëso	60	ešun
7	dirugu	17	iar-dirugu	70	diri̯n
8	iadu	18	iar-axu	80	iadi̯n
9	axu	19	iar-iadu	90	axi̯n
10	iarъ	20	sumuri	100	pæk

Combination forms from P.20: 1 ruble=[xan-niai], 2 rubles=[tu-niai], 3 rubles=[sokъ-niai], 4 rubles=[dog-niai], and 5 rubles=[tan-niai].

D. Odd Semantics

The following words have meanings divergent from their reflexes in MSS: tsosim obso(31) "safe," vs. MSS /cosim/ "care; heed."But cf. tsošim xao(363) "careful." kiuni(74) "air." vs. MSS /kiwun/ "vigour, gumption; vapour." MSS has /kongki/ for "air." burgoni(98) "cargo," vs. /MSS/ mulken "goods, stuff." surma-gi(93) "hotel," vs. MSS /cwumak/ "tavern; inn." MSS has replaced the pure Korean /swul/ "booze" with SK 酒 /cwu/ "id." kobi(144) "grease, fat," vs. MSS /kop/ "mucous, discharge." oræ(284) "slowly," vs. MSS /olay/ "for a long time." sængakso(270) "to love," vs. MSS /sayngkak hata/ "to think." di̯pi(357) "lake," vs. MSS /nuph/ "swamp, marsh." purgun muki(467) "beet," vs. MSS /pithu/ < English. pxi(458) "wound," vs. MSS /phi/ "blood." papuo(523) "difficult," vs. MSS /papputa/ "busy." togi(561) "bread," vs. MSS /ttek/ "rice cake." torpæ(592) "apple," vs. MSS /tolpay/ "wild pear." todi(P30) "slower," vs. MSS /teti/ "late; behind schedule." ige sedia anio(P19) "This isn't expensive." vs. MSS /seyta/ "strong, intense."

E. Interesting Words

—	saucer	šo-tebi(16)	—
This must be 小 "small"+碟 "plate; saucer."			
panchan	side dishes	tsan-bani(17)	/panchan/
The morpheme order is reversed here			
??	bazar	kaiušoi̯(27)	??
—	R. банковка	iabau(28) "(<Chinese)"	??
patah	ocean	padammurъ-i̯ogi(32)"sea-shore."	

[39] I doubt this is ture [g]. It must be a typical substitution of Russian [g] for foreign /h/, as in [garvard] for "Harvard."

Cf. also padan-muri(296) ([n] for [ng]) "sea." N. Hamkyeng preserves the LMK /-h/ as [ng] in this word. Cf. King(1987) [padaŋ muri]. MSS has /pata/ for "sea."

—	swamp	sukkoi̯, tsintorbatti(34)	—
—	storm	kxio parimi(38)	

From /khu-o palami/ "it is big, the wind," with weird word order.

—	bay	pongai̯(40)	—
—	wine	tan-suri(53)	(/photocwu/)

From /tan/ "sweet"+/swul/ "booze."

(pcak??)	direction	ton-tsa-gi(61) "East"	/tongccok/??
—	R. волна(wave; wool)	borgi(75)	??
wos	clothes	uti konændæ(71)"peg"	/os/

Cf. also uti(354) "clothes." this is a typical N. Hamkyeng form: Kim Thaykyun lists /wuthi/ for practically all of the area.

—	a hair	moriki(76)	/meli-??/
—	R. волости	tosoi̯(77)	??

A volost' is an administrative unit.

nwun	eye	nukari(105)	/nwun/

Kim Pyengcey(1980) lists /nwunkkal/ for N. & S. Phyengan, N. & S. Hamkyeng, and one location in Kangwen.

—	hail	nunpi(106)	—

From "snow"+"rain." MSS has /ssalaknwun/ and /wupak/ for "hail."

—	tei up	samæo(151)	??
—	curtain	munpoi(159)	(門褓?)
—	cuff-link; stud	kangu(162)	??

MSS has /tanchwu/. Could the forms be related?

poyyam	snake	peami(181)	/paym/
—	small snake	i̯oni(182)	??
kwoy	(female)cat	amkone(230)	/koyangi/

Kim Thaykyun lists /konyay/ for Kyengwen, Onseng, and Congseng in the Yukcin region, and also for Musan. This is from koni-aŋi>koñaŋi followed by /ng/-drop and umlaut. King(1987) has [koje].

—	crab	tsage(231)	—
—	bag, sack	(tip)-kaudæ(241), kæudæ(306) "id."	??
—	woman	ankani(244)	—

This is typical Yukcin form. It is no doubt related to LMK /anhay/, MSS /anay/ "wife," and MSS /anakney/ "woman; wife."

(puzep)	kitchen	im-šokani(245)	(/puekh/)

From /umsik/ "food"+/kan/ "room."

kwuleng a well kurommuri(252) (/wumul/)

Like padammuri-jogi(32) "sea-shore" above, a good example of /ng/ assimilating to a following /m/. /kwuleng/ in MSS means "pit; hole."

— contract makiri(253) ??

— bushes, shrubs namupegi(namunegi?)(259) ??

— mattress pxodani(282) ??

MSS has a /photayki/ "quilt for little children."

patang floor; yard padanpi(287)([n] for [ŋ]) "broom."

MSS has /patak/ "floor; bottom."

?? R. манза tagu saræmi(čoin)(289) ??

