

# 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 Yenhaycwu speech, and Kim Thay Kyun's (1986) *Hampuk Pangen Sacen* demonstrate that "Soviet Korean" comprehends several varieties of North Hamkyeng dialect, and retains archaisms 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.<sup>1</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> An updated, expanded English version is forthcoming.

that at least 100 Hamkyengto residents had moved to *Yenhaycwu* (the Sino-Korean equivalent of "Primorskij Kraj") in 1863.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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,

<sup>2</sup> Koh Song Moo. 1984 p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p., 23-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36-48.

<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 1970 statistics show another 35,396 Koreans on the island of Sakhalin,<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

Thirdly, these dialects are of great value for traditional *Kwuk.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.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

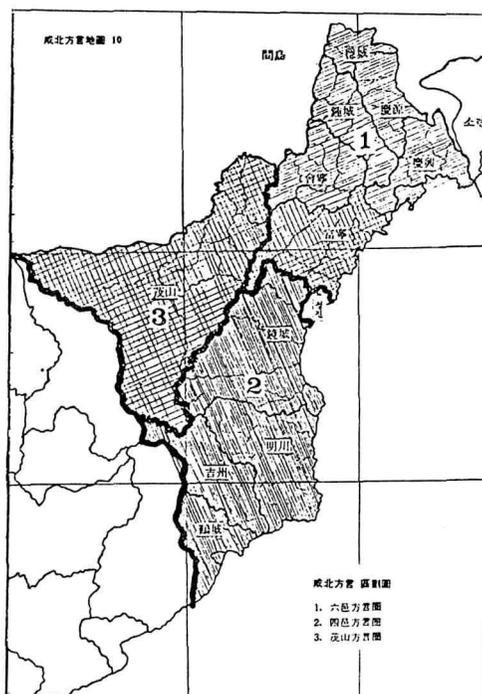
<sup>9</sup> It is notoriously difficult to conduct syntactic research with educated Koreans from South Korea. English and Japanese influences are pervasive, and judgements very widely. Furthermore, judgements in Korean syntax as researched by Koreans studying in the US seem to follow the particular 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 (Pukcheng).

The even sorer 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, Myengchen, Kyengseng), the Musan region in the west and center, and the <sup>L</sup>Yukcin or <sup>L</sup>Yuk.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 <sup>L</sup>Yuk.up region is important for two reasons. First, it was the place of origin of the great majority of early Korean emigrants to Yenhaycwu/Soviet Central Asia. Secondly, the <sup>L</sup>Yuk.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 <sup>L</sup>Yukcin 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



from Kim Thay Kyun(1983: 34)

bulwarks against the Jurchen.<sup>10</sup>

Given the historical background above, as well as the general geographic isolation of the area, it is not surprising that the <sup>l</sup>Yuk.up dialects should show many archaic features in phonology and vocabulary. Kim Thay Kyun(1982, 1986) lists the following characteristic features of <sup>l</sup>Yuk.up dialects :

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

In other words, the <sup>l</sup>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 <sup>l</sup>Yukcin (and other Hamkyeng) Korean. a.) Seoul/kusta, kuumyen/ 'draw, mark' is [k'is̥ita, k'is̥iko, k'is̥imyen, etc.] b.) Seoul /tepta, tewumyen/ 'hot' is [tɔpt'a, tɔbumyɔn] etc.

<sup>10</sup> Kim Thay Kyun, 1982, p. 3-4.

### III. Archaic Vocabulary

Seoul /kaul/ 'autumn' is [kasɪl], /kawi/ 'scissors' is [kase], [kanna] for 'girl', Seoul /kwumeng/ 'hole' is [kumgi] or [kuggi], 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[-ssi mni]. 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. [yadɪl, yadɔl, yadal] etc., and Seoul [ʃi, tʃi, tʃʰi]/(si, ci, chi/) are here [sɪ, tsɪ, tsʰɪ]/(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 [äi], or/nwun i manhi oni/ "Is it snowing a lot?" is [nūi mäi öi], etc. b.) Palatalization of /k/ before /i/: [tʃil] 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.<sup>11</sup>

Most important of all are the pre-1910 Russian language materials.<sup>12</sup> The first such work to appear, and indeed the first dictionary of Korean in a Western language, was Putsillo 1874.<sup>13</sup> Putsillo was a Russian official posted to the South Ussuri region, i.e. to the "Primorskaja oblast" = Yenhaycwu, 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

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hwang Pyeng O (1982) and Ogura Shimpei "Seiyōjin..."

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Adami (1982) for details on other works from the same period.

<sup>13</sup> This work has been discussed in Ogura ("Shichijū..." and "Seiyōjin..."), Choi Hakkun [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 erwarten würden, statt seiner ein -i." This same -i gives rise to secondary diphthongs: (360) 'nose' "khoi"=[k<sup>h</sup>oi] khwo. i.<sup>14</sup> /uy/ is well preserved: "/uy/ is pronounced like long [i] or almost like [i], /ywuy/ like [yui] (pp. xii-xiv).<sup>15</sup>

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' [samk<sup>h</sup>inda, samk<sup>h</sup>io, samts<sup>h</sup>io], (287) khi/chi 'rudder', (501) cimchuy/cimchoy = kimchi, (519) cilsomi = kilsam 'weaving by hand'.<sup>16</sup>

Other features of this dictionary cited by Choy(1982).<sup>17</sup>

-/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:<sup>18</sup> (549) /hannyai/(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) syeylsay/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 <sup>1</sup>Yuk.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) *Rusko-Korejskie Razgovory* (Russian-Korean Conversations, henceforth RKR) (76p.), and 1904(September) *Opyt Kratkogo Rusko-Korejskago Slovarja* (Attempt at a Short Russian-Korean Dictionary, henceforth RKS) (138p.), both published in Kazan by the Pravoslavnoe Missionerskoe Obščestvo, or Orthodox Missionary Society.<sup>19,20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Martin 1982, p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>16</sup> Choi Hakkuny[Choy Hak Kun] 1982, p. 443.

<sup>17</sup> Lamentably, Choi reproduces only the Hankul listings. One would especially like to know how Putsillo transcribed /l/. Martin says Putsillo recognized [l] and [r] as variants, but also lists the pronunciations [tuur] and [tuuri] for "two." As we shall see, the phonetics of /l/ are peculiar in Soviet Korean.

<sup>18</sup> Ogura ("Shichijū..." 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.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Adami 1982, p. 55-8. Kwak Choong-goo (1986a and 1987) also describes RKR. I take 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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'ë[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'ohiŋ -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'ohiŋ-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 *ŕ*) express sounds not found in Russian speech. These 20 letters divide evenly into vowels: ó[ɔ], ы[ɨ], у[u], и[i], у[ü], И[ɨ], ъ[ʌ], Ä[æ], я[ja], Ё[jɔ] and consonants: 3[dz], ы[dʒ], ŕ[ɣ], ь[cc], Т[tt], К[kk], П[pp], ы[šš], Ф[ɸ], Ҁ[~].<sup>10</sup>

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: Jaščinskij, Georgij Feofilovič. *Materialy k Sostavleniju Koreijsko-russkago i russko-koreijskago slovaraj*. Vladivostok 1903. Unfortunately, the book does not seem to exist anywhere in Western collections.

purpose of this book to serve the needs of said region.”

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, i; 24 dver’ “door” mun, i. 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 osinnik “aspen wood” sasŭ-namŭ, sasŭ-naggi. Here the sign Ы [ɨ] likewise has stress on it.

In this regard we should note that the readings ä, ó, Ы [ä, ɔ, ɨ], 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. Koncevič/Kannō(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 “Leksičeskie zaimstvovanja iz russkago jazyka v korejskix 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. Očerki* (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 [korjɛmar]. Furthermore, they seemed quite embarrassed to speak Korean with me, because my Seoul Korean was so 'clean', 'standard' and 'nyangban', whereas theirs was 'smeš-anyj' (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 'hamgɛndo'.

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*.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *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 Phyenyang 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.<sup>22</sup>

#### [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 = [r̥]. I heard about 3 taps usually. E.g. ɔdʒɛ tʃʰægi iŕgɔssɔ "I read a book yesterday." taŕgi "chicken," poŕtʰægi "cheek," poŕgon suri "wine(red booze)," ttægi tʃappaŕgan "very red," naŕ mad'i "every day," aduŕ nɪ "as for my son...," næ aŕso "I'm sick," kotʃʰ-i kaŕgi "pepper powder," iŕgu "seven," hiŕgi "clay(Russ. glina)," kɔŕgɛsɔ saŕgi pappɪdʒi "life is difficult there(in ROK), isn't it?"

One of the allomorphs of the "accusative" marker, -i/-u and -ŕ, also has this pronunciation(after Ns ending in vowels): E.g. næ pʰjɔndʒiŕ ssiu "I'm writing a letter." ɔdiŕ kanga "Where are you going?" gɔstinitsaŕ ganda "I'm going to the hotel."<sup>23</sup> "naŕ tʃʰidʒi malla "Don't hit me!" misiŕ haja "What are you doing?" nugiŕ pwasso "Whom did you see?" iŕgiŕ wasɔ... "I came here and..." sesiŕ hago... "I wash my face and..." kotʃʰiŕ pʰadʒim "I sell peppers."

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

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 *Leymin Kichi*?) and "how much are they exposed to standardizing influences?" must be "not very well, if at all" and "not very much."

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

<sup>23</sup> This e.g. from Major Kim.

“love”, *mojok halak hage?* (*kupat'sja poidēs?*) “Are you going to take a bath?” *ppali* “quickly,” *tjala gadža* “Let's go to sleep.” *iř hala tæŋgigo..* “walks to work...” Cf. RKS p. 1 *koŋbū hara kâšó* “went to study.”

I heard a clear double [-ll-] in the following two words: *iŋgiř ogillæ(so)* *paŋgaptao* “I'm glad you've come here.” *hallař* “one day.” Cf. RKS p. 23 *nä ogänniŋgót tu, č<sup>h</sup>ipkillä odi mot hässiikkuma.* “I was going to come, but since it was cold, I didn't (“couldn't”).”

