

Archaisms and Innovations in Soviet Korean Dialects¹

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Based on more than five months of linguistic field work in the (former) Soviet Union, this paper outlines some of the main features of the two major Soviet Korean dialects. Both dialects have their origins in North Hamkyeng province: the most widespread is Myengchen-Kilcwu dialect, but a small number of old Soviet Koreans still speaks a variety of the extremely conservative 'Yuk.up dialect.

This paper seeks to show how the sum total of archaisms, innovations and features of as-yet-unknown origin in the phonetics and phonology, morpho-syntax and lexicon of Soviet Korean dialects leads to a situation of significant divergence between Modern Seoul Standard Korean and Soviet Korean "Koryŏ Mar".

Introduction

Based on more than five months of linguistic field work in the (former) Soviet Union, this paper outlines some of the more interesting features of the two major Korean dialects spoken in the former USSR. The title speaks of archaisms and innovations, but often it is too early to say whether a given feature is new or not: this report will serve its purpose if it shows how the sum total of archaisms, innovations and features of as-yet-unknown origin in the phonetics and phonology, morpho-syntax and lexicon of Soviet Korean [Sov. K.] dialects leads to a situation of significant divergence between Modern Seoul Standard Korean [SS] and Sov.K. speech.

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Sov.K. is spoken in two major varieties: 90% or more of those Soviet Koreans who still speak Korean speak a variety of North Hamkyeng² dialect with its peninsular origin in the speech of the Myengchen–Kilcwu area—what I sometimes call “Tashkent standard” or “Tashkent koiné”. The remaining 10% or less speak a variety of ¹Yuk.up [Six Towns] or ¹Yukcin [Six Garrisons] dialect, i.e. the extremely conservative dialect(s) of the six towns Kyenghung, Kyengwen, Onseŋ, Congseŋ, Hoylyeng and Pulyeng.³ The first Korean emigrants to the Russian Far East were all from this area, but these settlers were swamped in the 1910s and 1920s by successive waves of settlers from the Myengchen–Kilcwu area. Soviet Koreans know this dialect as [yuimmâri] or [yubuŋmâri], and I shall refer to it as “¹Yuk. up dialect”. The major difference between these dialects is simply that ¹Yuk.up Korean has much more archaic phonology.

Both varieties of Sov.K., but especially ¹Yuk.up dialect because of its phonology, are of extreme value for Korean linguistics: these dialects have been isolated from Korea for approximately a century, and preserve many phenomena valuable for the study of Korean historical linguistics. Moreover, Hamkyeng province is the one major dialect area that Korean linguistics and philology know the least about⁴: a full-scale description of these dialects on all levels will also further our understanding of SS.

² In this paper, I use the Yale Romanization to transliterate SS. Dialect forms are transcribed in a broad phonetic transcription tied loosely to the IPA, the main difference being that I write [s̥, ç, dz̥] instead of [ʃ, tʃ, dʒ]. [ts̥], [dz̥] and [dz̥] are units. I transliterate M[idle] K[orean] according to the Yale Romanization, too, for which see Martin (1982/83), but with the following modifications: the “alay a” is /ʌ/, the sign represented in SS by /u/ is /i/, SS /o/ = /o/, SS /wu/ = /u/, one dot to the left (/·/) = high tone, two dots to the left (/:/) = rising tone, and low tone is unmarked. As in Martin (forthcoming, p. 8), I use the period to indicate the “zero” vowel at the beginning of a syllable or other ambiguous situations when the preceding Hankul syllable ends in a /patchim/.

³ In fact, Pu.lyeng speech seems much closer to Myengchen–Kilcwu dialect than to ¹Yuk. up Korean. This supports Kim Thay.kyun’s (1986) designation of Pu.lyeng speech as transitional between these two dialects.

⁴ Much of what we do know about it is thanks to the work of a) another American, S. R. Ramsey (cf. Ramsey (1978)), on South Hamkyeng dialects, and b) the Korean scholar Kim Thay.kyun (cf. Kim Thay.kyun (1986)). The North Korean scholar Ceng Yongho’s book (1988) was not available to me at the time of the research for this article, but I discuss some of its claims in King and Yeon (1992).

Phonetics and Phonology

The most salient phonological features of these dialects are:

1) both major varieties have a pitch-accent system, composed of High and Low pitches. Sov.K. speakers, no doubt because of their knowledge of Russian, perceive this as “stress” (R. *udarenie*), and can identify the “stressed syllable”, i.e. the syllable with distinctive high pitch, in words.

A minimal pair:

[suri] “vodka; booze” < MK /sul/ > SS /swul/ vs.
[sūri] “spoon” < MK /sul/ > SS /swut-kalak/.

This feature is an archaism, and the only other major dialects preserving such a system are Kyengsang dialect and MK. For more detailed analysis of the pitch-accent correspondences between Hamkyeng dialects and MK, see Ramsey (1978), King (1991a, forthcoming-b), and Kwak (1991).

2) SS /l/ is pronounced as a tap, or (more often) as a rolled [r] (two or three taps) in all positions, except before another /l/:

[irtstsigi] “early” < MK /il · ceik/ > SS /ilccik/,
[targi] “chicken” < MK /tʌlk/ > SS /talk/,
[koremār] “the Soviet Korean language; the language of the [kore sārī ymi]” < MK /:mal/ “words; speech; language”,
[adīr-ni] “[as for] the son (“topic”)” < MK /a · tʌl/ > SS /atul/,
[parššê] “already” < MK /pʌl · (s)sye/ > SS /pelsse/,
[ppali] “quickly” < MK /spʌl · li/ > SS /ppalli/.

I assume (without argument here) that this is an archaism. Some skeptical colleagues have dismissed this as “Russian influence,” but this is impossible: firstly, it is hardly likely that the first Korean emigrants to Russia magically started “rolling their /r/s” the moment they crossed the border, and in any case, reliable Russian-language sources on these dialects from the turn-of-the-century and earlier already record [r]. This latter point is significant, as Russian speakers had a choice of four liquids with which to record what they were hearing from the Koreans: “hard” [r] and [l], and “soft” [rʹ] and [lʹ]. One source even records [rl]!⁵

⁵ For more on such sources, see King (1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1991a, 1991b, forthcoming-b, forthcoming-c) and Kwak (1987, 1991).