"Manza" ate the Manchurian Chinese. The second word is SK 中人 /cwungin/ "Chinese." Perhaps the word is related to the ethnonym "Dagur" and MSS /ttoy-nom/ "Chink, Chinaman (derogatory). The development woud be: *tʌgor-i > *tʌWor-i > *tʌWoy > *toy > ttoy (affective fortition). Cf. the history of the verb /toy-/ "become," from LMK /to Woy-/.

— carrot purugun-muki(297) —

From /pulk-/ "red" + /mwuwu/ "radish." MSS has /tangkun/ for "carrot."

tyeki ball tsuogi(316) /ceyki/

/ceyki/ is a shuttlecock kicked with the feet. MSS "Ball" is /kong/.

— nut; filbert ke-mi(361) /kay.am/

Assuming this is from *kay-pam, we would expect a form like *kebami.

pehta cut pou(365) "sharp" /peyta/

— spectacles pxuani(378) (/ankyeng/)

Kim Thaykyun lists /phwungan/ for Onseng and Congseng in the Yukcin region, and for Sengcin. Another good example of /ng/-drop.

— a steamboat xo-arun šeni(380) ??

— R. проезжать sintsa kao(420) ??

— flame; blaze pur nadso padora sia padti [sic](427)?

— a Russian orasa(453) —

— river xan-muri(456) (/kang/)

An excellent example of the use of the word /mul/ "water" to mean "river" in N. Hamkyeng (cf. Mongolian mören "river"). [xan] is from LMK /hata/ "many; large." The word хаммури shows up often in river names in late 19th-century Russian-language geographic descriptions of North-east Korea.

— hand soni, ixiri(462) /son, ??/

— garden pan čoni(464) ??

— sugar pæntai(466) (/selthang/)

— salted kan gæso(481)

It would seem /kan/ "saltiness" has been converted to a verb. Cf. also

kan-dim kogi(482) "salted meat" (<kan+tti− "steam?").

—	soup	čan-muri(494)	—

A typical Hamkyeng form. MSS has /kwuk/.

—	sunlight	tsanii̯(502)	??
khuta	big	kaxɨn-nadi(504) "sickle"	/khuta/

If this is not a misprint, it is an important clue for the history of this word, and for the rare /kh/-initial words in general. Recall that MSS /khal/ "knife" was LMK /kalh/ and MSS /kho/ "nose" was LMK /koh/.

—	wall	parnegi[narnegi?](509)	??
—	pipe; tube	kusa(531)	??
—	"Turn!(change direction)"	tsoæra(P79)	??

IV. Influence from Russian

There are only a few Russian loanwords in the text: i (0) "and" in the Korean title to the dictionary, čemodan(P72) "suitcase," and mirovoi sud(P86) "Justice of the Peace." The next example is most peculiar: sɨraso(497) "moist; damp." There is no good candidate in LMK or MSS for this word, but it translates Russian "syroj" with the same meaning. Thus, the informant seems to have added a new verbal base /sɨl-/ to his vocabulary on the basis of Russian syr-.

The most obvious Russianisms are in word order, but it is difficult to say if they are natural, or due to the elicitation context (much the same can be said of the word order perturbations related in King(1987)).

(P38) odɨ mæ imšek xanæn saræmi? "Where is the cook?
For Russian: Где поваръ? (Where cook?)

(P43) te saræmu dirgora odɨmærɨ kadi maliagu "Tell him not to go."
For Russian: Скажи ему, чтобы онъ не уходиль.

(P45) dai̯ boru dæ busun bar xanengo "I don't know what you're saying."
For Russian: Я не понимаю, что ты говоришь.

(P49) kapsi ol'mæ čuiza xanna? "How much does an orange cost?"
For Russian: Сколько стоитъ одинъ апельсинъ.

(P64) taræ onæra konzuru xanæn saræmu konzuru xaragu kekæzadi aningou. "Bring a contractor to clean up the filth."
For Russian: Приведи подрядчика по очистке нечистотъ.

(P75) kadze kagæra tenboru sæzur kanærɨ "Take this telegram to the P.O."
For Russian: Отнеси телеграмму.

Conclusions

Matveev's 20-page "Korean-Russian Dictionary," despite its small size, is a wealth of valuable information on an archaic variety of North Hamkyeng's Yukcin region dialect. Some features, e.g. the preservation of the LMK distinction /sy+vowel/ vs. /s+vowel/, the lack of diphthongization in certain LMK /V+y/ sequences, both word-internally and word-finally, pronunciation of /l/ as [r] before consonant, [z] from /s/, and [a] corresponding to LMK and MSS /e/, have never been reported for a modern Korean dialect.

These materials also point up our relative ignorance about the dialects of Korea's most remote northeastern borders. Yukcin dialects share important features both with the southern dialects (Kyengsang, especially the archaic eastern coast, but also parts of Cenla), and with Phyengan province. Historically, the transfer of large numbers of Cenla and Kyengsang peasants and soldiers in the 15th century to the under-populated Yukcin region is an important clue in explaining the northeast-southeast connections, but we are still far from understanding the Yukcin-Phyengan correspondences.

Matveev's materials also lend striking confirmation to the data on "Soviet Korean" reported in King (1987) and Kwak Chwungkwu (1987), and only help emphasize the need for immediate and intensive fieldwork on the N. Hamkyeng dialects surviving now in Soviet Central Asia.

