

# THE OUTLINE OF THE KOREAN DIALECTS

By

SHIMPEI OGURA

## CHAPTER I. GENERAL REMARKS

### Section 1. History of the Study of the Korean Dialects

Korean being one of the languages which until very recently failed to engage the attention of both Japanese and foreign students, it is not too much to say that no notice has been taken of the study of the dialects.

To begin with, the Koreans used to admire the Chinese classics from ancient times so much that the various documents they left behind were made nearly always in Chinese and seldom in the Korean language. As their own was considered as a vulgar language and never used as a scholastic language, the study of the Korean language and dialects came to be left alone outside the range of attention. Only RI TÔKU-BÔ 李德懋, a man who lived some 150 years ago, in his work "*Kan-chiku-dô Shô-bitsu* 寒竹堂涉筆" under the heading "*Shiragi Hô-gen* 新羅方言 (The Shiragi Dialect)" says:

"The head of a government office should master the dialect of his province so that he may get thoroughly acquainted with the ways of the people. When I first proceeded to Sha-yû 沙郵 my new post, I did not really understand what my inferior officials said, because it was in the Shiragi dialect. Neither did they understand me. Misunderstanding occurred quite frequently. Not long after, however, I mastered their dialect and addressed the people in it. I was once

ordering my subordinates to put cereals into the granary. The subordinates said 'If *ko-tf'i* (居穰) are not in perfect condition, *na-rak* (羅洛) will surely run out. After sifting the cereals with *tf'ɔŋ-i* (請伊) and fastening them tight with *sa-tf'aŋ-i* (沙暢歸), we shall store them in *tf'ɔŋ-dʒi-kan* (丁支間).' On that occasion there happened to be a visitor from Kei-jō 京城, who hearing these words burst out laughing, and asked 'What are they saying?' So I took the trouble of explaining the words for the visitor. '*ko-tf'i* is bales', said I, '*na-rak* rice-plant, *tf'ɔŋ-i* sieve, *sa-tf'aŋ-i* straw rope, and *tf'ɔŋ-dʒi-kan* granary.'

This is an account of the dialect of the Kei-shō nampoku-dō 慶尙南北道 area. Kō Ryō-kō 洪良浩, approximately a contemporary of Ri Toku-bō, in his "*Hoku-sai-ki-ryaku* 北塞記略" says "巫覡 (witch, temple-maid) is 師 [sū-sūŋ]; 門, 屋敷 (gate, mansion) 烏喇 [o-ra]; 高阜 (mound, hill) 德 [tok]; 邊涯 (border, margin) 域 [jok]; 墻壁 (wall) 築 [tʃuk-(tam), tuk-(tam)]; 淺灘 (shallow spot in the river) 膝 [psul]; 猫 (cat) 虎樣 [ko-neŋ-i]; 賣牛 (presenting a calf in return for borrowing an ox for breeding purposes) 輪道里 [jun-du-ri]; 烏網 (a fowler's net) 彈 [t'an]; 南 (south) 前 [alp, ap]; 北 (north) 後 [tui]; a kind of leather boots 多路岐 [to-ro-gi, to-re-gi, etc.]; a kind of sleigh 跋高 [pal-gi, pal-gui]; a sort of fish found in the Tu-man 豆滿 River 夜來 [ja-ri, ja-rui]."<sup>1)</sup> This graphic description of the dialect of Kan-kyō hoku-dō 咸鏡北道, along with the preceding one of that of Kei-shō nampoku-dō 慶尙南北道, constitutes a valuable material in the study of the Korean dialects, but apart from these it seems that no other reference would be accessible.

Some Japanese scholars had undertaken to study the Korean language from quite ancient times, but none of them had yet paid attention to a special study of the dialects. In the *Zō-sho-ki-bun shū-i* 象胥紀聞拾遺 (1841) by Kan-saku ODA 小田管作, it is recorded that, in Kei-shō nan-dō 慶尙南道, 大根 (radish) is called *mu-si*.<sup>2)</sup> But of course it is only a piece of second-hand information obtained from

1) S. OGURA: *Kan-kyō nan-dō oyobi Kō-kai dō no hōgen* 咸鏡南道及び黃海道の方言 (A Study of the Dialects in Hamgyōng-namdo and Hoanghai-do), *Bulletin of the Faculty of Law and Letters*, Miscellaneous Series, Vol. II, April, 1930. Published by the Keijō Imperial University.

2) See the anecdote given under "△" in Section 5, p. 28.