3) Tashkent koiné has a pervasive rule which drops /n/ and /ŋ/ before /i, y/. Thus, [kxoi] means both “nose” (< MK /·koh/ > SS /kho/) and “bean” (< MK /khong/ > SS /khong/). The negative particle here is [aɪ] or [ãí] (< MK /a·ni/ > SS/an(i)/). In the 'Yuk.up dialect, this rule affects only /ŋ/.

This is an innovation.

4) Intervocalic /-p-/ and /-s-/ do not “lenite” in the so-called “p-irregular” and “s-irregular verbs”:

[tɔbɔtta] “was hot” < MK /:tep-, te·We-/ > SS /tēp-, tewē/,

[pusɔ̃sɔ] “pours and so/then...” < MK /·pis-, pi·ze/ > SS /pūs-, pue/ (the SS long vowel is an irregular development), etc.

Whether one believes Hamkyeng /-p-/ and /-s-/ in these cases to be a reflex of proto-Korean *b- and *z- or the result of this dialect never undergoing “lenition,” this is an archaism.

5) These dialects have developed an initial [v-] in some words:

[vɛ] “cucumber” Cf. SS /oi/. The Sov.K. form is by way of intermediate *[we] or *[wæ].

[vâtta, vâsɔ] “came; comes, and...” < MK /·o-, ·wa/ > SS /o-, wa/.

[vɛdzi] “plum” < MK /o·yas-/ > SS /o.yas/. The Sov.K. form is from *o.yac + i > *oy.ac + i > *[wædzɪ].

This is an innovation, and probably a quite recent one or one still in progress, since a few old loans from Russian with initial Russian /v-/ are preserved in Sov.K. with [m-], e.g.

[myedirɛ] “bucket” < R. *vedrò* (+/i/),

[mɔlloddža] “Volod’ia (man’s name).”

Another old Russian loan, this time with initial /b-/, has [m-] in Sov.K., but I am not sure how this relates to the [v] problem:

[mullyütstšæ] “saucer” < R. *blüdtse*.

Finally, I have noticed that many speakers who have [vɛ-] nonetheless have [ɛ] for S[ino-]K[orean] /ōy-/ “maternal”, e.g.

[ɛhanabi] “maternal grandfather” Cf. SS /ōy-halapeci/.

6) These dialects have final [-i] corresponding to SS /-wu/:

[tibi] “tofu” < earlier /tupu/ > SS /twupwu/,

[kabi] “widow” < SK /kwāpu/,

[andži] “snacks for booze” < MK(SK) /an·cyu/ > SS /ancwu/, etc.

At least two developments are responsible for this correspondence, one an archaism and the other an innovation.

The overall force at work here is a more generalized rule of umlaut operating at the end of words due to the obligatory affixation of the subject marker /-i/ to noun forms in isolation or in "citation form". This is an archaism, as the /-i/ attaches to all underlying forms, including nouns which end in vowels, just as it did in MK. Thus, the first stages in the historical derivation of "tofu" are:

- 1) */tupu+i/ > 2) */tupwi/

The second development is an innovation: Tashkent koiné has lost /w/ after consonants (recall that word-initial /w-/ tends to become [v-]). Thus, the third step in the derivation is ⁶:

- 3) */tupi/.

7) These dialects have (sporadically) [-b-] corresponding to SS /-ng-/ or SS /-k-/:

[čæ̀bi] "SELF". Cf. SS (SK) /caki/.

[-ttoban] "while, during". Cf. SS /tongan/.

[pɔ̀bɔ̀ri] "mute" < MK /pe·we·li/ > SS /pengeli/.

[ttarbi] "raspberry". Cf. SS /ttalki/ "strawberry" < MK /·ptalki/.

Other dialect forms like /ttāl, ttalkwu, ttalkwi, ttalkay/ (Choy Hakkun (1987), Kim Pyengcey (1980) suggest *ptalgwi or *ptalgoy, and the Sov.K. [-b-] could reflect either *-g- > [-b-] or *-gw- > [-b-].

[kadorobì sanì noptā] "the further one goes, the higher the mountain."

Cf. SS projective /-tolok(i)/ < MK /-·tΛ·lok/, etc.

The form [čobahanda] "to like" (cf. SS /coha hanta/) comes from a similar process, but may be due in part to contamination from [kobahanda] "to like, to love" (MK /:kop-, ko·Wa/ > SS /kōp-, kowa/).

"SELF", "raspberry" and [-dorobì] look like good examples of an historical change [-g-] > [-b-], a fairly common change across languages, but

⁶ Explaining the [i] of the first syllable is a bit more involved. In fact, there is good evidence from earlier Russian sources that final /-oy, -wi/ went through a stage /iy/ before becoming /-i/. Thus, *tubwi > *tubiy > *tibiy > tibi is the more likely derivation. See King (1991a, Ch. 2) for the evidence.

the others are more complex. Sov.K. “while” may have developed the [-b-] after losing the intervocalic /-ng-/, and “mute” either went the same way (/pe·we·li/ > */pe·eli/ > /pe·pe·li/, with /-b-/ as a hiatus filler) or the [-b-] reflects a proto-Korean *-b- which weakened to /w/ in MK and then on to /ng/ in SS.

- 8) Tashkent koiné has palatalized MK /ki, ky-/ to [č]:
 [čidāmaŋgɛ] “(a) long(thing)”. Cf. MK /:kil-/ > SS /kil-/.
 [čir̥ɪymi] “oil; butter” < MK /ki·lim/ > SS /kilum/.
 [čiri] “road” < MK /·kilh/ > SS /kil/, etc.

Examples like [čimči] “kimchee” are deceptive, as the original MK (SK) was /timchʌy/, and the Sov.K. form is a regular development from *[tsimtsʰiy], whereas the SS form /kimchi/ is an irregular development.

This is an innovation.

As for the ¹Yuk.up dialect, it has four distinguishing features:

- 1) it preserves the MK distinction between syllables of the type /s+V/ vs. /sy+V/, e.g.:

[sɛ̃urešɔ wāšɔ] “... came from Seoul and...” < MK /:syɛul ·ey·syɛ ·wa·syɛ/ > SS /sewul eyse wa se/,
 [šubagi] “watermelon” < earlier /syupak/ > SS /swupak/, but
 [sɔnilli] “by hand” < MK /·son/ > SS /son/,
 [sɔ̃i] “three” < MK /:seyh/ > SS /sɛ̃ys /, etc.