One might suppose that the realization of /l/ as [ř] 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 p=[r] in the same cases. E.g.s from RKR: *är-ššüi/är-šši* “a way of knowing” (p. X), *karčšiwó/karčšiwó* “showing, teaching...” (p. X), *morgüt* “grape vine” (p. XI), *iř-bun ttäi* “Japanese land” (p. XVII), *irtstsıgi* “early” (p. XVII), *kır-tstsä* “a letter(bukva)” (p. XIII), *i kil-llı čim surgı tæŋgirmän häapte?* “Is it possible to go this way in a (loaded) wagon?” But note *ppalli* “quickly” (p. XVI). And the accusative suffix after vowels is marked -rı: *tari nõbıri tsgüil-ı karčšiu.* “Show me the width of bridge in steps.” (RKR, p. 5)

Other sources on Hamkyeng dialects analyze the “accusative” suffix as -ı, -ı (Ramsey 1978, p. 166, Kim Thay Kyun 1986, p. 188-189, Mazur 1961, p. 229). Kim Thay Kyun(1986, p. 188) also lists -ɛ- as a variant (‘abbreviated’ form of ㅙ) in Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Onseŋ and Musan, but does not tell us if he means [l] or [r]. Kim Pyeng Cey(1980, p. 7) describes Hamkyeng as having <ɔ, ɛ> 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 -ı (after labial sounds -u) in post-consonantic and -rı (resp. -ru) in post-vocalic positions.” I see no reason to write /-lu/ if this dialect allows -ř 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 *nē*, 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, noi* “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 尸 and 乙. The interpretation of the former is controversial,<sup>24</sup> but Lee Ki-

<sup>24</sup> R.A.Miller(1979. “Old Japanese and the Koguryō Fragments: a re-survey” in *Explorations in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Kazuko Inoue*, p. 348-368. Tokyo: Kenkyusha) has gone so far as to suggest, on the basis of ‘尸’s Chinese value \*ši, that Korean experienced

Moon (*ibid.*, p. 70) speculates that it may have come from \*r. At any rate, if one is to compare Korean with "Altaic" \*r<sub>1</sub>, \*r<sub>2</sub>, \*l<sub>1</sub>, and \*l<sub>2</sub>, at some point these sounds fell together in Korean. Lee Ki-Moon believes this collapse of \*r and \*l 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 \*l to [l] 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, [l] never gets a chance to occur in true word-final position. The allophone [r̥] is generalized to all positions, and original /-ll-/ is optionally realized as [l]. Note that RKS lists words with final "ㄷ" as -r̥, even without the subject marker -i: 5 suur, -i "home-brewed booze," idkčir, -i "swearing, abuse," 7 isin ir, -i "a fact (something that happened)," 95 čõgmar? "really?"

RKS has double -ll- in a.) habull̥ nan ankk̥an "widow" = habūr̥em̥i; p. 17 č-

'lambdicism': e.g. 道尸 'road' = Modern Korean /kil/. He also incorrectly cites Lee Ki-Moon (1983) as interpreting尸 as \*l, 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 '尸' ey tay haye" in *Kwuk. e Kwukmunhak* 17, p. 96-106) criticizes Yun Chang Sik's (1956. "Hyangka ey nathanan '尸' uy Munpecek Kinung kwa Umka" in *Kwuk. e Kwukmunhak* 15) attempts at reading /ʌ = s/ in尸, as well as the attempt to see it as /s/ (→lh→l). Song wants to read all '尸's as "ㄷ" (although he tries, incorrectly, to call certain cases "accusative") and views the famous cases of尸羅 and古尸, which seem to demand /s/ or/si/, 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 '尸' was originally a graphic representation of the articulator for /l/ (??).

Yang Cwu Tong (1942. *Koka Yenkwu*, p. 567) interpreted 東尸 in 彗星歌 as soys, i.e. soy +s, and claimed that here '尸' was a 'unique example' of '尸' in 原音 "original sound." But Ci Hen Yeng (1962. 次跨伊遣 ey tay haye" in *Choy Hyen Pay Hwannoncip*) rejects this, and claims (p. 445) that "乙" and "尸" must both be "ㄷ" He also speculates (p. 447) as to whether they might represent an /l/ and /r/, respectively. Kim Wanjin [Kim Wan Cin] in his authoritative *Hyangka Haytokpep Yenkwu* (1983. Seoul Tayhakkyo Chwulphanpu) interprets 東尸 as soyl, and says: "Only the final尸 as "ㄷ" 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 "尸" 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 "尸" in Hyangka and in the transcription of proper nouns in the *Samkwuksaki*. In the latter case, they marshal impressive evidence, based on recent advances in Chinese dialectology and historical phonology, for a reading of \*s besides \*l.

Finally, we can mention that Werner Sasse, too, has presented some interesting evidence for reading "尸" 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 "byō (rice kernel) and the Question of尸 in Old Korean Writing" in *Kwuk. ehak* 10, p. 127-134.) The entire question remains open.

óŋmallî tîkkî “believe”; b.) 23 mólli “far”; 31 ppalli “quickly,” 4 allî-n sàrimi “a sick person”; d.) 11 kèe ollà kagi “crawl up”; 14 olligî “hang up”; e.) 26 -llà for ‘dja’ e.g. äbi llà “for father.” Cf. 36 musigó llà “Why?”

Note the bizarre 34 mùrîllî tópkî “cover with water” and pùrî mùrîllî tsugîgi “extinguish(kill) a fire with water.” More e.g.s of -ll- in RKS: nàbullî ttäämu hagi<sup>25</sup> “cast plates of tin,” 38 kîmîllî han “made of gold,” 40 tðŋnellî “from the neighbours,” tûullî “from behind(tûi=behind),” mit<sup>h</sup>îllî “from under(mit<sup>h</sup>=under part)” 59 tsal lan nom ‘molodets’, 61 kurillî han “made from honey(not kkur, but kuri),” 62 tðlli kkan mur iók “embankment, quay,” 61 kurillî han “made of copper,” 63 himullî na ókçillî mat<sup>h</sup>îgi “to entrust by strength or force,” 69 igille “nowadays,” 70 ólligi “to deceive,” šil<sup>h</sup>-l’ógi “swoon,” 83 kkääm nangillî han “made of wood from nut tree,” 75 ódîllî?/ó ðimellî? “from where?” süällî tigi “cast something(of metal),” 76 mulló-kagi “go away from,” markan k’ót<sup>h</sup>îllî “from the stable,” 78 óllók “spotted,” 81 padâŋmüllî “by sea,” 91 taŋšinî llà “for you,” 93 nollagi “be surprised,” nollâugi “to surprise (somebody)<sup>26</sup>,” 95 llà, lâ “for the sake of,” h’òŋ-nîmu llà “for older brother,” pû-mo ómnîn ädól lâ “for the orphan,” 103 îñîllî han “made of silver,” 109 tip<sup>h</sup>ullî han “made of straw,” 110 sollamu, -lâŋgi “pine tree,” 112 ts<sup>h</sup>ällî t<sup>h</sup>îgi “to beat with a clash,” 113 malliugi “to dry (v. tr.)<sup>27</sup>,” 117 šón-sâf hak-todór kya han-dè nollà kâo. “The teacher goes out for a walk with the students.” 132 písîllî pikkî “to comb.” These e.g.s seem to show -llî(acc. -l+li?) for Seoul (ㄹ)ㄹ, but cf. 14 anîrî “towards inside.”

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 [wä?]=Kyengwen, Onsenŋ, Congsenŋ, Hoylyeng, Musan; woy [we, wɛ?]=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:” kî dâme ‘after that’ (the long V also has high pitch here). RKS has taime (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 nûn, -i

<sup>25</sup> This is an old word. Cf. Kokwulye 及勿 \*namər “lead”=Jap. namari. (Lee Ki-Moon[I Ki Mun] 1983, p. 35)

<sup>26</sup> These could be Seoul forms: Hamkyengto causatives usually have -lgu- or -lgi- where Seoul has -li-.

<sup>27</sup> See note 26.



[bazar] "market", a loan. Major Kim very definitely had [azumtʰajtʰa] for "thank you," which was [asumtʰajtʰa] in Mrs. Cen's speech. Koh Song Moo(1986, p. 13) records this expression as /asumchyanikkoma/, and says the original form must be /asumchanh.ta/ <ansim(安心) chanh. ta <ansim haci anh.ta. RKS (p. 110) has ašimt' = 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 [š] 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 [stai], 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 confident 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 [tʰi] and the lack of affrication of [tʰi] are a distinguishing feature of both the <sup>1</sup>Yukcin area and Putsillo's dictionary. The Kazan materials have [ts] and [tʰ] = č for т, where č appears before /i, j/. ш = š in these materials likewise corresponds to what was/s+i, j/in MK. Examples of š, č, and dʒi: 1 šubak, šubägi "watermelon," 2 kaššin, -i "shoe," moǰi ómnin šabagüi "topless boots." Cf. Russian

