6   Korean dialects: a general survey

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6.1   Introduction

The Korean language is relatively homogeneous and the dialects from different areas can be mutually intelligible to a great extent. Nevertheless, the dialects of Korean exhibit considerable variety in phonology, morphology, and vocabulary. They are finely differentiated into a number of areas based on regional differences. There is no obvious correlation between the modern dialects and the ancient historical divisions of Korea, i.e. the Three Kingdom period. Silla and Paekche roughly coincide with the current southeastern dialect and southwestern dialect respectively, but northeastern, northwestern, central, and Cheju dialects cannot be correlated with any one ancient historical kingdom in Korea. Since Korea is mountainous, the language is quite naturally divided finely into different dialects according to topography.

Most scholars seem to agree on six major dialectal zones based roughly on different geographical regions:

(1)   The northwestern dialects (P'yŏngan province)
(2)   The northeastern dialects (Hamgyŏng province)
(3)   The central dialects (including Kyŏnggi, Hwanghae, Kangwon and Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces)
(4)   The southwestern dialects (Chŏlla province)
(5)   The southeastern dialects (Kyŏngsang province)
(6)   Cheju dialect (Cheju island)

The dialect used by the Korean community in the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture of China in Manchuria can be included in the Hamgyŏng dialects because their mutual similarity is due to the early immigration of Hamgyŏng people to that area and their subsequent linguistic contact. The language spoken by Koreans in Central Asia, i.e. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan has evolved from the Yukchin dialect that is part of the Hamgyŏng dialects, but it has many archaic forms as well as innovations compared with the original Yukchin dialects (King 1992). In addition to the regional dialects, North Korean and South Korean reveal a considerable linguistic divergence resulting from North and South division in 1945 and the subsequent Korean War in 1950. In this section we will examine the dialectal differences in Korean, salient phonological isoglosses, typical features of each dialect, and the linguistic divergence between North and South Korean. In the body of the text, we transcribe all Korean words in Yale Romanization, but Korean proper names are transcribed in McCune-Reischauer system according to the common practice. In addition, we also adopt a slightly modified version of phonetic symbols for some linguistic/phonetic examples when necessary.

Dialect subzones can be classified by identifying the isoglosses of certain phonological features and morphological/grammatical features as well as lexical features. From the distribution of isoglosses, one can establish many dialectal subareas, but two or more dialectal areas may overlap in certain particular features. Earlier studies on Korean dialects include Ogura (1944); Lee, Sung-Nyong, et al. (1971); Ramsey (1978); Kim, Yong-Hwang (1982); T.K. Kim (1986); H.K. Choy (1987); King (1991); Lee, Ik-seop, et al. (1997); Lee, Ki-gap, et al. (1998); Sohn, Ho-min (1999); Lee & Ramsey (2000); Pangen Yenkwuhoy (2001), among

many others. The description below is largely based on Sohn, Ho-min (1999) and Lee & Ramsey (2000), and additional information and data are taken from King (2006), and Pangen Yenkwuhoy (2001). Linguistic divergences between North Korean and South Korean are largely based on Yeon (2006).

6.2   Representative isoglosses

6.2.1   Tones

Tone functioned as a distinctive feature in Middle Korean. In modern standard Korean, these tonal distinctions have been lost, and vowel length differences remain as their trace (see 5.2.3.1). However, tone is still distinctive in certain dialects. If tone is taken as a criterion to set up larger dialect divisions, Korea can be divided into two parts: an eastern half and a western half. Tone functions as a distinctive feature in the eastern half of the country consisting of Kyŏngsang, Hamkyŏng, and the eastern part of Kangwon (Yŏngdong), while tonal distinction is not a distinctive feature in the western half. However, vowel length instead functions as a distinctive feature for most part of the western half.

Just as in MK, tone in the modern dialects consists of an opposition between high and low pitch. However, the distinction mechanism in the modern dialects is not exactly the same as the earlier system. In a modern Korean dialect, a 'tone' in isolation is not absolutely distinctive unlike in Chinese. For example, when pronounced in isolation, the Hamgyŏng syllable *pay* can mean either 'pear' or 'belly'. However, if a particle or the copula follows, it reveals the underlying tone of the noun: *pay-NUN* (low-high) means 'pear-TOP', while *PAY-nun* (high-low) means 'belly-TOP'. In other words, the perception of the tone of a syllable depends not on its absolute pitch, but rather its pitch relative to that of a neighboring syllable.

Moreover, there is a clear difference between the tonal system of Hamgyŏng and that of Kyŏngsang. For example, in the Hamgyŏng dialects, 'head, hair' is pronounced *meLI* (low-high), while in Kyŏngsang the same word is pronounced *MEli* (high-low); Hamgyŏng *ciLUM* (LH) 'oil' corresponds to Kyŏngsang *CIlum* (HL); Hamgyŏng *AYki* (HL) 'baby' corresponds to Kyŏngsang *AYKI* (HH).

Some examples of minimal pairs depending on tone difference are given below (Lee & Ramsey 2000: 317, transcription modified here to Yale):

(1)   Hamgyŏng
         a.   *mal(-I)* (LH) 'horse' / *MAL(-i)* (HL) 'language; quart'
         b.   *pay(-KA)* (LH) 'pear' / *PAY(-ka)* (HL) 'belly
(2)   (North) Kyŏngsang
         a.   *MAL(-i)* (HL) 'horse' / *MAL(-I)* (HH) 'quart' / *MA:L(-i)* (H-LongL) 'language'
         b.   *PAY(-ka)* (HL) 'pear' / *PAY(-KA)* (HH) 'belly' / *PAY:(-ka)* (H-LongL) 'double'

Although it is a tendency that tone and vowel length stand in complementary distribution with each other, vowel length can also be found in some of the dialect areas with tones. Most of the dialects of North Kyŏngsang have both tone and vowel length. The dialect of the Yŏngdong area of Kangwon has both tone and vowel length functioning to distinguish the meanings of words. There are some dialects that have neither tones nor vowel length. Cheju dialect is a representative one that has neither tones nor vowel length, and there are also other such dialects scattered around North Korea.

6.2.2 The MK vowel *ó* ·

The vowel letter · representing the sound [ʌ] is no longer used in modern Hangul writing. This vowel has been largely lost in Contemporary Korean. In most of the dialects, it has developed into [a], [u], or [o]. However, Cheju dialect has preserved this vowel as [ʌ], a direct descendant of the MK '*arae a*' (·), which is one unique feature of Cheju dialect. The following are words in Cheju dialect where this vowel can be seen: *tʌl* (**tal**) 'moon', *tʌli* (**tali**) 'bridge', *sʌl* (**sal**) 'flesh', *hʌta* (**hata**) 'to do', *masʌl* (**maul**) 'village', *hʌk* (**hulk**) 'earth', *mʌncita* (**mancita**) 'to feel', *phʌli* (**phali**) 'fly', *nongsʌ* (**nongsa**) 'farming'. MK [ʌ] tends to be preserved mainly in first syllables although a few examples are found in other than the first syllable. The exact phonetic quality of the vowel transcribed here as [ʌ] has been a matter of dispute. C.H. Kang (1988) described it as "neither [a] nor [o] nor [ə] but something in between." The presence of the diphthong [jʌ] is an even more unusual and unique feature in Cheju dialect. Examples [jʌ] are *yʌtup* (**yetelp**) 'eight' and *yʌlum* (**yelmay**) 'fruit'.