"*Romanization and Symbols used:* All examples from MSS and LMK are cited in the Yale Romanization (see Martin, Lee and Chang 1968). For LMK, the main differences are that both rounded vowels are written with /w/ ([o]=/wo/, [u]=/wu/). LMK /o/ thus represents the "alay a" [ʌ], and /u/ the unrounded high back vowel [ɨ]. /G,W,Z/ represent the lenited forms of /k,p,s/. /:/ preceding a syllables represents LMK "rising tone," /'/ the "high tone." The period /./ separates LMK orthographic syllables. // encloses phonemic material (usually from MSS), [ ] encloses phonetic material and/or Matveev's notations.

Romanization of Matveev's "Cyrillization:"

[а] =[a]	[ж]=[ž]	[м]=[m]	[т] =[t]	[ш]=[š]
[б]=[b]	[з]=[z]	[н]=[n]	[у] =[u]	[щ]=[šč]
[в] =[v]	[и]=[i]	[о]=[o]	[ф]=[f]	[э]=[æ]
[г]=[g]	[ы]=[ɨ]	[п]=[p]	[х]=[x]	[ю]=[iu]
[д]=[d]	[к]=[k]	[р]=[r]	[ц]=[ts]	[я] =[ia]
[е] =[e]	[л]=[l]	[с]=[s]	[ч]=[č]	[ы]=[ɨ]

I preserve Matveev's "hard sign" ([ъ]), but replace his "soft sign" ([ь]) with an apostrophe (['']). Matveev uses the "hard sign" to distinguish [n] from [ŋ] in a few instances, and the "soft sign" indicates palatal quality. Note that Matveev uses [o] for both Korean /e/ and /o/, does not distinguish word-initial geminates, marks

aspiration inconsistently, and usually does not distinguish /n/ and /ng/. His [e] can represent Korean /ye, yey, yo, ey, ay, e/, and [ë] represents /yo/ or /ye/.

Numbers in parentheses after lexical items are the number for each item in the appendix. Numbers preceded by "P" are in the "Phrases" section of this appendix.

Abbreviations: acc. = accusative; instr. = instrumental; nom. = nominative; R. = Russian; SK = Sino-Korean; RKR = *Russko-Koreiskie Razgovory*; RKS = *Opyt Kratkago Russko-Koreiskago Slovaria* (see under Pravoslavnoe Missionerskoe Obshchestvo in the references); YCT = Yu Changton 1979.

Texts cited:	Full name:	Date.
CAHOYCWUNG	HWUNMONGCAHOY	1613(1527)
HANCHENGMUNKAM		1775?
KYEKLIMYUSA		1103/1104
MONGSAN	MONGSANHWASANGPEPELYAKLOK	1460s
SOHAK	SOHAK ENHAY	1586
TONGENKOLYAK		late 18th century
TWUSI ENHAY	PUNLYUTWUKONGPUSI ENHAY	1481
WEL	WELINSEKPO	1459
YUMWULSAM	YUSSIMULMYENGKO	1820s?

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Appendix: Mateev's Korean Dialect Materials

p. 5: The Korean Calendar

There are 12 hours (**si**) in a day. One **si** equals 8 **kaikъ**, each **kaik** equals 22 **punъ**.

Hours	*Name of si/Zodiac*	*Symbolic Animals*	
11-1	t'ia	子	si
1-3	ciukъ	丑	u
3-5	inъ	寅	go
5-7	mio	卯	gpio
7-9	t'inъ	辰	rionъ
9-11	sa	巳	s'ia
11-1	o	午	ma
1-3	mi	未	ianъ
3-5	sinъ	申	gu
5-7	iu	酉	kieй
7-9	siulъ	戌	kianъ [sic]
9-11	gorъ(sic)	亥	t'ie

This year was "kionza dini" =MSS /kyengcanyen/(庚子)

p. 15: **Measures**

Linear: 1 **tsian** equals 10 **tsiokam.** 100 **tson'** equals 1000 **pun'** equals 10000 **ri.**

Surface:1 **kiol** equals 10 **xarigari** (R. desiatina). A field is divided into 6 degrees (1 **tsiok** of a field of 1 degree is called a **pa;** 10 **pa** are called a **siokъ,** 10 **siokgъ** equals a **pu**;100 **pu** are called a **kiol'.** Calculations are on the basis of **tsiutsiokъ**.)

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Dry:**kok(xu)** equals 10 **sinъ** equals 100 **xanъ** equals 1000 **sia.** 15 **tu** is a small **kokъ.** 20 **tu** is a large **kokъ,** called a **siomъ** and **pio.**

Weights: 1 Russian funt(pound) equals 3/4 **kinъ**. 1 **kinъ**. equals 16 **nianъ**. 1 **nianъ** equals 10 **tsionъ** equals 100 pun' equals 1000ri.