sapog 'boot'. 3 ópši "without," šip<sup>h</sup>ó hagi "to wish," pargin pit, -pič<sup>h</sup>i "bright color," mušóba hagi<sup>28</sup> "be afraid," 5 iðkčir, -i "abuse, scolding," kadzigi "take," č<sup>h</sup>igi "splash, splatter," 6 čòè, čì "paper," àm-šüe irimi "name of a female bovine" = gloss for 'Burenuška', čindzui "pearl," su-šüe "ox," 7 puršanghè "something pitiable," šep<sup>h</sup>i "squirrel," 8 kirít, kiriši "vessel," taššinnège "yours," pürššeri "suddenly," širó kagi; šikku kagi "to transport=load and go," 9 šigigi "to order," käädzi "bud," 10 šü-gundóri paa tsuèšó "the sailors touched/grasped the rope," c<sup>h</sup>aadze "pitchfork," mashi inninge "something tasty," 12 kopči "reigns," čim surg<sup>h</sup>i "cart," šign'a "wolf," 13 T<sup>h</sup>en-dzu-nimi "The Lord," 14 madzünhagi "go to meet" and madzui "a meeting," but cf. 14 madzú ttügi "meet." 14 sóišó "three together," 15 mašüi nää mänin tsari "pasture=place where one puts out horses and bovines," čót t<sup>h</sup>oŋ- t<sup>h</sup>öi "udder," ta mašigi "drink up," 16 šign'a óbudzag<sup>h</sup>i t<sup>h</sup>igi "howl like a wolf," ta šedzó hagi "clean up everything," 17 čóŋmalli tikk<sup>h</sup>i "to believe," šošik, šošigi "news," kadzi "branch," šidinge "faded, sluggish," 18 č<sup>h</sup>uttor, -i "a weight," čidak, č-idagi "clay," samč<sup>h</sup>igi "swallow," 19 tudzòk, tudzögi "head(of animal?)," č-òkkum "a little," šórum, -i "feeling of loneliness," šón, šèi "city, fortress," 20 šüäšürä "rake," ts<sup>h</sup>uän<sup>29</sup> karadžiri hagi "row a boat," p<sup>h</sup>ósit, p<sup>h</sup>ósiši "mush room<sup>30</sup>," 21 šók, šègi='griva'="mane; wooded ridge; shoal," čagin pat korà-ŋ, korä "a small ridge in a cultured rice field," 22 tsin-kaŋdzäägi "dirt(on road or street)," kaŋč<sup>h</sup>i "dregs," 23 č<sup>h</sup>ipkillä "since it is cold," ti-še "tribute; debt; payment for land," šè-nap, šè-näbi "payment for land," tsünin kóši "something one gives," šün-han marí "a submissive horse," 26 ara mač<sup>h</sup>igi "guess," šüe č-ódzi tstsägi "milk a cow," čiburu "towards home," 27 kápši sènge "expensive," šóŋ-mä kkan, -i "a mill," 28 č<sup>h</sup>ingüi "friend," č<sup>h</sup>indí "friendship," 29 uèn tsiši "foolish acts," 30 iðkšimi man hange "fact of having much greed," sar-č<sup>h</sup>i "sting(sär, -i="tooth" e.g. of a rake; č<sup>h</sup>i, č<sup>h</sup>idä="fine, pointed bone of a fish or snake)," póri č<sup>h</sup>i "bee sting," 31 piğäkčiri hagi, piği "reap, cut, mow," ššipki "to chew," č<sup>h</sup>e "wife," šóbà kagi "get married (of man)," määdzi "foal," 32 sar činge "fat," kok-šók, kok-šegi "bread, grain," nór čaŋdze "fence of planks," kinšim, -i "care, concern," 33 pür<sup>h</sup>i ššógi "set fire to s.th.," šidzägir<sup>h</sup>i hagi "begin to do s.th.," 35 šangäbi ssägi "be worthy of the price(?)," č<sup>h</sup>ò-è han tiremi tu tòni ssao "a 20 of herring costs 20 units." 36 č<sup>h</sup>óŋ hagi "invite," 38 tsar ponäopšo? "How do you do?" 39 ŋenč<sup>h</sup>ue "cradle" 39 čèbi "swallow," šuijãŋ-pó-dír "willow" 40 ssir<sup>h</sup>i ópši hagi "annihilate=wipe out the seeds," namu pat<sup>h</sup>èš-ó "from the forest," tuèšó "from behind," 41 mðk-šüi "a joiner," saŋdzini č-uanin sarim, -i "a person celebrating his day of birth," 42 Jèšu "Jesus," šon, -i "edging on a vest," čóguri "vest," 43 č<sup>h</sup>äkkí "a trap, snare," hua-šãŋ, -šã "portrait," surgè andzó na "sit in a cart, or..." čin-dzi "rice(when one gives it

<sup>28</sup> This word still has [š] in 'baby talk'.

<sup>29</sup> This is a Chinese word: 船 chuán "boat."

<sup>30</sup> The aspiration here is unusual.

to the eldest in the house),” 44 kamdži “kvass,” šódān paŋān “inside of a classroom,” tsaŋč<sup>h</sup>igi “lay, put, place,” šidā namù, -nāŋgi “flax,” tsimsiŋdóri kadùn in tuŋ-dži “cage,” 45 sá čorūŋ, -čorūř “bird-cage,” māŋšē “oath, vow,” t<sup>h</sup>óri šingigi “forge steel,” 46 ššüi šigi “sting, prick,” kodzä “stick, picket,” karakči “ring,” 47 t’o-šón, -i “Korea,” kuŋdži “basket,” 48 todzokčir i hagi “steal,” päšóri han tsānts<sup>h</sup>i “banquet, feast,” 49 čirgin “tough, strong,” 50 täd-zä, pl. tädzāŋdóri “blacksmith,” šóm “sack(dry measure),” tōŋdži, tói “lump, piece,” 51 imšók, imšógi, ipši “food,” šimbarām-kkun, -i “lackey, manservant,” 53 šišāri “flax,” 54 pom č<sup>h</sup>óri “spring season,” 56 tiŋ-kkä, tiŋ kkaŋdži “a special oil for lamps,” p<sup>h</sup>i-kk’óč<sup>h</sup>i “bark,” 57 mógirākči, mógirāgi “frog,” čäkki “few, little,” mō-č<sup>h</sup>in, -i “mother,” 58 tudži sá “meždu susekami” - (?), šaŋ-gābi “recompense, repayment,” 59 čōŋsiŋ, čōŋř “minister(among highest three posts),” tǎ-šin, -i “minister(among all 21 posts),” huadžók, huadžógi “peace,” čórmun ankan, -i “young woman,” 60 čót, čódži “milk,” amù saš-ór du an i hagi “to not make any conversation at all,” čud i “snout, mug,” č<sup>h</sup>ibi “frost,” i päg’ó n’ón-džóne “over 200 years ago,” uónšüiri hagi “take vengeance,” 61 mopši kürgi “torment, harrass,” šóuāri šigigi “inflict suffering,” šikki “to wash,” 62 čargi, pl. čaridóri “bag, sack,” 63 ókčilli “by force,” tsóč<sup>h</sup>igi “to wet, moisten,” 64 päk-šōŋ, -šē “the people,” čóóguna “with difficulty, hardly,” šidzāŋ “present, contemporary,” 65 hua-p<sup>h</sup>uŋ-šón-i “steamer<sup>31</sup>,” 67 šir, -i “thread,” ju-šik hää tu “even though he be well-educated,” häŋširi pu-džók häo “his behaviour leaves much to be desired,” 68 tariri kkókkóšina... “bróke his leg, but...” šók-p<sup>h</sup>ān, -i “a slate,” šingū tāŋgi “to wear(shoes),” 69 tsāmāākčir i hagi “to dive,” 70 šir-hon, -i, šil’-l’ók/šil’-l’ógi, ki-džór, kř-džeri “swoon,” 71 k’óŋšim, -i “lunch,” 72 k’edzip, k’edzibi “woman,” 73 tsdšim hagi “be careful,” hān-šim, -i “danger,” tāši “again,” kkāām kōpči “nutshell,” 74 niri iŋdirišegi “bare one’s teeth,” seūgi “make stand,” 75 šóm, -i “island,” čidi an=ik<sup>h</sup>i hagi<sup>32</sup> “not succumb, not be beaten,” pū-c<sup>h</sup>in “father,” 76 kādzaŋ “very,” cōšōŋ hagi “wake up, come to oneself,” čōŋšini tš<sup>h</sup>ūgi “stir up, give spirit to,” ča-ppādigi “fall,” 77 č<sup>h</sup>ōo nok<sup>h</sup>i “shoot a gun,” maktä kādži “stick, cane,” čómak, čómagi “raincoat,” 78 kit, kidži “feather,” 79 tošē; in, -i “a seal, stamp,” maš-igi “drink,” jaŋšik, jaŋšigi “food,” 80 šugón, -i “shawl, kerchief,” šuēši šugón, -i “towel,” ot, dšī “dress,” širguā “fruit,” 81 hankä šši “one piece each,” 82 humč<sup>h</sup>irigi “press, stroke,” nār-šše “weather,” hōdžón, -i “tax, duty,” 83 t’ō-d-žóm “factory,” 84 ši cuātŋe=pozadi časōv=“behind the times,” čógur šóp<sup>h</sup>i “skirt,” 85 čór-bān, -i “half,” 87 šin-bū “priest,” tuādži säkki “piglet,” anč<sup>h</sup>igi “to seat somebody” k’e-šik, -šigi/kimšik, -šigi “fasting,” čuk, čūgi “soup, broth,” 89 čam-mar, -i “truth,” m’óŋ-šir, -i “holiday,” ki cōnē “before that,” mandžó “first of all, before,” 91 č<sup>h</sup>iŋgüř “friend,” 92 še-uór ponāgi “pass time,” 94 no-iōŋdži hōbi “travel expenses,” 95 n’ó-džōŋ, -džōi “bondwoman,” čōŋ, čōi

<sup>31</sup> Error for hua-p<sup>h</sup>uŋ-šón-i?

<sup>32</sup> RKS uses “=” to show that something has been deleted (/ha/ here).

“slave,” kókčǒ<sup>7</sup> hagi “worry,” 96 n’uk-šigǐ mókkiira šidzāk hagi “begin to eat what was forbidden during fasting,” šip-šón, -i “paradise,” 97 madaᅇdzirǐ hānǐn kan, -i “threshing barn,” 98 šuun, -i “mercury,” čóksam, čóksāmǐ “shirt,” 99 šimugi “to plant,” 101 čibó tódigi “to throw (after picking up with pliers, etc.),” čappā burigi “throw down,” 102 hǔǎ parǐmdzǐrǐ hagi “to whistle,” č<sup>h</sup>o “candle,” kóm-sū han “reserved, restrained,” tan-dzǒghan “living according to the known norms,” čǒe “herring,” 103 šikkūǐ “family member,” 105 sórbun maam, -i “a distressed state of mind,” 106 čer’ón, čer’eni “a settlement exempted from normal tax obligations,” 107 kušǐr, -i “service, employment,” čaᅇ-nim, -i “blind person,” šue-g’óᅇ, šue-gě “blind person,” 109 čin, -i “juice,” 110 kadzǐ “kind, sort,” pidzikkā “matches<sup>33</sup>,” 110 sóᅇn’uǔǎ “matches<sup>34</sup>,” 111 šüt [text blurred] “time,” č<sup>h</sup>a “tea,” 114 čik<sup>h</sup>i “build<sup>35</sup>,” 115 mač<sup>h</sup>ǐgi “strike oneself against, bump against,” 116 čón, -i “cloth,” čuᅇt<sup>h</sup>ǎgi “bag, pouch,” čaᅇmur, -i “soup,” šěgi “consider,” 117 kušǐ mor’ěešó “from the end of the water-trough<sup>36</sup>,” kuᅇᅇ-čǎᅇǐllǐ “with an iron shovel,” šón-sǎi “teacher,” 118 šši-gāsǐ “sowing,” šši/šši gāt, -gašǐ “seed,” 119 ne nakššittā “your fishing rod,” šu=ādzi “calf,” 120 čigim “now,” 122 čaᅇttǐk tsᅇǎun “tightly filled, stuffed,” 123 č<sup>h</sup>ón, -i “1000,” šin-t<sup>h</sup>e “body,” 124 šü(i) “a way, means,” tǎdzǒbu hagi “entertain, treat,” čónak, čónǎgi “dinner,” 126 čihūǐ hagi “to direct, show,” u šuem, -i (“read: ššuem”) “moustache,” adzók, adzógi “morning,” 127 sǎᅇ-šón kuk, -kugi “fish soup,” 128 čaraᅇ, čarǎi “praise,” čǒk-hagi “be satisfied,” 129 čū-en ankan, -ǐ “hostess,” č<sup>h</sup>ibun “cold,” čok-čǒp<sup>h</sup>ǐ “polecat,” 130 čoróᅇ, čorě “bird-cage,” hǔᅇᅇ-dzě “emperor,” kkodzǐ “flower,” 131 šǐ “hour, time,” nūe iók-šeo? “Whose calendar is this?” 132 pǒrgódzǐ “worm, bug,” kómd’óᅇč<sup>h</sup>ǐrǐ hagi “to decorate with a black color,” šedzǒ hagi “clean up,” 133 pašón, -i “pair of stockings,” 134 šal’=“shawl” (from Russian šal’), šapkuǎ=šapka=“hat,” (loan), šarp<sup>h</sup>ǐ=šarf=“scarf” (loan), 135 čürǐp hagi “walk in a procession,” ióšǐt, ióšǐšǐ “six,” šl’apa=šljapa=“hat” (loan), kaūt, kaūšǐ “fur coat,” ūdzǎ “joke,” 136 kǎ-ādzi “puppy,” 137 č<sup>h</sup>ima “skirt,” 138 še, šettā “tongue.”