6.2.3 The MK consonant *z* (△)

The MK consonant △ [z] has completely disappeared in Contemporary Korean, but in some dialects the consonant *s* is sometimes found in its place. Some examples are *kasay/kasikay* (**kawi**) 'scissors', *yesi/yasi/yeswu* (**yewu**) 'fox', *kasil/kasul* (**kaul**) 'autumn', and *masil/masul/mosil* (**maul**) 'village'. The following are some examples of words with this consonant in Kyŏngsang dialect compared with MK:

(3)		N. Kyŏngsang	MK	Seoul
	'scissors'	*kasay/kasigay*	kózaj	**kawi**
	'autumn'	*kasil*	kózól	**kaul**
	'village'	*masul*	mózól	**maul**
	'fox'	*yasi*	jezó	**yewu**
	'turnip'	*musu/musi*	mwuzwu	**muu**

There are two broad areas where *s* (corresponding to MK *z*) has been preserved. In the south, it is found in Kyŏngsang, Chŏlla, and Ch'ungch'ŏng, and in the north, in Hamgyŏng. Standard *s*-irregular verbs (see 5.4.2.1) such as *is-ta* 'to connect', *ces-ta* 'to stir', *cis-ta* 'to build, make', and *nas-ta* 'to recover' are regular in Kyŏngsang, Chŏlla, Ch'ungch'ŏng, and Hamgyŏng provinces as in *is-umyen* (**i-umyen**) 'if [he] connects', *ces-ela* (**ce-ela**) 'stir!', and *nas-ase* (**na-ase**) 'as [he] has recovered'.

6.2.4 The MK consonant *β* (ᄫ)

The MK voiced bilabial fricative consonant ᄫ [β] has also completely disappeared,[1] but in some dialects [b] (phonemically /p/) is found corresponding to MK *β*. For example, MK *saβi* 'shrimp' is reflected variously as *saywu* (Central and P'yŏngan dialects), *sayo* and *saypi/syaypi* (Hamkyŏng and Chŏlla, Kyŏngsang dialects), *saypayngi* (Ch'ungch'ŏng and southern Kyŏnggi province), etc. In general, these areas overlap with those where *s* is preserved in place of MK *z*. The following are some words where *p* has been preserved in Kyŏngsang dialects:

(4)		N. Kyongsang	MK	Seoul
	'shrimp'	*saypi*	saβi	**saywu**
	'silkworm'	*nwupey*	nwuβej	**nwuey**
	'cold'	*chwupun*	chiβón	**chwu:un**
	'pretty'	*kopun*	koβón	**kowun**

Standard *p*-irregular verbs such as **chwup-** 'to be cold', **tep-** 'to be hot', **musep-** 'to be scary', **kop-** 'to be pretty' and **mip-** 'to be hateful' are regular verbs in the Kyŏngsang dialects, as in *chwup-ela* (**chwuw-ela**) 'it's cold' and *kop-ase* (**kow-ase**) 'as [it] is pretty'.

6.2.5 Word-medial *k*

Quite a few words manifest alternation between the presence and absence of *k* in word-medial position depending dialect, as in *pakwu/pangkwu* (**pawi**) 'rock', *kaykol/kaykwul* (**kaywul**) 'brook', *olkay* (**olhay**) 'this year', *tolkaci/tolkay* (**tolaci**) 'Chinese bellflower', and *silkeng/sikeng* (**sileng**) 'wall shelf, rack'. This historical word-medial *k* appears in Kyŏngsang, Hamgyŏng, and part of Chŏlla, while it has been mostly dropped in the Central dialects and P'yŏngan province.

6.2.6 Word-initial *l* and *n*

Northern dialects including P'yŏngan and Hamkyŏng retain the pronunciation of initial *l* in Sino-Korean words, whereas the rest of the dialects have either lost it (before *i* and *y*) or replaced it with *n* otherwise. The P'yŏngan dialect and Yukchin dialect of North Hamgyŏng province also retain the pronunciation of initial *n* before *i* or *y*, whereas the other dialects have lost it, as in *nima* (**ima**) 'forehead', *niphakwu* (**ipsakwi**) 'leaf', *ni* (**i**) 'tooth', *nilkwup* (**ilkop**) 'seven', *nyeca/neca* (**yeca**) 'woman', *nelum* (**yelum**) 'summer', and *nwuwel* (**yuwel**) 'June'.

6.2.7 Palatalization

Using palatalization as the criterion for classification, the dialects of Korea are divided into three areas. In one area, the dialects underwent no palatalization whatsoever. In the second area, dental consonants (*t, th*, and *tt*) palatalized, but velar consonants (*k, kh, kk*, and *h*) did not. In the third area, both of these two consonant types are palatalized.

The palatalization of *t, th*, and *tt* refers to the change of these dental stops to *c, ch*, and *cc* when the consonants occurred before *i* or *y*. Most of the dialects of Korea, including standard Seoul speech, underwent this change quite early after the 17th century. However, the P'yŏngan dialects in the northwest have not undergone this change. As a result, the unpalatalized forms are the most noticeable and typical characteristic of these North Korean dialects. *t*-palatalization began in the southern dialects and gradually spread to the north, affecting nearly all dialects except P'yŏngyan and the far northeast Yukchin dialect. Here are some examples that did not undergo palatalization in the P'yŏngan dialect: *thita* (**chita**) 'to hit', *ttiluta* (**cciluta**) 'to thrust', *hetiman* (**haciman**) 'but', *kathi* (**kathi** [katʃʰi]) 'together', *kwuti* (**kwuti** [kudʒi]) 'firmly', and *kwuthita* (**kwuthita** [kutʃʰida]) 'to harden'.

The term '*k*-palatalization' refers to the change of the velars *k, kh, kk* to *c, ch, cc* when the consonants occur before *i* or *y*. Some representative examples are as follows: *cil* (**kil**) 'road', *cilum* (**kilum**) 'oil', *citong* (**kitong**) 'pillar', *cwul* (**kyul**) 'an orange', *cilta* (**kilta**) 'to be long', *cyenwuta* (**kyenwuta**) 'to take aim', and *cciwuta* (**kkiwuta**) 'to insert'. The area where *k*-

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palatalization occurred includes Kyŏngsang, Chŏlla, Ch'ungch'ŏng, Cheju, the eastern part of Kangwon (Yŏngdong) in the south, and Hamgyŏng in the north. In this area, the velar fricative *h* can also palatalized (*h*-palatalization), as in *sim* (**him**) 'strength', *seng* (**hyeng**) 'older brother', and *sungnyen* (**hyungnyen**) 'bad crop year'.

6.2.8 Umlaut

In the South Hamgyŏng dialect there is a productive umlaut system in which *a, e, u, o, wu* are fronted to *ay, ey, i, oy, wi* ([ɛ], [e], [i], [ø], [y]), respectively, when they are immediately followed by a non-coronal consonant plus a high, front, non-consonantal segment. Here are some examples where fronting due to umlaut has become lexicalized: *eymi* (**emi**) 'mother', *koyki* (**koki**) 'meat', *payppwiki* (**paykkop**) 'navel', *nwipi* (**nwui**) 'sister', and *acwimi* (**acwumi**) 'aunt'. Umlaut does not occur if the interceding consonant is a coronal: *kaci* 'eggplant', *poli* 'barley', *keli* 'street', *wuli* 'cage'. Umlaut also applies quite frequently to Kyŏngsang dialects as well.

6.2.9 Inflection of *t*-irregular verbs

In standard Korean, certain verb stems end in *-t-* before a consonant but *-l-* [ɾ] before a vowel; for example, **tut-ko** 'hear and…', **tul-umyen** 'if [you] hear'. However, in certain dialects, a *t*-irregular verb like *tut-* 'to hear' can occasionally have the regular inflection of verbs. In P'yŏngan dialects, for example, although most *t*-irregular verbs have the same irregularities as the standard language, the one verb *tut-* 'to hear' is regularly inflected as following: *tut-ko, tut-uni, tut-eto,* …

6.2.10 Phoneme inventory

As far as consonants are concerned, almost every dialect has an identical set of phonemes. The only exception to this generalization is that in Kyŏngsang there is no contrast between *s* and *ss*. In some parts of Kyŏngsang dialect, the words **sal** 'flesh, meat' and **ssal** 'rice' cannot be distinguished in pronunciation, nor can **sata** 'to buy' and **ssata** 'to be cheap'. However, considerable differences are found in vowel inventory.