This is an archaism, and this dialect is the only living variety of Korean to preserve it.

- 2) it preserves MK /n/ as [n] before /i,y/:
 [n̥i] “tooth; louse” < MK /·ni/ > SS /i/,
 [nɛ̃mmari] “old story; folktale” < MK /:nyɛys :mal/ > SS /yɛ̃ys-mal/,
 [nyɛ̃gi] “story; talking” < earlier /niyaki/ > SS /iyaki/, etc.

This is an archaism, elsewhere preserved, in slightly different form, in Phyngan dialects.

- 3) Related to (2) is the fact that this dialect has no palatalization or affrication of the MK syllables of the type /tyu, cu, cyu/, preserved here as [tyu, tsu, ču], and collapsed now to /cwu/ in SS. Likewise, this dialect does not palatalize MK /ki, ky-/. This feature has been diluted somewhat in the speech of my Soviet Korean ¹Yuk.up informants, due to generations of in

fluence from the Myengchen–Kilcwu dialect.

This, too, is an archaism, preserved as such only in the 'Yuk.up dialect.

4) In word-initial position, /m-/ and /n-/ are sometimes (but apparently not in all words) heard as [b-] and [d-], or as [ʰm-] and [ʰn-]:

[b̄ar h̄æra!] “speak!” < MK /:mal/ “words, speech” > SS /mal/,

[dirgūbi] “seven” < MK /nil·kop, nil·kup/ > SS /ilkop/,

[d̄ōi] “four” < MK /:neyh/ > SS /n̄eys/, etc.

Other dialects show this sporadically, usually with /m/ before /wu/. but none seem to show it so pervasively as this one. Aleksandr Vovin and I suspect this may be an archaism of great importance for the reconstruction of the proto-Korean stop system. For evidence of this phenomenon in Japanese sources, see Martin (1992).

5) Finally, at least one 'Yuk.up speaker voiced /s/ to [z] in the same environments where SS voices /p, t, k, c/:

[phanza] “judge” < SK /phansa/,

[-ezɔ] “(happening) at” < SK /·ey ·syɛ/ > SS /ey se/,

[iza] “physician, doctor” < SK /uysa/, etc.

This would appear to be an innovation, and suggests that in this speaker's system /s/ patterns with the plain obstruent series, whereas in other dialects it patterns with the aspirates. However, the situation with /s/-voicing in Sov.K. dialects remains unclear: I have also heard it sporadically from Myengchen–Kilcwu speakers, and turn-of-the-century Russian sources show [z] from /s/ rather often.

This covers only the most salient phonetic and phonological features of Soviet Korean dialects.

Morpho-Syntax

A. Case-Marking

The clearest and most salient archaism in case-marking in Sov.K. dialects is the total absence of /-ka/ as nominative marker. Instead, there is only /-i/, which is everywhere affixed to nouns in citation form, and in some environments shows up as such, while in others it acts at the underlying level to cause umlaut and/or [n, ŋ]-loss, itself disappearing on the surface:

[kh̄ōi] “nose” < MK /·koh/.

[moi] “ancestral grave” < MK /:moyh/ “mountain”.

- [pabi] “boiled rice” < MK /·pap/.
 [kæthæ, kæthā (acc.)] “dog-soup” < underlying /kay-thang/.
 [tsir’e, tsiryō (acc.)] “soy sauce” < earlier K /cilyeng/.
 [sekke] “mirror”, [sekkyŏŋ duye] “behind the mirror” < underlying
 SK 石鏡 /syekkyeng/.

A final /n/ before this /-i/ drops, but does not usually allow umlaut:
 [yaŋsai, yaŋsani] (acc.)] “umbrella”. In cases where a noun originally
 ended in /-a/, the umlauted nominatives in [-æ] have become the new un-
 derlying forms for most speakers, especially younger ones: [hannæ]
 “one”, [sākkæ] “hat” < R. *shapka*, etc.

The complex alternations given rise to by the lone archaic nominative
 /-i/ are a clear innovation, but the most complicated set of nominative-ac-
 cusative alternations occurs in the following words:

- [surgì, surgû (acc.), surgè (loc.)] “cart” < MK /sul·[G]wi/ > SS
 /swuley/.
 [margì, margì (acc.)] “roof beam” < MK /mʌlʌ, mʌl·[G]i/ > SS
 /malwu/.
 [kargì, kargì] “powder, flour” < MK /kʌlʌ, kʌl·[G]i/ > SS /kalwu/.
 [næŋgì, naŋgì (acc.) namu-dìri (pl.)] “tree” < MK /namo, nam·ki/ >
 SS /namu/.
 [yekkì, yökkì (acc.)] “fox” < MK /yezʌ, yez·[G]i/ > SS /yewu/.

As can be seen from the MK citations, the [-g-] in the Sov.K. forms is an ar-
 chaism of pre-MK origin.

Younger Sov.K. speakers do away with such alternations by extending
 the nominative to the other forms, introducing yet another innovation :

- [kæthæri (acc.)] “dog soup” rather than older [kæthā],
 [surgìri (acc.)] “cart” rather than older [surgi],
 [næŋgidìri (acc.)] “trees” rather than older [namudìri], etc.

The only [-ga] in these dialects is from MK /·kwa, ·[G]wa/ “with;
 and”, and is an archaism, at least in that it preserves proto-Korean *-g-
 (or never underwent “/k/-lenition”, depending on one’s views):

- [næ ga ne] “you and I” vs. SS /na wa ne/.

This same [-ga] is also governed by the verb “ask”:

- [hanabadzi ga murɔ batta] “asked grandfather”,
 [na ga murɔ bara] “ask me!”