Money: 1 nian, 1 tsion', 1 pun', 1 ri=Chinese lanъ. tsian', fin', li

page 1

A russian-Korean Dictionary

with Specimens of the most Useful Phrases

O. Iainъ tšanъ bartsagi i marinъ iršiganъ sininъ mari.

[Gloss]	[Korean]	[Gloss]	[Korean]
1. coal	šiok-tanъ	5. "aršin"=28 inches	tsai
2. orange	čiuza	6. baggage	timi
3. drugstore	iakugi	7. eggplant	kadi
4. watermelon	šubagi	8. jar	tundze

[Gloss]	[Korean]
9. bath	xandzi-kani
10. ram, sheep	ian-i
11. bismar, steelyard	tsou-ri
12. shore	burъ-ëgi
13. ticket	pë
14. beefsteak	kubun-gogi
15. near, close	katsa-bunge
16. saucer	šo-tebi
17. dish, plate	tsan-bani
18. beans	ko-i
19. large, big	kin-ge
20. to take	kadzinin-ge
21. brother	ton-san-ganъ
22. small loaf, roll	to-gi
23. paper	čo-i
24. bottle	piondza
25. linen	šo-da-bi
26. white	xin-ge
27. market, bazar	kaiušoi
28. "bankovka" (?)	iabau("in Chinese")
page 2	
29. tower	txabi
30. profit	dissogi
31. not dangerous	tsosim obso
32. sea-shore	padammurъ-igi
33. Thank You	azim-tianiu
34. swamp, bog	sukkoi, tsintorbatti
35. barrel	namut-xunzæ
36. disease	pioii
37. hospital	pion-kani
38. storm	kxio-parimi
39. gimlet	txaramodi
40. bay	pongai
41. train car, coach	pur-sur-gi
42. to boil	sam-nin-ge
43. pail, bucket	to-i
44. rope	pai
45. noodles ("vermicelli")	ku-si
46. "vershok" = 1 3/4 inches	či-sui
47. happy	čipuo (sui-puo)
48. whole, entire, all	ton-da
49. in the evening(s)	čona-gi
50 thing	kimuri
51. to see	pogæso
52. fork	čori
53. wine	tan-suri
54. grape	morgui
55. Vladivostok	xa-šua
56. below, under	biti
57. inside, within	ani
58. water	muri
59. to return, go back	tora-o
60. train station	pursur-gi-tomi
61. east	ton-tsa-gi
62. collar	čidži
63. time	tæ
64. yesterday	odzæ
65. high	dopso
66. fan	putsæ
page 3	
67. broom, besom	pi
68. to hang	tsourætio
69. a scale	tsii
70. wind	parimi
71. peg, rack	uti konændæ
72. oar	dori
73. R. "vzetka"	kadzininge
74. air	kiuni
75. wave; wool	borgi
76. hair	moriki
77. "volost" (admin. unit)	tosoi
78. signboard	šonpani
79. pasture	bašu-boginin-de
80. export	šironaio
81. newspaper	šin-munъ
82. to extinguish	purtsu-geo
83. where	odimæ
84. to speak	bara-xao
85. year	xa-sui
86. hill	san'
87. city	šon-diunъ(ibi)
88. pea	von-di
89. mustard	čeo-dzi
90. spicy	bæpso
91. to burn	puri pusso
92. hot	tago iso
93. hotel	surma-gi
94. ready	ta-gæsu [Typo for ta-tæsu]

[Gloss]	[Korean]
95. comb	or-ge
96. mushroom	po-susi
97. thunder	sonagi
98. cargo	burgoni
99. dirty	tsɨ-o
100. goose	tiro-gi
101. harbor	pxogu
102. clay	čidagi
103. nail	suæ-modi
104. head	tagari, bori
page 4	
105. eye	nuni, nukari
106. hail	nunpi
107. head	tagari, bori
108. rowing	doru-paginɨnge
109. to give	tsuo
110. distant	bo-o
111. door	muni
112. yard	u-rani
113. day	dari
114. money	to-ni
115. village	tsxo-ni
116. wooden	namu-tsa-bun-dagi
117. to hold	tsio
118. cheap	duk-so
119. long	čio
120. in the day	dazi
121. good-hearted	odio
122. rain	pi
123. to wait	či-dur-guo
124. doctor	ivoni
125. at home	tsibi-iso
126. to return home	čibur-torakao
127. home/house	tsibi
128. road	tsiri
129. on the way	čilliu
130. wood, brush	nangi
131. melon	tsamæ
132. to do	ir-xao
133. work, affair, business	iri
134. debt	pidi
135. smoke	naguri
136. to exist	iso
137. moreover	to
138. thirst	kargi nao
139. to complain about	šon-særi xagasu
140. hot	topso
141. yellow	duruo
142. iron(adj.)	ter-muri
page 5	
143. waistcoat	tɨn-gori
144. fat, grease	kobi
145. to live	sao
146. salary	kazági
147. iron	soa
148. tin-plate	ianteri
149. to forget	dizopurio
150. tomorrow	dærъ
151. to tie up	samæo(tondžio)
152. rear (adj.)	tui
153. to boil, grill	kupso
154. to ignite, burn(tr.)	puru-šo
155. begin to boil(intr.)	kɨrio
156. snack	xa-mi andžu
157. hall	kɨn-bani
158. lock	tsamursæ
159. curtain	munpoi
160. west	šoi
161. to lock up	tasso
162. cuff-link, stud	kangu
163. rabbit	toki
164. here	ion-ge
165. verdure	puri
166. earth	taị(xɨrgi)
167. wild straw-berries	tatargu
168. mirror	šekiai
169. to know	argaso
170. gold	kɨmi
171. parasol	iansani
172. ripe, mature	digoso
173. toothpick	ditsɨgə
174. fence	utari
175. factory	tiomi
176. deposit, advance	mandžio tsundoni
177. infection, plague	bosɨr-pioi
178. star	piori
179. beast	san-tsɨmsuị
180. evil	boteu