In the Kyŏngsang dialects there is no contrast between *e* [ə] and *u* [ɨ]. Thus, the words **thul** 'frame' and **thel** 'hair' are both pronounced the same in these dialects. The Kyŏngsang pronunciation of **sungca** 'winner' and **sengca** 'saint' is heard as identical by Seoul standard speakers. As speakers of Kyŏngsang dialects have merged *e* and *u* into one phoneme, the phonemic inventory has one fewer vowel than other dialects.

Many dialects do not distinguish *ay* [ɛ] from *ey* [e]. The area where this merger occurs is also Kyŏngsang. In these dialects, the vowel that has resulted from the merger is usually neither [ɛ] nor [e], but rather somewhere between the two sounds. Speakers of Kyŏngsang dialects do not distinguish between **kay** 'dog' and **key** 'crab' or between **nay** 'my' and **ney** 'your'.

In many dialects, the vowels *oy* [ø] and *wi* [y] are not pronounced as monophthongs. The standard pronunciation of *oy* may be stipulated as [ø], but the actual pronunciation of the vowel in most dialects tends to be the diphthong [we] rather than a monophthong. Nevertheless, there are areas such as Ch'ungch'ŏng, Chŏlla, Hwanghae, and eastern Kangwon (Yŏngdong) where the vowels *oy* and *wi* are pronounced as the monophthongs.

6.3 Characteristics of six different dialects

6.3.1 Northwest (P'yŏngan) dialects

P'yŏngan dialects have eight simple vowels *i* [i], *ey* [e], *ay* [ɛ], *u* [ɨ], *e* [ə], *a* [a], *wu* [u], *o*[o]. P'yŏngan dialects are virtually unique in that they never underwent the change of palatalization which took place in the south and swept over most of Korea in the 18th century. The Yukchin dialects in northernmost Hamkyŏng were also free from palatalization. Thus, P'yŏngan dialects show neither the *t*-palatalization nor the *k*- and *h*-palatalizations prevalent in southern and northeastern dialects.

In these dialects, unlike standard Korean and other dialects, *n* occurs before *i* and *y* in the word-initial position, as in *ni* (**i**) 'tooth', *niwus* (**iwus**) 'neighbor', and *nima* (**ima**) 'forehead', etc. P'yŏngan dialect is also peculiar in that it retains the historical intervocalic *k*, as in *silkeng* (**sileng**) 'wall shelf', *naykwuli* (**nay**) 'smoke', and *molkay* (**molay**) 'sand'.

In addition to the subject marker -*i*, P'yŏngan dialects have another subject particle -*lay/ley*. -*i* is used after a consonant and -*lay/ley* is used after a vowel. For example, *nay-ley kulaysiyo* (the closest semantic equivalent in standard Korean being **nay-ka kulaysseyo**) 'I did it', *nay-ley katuleyttiyo* (**nay-ka kassessciyo**) 'I went', *ku nengkam-i na-lkwa tongkap iti* (**ku yengkam-i na-wa tongkap ici**) 'He is the same age as me'. -*lay/ley* is a form peculiar to P'yŏngan. The verb ending -*tuleyt*- marks the 'remote past tense' and corresponds to **-ess.ess-** in standard Korean. The final ending -*tiyo* beginning with a -*t*- illustrates that this dialect did not undergo *t*-palatalization.

Many idiosyncratic sentence enders that are partly shared by the Hamgyŏng dialects are:

(5)   Declarative: *-(u)m-ney/mey, -(u)wey* (functionally equivalent to standard **-e**, **-ney**, **-uo/so**)

     -swu-ta, -(su)p-ney-ta, -(su)p-mey-ta, -(u)wa-yo, -(u)p-ti, -(u)wey-ta (**-eyo**, **-(su)pnita**)

Interrogative: *-(u)m-mey?, -wu?, -kan?* (**-e?**, **-na?**, **-uo/so?**)

     -(su)p-ney-kka?, -(su)p-mey-kka? (**-(su)pnikka?**)

Imperative: *-(u)si-tana, -(u)m-mey* (**-key**, **-sey**, **-uo/so**)

     -(u)si-la-yo, -(u)si-kyo, -(u)si-p-syo (**-(u)seyyo**, **-(u)sipsio**)

The following are representative sentence examples (the sentence examples throughout this section are predominantly from Sohn (1999) and Lee & Ramsey (2000), whose examples were originally taken from Lee, Ik-seop, Lee, Sang-oak and Chae, Wan (1997).)

(6)   a.   *etumey   ka-si-p-ney-kka*
          where.to   go-HON-POL-IND-Q
          'Where are you going?'
          (**eti-ey ka-si-pnikka**)
     b.   *na ampulla an   ka-mun ekha-kan*
          I   even   not   go-if   how.do-Q
          'If even I don't go, what could we do?'
          (**na-cocha an ka-myen etheh-key ha-keyss-na**)
     c.   *onel   ka-ss-ta   o-kas-swu-ta*
          today   go-PAST-and   come-will-POL-DEC
          'I will go there and come back today.'

(**onul ka-ss-ta o-keyss-supnita**)

Like some other Korean dialects, P'yŏngan has just three speech levels: low, equal, and respect. As in many dialects, P'yŏngan dialect has many unique lexemes. For example: *chanpap* (vs standard **cemsim**) 'lunch', *nephchakay* (**hocwumeni**) 'pocket', *peylkwuti* (**pyelwuk**) 'flea', *wuthi* (**os**) 'clothes', *elkheni* (**menilka**) 'distant relative', *mulwu* (**wupak**) 'hail', *omani* (**emeni**) 'mother', *eyminey* (**anay**, **yeca**) 'wife, woman', *punthu* (**aytul sin**) 'kid's shoes', *ssata* (**pissata**) 'to be expensive', *nwukta* (**ssata**) 'to be cheap', *kaykata* (**kacyekata**) 'to take along', *hanang* (**hamkkey**) 'together', *wuteng* (**ilpule**) 'on purpose', *sepsepi* (**hepha**) 'lung', *yel* (**ssulkay**) 'gallbladder'.

6.3.2   Northeast (Hamgyŏng) dialects

A major feature of Hamgyŏng dialects which they share with Kyŏngsang and Yŏngdong (east of Kangwon) dialects is distinctive pitch accent (tone). Hamgyŏng dialects are usually described as lacking distinctive vowel length.

One phonological characteristic of Hamgyŏng dialect is the weakening of [n] and [ŋ] when these nasal consonants follow a vowel and precede *i* or *y*. When this weakening occurs, the preceding vowel is nasalized, and in place of [n] there is a constriction at the glottis. A stereotypical feature of Hamgyŏng dialect is the local pronunciation of the negative morpheme **ani**, which becomes [ã ʔi] as a result of this (Lee & Ramsey 2000: 332).

Hamgyŏng dialects also retain the historical word-medial or intervocalic *β z k* as *p s k*, respectively, as in *nwupey* (**nwuey**) 'silkworm', *hapulaypi* (**holapi**) 'widower', *kasay* (**kawi**) 'scissors', *mosi* (**moi**) 'feed (for chickens)', *molkay* (**molay**) 'sand', and *nolki* (**nolwu**) 'roe deer'.

Hamgyŏng dialects preserve a number of alternations in both nouns and verbs which can be traced back to MK. For example, **namu** (MK *namk-*) 'tree': *nayngki* (subject), *nangku* (object; possessive), *nangkey* (dative), *nangkullu* (instrumental), *nangkunu* (topic), *namuka* (comitative). A characteristic of Hamgyŏng dialect is the use of *-u/-lu* as the accusative marker instead of **-ul/-lul** in standard Korean. In this case the final consonant of the particle has been weakened.