The language of the Kazan materials preserves initial n- before i, j(e.g.s from RKS): 1 n’aᅇban, -i “nobility,” 4 n’ak-pparǐᅇge “bold, lively,” n’ókkuri “side, flank,” pǎ n’óp<sup>h</sup>ari “side of a ship,” 14 niró nagǐ “stand up,” n’ók<sup>h</sup>i “insert,” pundzū han’ǎ hagi “to knock (sound of empty wagon),” 25 kaᅇn’ǎ “smaller, rear part of yard behind opposite wall of house,” 29 kun’ǎ “hole,” 31 pūršǎi n’-

<sup>33</sup> This is a Russian loan, from spička, -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 /šuppichukkay/ and /phichikkay/ for “Kangtong” dialect, or present-day Yenhaycwu speech.

<sup>34</sup> Note that this form is closer to the original Chinese loan than Seoul sengnyang. 石硫黃 = sek. lyu. hwang.

<sup>35</sup> Is this čih. ki from cis-??

<sup>36</sup> [kušǐ] “water trough” is an old word. Seoul standard has /kwuyu/. MK had kwuzi. (Yu Chang Ton 1979, p. 84)

egigi "to pity," n'ep<sup>h</sup>en, -i "wife," 32 n'óm<sup>n</sup>e "care, concern," 33 nidzóppurigi "forget," 36 n'ókširi tirgi "stand up for somebody," 38 mot tuän<sup>n</sup>à hagi "to vex, irritate," n'ón, -i "kite," 39 ni "tooth," su-k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>n</sup>à "tomcat," 43 n'ò-in "woman," 48 kon<sup>n</sup>à säkkì "kitten," 54 nip, nìp<sup>h</sup>i "leaf," nimä "forehead," 56 n'òrim, -i "summer," 58 n'am-n'am-han "quiet, beautiful, and kind," 59 pùrttorì nirigi "read a prayer," 61 nim-dzä "man," 63 nipkì "to wear," 68 kun<sup>n</sup>aj, kun<sup>n</sup>-ä/kunggi "burrow, hole," 74 purù-nan<sup>n</sup>à hagi "be cheeky," 81 ka n'ù-hagi "(go and) reside," 88 nikkì "mature, ripen," 95 n'oṅ-gun, -i "worker," 97 nìpsar "rice," 98 han n'aj-n'ä "one ruble," 103 nirgùp, nirgùbi "seven," n'òmt<sup>h</sup>üi "heart," 104 nirigi "tell, recount," 106 n'er'óm, n'er'emì "settlement exempted from state tax obligations," 111 nigin "ripe," 112 n'en-nar-kkót, -kke "something old," n'urì "glass," 119 n'ajp<sup>h</sup>un, -i "wash-basin," 120 čibùṅ n'enin nórdór "boards with which one roofs a house," nì-han ir, -i "a useful thing(from SK 利利)," 127 nirigi "make read," 130 nim-gun, -i "tsar."

Here are my own data on palatalization problems: pondzigi = 'smešany' = "mixed up(said of their language)," asumt<sup>h</sup>ajt<sup>h</sup>a "thank you," tšimt<sup>h</sup>i "kimchi," kamdže "potato," kot<sup>h</sup>i "pepper," tšot<sup>h</sup>a(=Kazan t'ot<sup>h</sup>a) "good," tšo (Kazan t'ò) "that one," Kapso(=Kazan kapšo) "go!(polite command)," kasipso (i.e. not kašipso) "go!(even politer command)," tšal (probably an error for tšar) "well(adv.)," tš<sup>h</sup>ægi (=Kazan ts'äk, ts'ägi) "book," tšit<sup>h</sup>a hæssə (from Russian čitat' 'to read') "I read." næ p<sup>h</sup>ondžir ssiu "I'm writing a letter." oḋže (=Kazan ódze) "yesterday," tšonjogi(=Kazan čónak, čónägi) "evening", nad'i "day," nad'e "during the day,"<sup>37</sup> hatstsur amdo? (not -tš{-}) "Do you know how to do?" tš<sup>h</sup>oṅgægi "unmarried young man," namdža "man," tšibi "house," kadža "let's go." nař tš<sup>h</sup>idži malla "don't hit me." tšokkuman sani (=Kazan č-okkum han) "a small mountain," tšagin sani (=Kazan čagin) "a small mountain," samun oksi (not okši) "boiled corn," sinbari(error for šin...?) "shoes," paḋži "trousers," tšoksami (=Kazan čóksam, čóksämi) "shirt," sakkε (=Kazan š-apkuä) "hat," nan pabu tšobahanda "I like cooked rice." tšem (=Russian čem) "than," ondžege "when, at what time?" tšapsupso "Eat!(honorific command)" suru masigessumdo? (error for -ši-?) "Will you drink some wine?" tšappargan "super red," sip<sup>h</sup>oṅge (error for -ši-?) "green," sinmun (error for -ši-?) "newspaper," oḋbwaja soid'i (< ?) "seek, look for," kad'i<sup>37</sup> "eggplant," subagi (Kazan šubak, šubägi) "watermelon," tš<sup>h</sup>ame "melon," tšouri "a scale," pošisi (error for -ši-?) "mushroom," masi oṗta (error for -ši-?) "tasteless, tastes bad," tš<sup>h</sup>-omæ(Kazan č<sup>h</sup>imä) "a skirt," adžæ "father's younger sister," adžabæ "father's younger brother," hoṅimi (not [hj..]) "older brother," tštšapta "salty," tšajmuri "soup," tš<sup>h</sup>agapta "cold to touch," nari kītš<sup>h</sup>inda "the weather spoils," tš<sup>h</sup>ipta "cold," tš<sup>h</sup>adžaj han toṗmi "best friend," misir haja? "What are you doing?" i ge misige ja? "What is this thing?" sige "watch," mesi tæninga? "What time is it?" nar mad'i<sup>37</sup> "every day," nurudžige "slowly," oṗtšæ? "Why?"

<sup>37</sup> In these words I was hearing something close to the [d'] in Russian djadja "uncle" or the like.

ogi dzene "before coming," jagbæk "200," sin (jin?) "50," yuksip "60," idzɔpprissɔ "I forgot it." tʃip<sup>h</sup>i (Kazan tʃip<sup>h</sup>i) "straw," tʃala gadʒa "Let's go to sleep." onur atʃime "this morning," sesir hago (not [seʃir]) "wash my face, and..." p<sup>h</sup>adʒim "I sell." jɔsisi (ʃi?) "six," tʃok<sup>h</sup>æ "nephew," singosɔ (ʃi?) "plant, and..." kkit<sup>h</sup>i ɔ-ptʃim (not kkitʃ<sup>h</sup>i) "there is no end," tipi ir (not tʃibi(?)) "house work<sup>38</sup>," ɛdʒɔn oradzæ "soon, before long," tʃitʃ<sup>h</sup>im = gloss for loan *stroj* ha- "build." Cf. Kazan čik<sup>h</sup>i "build." pappɪdʒi "It's difficult, isn't it?"<sup>39</sup> tʃɔŋgɔdʒaj "trainstation," pija-ŋdʒaj "airport," tʃæbu! "Leave it!" mantʃ<sup>h</sup>akku (?) "many," irimi misige ja? "What's your name?" tantʃ<sup>h</sup>i "button," semi (Kazan šuem, -i) "beard," tʃoj "paper," it<sup>h</sup>i "two years," se (Kazan šüe) "ox, bovine."

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; tʃimtʃ<sup>h</sup>i for kimchi, tʃitʃ<sup>h</sup>im for 'build' = Kazan čik<sup>h</sup>i. The Kazan materials show inconsistencies on this matter, too: samč<sup>h</sup>igi "swallow" = Seoul samkhita, k'ór for "temple, church," = Seoul cel < tyel, k'óŋsim, -i "lunch" = Seoul cemsim < tyemsim.<sup>40</sup> But velar

<sup>38</sup> This must be an error. I probably heard [t'] or the like. Everywhere else I have [tʃip], as do the Kazan materials. On the other hand, Yu Chang Ton (1979, p. 264) lists an occurrence of /tip/ for "house" in Twusi Enhay Cwungkan 9. 14.

<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>40</sup> Kim Thay Kyun (1986, p. 434) lists 'kyemsim' as occurring in Kyengwen, Onseŋ, Congseŋ, Hoylyeng, and Musan, and 'tyemsim' as occurring in Congseŋ and Hoylyeng, also. He does not list kyengsim, nor does he list a form for Kyengcheng. The doublet ky-/ty- in Congseŋ 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  $\text{ш} = \text{š}$  for underlying  $s+i, j$ : šubak = MK sywupak “watermelon,” etc. Note also cases like čöè “paper’ for MK tywo.huy, the doublet madzuj hagi “go to meet” vs. madzuj ttiügi “meet each other,” c<sup>h</sup>uttor, -i “a weight” = MK thywu(鍾) + ‘stone’, määdzi “foal,” not määdzi, čöt, čödzi for čödzi “milk,” etc.