Other case-markers:

- Accusative: [-i]/C____, [-ri]/V____, but [-u, -ru] if the vowel of the preceding syllable is rounded, sometimes even after any labial consonant, e.g. [pābu] “cooked rice”.
- Instrumental: [-li]/V____, [-illi]/C____, but [-ulli] under the same conditions as for the accusative [-u, -ru]. After underlying final /-l /, I have heard both [-li] and [-illi], e.g. [koremālli hāpsɔ, koremārilli hāpsɔ] “Speak in Soviet Korean!”
- Dative-locative: For inanimates, [-e] as in SS, but for animates, Sov.K. has [-(u)ge], [-(i)nde], e.g. [næge tɔi ɔpsso] “I have no money”, [ki sarim(u)ge ɔsso] “He has some”. From these can be made an animate allative by adding the accusative [-ri]: [-(u)geri], [-(i)ndəri], e.g. [nellinderi zvɔnɪr hæssɔ] “I telephoned Nelli”.
- Genitive: Usually just the nominative, or [-u] following the conditions of the accusative [-u, -ru] above, e.g. : [ki sari mu...] “his...”, [tot^hũ gɔgi] “pork” (cf. [tot^hi] “pig”), [pɔmu gɔgi] “tiger meat”, [komu gɔgi] “bear-meat”, [namu gɛ] “somebody else’s thing”, etc.
- Ablative: For animates [-(u)gesɔ], i.e. the dative-locative + /se /, and for inanimates [-esɔ]. As in SS, the latter also functions as the dynamic locative, as opposed to static [-e].

As for the innovation-archaism status of these forms, the accusative was probably innovated by dropping the final /-l/ of MK /-il, -lil/, and the genitive was probably innovated by reanalyzing original /·iy/ as /-i/ + /-i/ and peeling away the the /-i/ before monophthongization occurred in this dialect.⁷ The [-u] in these genitives would then be from an [-i] rounded after a [+labial] segment. The instrumental is clearly related to SS instrumental /-(u)lo/, MK /·(i)·la, ·o·lo/, but how I do not know. It also looks like it could be a blend of Sov. K. accusative [-i, -ri] and the instrumental.

⁷ For more on how this type of reanalysis affected these dialects, see King (1989a).

B. Postpositions

[–kkɔd̥zi] “until, up to”. Cf. SS /kkaci/ “id.”, MK /–(s)kλ·cang/.

[–ma], [–man], [–bogu] “than (in comparisons)”. Cf. MK /·ma/ “to the extent of” > SS /man/ “id.”, SS /pota/ “than”. Both SS /pota/ and Sov.K. [bogu] are from /po–/ “see”.

[–t̥shɔri, –t̥shɔri, –t̥shɔm] (Myengchen–Kilcwu), [txɔr] (¹Yuk.up) “like”. Cf. SS /chelem/, MK /thyey·lo/.

[–mad̥ziri], [–madaŋ] “each, every”. Cf. SS /–mata/ < MK /:ma·ta/, later /matang/.

[–edanai] “to, onto”. This functions like SS /ey taka/ with the same extra nuance of shift or transfer as the SS transference /taka/.

[–teburɔ] “accompanied by”, e.g. [aŋkkan teburɔ] “with SELF’s wife” (nom. [aŋkkai]).” Cf. SS /–kwa tepule/ “with”.

[–mothæ] “nearby, vicinity”, e.g. [çim –mothæ] “nearby the house”.

[–ga gat̥shi] “together with” < MK /–kwa ·kλthi/ > SS /–kwa kathi/.

[–š̥si] “each; apiece”. Cf. SS /–ssik/ < MK /–·sik/.

C. Verb Endings

I. Sentence–Final

Soviet Koreans themselves distinguish three levels of politeness, and this seems largely correct. The most polite set of endings, corresponding roughly to the SS Formal (/hapnita/) Style, is:

hākkuma	declarative
ha–mdū?	interrogative
hā–pso	imperative
ha–gɛ̃pso	propositive
ha–pt̥ikkuma	declarative retrospective
ha–pt̥i–mdū?	interrogative retrospective

The middle set of endings corresponds roughly to the SS Polite (/hay yo/) Style, and is the set of endings most widely used and heard (between, e.g., well-acquainted individuals, or by mature children to their parents):

hāo	declarative, interrogative and imperative
ha–gɛ̃o/hagyō	propositive
hā–pt̥ɛ	retrospective (interrog. and decl.)

Finally, the lowest, most intimate set of endings is:

handa, hada, hææ ⁸	declarative
hanya?(¹ Yuk.up),	interrogative
haya?(Myengchen)	
hææra	imperative
hadža	propositive
ha-dora	declarative retrospective
ha-donya?(¹ Yuk.up)	declarative retrospective
ha-doya?(Myengchen)	interrogative retrospective

The scheme above is an oversimplification, as there are other forms which occur in one level, but not in others:

[kkê] and [-kkêo, -kkyð]: [manakkê] “must have been a lot/many”, [issirkkyð, issikkyð] “There must be some; I’ll bet there are some”. Cf. SS /iss.ul ke yey yo/ < /kes iey yo/. The Sov.K. form is probably < /iss.ul ke io/ with “Semi-Formal Style” /io/.

[-kε, -gε]: [kæri džabasɔ mɔkkε?] “Shall we catch a dog and eat it?” [ittaga pæugê] “I’ll show you later/Let me show you later”, [mai gε?] “Let’s drink/Shall we drink?” This looks to be related to the [-gε-] in Formal [-gεpsɔ], Polite [-gyð] above, and ultimately must be tied to the SS “future” /-key-ss-/.

/key-ph-/: [kagεpttši?] “You want to go, don’t you? You feel like going, don’t you?” [kagεphumdu?] “Do you want to go? Do you feel like going?” In origin, this may be an elaborate abbreviation from /-ki [si]ph-/ “want to do”. Note that Sov. K. has [ka-gi sipssɔ] “wants to go” rather than [ka-go sipssɔ].

[-ryε]: [soani-ri hæ-bo-ryε] “Why don’t you try calling? (from R. *zvoni-t’* “to call”). Cf. SS cajolative /-lyem, -lyemuna/.

[-tšim, -džim]: This form is widespread as an utterance-final ending in casual speech, and is a truncation of [-tši misi, -dži misi], also widespread, which is directly cognate with the SS colloquial /-ci, mwe/ (suspective /-ci/ + /mues/ “what?”). This form is clearly an innovation.

⁸ The use of /hay/, etc. as an Intimate Style or “Panmal” seems far less developed in Sov.K., but this question needs further research.