The representative sentence enders characteristic to Hamgyŏng dialects are:

(7)   Declarative: *-(u)m-mey, -(u)m-ney, -(u)cipi, -(u)way* (**-e, -ney, -uo/so**)
            -ota, -wuta, -weta, -op-cipi, -(u)m-mey-ta (**-eyo, -(su)pnita**)
        Interrogative: *-wu?, -(u)m-mey?, -cipi?, -m-nungka?, -(u)m-twu(ng)?* (**-e?, -na?, -uo/so?**)
            -sswu-ta?, -(u)m-mengi?, -(u)p-syo?, -(u)p-mi-kka? (**-eyo?, -(su)pnikka?**)
        Imperative: *-(u)p-sey, -(u)p-so, -cipi* (**-e, -key, -sey, -uo/so**)
            -sosey, -wuta, -si-p-so (**-eyo, -(u)sipsio**)
        Propositive: *-op-sey, -op-ci(pi)* (**-(u)sipsita**)

Representative sentence examples are as follows:

(8)   a.   *polipap-pokwu-sa   nas-cipi*
            barley.rice-than-EMPH   better-DEC
            'It is certainly better than barley rice.'

(**polipap-pota-ya nas-ci**)
b.   *tep-untey   kule-ng   ke   ip-hiwu-ci   ma-wuta*
hot-as   that-MOD   thing   wear-CAUS-CON   stop-IMP
'Don't make him wear such a thing as it is hot.'
(**tew-untey kule-n kes ip-hi-ci ma-seyyo**)

Hamgyong dialect vocabulary examples are as follows: *meykwuli* (vs standard **kaykwuli**), 'frog', *yekki/eykki/yengkki* (**yewu**) 'fox', *phusungkay* (**hepha**) 'lung', *kwusay* (**kwulttuk**) 'chimney', *esi* (**pumo**) 'parents', *kasieypi* (**cangin**) '(male's) father-in-law', *tongsami* (**kyewul**) 'winter', *solay* (**tayya**) 'wash basin', *ankkan* (**anay**) 'wife', *haym* (**panchan**) 'side dishes', *kayngkay* (**kamca**) 'potato', *nwuli* (**wupak**) 'hail', *twuley* (**tul**) 'field', *misikkan* (**oyyangkan**) 'stable', *naco* (**cenyek**) 'evening', *polthi* (**acwu**) 'very'.

6.3.3   Central dialects

The central dialects contain the standard speech of Korean as a subset. Although Seoul speech is considered the standard speech, the dialects outside of Seoul tend to show a few salient phonological characteristics. First, in colloquial speech, the vowel *o* is frequently raised to *wu* in final syllables of certain native morphemes, especially when it occurs as part of a suffix, as in **kuliko** > *kulkwu* 'and', **mek-eto** > *mek-etwu* 'eat but', **na-to** > *na-twu* 'I also', **sikol** > *sikwul* 'countryside', and **ka-ss-o?** > *ka-ss-wu?* 'Has (he) gone?' Second, palatalization is not as prevalent as in the southern dialects, but not as weak as in the P'yŏngan dialect. The central dialects have undergone *t*-palatalization, but neither *k*- nor *h*-palatalization. Palatalization is more widespread in Ch'ungch'ŏng province and grows stronger as one moves further south as it is closer to Kyŏngsang dialects. Third, the historical word-medial (or intervocalic) *β z k* disappeared completely or weakened while some other dialects have retained them as *p s k*, respectively.

Technically speaking, the central dialects include at least three sub-dialects, corresponding to Kyŏnggi, Kangwon, and Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces.[2] Some linguists include parts of Hwanghae province, too.

Kyŏnggi and Ch'ungch'ŏng dialects have distinctive vowel length, as do most areas of Kangwon, but the Yŏngdong dialect (east of Kangwon) also has pitch accent (High and Low tones). Some relatively idiosyncratic aspects of the Ch'ungch'ŏng dialect are slow tempo of speech[3] and general retention of the historical intervocalic *z* as *s*, as in *masil* (**maul**) 'village', *asi* (**awu**) 'younger brother', *is-e* (**i-e**) 'connect and', and *muswu* (**muu**) 'turnip'. The most stereotyped grammatical feature of Ch'ungch'ŏng dialects is the use of the sentence ending -*yu*, corresponding to standard **-yo**. Some idiosyncratic sentence enders in Ch'ungch'ŏng dialect are:

(9)   Declarative: *-ta-ya* (**-ta**), *-swu* (**-uo/so**), *-eyu* (**-eyo**)
    Interrogative: *-wu?* (**-uo/so?**), *-nam?* (**-na?**), *-eyu?* (**-eyo?**), *-sup-ni-kkya?* (**-supnikka?**)
    Imperative: *-keyna* (**-key**), *-wu* (**-uo/so**), *-eyu* (**-eyo**)
    Propositive: *-ciyu* (**-ciyo**)

Ch'ungch'ŏng dialect vocabulary examples are: *tochi* (vs standard **tokki**) 'axe', *momci/mondayki* (**menci**) 'dust', *kengkeni* (**panchan**) 'side dishes', *pokumchi/pokwuni/pokwuli* (**pakwuni**) 'basket', *elleng* (**ellun**) 'quickly', *sipang* (**cikum**)

'now', *ei* (**ese**) 'right away', *naytwung* (**yethay-kkaci**) 'until now', *kecin/kecipan* (**keuy**) 'almost', *talputa* (**taluta**) 'to be different', *mikkalmacta* (**mipta**) 'to be hateful', *swukkumhata* (**coyonghata**) 'to be quiet'.

6.3.4 Southwest (Chŏlla) dialects

Chŏlla dialects have nine vowels as a result of merging *ey* [e] and *ay* [ɛ]. Some salient phonological features characteristic to Chŏlla dialects are as follows: first, palatalization is widespread including *k*- and *h*-palatalization, as in *cimchi* (**kimchi**) 'kimchee', *cil* (**kil**) 'road', *cim* (**kim**) 'steam, seaweed', *sey* (**hye**) 'tongue', and *seng* (**hyeng**) 'older brother'. Second, vowel fronting or raising frequently occurs, as in *kwusil* (**kwusul**) 'bead', *kasim* (**kasum**) 'chest', *kali* (**kalwu**) 'powder', *kochi* (**kochwu**) 'red pepper', *chimey* (**chima**) 'skirt', *ki* (**key**) 'crab', *pita* (**peyta**) 'to cut', *pikey-lul pita* (**peykey-lul peyta**) 'to rest one's head on a pillow'. Umlaut also occurs frequently, for example: *saymil* (**samil**) 'three days', *kaylita* (**kalita**) 'to hide', *soyk-i* (**sok-i**) 'inside-NOM', *payp-i* (**pap-i**) 'rice-NOM'. Third, Chŏlla dialect tends to exhibit extensive monophthongization of standard diphthongs, as in *ppey* (**ppye**) 'bone', *ppam* (**ppyam**) 'cheek', *sengnang* (**sengnyang**) 'matches', *kwusin* (**kwisin**) 'ghost', *peyl* (**pyel**) 'star', *pey* (**pye**) 'unhusked rice'. Fourth, this dialect retains the historical word-medial *z* and *k* as *s* and *k*, respectively, in many words, as in *kasey/kasikey* (**kawi**) 'scissors', *kasim* (**kam**) 'material', *masil* (**maul**) 'village', *tolkaci* (**tolaci**) 'Chinese bellflower', *pakwu* (**pawi**) 'rock', *nangkwu* (**namu**) 'tree', *pelkeci* (**peleci**, **pelley**) 'worm'.