Sixth, Kim Thay Kyun(1986, p. 7) notes that, in the speech of Kim Yong Cwun, 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 <sup>L</sup>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. š = Cen s, e.g. Kazan šüe “bovine” vs. Cen se, Kaz. šapkuä “hat” vs. Cen sakke <sup>46</sup>. It seems unlikely (though not impossible) that the same dialect would lose the distinction between š/s, acquire palatalization, including the dropping of  $n/\_i, j$ , 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  $/H/ \rightarrow /H/ \_ + i$ , 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  $t\dot{i}-r\dot{e}$  “tub” ( $-i$  incorporated from  $t\dot{i}r\acute{o}\eta + i?$ ),  $t’\acute{a}\eta$ ,  $t’\ddot{a}$  “market ( $-i$  incorporated),”  $s\ddot{u}-j\acute{a}\eta -i\ddot{a}$  “ram,”  $p\ddot{u}-h’\acute{o}\eta$ ,  $p\ddot{u}h’\ddot{e}$  “father,” 3  $n\dot{i}$   $ppad’\ddot{a}$  “a toothless person ( $\langle ni$   $ppad’\acute{a}\eta + i$ ),” 4  $p’\acute{o}\eta$ ,  $p’\ddot{e}i$  “sickness,” 5 before the copula:  $s\acute{a}\eta g\acute{a}k$   $h\ddot{a}a$   $ham’\acute{o}\eta$ ,  $purun\dot{i}n$   $h’\acute{o}ina$ ,  $to\eta s\ddot{a}\ddot{a}na$  [error for  $ina?$ ]  $\acute{o}r\acute{a}bina$ ,  $\acute{a}kk\dot{i}ran\dot{i}n$   $m\acute{a}ri$  “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  $t\dot{i}m\dot{t}\dot{s}^{\dot{i}} = \text{kimchi}$  need not be considered a backformation, though. The word is originally Chinese 泡菜 MK timchoy (CaHoy Cwung 字會 227) Cf. Yu Changton 1980. *Ehwisa Yenkwu*, Seoul: Iwu.

<sup>41</sup> 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."<sup>42</sup> 5 h'ón, h'oi "older brother(no umlaut here. Cf. e.g. from p. 2 above)," toṅsã "younger sibling," čðè "paper", p<sup>h</sup>uṅ, p<sup>h</sup>ũ "wind," 8 tðè "bucket," 12 šign'a "wolf(Cf. Seoul sungnyangi. The final /ŋ/ has disappeared completely.)," madzũi "a meeting," 15 čót<sup>h</sup>oṅ, -t<sup>h</sup>oi "udder," 16 šign'a óbuzagi t<sup>h</sup>igi "howl like a wolf," 17 ts<sup>h</sup>iṅ, ts<sup>h</sup>fi "weight, scales," tõiḡi "tie up, bind," 18 kip<sup>h</sup>ũn kod'aṅ, -kod<sup>h</sup>ã "a deep place," 19 tũi (also tuṅdʒi) "nest," mokt<sup>h</sup>oṅ, -t<sup>h</sup>oi "throat," paṅ, pãi "chamber," šón, šei "city, fortress," š-ón t<sup>h</sup>uṅ, -t<sup>h</sup>ũi "city," 20 tig'ón, tig'è "border," 21 pat korãṅ, -korã "ridge, bed (in garden)," 25 madaṅ, madã "yard," 29 kun<sup>h</sup>ã "hole (Cf. Seoul kwumeng)," k<sup>h</sup>in ãbã "grandfather." (Also k<sup>h</sup>in ãbani. But this is not a synchronic process here.) 31 pũršãi n'eg'iḡi "consider as pitiful (from puršaṅ = (h)i = adverb)," šóbaṅ, šó-bã "fiancè," 32 takčã "beetle (< takčãṅ + i?)," 33 m'ò-ir, -i "tomorrow," 34 š-idzãḡiri haḡi "begin (< šidzak + i + ri = acc. A good example of the tendency for -i to become part of the stem<sup>43</sup>), 35 č<sup>h</sup>ò-è han tĩremi "a 20 of herring," 36 no drop in: mušṅ ire? "On what business?" mu-b'ón, -b'oi "good health," 38 ttã, -i "earth," 41 m'ón, m'ei "name," 43 hũ-šaṅ, -šã "portrait," 45 sã čorũṅ, -č-orũ "bird cage," pũru ani n'ónn'in sãbã "an unheated room," 46 ing'ón, ing'è "bell," t<sup>h</sup>ónḡã = 'koleno' = "knee; lap; bend," paṅ, pãi "room," 47 toṅ, tõi "500 sheafs," ts<sup>h</sup>aṅ, ts<sup>h</sup>ã "spear," 48 su-k<sup>h</sup>on'a "tomcat (< suh + kon'a < konjaṅ + i. Not synchronic.<sup>44</sup>), 49 čibũṅ, čibũi "roof," 50 tðè "money-box (Cf. 'bucket')," tãdžã (pl. tãdžãḡóri) "blacksmith," tónḡi, tõi "piece, chunk," 51 nõḡ'è kãiri kasso "the deer went toward the river (< nõḡ'ón-i kaḡiri ...)," 54 t'aṅ, t'ãi "sheet (of paper)," 55 tsin-ts<sup>h</sup>ãṅ, -ts<sup>h</sup>ã "puddle, pool," tiṅ, tfi "lamp, torch," 50 kadžṅ "laziness," p'ò kot<sup>h</sup>igi "cure a disease," 61 šóḡari šig'iḡi "inflict suffering on," tsimsĩ t<sup>h</sup>óri innin kadzugi "a pelt with animal hair." Cf. 51 above. Cf. also 97 tsimsĩ óbudzak "an animal cry (from a genitive pronounced -i ?)," 99 tsimsĩ sorĩri t<sup>h</sup>igi "cry like an animal," and 138 nar tsimsĩ ar, -i "a flying animal's egg = bird's egg." 64 pãk-šón, -šè "the people, masses," 65 p'ei ittón sarimi "the person who was sick," 66 i p'ò kot<sup>h</sup>ir jãḡi ópso "there is no medicine that can cure this disease." 67 pirónbaṅ, pirónbãi "beggar," 66 kun'aṅ, kun<sup>h</sup>ã/kunḡi "hole," 71 čaḡin ãm-jaṅ, ãm-jã "little lamb," 72 tũi-ts<sup>h</sup>ãṅ, -ts<sup>h</sup>ã "rear window," 73 amũ sãrim tu na-mot-kage šónḡt<sup>h</sup>ũ torḡa ssãḡi "besiege a city so that nobody can come out." (Troublesome for -i; note the position of mot. Seoul standard has mos na kakey.) 75 šóm t<sup>h</sup>uṅ, -t<sup>h</sup>ũi "middle of the island," 76 tãd-

<sup>42</sup> Note the archaic meaning preserved in sāṅgak ha-. It now means "think" in Seoul standard.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. also 49 óbudzagi+ (also óbudžãgiri) t<sup>h</sup>igi "shout."

<sup>44</sup> The Kongcwu Phungthoki = 孔洲風土記 in Puksay Kilyak = 北寒記畧 (from the time of Cengco 正祖 = 1777-1800) records 描日虎樣 = hoyang according to modern Seoul Sino-Korean pronunciation. This document contains some thirty words from the Kyenghung region. Cf. Choi (1982, p. 457-463).

zãŋ-kanešó "from the smithy," san'óŋ, san'è "hunt (no nasality)," 77 č<sup>h</sup>òo nok-<sup>h</sup>i "to shoot a gun," ssaŋ, ssãi "pair," 85 padãŋ, padã "floor," 90 kãnsã ssigi "use flattery, pandering." (Cf. 53 kãnsã "flattery.") 92 hógoŋ, hógòi "space, expanse," 92 mur magin uŋdóŋ, -uŋdè "pond=a hole full of water(no nasality)," tsimsiŋ, tsimsi "animal," 95 n'ó-dzõŋ, -dzõi "woman servant," čõŋ, čõi "man servant," kókčõd hagi "to worry," 97 kuróŋ, kurè "ditch, moat," 98 han n'aŋ, -n'ã "a ruble," c<sup>h</sup>õŋ, c<sup>h</sup>õi "rifle," mur toraŋ, -torã "stream," 99 kaŋ, kãi "river," 100 šarãŋ, šarã = 'saraj' = "hut, shed," nam-in m'õina n'ó-in m'óŋ = "a man's name or woman's name." 101 so-dzãŋ, so-dzã "harness, gear," 102 tse àn-g'è "one's own glasses," čõè "herring," 103 h'óŋ, h'õi "older sister," toŋ-sã ŋ, -sã "younger sister" 104 kór annin kin saŋ, -sãi "a long bench for sitting," 107 šüeg'óŋ, šüe-g'è "blind person," 109 kuan-b'óŋ, -b'õi "soldier," 110 ts<sup>h</sup>iŋ, ts<sup>h</sup>fi "kind, sort," sadè "spine, back," 111 t<sup>h</sup>üe "in the middle, midst," 112 n'uri p'óŋ, -p'õi "glass bottle," 113 saŋ, sãi "table, stool, bench," 117 són-sãi "teacher," 118 mar andzãŋ, -andzã "saddle," 123 sarit'ãŋ, -t'ã "palisade, stockade," 125 kkur pór t<sup>h</sup>õŋ, -t<sup>h</sup>õi "beehive," 127 šódãŋ hün-d'ãŋ, -d'ã "school teacher," š-ón-sãŋ, són-sã "teacher," kkuóŋ, kkuõi "pheasant," 128 tuã-ts<sup>h</sup>ãŋ, -ts<sup>h</sup>ã = 'fortočka' = "small hinged pane for ventilation inside a window," čarãŋ, čarãi "praise," carã hagi "to praise," 129 oiaŋ, oia "cattle-shed," 130 k'ór-ttaŋ, -ttã "temple, church," pp'ãa-sã "kink of bird," čoróŋ, čorè "cage," narãŋ, narãi 'tsarstvo' = "state, country," narãŋ, narã "tsar," uãŋ, uãi "king," 131 c<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>õŋ, -t<sup>h</sup>õi "teapot," 132 tãrã "worm (Cf. Seoul cilengi)," 134 p<sup>h</sup>uŋ, p<sup>h</sup>ũ "tent, stall," 135 šódãŋ, šódã "school," 136 ts<sup>h</sup>ãd'óŋ, ts<sup>h</sup>ãd'è = ščerkoka =? 137 pãär, -i "top(toy)," 138 iã säkki "lamb," tsimsiŋ, tsimsfi "animal," uŋdóŋ, uŋdè "pit, hole."