II. Non-Sentence-Final

Conditionals:

- a) [hamũ...] (< */-m i[n]/ “as for ___ing”) with rising intonation on the [-mu] is the most common conditional, e.g.: [ɔpsɔ dimu] “if it disappears” (‘Yuk.up).
- b) [-gidam] makes a somewhat more tentative conditional, e.g.: [mama-raŋ ɔ-gidam] “if [it works out such that] I come with my mother”, [pæugidam] “if I show you”. In origin, this must be /-ki ’ta ha-myen/ “if we say/suppose that it is a matter of ...ing”.
- c) [-(i)msa, -ssimsa], [-(i)mza, -ssimza] tends to show up in counterfactuals or highly tentative conditionals, e.g.: [irɔkhi modi msa] “only when we get together like this...”, [kassimsa tšotšʰi!] “That would be great if we went!” In SS, these would be /-myen ya/, where /ya/ < MK /·za/ “only if”.

[-sɔri, -sɔri]: This form is widespread, occurring most often in the ending meaning “while VERBing...”: [hamyɔnsɔri, hamesɔri, hamɔnsɔri]. Note that the form [hamesɔri] is quite old: ‘Yu Changton (1979) lists a 16th-century form /-myesye/ (Penyek Sohak 8: 2). Other forms that I have heard with [-sɔri]: [kirædagasɔri] “and so then...”, [hagosɔri] “do/did and so...”, [haniragosɔri] “in the process of doing...”, and [tšhɔpphullisɔri] “by means of a candle”. This [-sɔri] is clearly cognate with SS /-se/ < MK /·sye/, but the [-ri] (also [-ri]) is mysterious.

Besides the [-myɔnsɔri] forms for “while VERBing...” above, I have also heard the form [-mɛ] with the same meaning, from an old woman who named Pu.lyeng as her parents’ birthplace. This is also quite old: ‘Yu Changton (*op. cit.*) lists a form /-myeng/, glossed simply as “/-mye/”, as occurring in the Kwu.kuppang Enhay (1466).

Purposive [-(i)lla (k)]: [tšalla (k) kaɣetta] “I’m going to bed (sleep)”. Cf. SS /-(u)le/, MK /-·la/, glossed by LCT as /-lyeko/.

The following form is also widespread and typical in these dialects, but shows great variation from speaker to speaker: [ka boikkadæ/ka boikkana/ka boikkanai/ka boikkada] (Myengchen-Kilcwu), [kabonikka, kabonikkanani] (‘Yuk.up) “so I went to take a look,

and (whadda ya know)...” The short form is simply [ka boi] (Myengchen-Kilcwu), [ka boni] (‘Yuk.up), and is more widely used than the corresponding SS sequential /-(u)ni/. A similar form, close to SS transferentive /-taka/ in function (and recall the [-e danai] from above), is: [ha-danai (kkana)] (Myengchen-Kilcwu), [hadanani (kkana)] (‘Yuk.up).

One ‘Yuk.up (Kyenghung) dialect informant had the puzzling form [kallims’æ] “before going”, [hallims’æ] “before doing”, etc. This appears to be from /ha-lq imsi ey/ “at the imminent juncture whereupon”.

[-(i)llæ], [-killæ, -gillæ]: The first of these endings appears after nouns to mean “for the sake of; on account of”, while the second attaches to verb bases to mean “because”. However, the latter ending has none of the special restrictions on usage of its Seoul cousin /-killay/, and functions as a very general “because”(= SS /-ki ttaymun ey/). E.g.: [hyè-illæ wâtta] “I come because she’s my older sister”.

Embedded questions are made with either [-nindu, -ndu] or [-niŋga, -ŋga]: [ôttsi kirônindu morû] “I don’t know why she is doing that”. [misŋgâi] “since/now that you ask what it is...” [hœraŋga hæ] “seems to be easy” (< [hœrtha] = /hel hata/). Some early Russian-language sources on these dialects show traces of an interrogative system like that of Kyengsang dialect or MK, with /-ko/ in WH-questions, and other endings for non-WH-questions, but I found no such informants. To be sure, those embedded questions in [-nindu, -ndu] here are an archaism, related to MK /-tong/, SS /ha-l tong ma-l tong/, and the Sov.K. Formal Interrogative ending /-m-twu?/(< */-m-twung/; Sov.K. tends to lose final /-ng/).

Quotatives are made with [-gu] or [-(ira)khada] (reduction of /-kwu/ to /-k/ after /-(i)la/): [nuŋgâgu kirætta] “asked who it was”, [ittagu hæssso] “said he had them”, [kægurirak ai hadzim] “We don’t call it a “kæguri”.

III. Other Patterns

These dialects have a number of patterns built on /-ki/.

- [ha-gi sire hada/ha-gi sirtha] “to dislike or hate to do something”,
 [ha-gi sɔun ida] “to desire to do something” < SK /sōwen/ “desire”,
 [ha-gi pappuda] “is difficult to do”,
 [ha-gi hɔrtha] “is easy to do”,
 [ha-gi sa hadzim] “true, one does it, but that is the extent of it/that’s all”. E.g. [pogi sa podzi...] “we look at it all right (but we can’t read it)”, said to me once when I asked an old Soviet Korean if he “looked at” (read) the Soviet Korean newspaper. The [-sa] here is SS /ya/ < MK /·za/.
- [ha-gi sip̄ta, ha-gi sip̄hɔ handa] “wants to do something”. SS has /-ko sip̄hta/ for this construction, but it is difficult to say which is older. It is likely that Hamkyeng dialects went over to /-ki/ by analogy with the other patterns.

Lexicon

The lexicon of Soviet Korean dialects contains the most surprises, with both archaisms and innovations, as well as a number of mysteries.

The self-designation of the Soviet Koreans seems to be an archaism: [koryɔ s̄ariymi, kore s̄arimi] “Koryō person”. Likewise, Soviet Koreans call their language [koryɔm̄ari, korem̄ari] “the language of Koryō.” A very small number of Soviet Koreans, either those educated to a high level in Korean in schools in the Soviet Far East before the forced relocation of 1937, or those recently arrived from the rather different Korean population on Sakhalin, and of course the small number of refugees from North Korea, dispute these terms with “Koryō” in them, preferring the term [tsosɔn sariymi] “person of Chosŏn”. More recently, some scholars in South Korea have objected on silly nationalist grounds to this term (e.g. Seng Kichel 1991). However, there is no getting around the fact that the average Soviet Korean uses these terms. The words /kolye/ “Korea”, /kolyein/ “Korean”, /kolyee, kolye mal/ “Korean language”, etc., were widely used in Soviet Korean publications right up through 1937, and the same term appears frequently in pre-Soviet sources in Russian.