Chŏlla dialects have the following interesting pronouns: *nuku* (vs **nehuy**) 'you-plural', *cuku* (**ku-tul**, **caki-tul**) 'they', *caku* (**caki**) 'self'. A productive adverbial suffix in Chŏlla dialect is *-heni*, which corresponds to **-key** in standard Korean, as in *kkaykkasheni* (**kkaykkushakey**) 'cleanly', *mianheni* (**mianhakey**) 'regretfully', and *nwule(he)ni* (**nwulehkey**) 'in yellow'. Other typical Chŏlla shapes are *-mayngilo* (vs **-chelem**) 'like', *-kanti* (**-killay**) 'as, since', and *-ullako* (**-ulyeko**) 'intending'

A typical form characteristic to Chŏlla dialects is *-ttamsi* or *-ttamse* meaning 'because of'. Hearing this form, most Koreans would associate it with Chŏlla dialect. Another characteristic is that *-lau* is used as a polite style ending instead of **-eyo**. Other conjunctive suffixes somewhat unique to this dialect include *-(u)ngkkey/ningkkey* (vs **-(u)nikka**) 'because' as in *ka-ngkkey* (**ka-nikka**) 'because [he] goes' and *kuleng-kkey/kung-kkey* (**kule-nikka**) 'thus, therefore'; *-(u)msilong* (vs **-(u)myense**) 'while doing/being' as in *coh-umsilong* (**coh-umyense**) 'while [he] feels happy'. Also, the pre-final ending *-ke/-kye* serves as the honorific marker instead of **-si**, as in *ka-kye-lau* (**ka-seyyo**) 'goes', *ka-kye-ssnya?* (**ka-sy-essnunya?**) 'Did (someone) go?', *kumsaypo o-kye-lau?* (**pelsse o-sey-yo?**) 'Is [someone] coming already?'

Sentence enders unique to this dialect are as follows:

(10)   Declarative: *-eya* (**-ta**), *-elawu* (**-eyo**), *-lsey*, *-si* (**-ney**), *-ye* (**-ya**)
　　　　Interrogative: *-eya? -nya?* (**-ni**, **-(n)unya?**), *-elawu?* (**-eyo?**), *-(su)p-ni-kkye?* (**-(su)pnikka?**)
　　　　Imperative: *-so* (**-key**)
　　　　Propositive: *-tulako* (**-sey**)

In addition, the form *-ing* [-iŋ], with question intonation, is often used at the end of a sentence as a confirmation seeker ('…isn't that right?') that is more or less comparable to standard **ung**, but [-iŋ] can be used with polite or formal speech styles. Since standard **ung**

can only be used in plain or panmal conversation style, the Chŏlla form [-iŋ] in more polite contexts is often misunderstood by Seoulites as rude and impolite. The following are representative sentence examples:

(11) a. *me   ttamsi   os-ul   ip-ess-elau*
         what   because.of clothes-ACC   wear-PAST-Q
         'Why have you put on clothing?'
         (**mo ttaymun-ey os-ul ip-ess-eyo**)
     b. *kumseypo   o-kye-lau-iŋ*
         already   come-HON-Q-TAG
         'You are here already, aren't you?'
         (**pelsse o-sey-yo**)
     c. *inca   ka   po-tulako-iŋ*   (Lee, Ki-gap, et al. (1998))
         now   go   see-let's-TAG
         'Let's go now.'
         (**icey ka po-sey/po-siciyo**)

The following are some words characteristic to Chŏlla dialects: *neyngkal* (vs **yenki**) 'smoke', *koypi* (**hocwumeni**) 'pocket', *cichen* (**kkwucilam**) 'scolding', *nucakwu* (**canglayseng**) 'a future', *icengsulepta* (**kkomkkomhata**) 'to be meticulous', *pungkepta* (**twukkepta**) 'to be thick', *photasi* (**kyewu**) 'barely', *taypteylo* (**tolie**) 'on the contrary', *mollayngi* (**kkoktayki**) 'tip', *phaykkakcil* (**ttalkkwukcil**) 'hiccup'.

6.3.5   Southeast (Kyŏngsang) dialects

Kyŏngsang dialects have just six vowels: *i* [i], *e* [ə], *ey* [e], *a* [a], *wu* [u], *o* [o]. In these dialects, standard Korean [e] and [ɛ] have merged as [e], and standard *u* [ɨ] and *e* [ə] have merged as *e* [ə]. Kyŏngsang dialects do not distinguish between lax *s* and tense *ss*. This dialect has undergone many simplifications in the course of its evolution. Thus, semivowels tend to disappear after a consonant, as in *pho* (**phyo**) 'ticket', *saka* (**sakwa**) 'apple', *ki* (**kwi**) 'ear', *haksilhi* (**hwaksilhi**) 'surely', *munha* (**munhwa**) 'culture', *keni* (**kwenwi**) 'authority', and *kankang* (**kwankwang**) 'sightseeing'.

The Kyŏngsang dialects form the other principal area together with Hamgyŏng where the distinctions of MK tones have been preserved. These dialects resemble the Hamgyŏng dialects in that (most) tonal patterns depend on an accent locus characterized by a high pitch.

Another salient feature is umlaut. Umlaut applies quite freely in Kyŏngsang dialects. *i* or *y* fronts preceding *wu, e, o, u, a* unless blocked by an intervening coronal consonant, as in *pangmayngi* (**pangmangi**) 'mallet', *eymi* (**emi**) 'mother' *keyki* (**koki**) 'meat', *kameyni* (**kamani**) 'bag'.

Kyŏngsang dialects preserve MK *z* as *s*, and MK *β* as *p*. For example: *chwupi/chipi* (**chwuwi**) 'cold', *tepi* (**tewi**) 'heat', *kapuntey* (**kawuntey**) 'middle'

Palatalization is widespread: indeed this region is known as the epicenter for *k*-palatalization. Examples are *citwung* (**kitwung**) 'pillar', *cil* (**kil**) 'road'. A typical example of *h*-palatalization is *swungnyen* (**hyungnyen**) 'bad harvest'.

In this dialect, we can witness extensive contractions occurring in colloquial speech. Some sentence examples are *eps-sim-te* (**eps-supnita**) '(I) don't have (it)', *me-la kha-no?* (**mwes-i-la ko ha-ni?**) 'What are you talking about?', and *wa ikha-no?* (**way ileh-key ha-ni?**) 'Why do you do this way?'

Representative sentence enders characteristic of this dialect are as follows:

(12)   Declarative: *-e/a yey* (**-eyo**), *-(si)m-te, -si-te, -ni-te* (**-(su)pnita**)
            Interrogative: *-no*   (**-ni**),   *-nung-kyo?* (**-(n)unkayo?**),   *-((si)p)-ni-kkye?* (**-(su)pnikka?**)
            Imperative: *-si-i-so* (**-(u)sipsio**)
            Propositive: *-ip-si-te* (**-(u)sipsita**)

The following are representative sentence examples of Kyŏngsang dialect:

(13) a.   *cip-ey*   *iss-nun*   *twung* *eps-nun*   *twung* *mol-si-te*
           home-LOC be-MOD   if   be.not-MOD if   not.know-HON-DEC
           'I don't know whether (he) is at home or not.'
           (**cip-ey iss-nun-ci eps-nun-ci molu-keyss-supnita**)
     b.   *phettek*   *o-si-i-so*
           quickly   come-HON-POL-DEC
           'Please come quickly.'
           (**ppali o-si-psio**)
     c.   *ni-khang*   *nay-khang*   *talm-ess-cey*
           you-and   I-and   resemble-PAST-TAG
           'You and I are alike, aren't we?'
           (**ne-lang na-lang talm-ass-ci**)
     d.   *atul-manchilo* *wa*   *kula-no*
           children-like   why do-Q
           'Why are [you] acting like children?'
           (**aytul-chelem way kule-ni**)

Some of the vocabulary unique to Kyŏngsang dialects is as follows: *kapuntali* (**cintuki**) 'quietly, in earnest', *sikkephayssta* (**nollassta**) 'was surprised', *melakhwunta* (**kkwucissta**) 'to scold', *hamo* (**am**) 'of course', *ppucileyki* (**pusuleki**) 'fragments', *tongkayta* (**phokayta**) 'to overlap', *hwupita/totikkhita* (**hwumchita**) 'to steal', *hama* (**pelsse**) 'already', *kkapchita* (**caychokhata**) 'to urge, hurry'.