My data from Mrs. Cen in Tashkent indicate a similar, but much more widespead rule of /ŋ/ and /n/-dropping: asumtʃ<sup>h</sup>ajt<sup>h</sup>a < asumhaci *ani* hata "thank you." aj "not" = /ani/, p<sup>h</sup>jõnaj kapsõ < p<sup>h</sup>jõn.an (h)i ka- = "good-bye, go in peace." nuni "snow/eye;" Mrs. Cen retained the /n/s here, but Major Kim dropped one and not the other final /n/. The old woman dropped both. nægæ toni õpsõ "I have no money." vs. toi õpta "id." (old woman). õdiř kaja? "Where are you going" < /eti-l ka-nya/. næ aŋkkaj "My wife." Cf. RKS 31 ankkã, -i "woman." koje "cat," < konyangi (historically). RKS has kon'ã. Note also aŋkka "woman." This word seems to have lost the final -n from its underlying form. This is a 'ne kul'turnyj' or vulgar word. k<sup>h</sup>õj "nose" < k<sup>h</sup>õ+i and k<sup>h</sup>õj "bean" < k<sup>h</sup>õŋ+i. k<sup>h</sup>õmuri = khongmul. Again, the nasal seems to have been lost from the underlying representation. mõŋnã saŋ "table" < saŋ+i. Cf. annin saŋ "chair." hõŋimi "older brother" < hyengnimi. misiř haja? "What are you doing?" < hanya. i ge misige ja? "What is this thing?" < misi ge (i)nya. tšõŋgõd-zaj "train station" < cengkecang-i. pijãŋdžaj "airport" = pihayngcang-i. ttã "land, field" < ttang-i. tšõj "paper" < cong-i.

Sani = "mountain" and sikani õpta "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 Pukcheng 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 [hatstsuraŋga?] “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 ɔsɔsi 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 → e. E.g. 1 šùbak, šùbägi “watermelon,” 2 t’aj, t’ä “market” 3 mur iók, -iègi “shore,”<sup>45</sup> 4 täd’óp, täd’ebí “dish, plate, 5 asi, äkki “younger brother,” 21 šók, šègi=griva=“mane; wooded ridge,” sonak, sonägi “thunder,” 23 šenap, še-näbi “payment for land,” 25 namù, nängi “tree, wood,” 43 pap, päbi “rice,” 48 kamä “cauldron” < kama+i (not synchronic?), 53 iósi, iekki “fox,” 54 nimä “forehead” < nima+i (not synchronic), 71 hannä “one” < hanna+i (not synchronic), 77 son-karak, -karägi “finger,” 79 imšók, imšegi “food,” 82 natsak, -sägi “daily wages” (Cf. Seoul saks). 93 ttók, ttègi “bread” (but elsewhere, e.g. p. 92, ttógi), 97 óbuzak, óbuzägi “cry, shout,” 98 čóksam, č-oksämi “shirt,” 101 si-emi, si-óma-nim “mother-in-law.” Emi here looks like an umlauted form of óma, but I suspect this is non-synchronic, and that si-óma-nim is a Seoul form. 105 taptap, taptäbi “boredom, melancholy,” 106 n’er’óm, n’er’emi and cer’ón, cer’èni, both meaning “a settlement exempted from usual state obligations; village.” 108 hód’ók, hód’egi “agreement,” 113 tstsak, tstsägi “side, half,” 124 čónak, čonägi “supper” but cf. 126 adžók, adžógi “morning,” 125 kuän’ók, kuän’egi “goal, target,” 126 ɣandzä “teacup” < wanca. But this is probably a direct loan from Chinese: 宛子 wǎnzi. 136 kidžók,

<sup>45</sup> This word appears in the Puksay Kilyak (see note 55 above): 邊涯日域 = yek in modern Seoul reading. (Choi 1982, p. 461)

kidzègi “splinter, chip.”

The data show that umlaut occurs most frequently across a velar(ŋ, k). Examples over /p/ are rare and should be contrasted with: 17 póp, póbi “law.” Umlaut does not occur across /n/ or /r/, and is rare across /m/ (98, 106). Contrast 136 ppyam, -i “cheek,” 75 šóm, i “island,” 69 pam, i “night,” 107 tsugóm, i “death,” etc. In one word, -i seems to have affected umlaut on /u/: 45 č-orùŋ, čorũĩ “cage.”

My own data from Tashkent are meager: kamdʒɛ “potato” < kamdʒa+i (diachronic), p<sup>(h)</sup>emidori “tomato” < Russ. pomidor, korjɛmar “Korean language” < korjɔ (progressive here), tʃ<sup>h</sup>oŋgægi “young man” < tʃ<sup>h</sup>oŋgak, namdʒa “man” but næ namdʒæ “my husband.” koje “cat” < konjaŋgi (diachronic), t<sup>h</sup>egi “chin” < t<sup>h</sup>ɔk, hanæ “one” < hana+i, tæŋginda “walk, go” < tanginda, tʃok<sup>h</sup>æ “nephew” < tʃok<sup>h</sup>a, ttæ “earth” < tta(ŋ)+i. tæmbæ “tobacco” < tambæ, hæř s-otta “I got angry” > huä > 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.)

Cen	Gloss	Ramsey	Kazan <sup>46</sup>	MK
kamdʒɛ HL	potato		kâmdʒi(RKR)	kamcɔ
p <sup>h</sup> ari LH	arm	phal	p <sup>h</sup> ar, ì	pòlh
sokkaragi	finger	sons-kalak	sonkarägi	swònskäläk
LLLL				
kot <sup>h</sup> i LF	pepper		koč <sup>h</sup> i	kwòchyo
p <sup>h</sup> ɔnäj LH	in peace		p <sup>h</sup> ónän häo?	phyenan.í
tʃ <sup>h</sup> ægi HL	book	cháyk	ts <sup>h</sup> ægi	chɔyk
næjri HL	tomorrow	nayíl	näär	nòyíl
sægi HL	girl		säägi	
irina HLL	child		órina	
tʃibi LF	house	cip	čibì	cip
jokki LF	fox	yeyengkkí	iósì, iekki	yèzù
kɔmi LF	spider	kemí	kómɪ	kêmúy
ibi HL	mouth	íp	ibi (no mark)	íp
port <sup>h</sup> ægi LH	cheek			pwol
məri LF	hair	melí	móri	mèlí
kori HL	head		kòr, i	
sani LF	mountain		sani	san
tʃokkuman HL	little		čòkkumhan	cywokwomán
hanæ LF	one		hannä	hənah

<sup>46</sup> Recall that ä, ó, ì carry no accent on them in these materials.

sə H	three	séys/séi	sói	séyh
nə H	four	néys/néi	ne, nói	néyh
símil HL	20	swúmúl	sǝmur, -i	sǝmǝlǝh
kajokapso LH	take it		kadzóka-	
oksukki LLF	corn			woksywusywu
sinbari LHL	shoes			
nǝski LF	socks			
padzi LF	trousers			paci
tǝksami LHL	shirt	ceksam	čóksamì	cyèksām
sakke HL	hat		šǝpkuǝ	
suri LH	wine	swul	suur, ì	swūwūl
suri HL	spoon	swúl	sūr, ì	swúl
ttǝgi HL	bread	tték	ttègi	sték
ingè LF	here		ióngè	ingekúy
tǝngè LF	there		t'óngè	tyekúy
sinmun LF	newspaper		šinmūn	
kad'i LF	eggplant	kací		kāci
subagi HLL	watermelon		šǝbǝgi	
p*odo LH	grape			
poksǝ LH	peach			
hanuri LHL	sky	hanúl	hanǝri	hǝnǝlǝh
mari LF	horse	mal	mar, ì	mǝl
naŋgi LF	tree	nangk-	namū, naŋgi	nǝmwǝ/nǝmk-
ipsagi LLF	leaf	(íph)	(nǝp*ì)	(níph)
kkitti LF	ear	(kwí)	(kúì, no mark)	(kwúy)
tǝuri LH	scale		tsóur, ì	cèwúl
tǝgsam LH	winter		tǝgsam, ì	
ǝrimi LH	summer	yelúm	n'ǝrǝm, ì	yèlúm
pomi LH	spring	pǝm	pǝm, ì	pwǝm
kasiri LLH	fall	kaal/kasul	kasir, ì	kǝzǝlǝh
k*ǝdǝ LF	sack			
tata LF	sweet		tan	
tǝ*omǝ LH	skirt		č*imǝ	
madǝmǝ LH	fa.'s older sis. (éymi)		(èmi)	émi
nubi LF	older sis. of male nwipi		nǝbǝ	nwūy
hǝgimi HL	older bro.		šǝgǝnim	hyèngǝnim
tǝgsǝ LF	younger sis. of sis.		tǝgsǝ	
hǝ H	older sis. of girl			
sogomi LHL	salt		sogom, ì	swǝkwǝm
tǝgmi LF	friend	tongmū	tǝgmǝ	twǝngmǝw
sige LF	watch			
ppali LF	quickly		ppallǝ(RKR)	spǝl. tá
kǝdame LH	after that		taǝme	

pæk H	100		pāk, i	pōyk
sin H	50	swín	sùini(RKR)	swüyn
sorin LH	30	selún	šorini(RKR)	syèlhún
mahin LH	40	maún	maini(RKR)	māzōn
tʃip <sup>h</sup> i HL	straw	cíph	típ <sup>h</sup> i	cíph
mo dzasso H	couldn't sleep		mot	mō
ā H	child	aā	kann-ā, sāāk-a	āhōy
kōngeso LH	there		kōngè(RKR)	kekūy
pōri HL	bee	pél		pél
pōmi HL	tiger	pém	pómì(gen)	pém
nōmì HL	too much			
ttami HL	sweat	ttám	ttāmi(RKR)	stōm
semi HF	beard		šuem, ì	
tʃoi HL	paper	congí	čōè	cywōhūy

Other (phrasal) examples: (   = low,   = high) ingir waso "came here, and..." andzaso "sit down, and..." (atonic verb), dzibes "at home..." Cf. Kazan pat<sup>h</sup>ešó "from the field." singoso "plant, and..." (atonic verb), issimdo "Do you have?" hatsturangga "Do you know how to?" kapso "Go!" (Honorific command), pəwatta "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-Markers" 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" -ř, -i. 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, iní, in, ní. In O Sey Cwun(1933) we find nin, inin, ní.