Korean natives. Since then some Japanese have referred to differences in the provincial pronunciation of the Korean language, it is true; but there has been nothing particularly worth mentioning here in this connection.

As to investigations by the Chinese, YANG Hsiung 揚雄 of the Han dynasty, in his *Yang-tzu fang-yen* 揚子方言 records what he calls the dialect of the region along the Retsu River 列水 in Korea; however, the words discussed are by no means genuine Korean, but a collection of the Chinese dialect words used in the region. The *Chi-lin-lei-sbib* 雞林類事 by SUN-mu 孫穆 of the Sung dynasty is a well-known work as a collection of Korean words of the Kô-rai 高麗 dynasty, but it cannot be regarded as the dialect of a province, but only a compilation of the speech at the capital of the Kô-rai dynasty. And the *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語 of the Ming dynasty is found to contain a large Korean vocabulary. Even this could not be considered to be much in the nature of a dialect.

Finally, let us turn to investigations by western scholars. Their efforts to study the Korean language date from the beginning of the 19th century, but they failed to cover the dialects. W. R. Broughton<sup>1)</sup>, an English navigator, in October, 1797, collected 38 dialect words of Fu-san and its neighbourhood; and B. Hall<sup>2)</sup> in 1816 collected 28 dialect words of the western coast of Korea while navigating southward; these collections, though comprising only very few words, should be regarded as the most important in the history of language study. Since then there has been no dialect study by westerners. What we should note in this connection is that as some of the dictionaries and grammars of the Korean language compiled by them accidentally give explanations based on dialectal peculiarities, a number of valuable dialectal materials accidentally present themselves before our eyes. For instance, the greater part of the vocabulary included in the *Korean-Russian Dictionary*<sup>3)</sup> by M. ПУЦЦЛЮ belongs to the dialect of Kan-kyô dô 咸鏡道; and the

1) W. R. BROUGHTON: *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*, 1804.

2) B. HALL: *Account of a Voyage of Discovery of the West Coast of Corea, and the Great Loo-choo Islands*, 1818.

3) M. ПУЦЦЛЮ: *Опыт Русско-Корейскаго Словаря*, 1874.

Korean grammars<sup>1)</sup> written by the Rev. J. ROSS and J. MACINTYRE who preached the gospel in Manchuria and were engaged in the study of the Chinese and Korean languages only treat of the grammar of the dialect of Hei-an-dō 平安道.<sup>2)</sup>

## Section 2. Necessity of the Study of the Korean Dialects

What characteristics has the Korean language? With what others should it be classified in the system of languages? These questions have not yet been settled adequately. In connection with investigating these questions, it would be as well, first of all, to trace the historical development of the Korean language itself and on the other hand to make a comparative study of it and other languages.

As we attempt at investigating the historical development of the Korean language, are we provided with copious materials which form the basis of our research? We are not, because there existed in ancient Korea no characters peculiar to the people, with which to write the Korean language. Up to an earlier part of the Ri 李 dynasty, the people knew no way of recording the Korean language except by means of the Chinese characters. The inconvenience and inaccuracy the people then suffered might well be imagined. In the 28th year of the King Se-sō 世宗 (1466 A. D.) in the earlier part of the Ri dynasty, the King created the *Ōn-mun* containing 28 letters, by the use of which the people now had an opportunity to write their language quite freely. Prior to this time, it was barely possible for them to record their language very imperfectly, as a result of using only Chinese characters. With the invention of the *Ōn-mun*, however, now it became possible to give various expressions such as declensions of nouns and

1) J. ROSS: *Corean Primer*, 1877.

*The Corean Language*, *China Review*, Vol. VI, 1878.

*Korean Speech, with Grammar and Vocabulary, New Edition*, 1882.

J. MACINTYRE: *Notes on the Corean Language*, *China Review*, Vol. VIII, 1878-1880.

2) See for detail S. ŌGŪRA: *Seiyō-jin no kiroku ni nohosare-ta Chōsen-hōgen* 西洋人の記録に遺された朝鮮方言 (The Korean Dialects given in the Records of Westerners), *Kokugo kokubun* 國語國文, Vol. II, No. I, Jan., 1932.