The pronouns of place retain the MK velar nasal /-ng-/ now lost in most other dialects: [iŋgɛ̄/yɔŋgɛ̄, kɔŋgɛ̄, tɔŋgɛ̄] “here, there, over there” answer the question [ɔdimɛ̄?, ɔdiymɛ̄?] “where?” Cf. MK /inge·kiy, kinge·kiy,

tye·kiy/. The personal pronouns are: [næ, ne] “I, you”, [na-ri, nɔ-ri] (acc.), [nugi?, niygi?, niy?] “who?”, [næ?] “whose?” For “we” some speakers had [ulli] next to the more usual [uri].

The kinship terminology looks rather different from SS.⁹ One’s [ɔsi(diri)] < MK /e·zi/, or “parents”, are [ɔmai] and [abadzi] to others, though at home they are [emi] and [æbi], if they are not already [mama] and [ppappa] in Russian style. [hye] is one’s older sibling of the same sex, just as [ækki] < MK /azΛ, as·[G]i/, or [toŋsæ] is a younger sibling of the same sex. A boy’s sister is his [nibi] < MK /nuiy/, and a girl’s brother is her [oræbi]. Depending on the dialect, one’s grandparents are [khirabæ] and [khiramæ] or [hanabadzi] and [hanɔmai], though more affectionately they are [abâi] and [âmæ]. Uncles, regardless of which side of the family, are [adzibâi], [adzæ] more affectionately, and aunts are all [adzimai]. A man’s parents-in-law are his [kasyæbi] and [kasyemi], while a woman’s are her [syæbi] and [syèmi] < MK /·siya·pi, ·siy·e·mi/.

The numerals 1–10 are: [hannæ, tûri, sâi, nâi, tasl, yɔsi, irgûbi, yadibi/yadirbi, aûbi, yðri]. “200” is [yaŋbægi], just as “2000” is [yaŋtshði] (influence from modern Chinese). A ruble is [han-nyæ], but [han-nyâ dago] “Give me a ruble”, from underlying /-nyang / < SK /:lyang/ “tael (of silver)”. A kopeck is [han girttsæ], “10 kopecks” is [han-doni] (‘Yuk. up), “20 kopecks” is [tu-doni], etc.

Naturally, there is a number of Russian loans and calques: [tšurmænɛ tir ɔga andzâtta] “went to prison” and [antshëtta] “they threw him in prison” are calqued on R. *sidel v tjur’me* “he sat in prison” and *ego posadili* “they made him sit(in prison)”. “Prison” is [tšurmâi] in the nominative, [tšurmâni] in ‘Yuk.up, < R. *tjur’ma*. “Matches” are [ppidzikkæ] from R. *spîchki*, though some old speakers recall the word [sɔŋnyuæ] (< SK /seklyuhwang/ > SS /sengnyang/ “id.”). We have already discussed “hat”, “saucer” and “bucket”, but here are two nice semantic shifts: [tto gi], [ttegi] = SS /ttek/ “rice-cake” now means “bread”, and [tšðri, tšɔ kkarægi] = SS /cet-kalak/ “chopsticks” means “fork” in Soviet Korean. When I heard the phrase [udurük vatta] “came suddenly”, I thought I had found a long-lost Korean adverb, but then realized this is R. *vdrug* “sudden-

⁹ For a more systematic analysis of the kinship terminology of Soviet Korean ‘Yuk. up dialect, see King and Pak (forthcoming).

ly". A [yɔkkin tshamsæ] is a "wily old fox", though literally a "wily sparrow", calqued on R. *xitryi vorobei*. A Soviet Korean does not "strike" an exam as Koreans do on the peninsula, but "gives" one [ɛkzamyen dzunda] because of R. *sdavat' ekzamen'*. One's pocket is a [kɔrmāi] from R. *karman*, whereas [tsumɔi] (= SS /cwumeni/) is a bag one takes food-shopping. A belt is a [ryemèntti], a nice blend of Russian *remen'* and Korean /tti/ "sash, belt". Finally, note that in principle any Russian verb can be incorporated into a Sov. K. sentence by borrowing the Russian (usually imperfective) imperative and using it as a verbal noun with Korean /ha-/ "to do": [soani(ri)handa] "calls on the phone" < R. *zvoni!*, *zvonit'*.

Here are some Sov. K. ethnonyms: [maudzæ] is the usual, somewhat derogatory term for a Russian, and seems to be a 19th-century loan from Chinese *maozi* "hairy one". An even more derogatory term for Russians is [puyɛnukkari] "owl eyes", but usually they are just [nosāsariymi]. The derogatory term for a Chinese is [ttènimi], but usually they are [tæguk sariymi] < SK /taykwuk/ "Great Country", or [tšunguk sariymi]. The colloquial and somewhat derogatory terms for Uzbek and Kazakh are [pyèkkye sariymi] and [sàkk'æ sariymi], respectively. Thus, the usual term for the Central Asian rice dish called *plov* in Russian is [pyèkkye bàbi] "Uzbek cooked rice" if it isn't [tsiriymppàbi] < MK /kil·im/ "oil" + /·pap/ "cooked rice". The term [sàkk'æ] is associated with R. *shàpka* "hat", and indeed, my 'Yuk.up informants have [sàkkwæ] "Kazakh". [yɔttsæ], [yɛttsæ] means "Jew".

Besides Russian loans and calques, there are also a few recent Chinese loans: [koŋnisa] is a "store" < 公利司 *gonglisi*, "bottle" is [peŋdzæ] < 瓶子 *píngzi* and [tshwāni] ('Yuk.up), [tshāi] (Myengchen-Kilcwu) is a "small boat" < 船 *chuan*.