"Dative." -gæ in nægæ toni ɔpsɔ "I have no money." ni-gæ toni ina? "Do you have money?" ɔndʒe-gæ kamdo? "When are you going?" Cf. RKS -ge in 66 pikkungè muró tsur-kke ɔpsɔ "The debtor has nothing to pay back." 74 tädʒ-ä-ge nuni móróssɔ "The smithy has gone blind." (< -i-ge ?) and -uge in 66 sarimuge "to a person" (< acc. + -ge ?). Cf. also 89 i ankkankkè a tūuri issɔ "This woman has twɔ children."

"Locative." -e in kɪ dame "after that," ogi dʒene "before coming," næ apʰe ss-ɔgo issɔ. "is standing in front of me," atʰime "in the morning," and nad'e "in the daytime."

"Dynamic Location." -sɔ in dʒib-isɔ/dʒibesɔ "at home," kɔngesɔ "over there."

"Ablative." -sɔ in hækkɔ sɔ wasɔ "comes home from school, and..."

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

"Genitive." I have one (insecure) example of an -i genitive: tʃibi irisɔ kkɪtʰ-i ɔptʃim. "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 -isɔ on ir is probably from isye.

Postpositions: mad'i "every" in nař mad'i "every day." RKS 142 has madap. 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 tɔ tʃoba handa čem ttɔgi boda  
rice-acc more like than (< Russ.) bread than  
"I like rice more than bread."

In RKS, comparison is formed with pogu: t'ó sārɪm pogū čägɪn "smaller than that person." to="also, even" in namdʒæ do "my husband, too," tʃokʰæ do "my nephew, too," Note that, in theory, -do is occurring after -i here.

### Verbal Endings

#### Indicative

-kkuma	polite formal ; -n-da, -tʰa < (h)a)ta plain style ;
-dʒim/-tʃim	story-telling? habitual? (cf. text below) ;
-dʒida	obviously related to-dʒim, but status unclear ;
-o/-u after V, so after C	plain? authoritative? E.g. iru 'reads', ssiu 'writes,' moro "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."
-ɔ/a	"infinitive:." ɔpsɔ "I don't have..."
-gessɔ	future infinitive ; ɔssɔ past infinitive : hæssɔ
atta	< -ass. ta plain past, e.g. ɔdbatta "found it."
-m	morum "I don't know."

Questions

- <i>(i)mdo</i>	polite ("old style"), e.g. <i>issimdo</i> "does it exist?" <i>kamdo</i> "are you going?" Also <i>-mdu</i> .
- <i>ga</i>	polite (new style?) <i>haninga?</i> <i>hageninga?</i>
- <i>ja</i> (< <i>-nja</i> )	plain style: <i>aja</i> "do you know?" <i>kaja</i> "are you going?" Cf. <i>wanja</i> < <i>wass.nya</i> "has he come?"
- <i>o</i>	<i>hao?</i> ;
- <i>na</i>	dubitative, e.g. <i>toni ina</i> "Do you have any money(I wonder)?"
- <i>ge</i>	<i>hage?</i>

Imperatives

- <i>pso</i>	polite. E.g. <i>kapso</i> "go" and <i>tjapsupso</i> "eat."
- <i>gɔra</i>	plain, with <i>ka-</i> "go."
- <i>nara</i>	plain, with <i>o-</i> "come."
- <i>(i)ra</i>	plain, e.g. <i>issira</i> "stay," cf. also <i>mɔgɔra</i> "eat."
- <i>ge</i>	<i>kadzige</i> "take it."
- <i>dʒa</i>	let's...(plain) vs. <i>-gepsu</i> let's (polite) ;
- <i>ke</i>	shall we...? E.g. <i>suru mɔkke?</i> "Shall we have a drink?"
- <i>o</i> after V, <i>-so</i> after C	<i>kao</i> "go." <i>ansso</i> "sit."

Converbs

- <i>t<sup>h</sup>æso</i>	"because" (< ?) in <i>korjɔ sarimi ajt<sup>h</sup>æso</i> , <i>korjɔmar morum</i> . "Because I'm not a Korean, I can't speak Korean."
- <i>gillæ(sɔ)</i>	"because, since;" <i>-gi dʒene</i> "before doing ;"
- <i>go/-gu</i>	"and..." <i>-gosɔ</i> "do and..." <i>-go issɔ</i> =progressive ;
- <i>ta</i>	'transferentive', e.g. <i>katta wasɔ</i> "having gone and then come back..."
- <i>tago/-rago</i>	quotative
- <i>lak ha-</i>	'intend to do' ; <i>-la ga-</i> "go to do ;"
- <i>m</i>	"if." O Sey Cwun(1933) has <i>-mwu</i> , <i>-mwun</i> , <i>-myeng</i> . RKS has <i>-m'ɔŋ</i> , RKR has <i>-mun</i> . Seoul standard = <i>-myen</i> .
- <i>sɔ</i>	"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 dʒassɔ* "I couldn't sleep." and the corresponding long-form *tjadʒi mo[t] hæssɔ*, 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 kadzi malla "Don't go" and kadzi 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

næ	"I, my" nægæ "to me" nan "I (topic) nař "me(acc.)"
ni	"you (subject)" nōř "you (object)"
tʃo	"that one"
i ge	"this thing"
amu gōtto	"nothing." Cf. RKS amu-gōttu.
k i	"that one."
iŋgè	"here" iŋiř (acc.). Cf. RKS iŋgè <sup>47</sup> . O Sey Cwun (1933) has both uyngkey, yengkey for Onseng.
tʃoŋgè	"over there." Cf. RKG t'óŋgè
kōŋgeso	"there(dynamic)." Cf. RKG kōŋgè. O Sey Cwun(1933) has kungkey, kengkey for Onseng.
nugi <sup>48</sup>	"who? (subj.)" nugiř (acc.). Cf. RKS nùgĩ
odĩmæ <sup>49</sup>	"where(at)?" Cf. RKS ódĩri? odĩmerĩ =kuda?
musun	"what kind of?"
misige <sup>50</sup>	"what(thing)?" misĩř "what(acc.)?" Cf. RKS musi-ge, O Sey Cwun has misikey for Onseng.
ořtʃjæ	"why?"
odĩř	"whither?" odiso "whence?"
me[t]	"how many?" in mesi tæniŋga "What time is it?"
oŋdzege	"when?" Cf. RKS óndze
ořtək <sup>hæ</sup>	"how?"

#### Numerals

hanæ	one Cf. RKG hannä. Kim Thay Kyun has hana, hanna.
tur	two Cf. RKG tuřri
so	3 Cf. RKG sói. Kim Thay Kyun has se/sei (and ne/ nei) co-occurring in most regions.
nō	4 Cf. RKG nói.

<sup>47</sup> Kim Thay Kyun (1986) does not list any forms with a velar nasal for yeki, ceki, keki.

<sup>48</sup> Kim Thay Kyun (1986) lists nwuki for Sengcin, Myengchen, Kyengseng, Chengcin and Musan.

<sup>49</sup> Kim Thay Kyun lists etumey for Sengcin, Hakseng, Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Kyengwen, Congseng, and Musan.

<sup>50</sup> Kim Thay Kyun lists musukey for Sengcin, Myengchen, Kyengseng, Chengcin and Musam.

tasi	5	Cf. RKG tasiši. Kim Thay Kyun has tasu, yesu in Onseung, Congseung, Hoylyeng, and Musan.
josi	6	Cf. RKG josiši
irgu	7	Cf. RKG nirgūbi. There is no form ilkwu or the like in Kim Thay Kyun, but O Cey Cwun(1933) has nilkwu for Onseung.
jadi	8	Cf. RKG jadirbi. There is no yatu in Kim Thay Kyun, but O Sey Cwun has it.
aop	9	Cf. RKG aūbi
jar	10	Cf. RKG jar. Kim Thay Kyun has yal in Kilcwu, Pulyeng, Hoylyeng, yel elsewhere.
sīmīr/tudon	20 <sup>51</sup>	RKG sīmuri
sōdon/sōrin	30	Cf. RKG šōrin
nōdon/mahin	40	Cf. RKG ma'in
tatton/sin	50	Cf. RKG sūin
jōdon/yuksip	60	Cf. RKG ješūin/njukšip
irgupton	70	Cf. RKG nirin
jadipton	80	Cf. RKG jadin
pæk	100	Cf. RKG irbæk
jaɲbæk	200	Cf. RKG njaɲbæk
hanæ toban <sup>52</sup>		"for one year"
mari soi		"three horses"
it <sup>h</sup> i		"two years." Also tuhæ.
hallar		"one day" and it <sup>h</sup> ir "two days."

### Kinship/People

sarimi	person RKS sārīmi
sægi	girl RKS sǎgi. Kim Thay Kyun has this for Sengcin, Kyengseung, Kyenghung, Kyengwen, and Congseung.
sæga	girl

<sup>51</sup> The suffix -don/-dōn 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): nǎ hal-lare čuēni imšōgē nō-don-ī passō. "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)).

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

\*-ɲ#  $\begin{matrix} h \rightarrow \phi & \text{in Seoul} \\ \eta & \text{in Yukcin} \end{matrix}$       \*VɲV  $\begin{matrix} \nearrow \text{VbV} & \text{in Yukcin} \\ \searrow \text{VhV} & \text{in Seoul} \end{matrix}$

All the pertinent examples in Soviet Korean should be collected.

irina	rebēnok	
tʃʰoŋgægi	unmarried young man	
sɔsina	mal'čik RKR sɪna 'mal'cik' <sup>53</sup>	
namdʒa	id.	
aŋkka	wife, woman <sup>54</sup>	
jɔdʒa	id.	
ppappa/abæ	father RKR äbi <sup>55</sup>	
amæ	mother RKR ěmi <sup>56</sup>	
adzæ	fa.'s younger sis. RKR adzɪmanɪ. Kim Thay Kyun has acay for Sengcin, Congseng.	
madæmæ	fa.'s older sis. Kim Thay Kyun has matamay for Cong-seng.	
adzabæ	fa.'s younger bro. RKR adzɪbāni. Cf. O Sey Cwun= acupay for Onseng.	
madabæ	fa.'s older bro.	
nubi	male's older sis. RKR nɪbɪ	
hɔŋimi	older bro. RKR šóŋ-nim	
oræbi	girl's older bro. RKS oräbi. Kim Thay Kyun has olaypi for Sengcin, Kilcwu, Myengchen, Kyengseng, Kyengwen and Musan.	
toŋsæ	younger sis. of girl RKR toŋsä	
hæ	older sis. of girl	
toŋmi	friend	RKS toŋmɪ
a	child	
ægi	baby	
adiri	son	RKR adiri
tʃokʰæ	nephew	RKS tsòkʰä

### Body Parts

pʰari	arm
sokkaragi	finger
sontʰobi	finger nail
partʰobi	toenail
nuni	eye
ibi	mouth
ippari	tooth. Kim Thay Kyun has ippal for Sa.up area and Pulyeng, Musan.