conjugations of verbs, which it had been impossible to express by the use of Chinese characters. To say nothing of the convenience and benefit the later generations enjoyed, extraordinary has been the gratitude of later linguists for this invention. When the *Ōn-mun* was first promulgated, however, these letters were used, not extensively in every field, but chiefly in the commentaries on Buddhist documents, apart from only a few literary and linguistic works. Besides, the *Ōn-mun* in the course of time came to be despised among the upper classes of the people, until it was regarded as a writing indulged in solely by ignorant people, simple women, or children. The sphere in which the *Ōn-mun* was used was now considerably limited. No serious literature of real merit appeared in this spelling. Finally, it became impossible to record in this notation some of the vocabulary then employed in the every-day life of the Koreans. This accounts for the unfortunate poverty of the vocabularies compiled in the various Korean dictionaries generally used in these days. In order to meet this deficiency, urgency of collecting dialects is felt most keenly in Korea. Furthermore, the purpose of collecting Korean dialects consists, not simply in supplementing this defect of the present-day vocabulary with the materials newly obtained, but also in contributing something, through an investigation of a living language, towards the progress of the study of philology or dialectology, which constitutes by far the greater trust.

### Section 3. Development of My Investigation of the Korean Dialects

I went over to Korea in 1911, being appointed an officer of the Government-General, and was engaged in compiling and editing text-books for schools. However, my primary object was in studying the Korean language. On arriving in Korea, at once I proceeded to teach myself how to talk the native tongue, and was also engaged in investigating the language through consulting all literature in the field. It was then that I realized the absolute necessity of studying the dialects in

order to master the language. While I was in the Government-General and in the Keijō Imperial University, I availed myself of all my spare time in official service for about twenty years, and made a great number of trips long and short for my investigation. Ever since I was transferred to the Tokyo Imperial University in 1933, I have made the most of my official visits to Keijō every year, and making brief visits to various places, I have revised and supplemented the results of my previous investigation. From the very beginning I made it a rule to publish in a magazine the result of my investigation every time I make such a trip. Such reports on the Korean dialects now number over twenty; and my papers based upon the dialects are also many. Not all the titles of these could be mentioned here; only the names of those published in book form will be given.

1. *Nambu-Chōsen no hō-gen* 南部朝鮮の方言 (*A Study of the Dialects of South Korea*), the Chosen Historical Society, Keijō, 1924.
2. *Hei-an nampoku-dō no hō-gen* 平安南北道の方言 (*A Study of the Dialects in North and South P'yōng-an-do*), *Bulletin of the Faculty of Law and Letters*, Miscellaneous Series, the Keijō Imperial University, Vol. I, 1929.
3. *Kan-kyō nan-dō oyobi Kō-kei-dō no hō-gen* 咸鏡南道及び黄海道の方言 (*A Study of the Dialects in Hamgyōng-namdo and Hoangbai-do*), *Bulletin of the Faculty of Law and Letters*, Miscellaneous Series, Vol. II, the Keijō Imperial University, 1930.
4. *Chōsen-go ni okeru ken-jō-hō son-kei-hō no jo-dō-shi* 朝鮮語に於ける謙讓法尊敬法の助動詞 (*A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language*), *The Toyo Bunko Ronsō*, Series A, Vol. XXVI, 1938.

Concerning the method I adopted in this study of the dialects, I hold myself responsible for a brief explanation.

First, as for my points of reference, all the county seats were chosen as such, and then as occasion called, other localities were added to them. The number of my points of reference up to the present exceeds 200, at many of which I have made reinvestigation out of sheer necessity.

In the next place, as for the class of my subjects, I chose, as rule, about ten pupils male and female from an upper class of the Futsū-gakko (the Primary School for Korean children). It would better serve the purpose of my investigation to engage aged people, preferably women, but they would not stand a pro-

longed questioning and often fail to answer my questions properly. Hence I was compelled to choose school-children instead.

Then the inquiry form for entering items of investigation was prepared by referring to my own experience. Of course, for European languages there are dialect investigation forms specially planned to meet the peculiar necessity of each language. In Japan several kinds of "Dialect Collection Forms" had been employed. It was impossible to imagine that these forms could be applied entire to investigating Korean dialects, for it must be understood that the Korean language has some speech peculiarities of its own. There had been in Korea no investigation form of this kind. In making investigation forms, therefore, I personally selected those words which I, from the viewpoint of phonetics, vocabulary, and grammar, considered most characteristic of the language; and as I travelled about the country year after year, I gradually increased my words on the basis of my own experience. At first, the words were very few, but they have been gradually increased until they number at present between 600 and 700.

Finally, I may take this opportunity to add a word on my journeys of investigation. Now-a-days facilities of communication by railway or boat are available and the motor-car service is well developed in Korea; but over ten years ago means of communication were in an infantile state and it was by means of horse-back that I travelled from a town to another. It was, therefore, unavoidable that despite the length of my investigation, I should have achieved no satisfactory results.