6.3.6 Cheju dialect

Cheju dialect has nine simple vowels [i, e, ɛ, ɨ, ə, a, u, o, ʌ] and 13 diphthongs (*ye, yɛ, yŏ, ya, yu, yo, yʌ, wi, we, wɛ, wŏ, wa, ŭy*). The most salient feature of the vowel system is the existence of the vowel [ʌ], a direct descendant of the MK *ó* ・ .

Umlaut is not a characteristic of Cheju dialect, but many nouns ending in a vowel show traces of the addition of an *-i*, which has fronted the original vowel, as in *kotungey* (**kotunge**) 'mackerel', *kamcwi* (**kamcwu**) 'sweet rice wine', *nwuey* (**no**) 'oar'. The palatalization behavior for Cheju dialect is similar to those of other southern dialects. Cheju has experienced *t*-palatalization and has also undergone *k-* and *h-* palatalization as in *cilta* (**kilta**) 'to be long', *sey* (**hye**) 'tongue'.

Some fossilized suffixes peculiar to Cheju dialects are *-ang*, *-(ay)ngi*, and *-ayki*, as observed in *patang* (vs **pata**) 'sea', *halwupang* (**halapeci**) 'grandfather, old man', *apang* (**apeci**) 'father', *sayngi* (**say**) 'bird', *keyngi* (**key**) 'crab', *kangsayngi* (**kangaci**) 'puppy', *cokayngi* (**cokay**) 'shell', *tʌksayki* (**talkyal**) 'egg', *songayki* (**songaci**) 'calf', and *paksayki*

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(**pakaci**) 'gourd dipper'.

There are numerous sentence enders unique to this dialect:

(14) Declarative *-(u)khiye, -em-ce, -em-se, -em-chwu, -khwu-ta* (**-ta**, **-e**, **-ney**, **-uo/so**)
      -em-swu-ta, -(s)wu-ta (**-eyo**, **-(su)pnita**)
      Interrogative: *-em-ti(ya)?, -em-sini?, -esinya?* (**-ni?**, **-(n)unya?**)
      -m-kka?, -m-kko?, -em-se?, -em-singa? (**-e?**, **-na?**, **-uo/so?**)
      -em-swu-kkwa?, -(wu)kkwa? (**-eyo?**, **-(su)pnikka?**)
      Imperative: *-(u)p-se, -(u)p-ce, -(u)sim, -cwu* (**-ela**, **-key**, **-e**, **-uo/so**, **-eyo**, **-(u)sipsio**)
      Propositive: *-(u)p-se, -(u)p-ce, -(u)sim, -cwu* (**-ca**, **-sey**, **-e**, **-eyo**, **-(u)sipsita**)

The following sentences are typical examples from Cheju dialects:

(15) a. *etu-ley   ka-m-swu-kkwa*
          where-to   go-IND-HON-Q
          'Where are you going?'
          (**eti-lo ka-si-pnikka**)
      b. *ka-tang   mul-eng ka-khwu-ta*
          go-while   ask-and   go-will-DEC
          'I will go asking around.'
          (**ka-taka mul-ese-ka-keyss-o**)
      c. *na-yeng   hʌnti   sala-m-ce*
          I-with   together   live-IND-DEC
          '(He) is living with me.'
          (**na-lang hamkkey sal-ko iss-ta**)

There are also many words unique to Cheju dialects that contain many old forms. Examples are *puay* (vs **hepha**) 'lung', *kwulmay* (**kulimca**) 'shadow', *keyyemci* (**kaymi**) 'ant', *taysani* (**manul**) 'garlic', *cisay* (**kiwa**) 'roof tile', *wuley* (**wulthali**) 'fence', *cengcey* (**puekh**) 'kitchen', *tochi* (**tokki**) 'ax', *pipali* (**kyeycip.ay**) 'girl', *simpang* (**mutang**) 'shaman', *nʌmphi* (**muu**) 'turnip', *kkwang* (**ppye**) 'bone', *pappuli/papchwuli/pammeli* (**camcali**) 'dragonfly', *sayngi/chopsayngi* (**chamsay**) 'sparrow', *hwangkoci* (**mucikay**) 'rainbow', *tokwayngi* (**hoyoli palam**) 'whirlwind', *montok* (**menci**) 'dust', etc.

6.4   Soviet Korean Yukchin dialect

In addition to six different dialectal groups, it is worth mentioning that there is another peculiar dialect outside of the Korean peninsula. As briefly mentioned at the beginning, the language spoken by Koreans in the former Soviet Union, i.e. in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, has evolved from the Yukchin dialect that is part of the Hamgyŏng dialect, but it has many characteristic features distinct from current Hamgyŏng dialect. The Koreans in Central Asia are those who originally lived in the Russian Far East and were forcefully deported in 1937 by Stalin. The first Korean emigrants to the Russian Far East were mainly from the Yukchin area of North Hamgyŏng province, and they have been isolated from Korea for approximately a hundred years, preserving many archaic as well as peculiar forms. Koreans in Central Asia call their language 'Kolyemal' [Koryŏmar], thus we adopt this term to refer to Soviet Korean Yukchin dialect. The following are representative characteristics of this dialect (King & Yeon

1992):

Standard Korean *l* is pronounced as a tap, or as a rolled [r] in all positions of Kolyemal, except before another *l*, as in *ppalli* (**ppalli**) 'qucikly', *targari* (**talkyal**) 'egg', *harmi* (**halmi**) 'grandmother', *murkkoki* (**mulkoki**) 'fish', *cerpani* (**celpan**) 'half'. Kolyemal has a pitch accent system, composed of High and Low pitches, as in *SUri* 'spoon' vs. *suRI* 'alcohol', *maRI* 'horse' vs. *MAri* 'words/speech'.

In Kolyemal, *p*-irregular verbs and *s*-irregular verbs conjugate like regular verbs. In other words, intervocalic *-p-* and *-s-* are retained as the result of this dialect never undergoing lenition, as in *tep-ese* (**tew-ese**) 'is hot and', *kop-un* (**kow-un**) 'pretty', *cis-umu* (**ci-umyen**) 'if [X] builds', *pus-ese* (**pu-ese**) 'pour and so'.

This dialect retains MK pronunciations /su, cu, chu/, whereas they are pronounced /si, ci, chi/ in standard Korean, as in *sulehata* (**silhehata**, c.f. MK *sulhóta*) 'not to like', *sucip kata* (**sicip kata**) 'to get married', *sulita* (**silita**) 'to be painfully cold', *sukkemaycita* (**sikkemaycita**) 'to become black', *culta* (**cilta**) 'to be muddy', *achum* (**achim**) 'morning'.

Kolyemal preserves Middle Korean *n* as [n] before *i* or *y*, as in *ni* (**i**) 'tooth; louse', *nemmari* (**yeys-mal**) 'old story; folk tale', *nyayki* (**iyaki**) 'story'.

Kolyemal frequently deletes *l* before coronal sounds, as in *kita* (**kilta**) 'to be long', *twungguta* (**twungkulta**) 'to be round', *tumuta* (**tumulta**) 'to be rare', *saci ana* (**salci anha**) 'don't live'.