[Gloss]	[Korean]
page 6	
181. snake	peami
182. little snake	ioni
183. ashes	tsa
184. tooth	di
185. needle	paniri
186. to walk	kao
187. from, out of	šo
188. caviar	ari
189. to have, possess	ikesso
190. doll	doronkami
191. engineer	punšu
192. spring	samtsu
193. each, every	tsemada
194. which	otonge
195. sausage	šunda
196. stone (adj.)	tol'le-xan-ge
197. coal	šiok-tani
198. cabbage	tadu-bætsæ
199. potato	kamdze
200. ticket counter	šæn-pëkanъ
201. saucepan	čamur-kurusi
202. "kvas"(fermented cereal drink)	kamdzi
203. to boil	kiri gaso
204. boiling water	tæbun-muri
205. sour, fermented	sikuo
206. key to a lock	ërsæ
207. book	tsagi
208. when	ondzæ
209. hide, skin	kadzugi
210. little bell	pauri
211. room	pai
212. consul	ensa
213. consulate	ensa-fan' [sic]
214. to finish	ta-xao
215. groom (for horse)	marmæ-ki-kunъ
216. ship	pun-šoni
217. Korean person	čëšen-saræmi
218. Korean (adj.)	čëšen-ke
page 7	
219. basket	kvan-dzi
220. to feed	bæ-gio
221. box, case	čokuman-toi
222. cow	am-šo
223. short	tiaræo
224. trough	xamdzi
225. bone	pe
226. cauldron	kamæ
227. head (of cabbage)	koktsi
228. fire-poker	puzu-tagi
229. purse	tsumoni
230. cat	amkone
231. crab	tsage
232. red	pukso(pur-gunge)
233. starch	kadžæ-kargi
234. seat, chair	anin-sai
235. lid, cover	tokæ(tsibui)
236. strong	čirgio
237. hook, hitch	korsæ
238. jug, pitcher	tandi
239. whither	odiru(odi-meru)
240. corn, maize	šuki
241. sack (300 lb. measure)	tip-kaudæ
242. chicken	am-targi
243. piece	čoku-man-kir-tægi
244. a cook	im-šok-xa-ninъ ankani
245. kitchen	im-šokani
246. coachman	mar-morakunъ
247. food	im-šogi
248. to eat	bokso
249. stone	tori
250. capital	toni
251. cough	titsimi
252. a well	kurommuri
253. contract	makiri
254. office, bureau	munše-soi
255. compass	punšutinamъ šbogi[sic]
256. braid (Chinese)	moritxa
page 8	
257. scythe	nadi
258. blood	pxi
259. bush, shrub	namupegi
260. bench; shop	kega
261. lamp	tain zani
262. ice-box	orum koi
263. ice	orumi
264. boat	tsuani

[Gloss]	[Korean]
265. spoon	suri
266. wash-tub	kuzuro mur kurusi
267. horse	bari
268. onion	paị
269. left	vantsagi
270. to love	sæn gakso[sic]
271. people	saræm-dori
272. fox	ịoki
273. leaf	kamunipi[sic: typo for n-]
274. sheet of paper	coniktiaị
275. puddle, pool	burz'ntsaị
276. forest	nampati
277. little	čakso
278. raspberry	targu
279. few, little	čakso
280. oil	čirɨmi
281. dairy butter	šæ čirimi
282. mattress	pxodani
283. furniture	na mu-kigu
284. slowly	oræ (dæron)
285. honey	kuri
286. to sweep	siu
287. broom	padanpi
288. minute	šikagi
289. "Manza"(Chinese from Manchuria)	tagu saræmi (čoin)
290. "Manza" (adj.)	tagu-ke
291. many	manso
292. possible	kirel'-man-xao
293. lightning	ponga
294. milk	čodzi
page 9	
295. hammer	manči
296. sea	padan-muri
297. carrot	purugun-muki
298. bridge	tari(čiré inin tari)
299. flour, meal	kargi
300. soap	pinɨri
301. soap-dish	pinɨr-kirisi
302. to wash	siso
303. to bathe oneself	šëšir-xao
304. to knead dough	kargɨ-tsio
305. place	dzari
306. bag, sack	kæudæ
307. soft	podurapso
308. meat	kogi
309. magnet	tinamšiogi
310. sailor	pašaguị
311. lighthouse	patiị
312. bear	komi
313. mill	šo maị
314. small hammer	manči
315. frost	orgumi, čibungæị
316. ball	tsuogi
317. on top	ui
318. pillow-case	pega-isi
319. necessary	kiri gasu(si -gasu)
320. to dress	dipso
321. to call	puru-o
322. to give water to	buru-begio
323. plank-bed, bunk	čemdzi (kuduri)
324. to slice	pegaso
325. not	anio
326. heaven	xanɨri
327. not far	modi-anio
328. not ripe	diktia-anieso
329. impossible, forbidden	bo kirigasu
330. not a few	čaktia-aniu
331. not many	man'-tianiu (čokæm-tiakso)
332. to carry	kodžegao
page 10	
333. lower	arake
334. Nikol'sk(place-name)	soan-nian
335. thread	siri
336. leg	tari
337. new	sæge
338. scissors	kazæ
339. knife	kari
340. carrier, coolie	čigekuni
341. handkerchief	ko-šugoni
342. night	pami
343. some, a few	su-tao
344. none; not to exist	opso
345. burden	timi
346. both	turi
347. cloud	kurumi
348. to put on one's shoes	simbar-xao