<sup>53</sup> Kim Thay Kyun lists sensuna, sensena, sensunai and sensina, but not sesuna.

<sup>54</sup> Kim Thay Kyun has ankkai for Sengcin, Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Pulyeng.

<sup>55</sup> Kim Thay Kyun has apay for Sengcin, Hakseng, Musan.

<sup>56</sup> Kim Thay Kyun has amay for Myengchen, Kyengseng, Congseng.

port <sup>h</sup> ægi	cheek. Kim Thay Kyun has polthayki for Sa.up area, Musan and Pulyeng.
mori	hair
kori	head.
t <sup>h</sup> ægi	chin
k <sup>h</sup> oi	nose
kkitti	ear <sup>57</sup>
semi	beard
<u>Edibles</u>	
ve	cucumber
muri	id. Kim Thay Kyun has mwulway, muloy occurring across all three sub-areas.
tʃimtʃ <sup>h</sup> 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 <sup>l</sup> Yukcin seems to be kamci.
kotʃ <sup>h</sup> i	a pepper
p <sup>(h)</sup> emidori	tomato(< Russ.). Kim Thay Kyun has pemintoli for Cong-seng.
pabi	rice
targigogi	beef
oksukki	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
tʃanmuri	soup
sogomi	salt
kad'i	eggplant
subagi	watermelon
nɨŋgɨjmi	apple. Kim Thay Kyun has nungum for Musan, Sa.up area and Kyengwen, Congseng, Hoylyeng.
poksæ	peach. Kim Thay Kyun has poksay for Sengcin, Hak-seng, Kilcwu, Myengchen, Kyngseng, Kyengwen.
k <sup>h</sup> oi	bean
k <sup>h</sup> omur	khongmul

<sup>47</sup> Kim Thay Kyun lists kwitti and kwistti separately, which is quite incomprehensible. -tti seems to be a body-part suffix. Cf. RKS pa, pättä "stomach."



nan pabu tʃoba handa  
 nurunge  
 sip<sup>h</sup>ɔrɔŋge  
 ttægi tʃappargan

tada  
 tʃtʃapta  
 ttagapta  
 tʃ<sup>h</sup>agapta  
 tɔpta  
 tʃ<sup>h</sup>ibatta  
 t<sup>h</sup>adʒaŋ han toŋmi  
 mottæda  
 nop<sup>h</sup>un sarimi  
 k<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>ida  
 k<sup>h</sup>oi do k<sup>h</sup>ida  
 pappuda  
 tʃok<sup>h</sup>ekkuma!  
 tʃar hatstsradʒida  
 nɔmi

I like rice. Cf. note 65.  
 yellow<sup>58</sup>  
 green  
 very red. Neither Kazan nor Kim Thay Kyun  
 seems to have ttægi.  
 sweet.  
 salty  
 hot to the touch  
 cold to the touch  
 hot  
 it was cold  
 closest friend  
 bad, evil  
 a tall person (note odd semantics)  
 be tall  
 What a big nose!  
 difficult.  
 Nice!  
 speaks well  
 too much

#### Verbs

næ tʃ <sup>h</sup> ægi iru.	"I'm reading a book."
ɔdʒe tʃ <sup>h</sup> ægi irgɔssɔ.	"Yesterday I read a book."
næ p <sup>h</sup> ɔndʒiɾ ssiu.	"I'm writing a letter."
næjri p <sup>h</sup> ɔndʒiɾ ssiɣessɔ	"Tomorrow I'll write..."
næ nad'e irhao.	"I work during the day."
morunda. (old folks = morundao)	"I don't know."
hatstsar amdo? ('old style')	"Do you know how to do?"
nar tʃ <sup>h</sup> idʒi malla.	"Don't hit me."
kajo kapso.	"Take it."
suru masigessiɔmɔ?	"Will you have some wine?"
mojok hagenninga?	"Are you going to bathe?"
ɔdbwara!	"Look for it!" Kim Thay Kyun has etepota in the sense 'seek' for Kyengwen, Kilcwu, Kyen- gseng, Congseng, and Hoylyeng.
puri punninda	"There's a fire."
tirira!	"Listen!"
mɔŋnɪn saj/annɪn saj	"table/chair." RKS has the same split for /sang./

<sup>58</sup> For the first 32 pages of RKS, adjectives are listed with -ge, e.g. allɪnge = bol'noj "sick," etc.

nari kitʃ <sup>h</sup> inda	“The weather is getting bad.”
mokkiregetta/kiregetta	“I can’t do it.” <sup>59</sup> “I’ll do it.”
æŋgo kkagu tæŋginda	“Wears glasses.” Kim Thay Kyun has no form æŋgo.
ɔtʃtʃækiræja?	“What are you doing?”
t <sup>h</sup> ɛpp(u)rissɔ	“I threw it away. Cf. RKS nidzóppurigi “forget.”
tʃala gadʒa	“Let’s go to sleep.”
sæŋsæ nasso	“Died. (honorific)” Cf. RKS saŋsã-nagi. Kim Thay Kyun has sangsay nata for Kilcwu, Kyengseng, Kyengwen, Onsen, Congsen, and Hoylyeng.
tʃugotta	“died.”
kɔŋgesɔ saŋgi pappidʒi.	“Life is rough there, isn’t it?”
nadu!	“Leave it!”
hæŋ sotta	“Got angry.” Cf. RKS huãri ssigi

#### Other Sentences and Expressions

asumtʃ <sup>h</sup> ajkkuma	“thanks.” (‘vy’)
asumtʃ <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> a	id. (‘ty’)
Korje mar hatstsuranga?	“can you speak Korean?” (‘vy’)
Korje mar hatstsur aja?	id. (‘ty’)
tʃɔ sarimi korjemar hatstsuranda	“That person speaks K.” (‘ty’)
“ ” hatstsurakkuma	id. (‘vy’)
p <sup>h</sup> ɔnɔj kɔpsɔ/kasipso	“Goodbye=go in peace”
‘ ’ issipso	“Goodbye=stay in peace.”
nad’i musun ir handa?	“What do you do in the day?”
ɔdir kanga?/ɔdir kaja?	“Where are you going? (vy/ty)”
tʃibur kagepsɔ	“Let’s go home (polite)”
ɔdisɔ wassimdo?	“Where are you from?”
i ge misigimdo?	“What is this?” (‘old style’)
næ mæg 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

k <sup>h</sup> ari	knife
kasæ	scissors
sakkæ	hat. O Sey Cwun=sakkway for Onsen.

<sup>59</sup> 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.

jɔləgi	love
kʰɔdæ	sack
nurudzige	slowly
tæmbæ	tobacco
tantʰi	button. Cf. O Sey Cwun tanchywuy.
mojok	bath. RKS mojok. Kim Thay Kyun has moyok only for Myengchen.

### A Short Text

onur atʰim-e ir-ɔ na-sɔ, sesi-r ha-go, ki|dam-e nin  
 today morning-at get up-and wash face do-and that after Top  
 mašina andʒasɔ bazar wassɔ. Bazar wasɔ, kotʰi-r pʰadzim.  
 car sit-and bazar came bazar come-and pepper-acc sell-?  
 cɔnjɔgi torao-m, tʃibur kadʒim. uri dʒdibisɔ ʃɔsɪsi sakkuma.  
 eve. come-if home-acc. go-? our home-at 6-nom. live.  
 adir-i sɔi-e namdʒæ i tʃokʰæ. namdʒæ do ir ha-la tæŋgi-go  
 son-nom 3-at husband and(Russ.) nephew. husband-too work-purp. go  
 adir-ni hækkoru tæŋgi-go, a na-nin tʃib|esɔ tʃokkiman a-r  
 son-top school-all. go but(Russ.) I-Top home-at little baby-acc.  
 kadʒi-go tʃib-e ikku, tʃib-esɔ tɔʃɔn-i siŋ|gosɔ mɔkko sadʒim.  
 carry-and home-at be-and home-at garden-acc plant eat live-?  
 ir ha-la katta wa sɔ tʃib-i ir isɔ kkɪtʰi ɔptʃim. adir-ini  
 work go-purp. return home work-ess. end-nom. not-? son-nom-top  
 hækkɔ-sɔ wasɔ kɪr iri-go a uri nɔ tibi ir hago ɛdʒɔn oradzæ  
 school from come letter write but we-top home work do soon  
 namdʒæ otpusk nao-m tʃib-i stroj hadʒago, kiræŋge morugettago...  
 husband leave (< Russ) 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=

- Seoul -wu can also be seen in kot<sup>h</sup>i=kochwu, kargi=kawu, yokki=yewu, tant<sup>h</sup>i=tanchwu, etc.
- dʒim : This a mystery to me and everybody I've asked. It seems to be a story-telling or habitual sentence-final ending.
- ʒsʲis-i : In elicitation, 5 and 6 lack final -s[t].
- sɔi : In elicitation, this was [sɔ].
- i/a : Note the use of Russian particles and recall *čem* "than." Note also that a "and (contrastive)" pairs with -nʲ/-nʲin.
- adɪr-nʲi : This cannot be adɪri-nʲi, as the environment does not call for an accusative. [-r̄ n-] = -l n- is an inconceivable sequence in Seoul or other Korean speech.
- tɔjɔn : Mrs. Cen glossed this as "ogorod" = garden. It is probably SK庭園 cengwen.
- singosɔ : Notice the lack of tensing, vs. Seoul simkko, and that the original /m/ has been assimilated to /ŋ/.
- tʲibi irisɔ & tʲibi ir : I don't know if -i is the "nominative," genitive, or old locative -iɣ/-ay here.
- adɪr-i-nʲi : Notice -nʲi after "nominative" -i.
- ɛdʒɔn oradʒæ : 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. oradʒæ <olaci ani hay?
- stroj hadʒago : Like the earlier example of tʲit<sup>h</sup>a 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 <sup>1</sup>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 tʲobahanda = 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, \*γ→h/ŋ/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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