The most salient feature in case-marking in Kolyemal is the absence of nominative marker *-ka*. There is only one nominative marker *-i*, which is also added to nouns in citation form, as in *kwurumi* (**kwulum**) 'cloud', *moki* (**mok**) 'neck', *napi* (**nap**) 'lead'. Other case-markers used in this dialect are as follows: accusative *-u/-ru* (**-ul/lul**), instrumental *-li/-illi* (**-(u)lo**), dative-locative *-ey* (**-ey**) for inanimates, and *-(u)key* (**-eykey**) for animates, ablative *-eyse* (**-eyse**) for inanimates, and *-(u)keyse* (**-eykeyse**) for animates.

Kolyemal preserves Middle Korean *k*-irregular nouns, as in *namwu ~ nangk-i* (< MK *namo ~ namk-i*) 'tree(-NOM)', *kwuna ~ kwungk-i* (< MK *kwumwu ~ kwumk-i*) 'hole(-NOM)', *karki ~ karkwu* (< MK *kóló ~ kólh-i*) 'powder'.

The following are representative sentence enders unique to Kolyemal:

(16)	Declarative:	*-kkuma* (**-(su)pnita**), *-(u)o* (**-eyo**)
	Declarative retrospective:	*-(u)pti-kkuma* (**-(su)ptita**), *-(u)ptey* (**-teyyo**)
	Interrogative:	*-(u)mtu?* (**-(su)pnikka?**), *-(u)o?* (**-eyo?**)
	Interrogative retrospective:	*-(u)pti-mtu?* (**-(su)ptikka?**), *-(u)ptey?* (**-tenkayo?**)
	Imperative:	*-(u)pso* (**-(u)sipsio**), *-(u)o* (**-eyo**)
	Propositive:	*-keypso* (**-(u)sipsita**), *-kio* (**-eyo**)

There are many words peculiar to Kolyemal, e.g.: *papputa* (vs **elyepta**) 'to be difficult', *thikhata* (**cinhata**) '[tea] to be strong', *say natta* (**cichita**) 'to be exhausted', *khun payri* (**khun changca**) 'large intestine', *hapulluse* (**honcase**) 'alone', *meyceyki* (**engmang**) 'mess', *picekhata* (**pisushata**) 'to be similar', *pencinta* (**palumhata**) 'to pronounce', *phang* (**acwu**) 'very much', *nupi* (**nwui**) 'sister', *epang* (**taypupun**) 'most', *phayki* (**ttalkkwukcil**) 'hiccup', *karu pota* (**hulkye pota**) 'to look hatefully', *heri* (**swipkey**) 'easily'.

6.5   Linguistic divergences between North and South Korean

There exists a large linguistic gap between South and North Korea as a result of a series of systematic innovations introduced into the North Korean language, motivated to a great extent

by political as well as ideological considerations. There are many noticeable differences between North and South Korean languages at present, but for a matter of space, only the most outstanding ones will be mentioned in this section.

1. Alphabetical order: First of all, most people would be surprised to find that alphabetical order in the dictionary is different. One example is that in a North Korean dictionary, words beginning with ㅇ come at the end of consonants, namely after ㅎ, because ㅇ is considered not a consonant, but a symbol of silence.

2. Vocabulary: The field of vocabulary shows probably the most serious divergence. Abolition of many Sino-Korean words, standardisation of words originating from northern dialects and archaic words, or coining of new words during the so-called *Mal tatumki wuntong* (Language purification movement) have resulted in vocabulary divergence between the North and the South. Some examples are shown below.

a. Words with different form but the same concept: *tapseykita* (**sechake ttaylita**) 'to strike hard', *palkacita* (**phoklo toyta**) ' to be exposed', *wisayngsil* (**hwacangsil**) 'toilet', *hosang* (**sangho**) 'mutual', *yangsayngwen* (**yanglowen**) 'old people's home', *kwuncwungkayo* (**taycwungkayo**) 'popular song', *lyohay* (**yanghay**) 'approval', *pap-kwak* (**tosilak**) 'lunch box'.

b. Words that originated from northern dialects and became the standard in North Korean: *kesani* (**kewi**) 'duck', *pulwu* (**sangchwu/sangchi**) 'lettuce', *namsay* (**chayso**) 'vegetable', *kangnayngi* (**okswuswu**) 'corn', *talkwuci* (**swuley**) 'cart', *mangtol* (**maystol**) 'grinding stone', *masuta* (**puswuta**) 'to break', *incha* (**kot**) 'soon, immediately'

There are other lexical differences, such as words with the same form but whose concept changed under the influence of socio-political factors in North Korea. Examples are: *epei* 'parents' (S-K) 'symbolic title of Kim Il-sung' (N-K), *akassi* 'girl or miss' (S-K) 'slave of feudalism' (N-K), *kwungcen* 'palace' (S-K) 'big, palace-like building used for social activities' (N-K).

There are many loan words which have been borrowed from Russian: for example, *kkommuna* (**kongtong ciptan**) 'community', *kkamppania* (**cipcwung saep**) 'concentration work', *ttulakttolu* (**thuleykthe**) 'tractor', *ppioneylu* (**sonyentan**) 'boy scout'. Some loan words borrowed from other foreign languages than Russian are often spelled with a Japanese-style pronunciation, e.g. *koppu* (**khep**, J *koꝗpu*) 'cup', *lacio* (**latio**, J *rajio*) 'radio', *ppomato* (**phomatu**, J *pomādo*) 'pomade, hair grease'.

In general, North Koreans prefer native words to Sino-Korean words, and Sino-Korean words to loan words, as illustrated in the following comparison.

(17) S-K   N-K
      Sino-Korean   Native
      hwamulsen   *cimpay*   'cargo ship'
      taynoy   *khunkol*   'the cerebrum'
      hongswu   *khunmul*   'flood'
      phaakhata   *thulecwita*   'grasp'

      Sino-Korean   Native+Sino-Korean
      swu-cawen   *pata-cawen*   'marine resource'
      cenkwu   *cenki-al*   'electric bulb'
      yangkok   *al-kok*   'grains'
      hoyngtanmyen *kalo-calun-myen*   'cross section'

Loan-word	Native or Sino-Korean	
heyl-ki	*cik-sung-ki*	'helicopter'
nokhu	*son-kichek*	'knock'
phama	*pokkum-meli*	'perm'
sulliphe	*kkul-sin*	'slippers'
ssekhesu	*kyoyeytan*	'circus'

3. Phonetics and Phonology: Phonetic and phonological differences are apparent but do not impede the speakers of North and South Koreans in understanding each other. There are some well-known phonetic and phonological features in which North Korean differs from the Seoul standard.

In Pyongyang speech, the alveolar flap *l* [ɾ] occurs freely in word-initial position, whereas in Seoul speech it is either dropped or replaced by *n*, as in *lilon* (**ilon**) 'theory', *lyokum* (**yokum**) 'fare', *lotong* (**notong**) 'labour'.

Similarly, the alveolar nasal *n* occurs freely in word-initial position in N-K even when followed by the semivowel *y*, whereas it is dropped in S-K, as in *nyeca* (**yeca**) 'woman', *nyelum* (**yelum**) 'summer'. The word-initial occurrence of *l* and *n* in N-K is well-known as one of the typical dialectal features of Pyongyang speech, and now has been officially recognized both in speech and writing.

The back vowels *a* and *e*, when followed by *i* within the word, are often changed to the front vowels *ay* and *ey* respectively, through umlaut. This is a widespread feature in spoken language in both N-K and S-K, but in N-K such assimilated forms are accepted as standard in both spoken and written language. Some examples are: *engteyngi* (**engtengi**) 'hip, bottom', *muteyki* (**muteki**) 'pile', *kkwuleymi* (**kkwulemi**) 'bundle', *thopayki* (**thopaki**) 'native', *acilayngi* (**acilangi**) 'haze'.