Food, and food terminology, is rather different from the situation in Seoul. The staples are, of course, [pābi] "cooked rice" and [tsimtshi] "kimchee (pickled cabbage)". Instead of SS /namul/ "seasoned greens", they use the word [-tshæ], one of the most popular of which is [morkòftshæ] from R. *morkov'* "carrot". The side dishes meant to go with rice, /panchan/in SS, are here [hæmsæ, hæmi, hæmdiri], whereas [pantshai] is a specific dish of pickled raw fish and radishes. There is no SS /kkaktwuki/, but a very similar dish called [ttšɔkkukttsi]. SS /silayki kwuk/ "soup of dried radish leaves" is here [sirækttsaŋmūri], where [tsaŋmūri] is "any

meatless soup; broth". Soup with+ meat in it is called [kuŋmuri]. The popular noodle soup is here called [kuk̄s̄i] = SS/kwukswu/ < earlier /kuk̄syu(+i)/, and SS /oi kimchi/ "cucumber kimchee" is here [vædzɔrgũ mi] < [t̄sɔrgũnda] < "to pickle" = SS /celinta/ < MK *cyel·[G]i-. Sov. K. kimchee has [saŋt̄shæ], or coriander, in it. SS /mulmantwu/ "boiled dumplings" are here [murbɛŋsye], pickled fish is here [hyɛ], and Russian cabbage is [tædibæt̄shæ]. The goodies floating in soups are [kɔŋdzi], thick dark seaweed for soups is [kɔŋphi]. Thick soy sauce is called [t̄s̄ai] (but [t̄s̄a dago] "give me the thick soy"), and the soup made from it is not SS /toyngang ccikay/ but [t̄s̄aŋd̄z̄aŋm̄uri]. Large crustaceans are [sæbi], but shrimp are [kadzæ sækki], and Russian ring biscuits to go with tea are [karakt̄tsi ttɔgi] (Sov. K. [karakt̄tsi] "ring"). Rice for an honored individual is not SS /cinci/, but [t̄s̄immi], and the mixture obtained by pouring warm water over the burnt rice at the bottom of the rice cooker ([kamæ]) is [kamat̄shimuri], etc.

The system of Sov. K. adverbs is quite divergent from SS:

- [andzʊk(-tɔra, -tura)] ('Yuk.up), [andzugi] "(not)yet" < MK/ an·cik/ > SS /acik/.
- [par̄s̄e] ('Yuk.up), [parsse] "already" < MK /pɔl·ssye/ > SS /pelsse/.
- [tsæbilli] "by oneself, on one's own", as in R. *sam sdelal* "I did it myself". Cf. SS /caki/ "self".
- [kinyãŋ] ('Yuk.up), [kiyãŋ] "always; the whole time; continuously". SS /kunyang/ means "as it is/was; just(without doing anything)".
- [šidzãŋ], [ɔdžɔn] "now".
- [idžigane] "lately; recently". Probably /i/ "this" + SK /ci kan/ "'s interval" + locative /ey/.
- [habundza, hamdza, hobundza, homdza] "alone" < MK /hɔo·(n)za/ > SS /honca/.
- [kɔzɔ] ('Yuk.up), [kɔdžɔ] "just, only". Cf. SS /kece/ "id."
- [tsazu, tsazur, tsazuri] ('Yuk.up) "often". Cf. SS /cacwu/ "id."
- [t̄s̄eguna], [t̄s̄egudžegu] "barely, with difficulty" < MK /kyey·[G]o, kyey·[G]yo/ > SS /kyewu/.
- [hangode] "together" < MK /hɔn/ "one" + /·kot/ "place" (> SS /kos/) + locative /ey/ (MK /hɔn ko·t ay/).
- [ompha], [opphãŋ], [oŋgã] "originally, by nature". For the first two, cf. SS /wenphan/ "original situation". For the third, Martin et. al.

- (1968) list a /wenkan/ “[DIAL.] “by nature”.
- [kɔ̄baŋ], [ɔ̄baŋ] “more or less, for the most part”. Cf. SK /kepan/ “over half; the greater part”, SK /e.pan/ = /esangpan ha-/ “much the same, nearly alike”.
- [amurya, amuryɛ] “probably”. Cf. SS /ama/ “id.”
- [tʃhɔ̄əm], [tʃhām] “first time” < MK /·chezem, ·cheem/ > SS /cheum/. Cf. also Sov. K. [tʃhɔ̄kkame] “at first”.
- [waniru] “completely, totally” < SK /wan/ “finish, complete” + instr. /ulo/.
- [katʃhæbi] “closely”, e.g. [katʃhæbi ʌnso] “Please sit closer” < MK /kaska·Wi/ > SS /kakkai/.
- [tæsudæsu] “more or less, for the most part” < SK /tayswu/ “large number”.
- [syǣgi] “a lot, greatly”, e.g. [sūru syǣgi mɔ̄gɔ̄tta] “Drank a lot of vodka”. Cf. SS /sey-key/ “strongly”?
- [modirgi] (¹Yuk.up), [modziri], [pōrdi] (¹Yuk.up), [kwayɔ̄n] “very much”. For the first two, cf. MK /:motil-/ > SS /mōcil-/ “wick-ed; tough”. The third form is a mystery, and the fourth is SK /kwayen/ “indeed”, with only slight semantic shift.
- [saŋdzi tto] “up to this time does (not); still does (not)”.
- [hallāre] “one day”. Cf. SS /halwu/ < MK /hɒɒ, hɒɒli, hɒɒɒy/. The Sov. K. form could be just /han/ + /nal/ “day” with the “lamdacization” rule /-nn-/ > /-ll-/ noticed by Ramsey (1978).
- [thoŋ] “totally”, e.g. [sa gadzi, thoŋ!] “They buy up everything!”
- [paŋdʒɔ̄i] “correctly, completely”, e.g. [paŋdʒɔ̄i mɔ̄ arādinda] “I can’t understand you correctly/completely”. Cf. SS /pangceng ha-/ “neat and square”.
- [hɔ̄ri] “easily”. Cf. SS /hel ha-/ “is easy; cheap; light”.
- [ɛ̄n], [wɛ̄n] (¹Yuk.up); [teir] (¹Yuk.up) “most”. For the first, cf. MK /·mɒɒn/ > SS /mayn, māyn/. For the second, cf. SK /cēyil/ “number one; most”.
- [kakkim] “immediately, this very moment”. SS /kakkum/ means “sometimes”.
- [kkoburtā (idzɔ̄ppuretta)] “(forgot) totally”.
- [tʃhæ (maridænyɔ̄sso)] (¹Yuk.up) “(hasn’t dried) completely”. Cf. SS /chay/ “completely; not yet”.