[Gloss]	[Korean]
349. shoes	simbari
350. oats	kumiri
351. ewe, sheep	ëmšæ
352. fire	puri
353. cucumber	væ
354. clothing	uti
355. to get dressed	dipso
356. blanket	tanzæ(diburi)
357. lake	dipi
358. window	tsan-muni
359. perch (fish)	xalъ gouzæ
360. venison	sasim-kogi
361. nut	ke-mi(tsasi)
362. donkey	nagui
363. carefully	tsošim xao
364. island	šemdoi
365. sharp	pou
366. to give away	tsugaso
367. to cover	so
368. from here, hither	egišo
369. a thaw	čori-topso
page 11	
370. very	bæu
371. monkey	tsænnabi
372. province. *oblast*	xanndo[sic]
373. district, *okrug*	tobai
374. tin	šagnabi[sic]
375. ebb	čagnmuri[sic]
376. latrine, outhouse	tsikani
377. officer	kumbu tsadi kvanъ
378. glasses, spectacles	pxuani
379. cane, stick	bagtagi
380. steam boat	pæ(xo-arun šeni)
381. passport	tianpe
382. in front, the front	apæ
383. lane	sonkormogi
384. a pepper	xuči
385. pen	pudi
386. glove	čangabi
387. stove	puzuke
388. a *pirog* (small pie, pastry)	pianše

[Gloss]	[Korean]
389. letter	pendzi
390. to drink	mašio
391. food	imšëgi
392. fruit	ëromæ
393. bad	totia aniu
394. a cook	imsëkxanæn-saræmi
395. weather	nari
396. tray	bitæpatinænge
397. under	bitio
398. late	čemuo
399. to buy	sagaso
400. midday	pan-nari
401. police	šun-gimi
402. half	čer-bani
403. towel	šëži šugoni
404. to understand	argaso
405. suckling pig	totusaki
406. bed; bedding	dibu dzari
407. post counter, post office	sæzurkani
page 12	
408. holiday	sonnari
409. laundress	šo dab-šinæn ankani
410. Thanks very much.	mani ašim tia anio
411. to bring	kadzeo (tiræ-oë)
412. cork	pen-magæ (magæ)
413. corkscrew	magæ-čaį(magapanin čæį)
414. to sell	pargaso
415. to ask, entreat	pio
416. sheet	xabul' liburi
417. chilly	tsxao
418. to pass by	tina-kao
419. application, petition	sodzi
420. to exercise (a horse); spend(?)	sintsa kao
421. sweet (of water); insipid	kakadzao
422. wheat	tsamtsamusi
423. dust	mundzi
424. monument	pi
425. steam	burtimi

[Gloss]	[Korean]
426. sand	bosoị
427. flame, blaze	pur nadso padora sia padti
428. salary, pay	ton munungæ
429. pillow, cushion	pægao
430. a fire	purъ punnundæ
431. "Take it."	padara
432. haymaking; meadow(?)	čukxau
433. flood, influx	tiošu
434. delivery	siræ-ongə
435. wire	sazuri
436. an outing	donungæ
437. simple; standing idle(?)	ščankæ [sic]
438. percentage	pioni
439. pond	burundoị
440. a saw	txobi
441. song	sori xanangæ
442. cock	sutargi
443. bird	dartsum sui
444. to talk, converse	mar xagasu
445. different, various	iara gadzi
page 13	
446. crawfish	kadze(ke)
447. early	irtsu-gao
448. rice	dipsari
449. matting	kozægi
450. shirt	čak sami[sic]
451. rifle	čoị
452. wash-stand	šoši krisi[sic]
453. Russian	maudzæ (iain)(orasa)
454. fish	bur kogi
455. radish	buki
456. river	xan-muri
457. wine-glass	sur-tsani
458. wound	pxi
459. horn	puri
460. plant	tsaraningæ
461. coolie's rack	čigæ
462. hand	soni, ixiri
463. to sit down	an-kaso
464. garden	pan čoni
465. fat, tallow	kobi
466. sugar	pæntaị
467. beet	purgun muki
468. pork	totu kogi
469. pig	toti
470. candle	čo
471. herring	čóæ
472. silver	ini
473. blue	puruo
474. how much	or mao
475. quickly	pali(kipi)
476. sweet	tao
477. to listen	tiso
478. to watch	pogaso
479. snow	nuni
480. dog	kæ
481. salted	kan gæso
482. salted meat	kan-dim kogi
483. salt	sogomi
page 14	
484. soy	čái
485. to sleep	tsagaso
486. matches	šæn-niu-va
487. to ask	muso
488. to hurry	tsatsug-xao
489. a glass, tumbler	iuri-tsani
490. glass (adj.)	iuri-kimuri
491. table	sai
492. chair	anæn-sai
493. cloth	čoni
494. soup	čan-muri
495. dry	maliaso(maringe)
496. score; bill; calculation	xoče(šupani)
497. damp; raw	siraso(tsæzoso)
498. cheese	dugi
499. north	pug-pagi[typo for-tsagi]
500. hence, from here	en-geru
501. lead	en'
502. sunlight	tsani
503. the sun	xæá
504. sickle, reaping hook	kaxin-nadi
505. slaughter-house	mapuzikanъ
506. period, date	ženiaị [sic]