In N-K, an additional semivowel *y* is inserted before *e* in verbal inflection, as in *kayyessta* (**kayessta**) 'got cleared', *peyyessta* (**peyessta**) 'have cut', *toyyessta* (**toyessta**) 'became', *heyyecita* (**heyecita**) 'be separated'. In spoken form, the semivowel insertion phenomenon takes place both in S-K and N-K, but only the original forms are taken as standard in S-K written form.

Tensified pronunciation is more prevalent in N-K than S-K, as in *wensswu* (**wenswu**) 'enemy', *poksswu* (**pokswu**) 'revenge', *soktto* (**sokto**) 'speed', *haykssim* (**hayksim**) 'core', *ttwuk* (**twuk**) 'dam'.

One of the most noticeable features in N-K phonetics and phonology is found in stress and intonation. Stronger stress and higher pitch are used in N-K compared to S-K. To S-K speakers, N-K sounds provocative and militant, and such an appalling feeling is no doubt conveyed by the unique stress and intonation system characteristic of N-K. It is interesting to note that such intonation is interpreted in the North as 'high-spirited, courageous and revolutionarily refined', and such an interpretation is borne out by a speech made by Kim Il-sung at a meeting of North Korean linguists: "The pronunciation of Korean is high-spirited, courageous, and revolutionarily refined ..., thus suited to express ideas and feelings of the people who are engaged in revolutionary activities ..." (H.B. Lee 1990).

4. Syntax and Morphology: Although few differences are observed between N-K and S-K, N-K shows some interesting differences in a few cases, particularly morphology. The plural, expressed formally by *-tul*, is used much more frequently in the North, which can sound odd to South Koreans, but this does not affect the meaning. Consider the following examples: *ketayhan sengkwa-**tul**-ul ilwukhayssko…* 'achieved great result**s** ...', *motun hakkyo-**tul**-eyse* 'at all school**s**'. In S-K, plural *-tul* in these examples would be often omitted.

Another characteristic of North Korean syntax is that verbal clause structure is preferred to nominal phrases, if they are interchangeable, especially when used as the title of newspaper articles, etc. It is quite the contrary in S-K, where a nominal phrase is more often used. This is presumably due to the fact that North Koreans are reluctant to use Sino-Korean words. Whereas Sino-Korean words allow the concise nominal expression, North Korean has to depend on verbal phrases to express the same message, using a pure Korean verb.

(18)   **mokcek talseng-ulo (sunglica-ka toyca)**   (S-K)
          'With goal attainment, (let's be a victor)'
          mocek-ul ilukhaye (sunglica-ka toyca)   (N-K)
          'Attaining the goal, (let's be a victor)'

Another interesting point was made by Shin Eun-Kyung (1995: 332f) regarding syntactic differences. After comparing newspaper headlines in S-K *Cosen Ilpo* and N-K *Lotong Sinmun*, she concludes that the *Cosen Ilpo* preferred sentence structures in which a patient was in the subject position and an agent was sometimes deleted or left in the oblique position, whereas the *Lotong Sinmun* preferred sentence structures in which an agent was normally positioned as subject.

In N-K, the prospective modifier is used when the present modifier would be used in S-K. Thus, the construction *-(u)l tey tayhaye* 'regarding' is frequently used, which could be a counterpart of S-K **-nun tey tayhaye**, **-nun kes-ey tayhaye**. Also *-(u)l taysin-ey* 'instead of' is used for S-K **-nun taysin-ey**. Consider the following examples: *cosene-uy thukseng-ul sallye naka-l tey tayhaye* 'on developing the characteristics of Korean language', *hyepcoha-l tey tayhaye* 'concerning cooperation', *cip-ey tolaka-l taysin-ey ...* 'instead of going back to the house ...'.

Some other different phrasal forms are also observed, as in *yey-ha-myen* (**yey-lul tul-myen**) 'for instance', *il-tte-seta* (**him-cha-key ile-seta**) 'rise up firmly', *tul-ssuy-wuta* (**twicip-e ssuy-wuta**) 'put (blame) on', *cwuk-ul nayki lo* (**cwuk-tolok**) 'to the end', *yekhal-ul nolta* (**yekhal-ul hata**) 'play a role', *cakyong-ul nolta* (**cakyong-ul hata**) 'do a function'.

With respect to morphology, a large number of words have been created by using some derivational suffixes, such as *-cek*, *-hi-*, *-lop-*, *-wu-*, *-ci-*, *-mac-* and *-ca*, beyond the function they are usually limited to in Seoul Korean.

(19)   *-hi-*:   *kip-hi-*   'deepen'
          -na-:   *coha-na-*   'to like very much'
          -cek: *hakkyo-cek*   'of the school'

Another different trend worth noting is simplification of speech levels in North Korean. Traditionally, six different speech levels have been recognized in Korean depending on the relationship between the speaker and the hearer although there are some discrepancies among scholars (see Table 5.10; section 5.5.6.3). However, in North Korean, these six levels of speech style seem to have been reorganised and reduced to three levels, namely, (i) polite style, (ii) equal style, and (iii) low style. The sentence-ender forms of these three levels are as follows; (i) polite level: *-supnita/pnita* (sometimes *-yo* may be allowed), (ii) equal level: *-o/so*, *-yo*, *-suptey/ptey*, *-psey*, (iii) low level: *-ta*, *-nunya*, *-kela*, etc. (Nam and Ceng 1990: 36-40). Part of the reasons for having simplified the six speech levels to three may be found in the following statement (Lee, H. 1990: 79): "We have three levels of speech style ... suitable for the people engaged in the construction of a socialist country ... whereby we can respect

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seniors, express affection to juniors, and be friendly with colleagues and friends."

Considering speech level undesirable and incompatible in a socialist ideology, perhaps a complete abolition of speech levels was much more desirable. On the other hand, it is noted that the honorification suffix *-si-* is more extensively used in North Korean. This might have been encouraged by the excessive cult for Kim Il-sung, but contrasts with the simplification of speech levels.

5. Stylistics: In N-K, style, as a powerful weapon for revolution, is regarded as one of the most important elements to carry out the social function of language. Kim Il-sung claimed that the stylistic characteristics of 'Cultured language' must reflect the necessity of the working class. The characteristics of N-K stylistics are as follows:

(20) a. They prefer short sentences to express militant emotion.
      b. Commands and exclamation styles are preferred.
      c. Emphatic style via repetition is preferred.
      d. Titles tend to be verbal clauses rather than nominals (see above).
      e. Spoken style is preferred to written style.

We have examined some noticeable differences in language use between North and South Korea. Such differences could be regarded as serious divergence or minor divergence, depending on viewpoint. Whereas some scholars minimize the extent of differentiation between North and South Korean, others claim that the linguistic differentiation is not only a real phenomenon but it has historical (pre-division of the peninsula) and social reasons. Chinese had been the official written language among the elite until the late 19th century and at the end of the colonial period Korean language was banned by the Japanese. As a consequence, there was no standardised language in the Korean peninsula at the time when the country was divided. Both states have implemented separate policies since division. In North Korea, language has been shaped by social requirements dictated by Communist ideology. Therefore, most North Korean language characteristics today are related to that ideological thought. Nevertheless, both languages have a common phonological and grammatical structure and both peoples have no real difficulties in communicating except a few different usages of vocabulary. In short, although some differences are found in the fields of morphology, phonetics, phonology and stylistics we conclude that the extent of differentiation cannot reverse the belief in the homogeneity of the North and South Korean languages.

Notes

1. This consonant has changed to *w* in the Central dialects.
2. Some linguists including Sohn (1999) separated Ch'ungch'ŏng off as an independent dialect, and classified Korean dialects into seven large groups.
3. Ch'ungch'ŏng speakers are normally stereotyped as speaking really slowly.

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