- [mazi (mašyū)] (¹Yuk.up) “(drink) to the end/up”. Cf. SS/mace–masinta/ “id.”
- [kazi (nan ɔrina)] (¹Yuk.up) “just(–born baby)”. Cf. SS / kas/ “(done or made) just now”.
- [komma ... hæssittsɔge...] “just when one... was about to/did...” Cf. SS /ku man/ “that much and no more; just, right (then and there)”.
- [ontshɔn (morinda)] “(don’t know) fully”. Cf. SS /onchen ha–/ “is a sizeable amount”?
- [ttattalgim–ttattalgim] “(eat) piece by piece, bit by bit”.
- [phiyaŋkho–phiyaŋkho] This is what one says when one straddles a little baby across one’s ankle, with the leg outstretched, and rocks the baby.
- [æŋkhoæŋkho–koburaŋtho] (same function as the previous example)
- [naryā] “(eat) slowly; take one’s time (eating)”.
- [sɔri–sɔri] “mutually; (VERB) each other”. Cf. MK /seli/ > SS /selo/.

To finish the adverbs, here is a sentence with adverbs Soviet Koreans use to describe their dialect vs. Seoul speech:

[uri mār ini, maŋthaŋ–māriḡu, ssaŋ–marigu, māri khaŋkhaŋ hadž im. hiyttikpɔndžidžigi mar hadži, misi. syëur marini, yaŋban–marigu, sallaŋsallaŋ haningedžim]

“As for our speech, it is a jumbled language, a base tongue, and we talk raucously and chaotically. But Seoul speech is a noble language, spoken delicately”.

This is a made–up sentence, but is typical of what Soviet Koreans think of their language, and is assembled from remarks recorded in my fieldnotes.

Finally, there is a great number of lexical items typical of Soviet Korean that do not fit neatly into any of the categories above:

- [saŋsyæ natta] “died (honorific)”. Cf. SS /sangsa na–/ “go into mourning”.
- [irðpta] vs. [iri ðpta] “No problem; OK” vs. “out of work”.
- [sɔbā ganda]; [šɔbā ganda] (¹Yuk. up) “(man) gets married”. Cf. SK/se-pang/ “husband; Mr.” < earlier /syepang/.
- [apttətši] “person from the south (of Korea)”. Note that SK /nam/ “south” had the native Korean gloss /alp/ = MK /alph/ > SS

/aph/ “front” in earlier Korean sources.

- [mɛgurakttsi] “frog”. SS has /kaykwuli/ for “frog”, but in Sov. K. [kæɡũ ri] means “dog-house” < /kay/ dog + SK /kwul/ “hole; lair”.
- [tobæri hædzunda] “gives help”. [tobæ] here looks like a deverbal noun from MK /:top-, to·Wa/ > SS /töp-, towa/, like MK /kiphiy/ “depth” < /kiph-/ “deep”.
- [tedinda] “throws” < MK /te·ti-/ > SS /tenci-/.
- [sængak handa], [kupni ri handa] “thinks”. I have also heard the first example used in the sense “loves”, which is an archaism. The usual expressions for “to love” in Sov. K. are [koba handa] and [lyubi ri handa] (< Russian).
- [khomithi norginda] “chats” (teases the bottom of the nose). For the verb, cf. SS /nolli-/ “tease” < MK /nol·[G]i-/.
- [nɔmgunda] “swallows”. This is the causative of /nem-/ “goes over; passes beyond”. SS /nemki-/ does not normally mean “swallow”, which is here /samkhi-/.
- [tšasɔgi], [imsɔgi] “children” and “food”. Cf. SK /casik/ and /ũmsik/. The Sov. K. forms preserve Sino-Japanese-like readings < earlier /syek/. Cf. also MK (SK) /·kok·sik, kok·syek/ > SS /koksik/ “grain”.
- [uthi] “clothes”. This word is also reported for Phyengan dialects (Kim Yengpay (1984: 182)).
- [nome-nome tšäpsso] “Eat slowly. Take your time eating” < /nöl-mye nöl-mye/. Cf. SS /nöl-/ “play; take it easy; be off-task”.
- [šɔdap šitšhɔsso] (¹Yuk. up) “washed the laundry”. Cf. SK /sēythak/ “laundry”?

Formations in [-džir]. The SS post-noun /-cil/ “the act of ...ing”, which tends to have a pejorative meaning and is not productive, is in Sov. K. highly productive and carries no negative connotations: [lukhidžir handa, nukhi džir handa] “engages in onion-raising (< R. *luk* “onion”)”, [phadžir handa] “engages in black-market speculation activities” < /phal-/ “sell”, [sɔnsæmidžir handa] “works as a teacher” [sic], [tæhæksædžir handa] “is engaged as a college student”, [tšõŋdžir handa] “works as a slave”, [nõ sadžir handa, noŋsædžir handa] “engages in farming”, [buxaltjeriyadžir handa] “works as an accountant” < R. *buxgalterija* “accounting”, [kobondžir handa] “engages in Sov. K. -style tenant farming”.

[kanna] “girl”.

[hæɲbur mannatta] “caught a cold”.

[ki tshào] “Amazing! Oh, my!”

[pukki], [pukkisor], [kɔdzippurɛ] all mean “a lie”. [nabar bunda] means “to tell lies (lit. “to blow one’s horn”), and [nabardzæ] is “a liar”.

[asumtshaikkuma]; [asumthyænikkuma] (‘Yuk. up) “Thank you”.

[hɔmurtshi margo, tigyð!] “Don’t stand on ceremony (Let’s) drink up!”

[uppida] “funny”. Cf. MK /:uz·Wi/ “in a funny way” < *·uz·Wi- > SS /wusup-/.

[khinnara], [tæguk] “China”, i.e. “the Great Country”.

[ommun], [kūmun, kūmmun] “Korean writing”, where the first word is SK /enmun/ “vulgar script”, and the second is /kwukmun/ “national writing”. SS /han-kul/ is a neologism which came about after Sov. K. split off from homeland linguistic developments.

[oma ssinda] “is senile”.

[pusurgi] “train” < MK /·pil/ “fire” + /sul·[G]wi/ > SS /swuley/ “cart; wagon”.

Conclusions

This sketch of Soviet Korean dialects, brief as it is, should give some flavor of the essence of a rare (and dying) form of North Hamkyeng Korean. Anybody equipped with a moderate knowledge of Seoul Standard should see immediately the significant differences between Seoul speech and Soviet Korean, and those with a moderate knowledge of Middle Korean will also see the many direct similarities between 15th- and 16th-century Korean and these data.

All in all, the impression is of significant divergence. However, more often than not, the locus of “radical change” has been Seoul Standard and not Soviet Korean: in language change it is usually the center, and not the periphery, that changes “the fastest and the mostest”.

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