[Gloss]	[Korean]	[Gloss]	[Korean]
507. steel	kansoa	546. in the morning	a-dže-ge
508. station	siuim-tomi	547. fish soup	burkogi čan-muri
509. wall	narnegi [parnegi parpegi?]	548. to walk (away)	kao
		549. to ride (away)	mari-txago-kao
510. hay	sai	550. loss, damages	bitetso
511. court	tsapanoi	551. "ugor" (?)	bautobung
512. seed	tsigasi	552. ear	kuti
513. tobacco	tambæ	553. school	šadai
514. there	tëgi	554. teacher	šoda-xundiai, šonsui
515. plate	tsan-bani	555. pupil	šodanagi
516. telegram	tembo	556. pheasant	koi
517. cart	su-rgi	557. surname	šoi
518. dark	odupso	558. fanza(Manchurian house)	tibi
519. now	idzæ		
520. warm	topso	559. lamp, lantern	čoroi
521. to stoke	purtæo	page 16	
page 15		560. pound (1b)	kin-sui
522. pavement	čir-ëgi(dærpani)	561. bread; loaf	togi
523. difficult	papuo	562. cold	tsxao(čipso)
524. rag, duster	sæn-dzi	563. good	tëso
525. slipper	bekri [sic]	564. to want	sonio
526. gourd	xo-bagi	565. host	čuini
527. dough	kargi-činge	566. flower	kodži
528. heavy	bugopso	567. "tsynovka"(?)	čem-dzi
529. goods, merchandise	murgoni	568. price	kapši
		569. zinc	ianteri
530. trade	kaga (dæni)	570. tea	čamuri
531. pipe; chimney; tube	kusa	571. cup; bowl; pan	kirisi
		572. person	saræmi
532. axe	toki	573. ink	mogi
533. grass	pxuri	574. black	komso
534. fog	angai	575. stale; hard; callous	kvakva-zao
535. shade, shadow	kirimdzi		
536. to gather up; harvest	kadže-kao	576. garlic	manæri
		577. to clean	šedžë-xao
537. wood coal, charcoal	namu-suči	578. clean	kaka-zao
		579. to read	nirininge
538. coal	šog-tani	580. what	buzi[buzuge]
539. to eat supper	čon-agi-tsanso geo [sic]	581. an official	kvandiai
540. supper	čon-agi	582. silk	mendi
541. vinegar	tsoi	583. wool	txori
542. street	kori-mogi	584. fur coat	kao-ši
543. to know how to do	ao	585. sphere	tori dori xangæi
		586. a fine	šogčoni
544. oyster	kuri	587. "shishka" (Korean "richeska")	mantu
545. duck	ori		

[Gloss]	[Korean]	[Gloss]	[Korean]
588. brush	uti-sori	598. you("ty")	dæ
589. to eat	mokso(mokaeo)[sic]	599. he	te-saræmi
590. to go on horseback	mari-tago-kao	600. she	te-ankani
591. south	nam-tsagi	601. we	uri
592. apple	torpæ	602. you (polite form)	tan-šini
593. egg	targari (ari)	603. you.(plural form)	tan-šinnæ
594. box	a kuoš [sic]	604. they	të-saræm-tori
595. pit, hole	šeti š [sic]	605. they (feminine)	të-ankandori
596. tongue	[empty]	606. this one	ige
page 17		607. that one	tëgæ
[Pronouns]			
597. I	dai		

[Numerals]

608	1	xanæ	618	11	iar-xannai	628	21	sumur-xanna
609	2	turi	619	12	iar-turi	629	22	sumur-turi
610	3	soi	620	13	iar-soi	630	30	šorun
611	4	doi	621	14	iar-doi	631	40	magin
612	5	tasi	622	15	iar-tasi	632	50	suin
613	6	ëso	623	16	iar-ëso	633	60	ešun
614	7	dirugu	624	17	iar-dirugu	634	70	dirin
615	8	iadu	625	18	iar-iadu	635	80	iadin
616	9	axu	626	19	iar-axu	636	90	axin
617	10	iarъ	627	20	sumuri	637	100	pæk

Phrases

1. Hello.	penan-xao.
2. Nice weather today.	odur dari tëso.
3. It's hot today.	onur tonso.[sic]
4. It's cold today.	onur čipso.
5. Do you understand?	tan šini ao?
6. I understand.	dai ao.
7. I don't understand.	dai boru.
8. Come in.	tiro gao.
9. Come here.	ëgiri onara.
10. Sit down.	anso.
11. What is this?	ige buzuge.
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12. Go and ask him.	kaše buro para.
13. Who is this?	ige dugio.
14. What time is it?	oniši

15. I don't know. daį boruo.
16. Wait a little bit. čokom-či dur guo.
17. What is your surname? tan šini šoį buzugeo.
18. How much does this cost? ige kapsi órmæo.
19. It isn't expensive. ige sedia anio.
20. Its very cheap. ige kapsi bæo sæo.
21. Will you sell this or not? igo pxargæso ani pxargæco.
22. What is this called? ige buzu geragu xao.
23. I don't know(how). nani boru.
24. I can't do it. nani bokiri gasu.
25. (There are) Few. čakso.
26. Very few. bæo čakso.
27. Is it far, or not? bou ani bou.
28. It's not far. bodi anio.
29. Bring some water. buru kadze onara.
30. Slower. todi
31. Open the door. munu erora.
32. Close the door. munu tadara
33. Pour some tea. čimur pusora.[sic]
34. Is lunch ready, or not? čemsimi toiaso ani toiasoso. [typo]
35. Open a bottle of wine. tansur penšaru ërora.
36. Give (me, us) lunch. čemsi mur tire onora.
37. Take this thing away. igo kadze kagara.
38. Where is the cook? odimæ imsek xanin sarimi.
39. Lay the table. (?) saæ kadtsara.
40. This food isn't prepared well. i imšogi tsar motæso.
[no gloss] čem si mur tire onora.
41. How much do you earn a month? xantaræ ormær pakaso.
42. Boil some tea. čamuru kiræra.
43. Tell him not to go. tesaramu dirgora odimærų kadi maliagu.
44. Is he at home, or not? tibi iso obso.
45. I don't understand what you're saying. daį boru dæ busun bar xanengo.

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46. I don't speak Korean. daį čëšæn mar boru.
47. Exchange this thing for me. i kimuru dáru pakátsuo.
48. This hasn't dried yet. ige andzugi mari dia aneso.
49. How much does one orange cost? kapsi ol'mə čuiza xanna.
50. Bring an interpreter. txonsiri taræ onara.
51. Do you want to eat? boki sonio ani sonio.
52. Sit down. anzara.
53. Give (me) the change. ën zatonu tsuo.
54. Take the money. tonu kadzcrá.
55. Enough. kumán'ъ.
56. Do you know the way? čiri aomoruo. [sic]
57. Don't smoke here. ëngeša tan bari bokti mao.
58. Go to sleep/bed. dibo tsagira

59. Bring a water-carrier.	mur činɨ saræmu taræ onæra.
60. Give the cow some hay.	am šoru særi tsora.
61. Clean the yeard.	urarɨ kondzurɨ xaæra.
62. Sweep the street.	kormogu sɨræra.
63. Fetch a chimney-sweep.	kumugsedzë xanæn sarimu tárira kagæra.
64. Bring a contractor to clean up the filth.	taræ ónæra konzuru xanæn saræmu konzuru xaragu kekæ zadi aningou.
65. Where are you going (by horse)?	dæ odɨrɨ maræ txagu kan'nia.
66. Where are you going (*in a cart*)?	dæ odɨrɨ surge andza kan'nia.
67. Where are you coming from (by horse)?	dæ odɨmæša maræ txagu van'nia.
68. Where are you coming from (by cart)?	dæ odɨmæša surge andza van'nia.
69. Why have you come?	dæ buzɨ van'nia.
70. What is your business today?	dæge onur buzunъ (otonъ) irinia.
71. Get out of here now.	isil'lɨ kagæra(na gagæra).
72. Help me carry the suitcase.	darɨ čemodanъ kadže kagi kuxæra.
73. Buy a newspaper.	šimunu satagu (satsuo). [sic]
page 20	
74. Take a bottle of milk.	šëdzë pendzarɨ kadzera.
75. Take a telegram. [sic]	kadze kagæra tenboru sæzurъ kanærɨ.
76. Go to the post office.	sæzurъ kanærɨъ kagæra.
77. Buy a ticket at the train station	pusrugi čiræiša Soanъ nianъ përɨ sara. [sic]
78. Take (my) things to the station.	čimu pursuruči tæmuru širo kagæra.
79. Turn right.	orunъ tsagærɨ torъ gara.
80. Bear to the left.	čanъ tsagɨrɨ tsoæra. [sic]
81. Don't shout.	obutsegъ čir xadi mara.
82. Hey!	irabo.
83. Hey, you!	irabo psë.
84. Is it heavy to carry?	kadze kagi bugopso ani bugopso.
85. Carry it carefully.	tsošimъ xae kadže kagera.
86. Make a complaint to the *mirovoi*.	Mirovoi sudæ šonsærɨ xaæra.
87. Ask him to write an application.	sodizrъ sɨ taliagu pio.
88. Pay for the application.	sodzi kapsu burora (buo).
89. How much do you want?	ormærb pakasu.
90. What are you crying for?	dæbuzɨ un'nia.
91. Who offended you?	dugi dærɨ bopsi xodænia.
92. Is it boring for you to live here?	dæ ëgiša sargi tai-tapъ xania. [sic]
93. Where are your relatives?	odɨmæ do čin čegi in'nia. [sic]

[More Numerals]

94	1 o'clock	xan-ši
95	2 " "	tu-ši
96	3 " "	se-ši
97	4 " "	de-ši
98	5 " "	tasɨ-ši
etc.		

99	1 dollar	ironъ
100	2 dollars	ivonъ
101	1 ruble	xan-niai
102	2 rubles	tu-niai
103	3 " "	sokъ-niai
104	4 " "	dog-niai

105	5	〃	〃	tan-niai	109	10	〃	〃	iar-kirtsæ (xandoпъ)
106	1	kopeck		xon-girtsæ [sic]	110	20	〃	〃	sumu-kirtsæ (tu-doпъ)
107	2	〃	〃	tu-girtsæ	111	30	〃	〃	sorin-kirtsæ (so-don)
108	3	〃	〃	se-girtsæ	etc.				

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