My investigation has continued up to the present; but being originally launched from a passing curiosity, it was by no means built upon a scientific basis. It is natural that the results should have involved many defects and errors. I have always been eagerly looking forward to the time when these defects and errors would be completely removed so that a dialectology based on the Korean language might be established as soon as possible. It is a matter of congratulation, therefore, that, under the generous assistance of the Nippon Gakujutsu-shinkô-kai

(The Japan Science Promotion Society), a reinvestigation of the Korean dialects which is to be completed in three years was launched in October, 1937; and at present my associate in this work, Mr. Rokurō KŌNO 河野六郎, an assistant in the Keijō Imperial University, is eagerly engaged in a field-survey according to a plan which he himself has drawn.

#### Section 4. Phonetic Transcription of the *Ōn-mun*

It is evident that the *Ōn-mun* is by far the most suitable alphabet in denoting the Korean language; but in consideration of the general public, the international phonetic symbols have been adopted in this paper. The agreement is as follows:

1. ㅏ = a	15. ㅓ = jɛ	29. ㅈ = s, t
2. ㅑ = ja	16. ㅕ = ø	30. ㅊ = ɟ
3. ㅓ = ɔ	17. ㅖ = wi	31. ㅆ = tʃ, dʒ
4. ㅕ = jɔ	18. ㅗ = ui	32. ㅉ = tʃʰ
5. ㅗ = o	19. ㅛ = wa	33. ㅋ = kʰ
6. ㅛ = jo	20. ㅜ = wɔ	34. ㅌ = tʰ
7. ㅜ = u	21. ㅠ = wɛ	35. ㅍ = pʰ
8. ㅠ = ju	22. ㅝ = we	36. ㅎ = h
9. ㅡ = u	23. ㄱ = k	37. ㅋ = ɸk, ɸg
10. ㅣ = i	24. ㄴ = n	38. ㄷ = ɸt, ɸd
11. ㅍ = ɸ	25. ㄸ = t, d	39. ㅊ = ɸp, ɸb
12. ㅈ, ㅉ <sup>1)</sup> = ɛ	26. ㅊ = l, r	40. ㅆ = ɸs
13. ㅊ = jɛ	27. ㅆ = m	41. ㅉ = ɸtʃ, ɸdʒ
14. ㅉ = ɛ	28. ㅊ = p, b	42. ㅉ <sup>3)</sup> = z

1) “.” is a letter no more generally used, but found in ancient words. “.” is now replaced by such sound as [a], [ɔ], [o], and [u]. When the use of the letter “.” is needed, for instance, in explaining the etymology of some words, “ɸ” is employed.

2) ㅓ in the greater part of Korea becomes [ɛ] with the sound identical with ㅈ; only in Quelpart Island a unique sound is preserved for it.

3) Δ is a letter not used now-a-days; and when the use of the letter Δ is especially needed, for instance, in explaining the etymology of some words, the letter z is used for it.



## Section 5. Synopsis of Points of My Investigation, and Abbreviations

Of the points of reference where dialect words have been investigated marked in Map No. 1, in the Appendix, those marked with figures are mostly the localities at which I have conducted investigation personally, though at some I have not been able. Most of them represent seats of prefectures and counties, though some villages are also included. Here follows a reference-table of the numbers and localities. The localities represented in Map No. 2 and the rest may be identified by referring to Map No. 1 and this reference-table.

Numbers	Localities in Chinese Characters	Japanese Pronunciation	Korean Pronunciation
	(Zen-ra nan-dô 全羅南道 (A) 1-29)		
1	濟州	Sai-shû	[Tʃe-dʒu]
2	城山	Jô-zan	[Sɔŋ-san]
3	旌義	Sei-gi	[Tʃɔŋ-ûi]
4	西歸	Sei-ki	[Sɔ-gwi]
	太靜	Tai-sei	[Tɛ-dʒɔŋ]
	(The above-mentioned are situated in Quelpart Island)		
6	突山	Totsu-zan	[Tol-san]
7	麗水	Rei-sui	[Jo-su]
8	光陽	Kô-yô	[Kwan-jaŋ]
9	順天	Jun-ten	[Sun-tʃʌn]
10	筏橋	Bak-kyô	[Pɔl-gjɔ]
11	高興	Kô-kô	[Ko-hûŋ]
12	寶城	Hô-jô	[Po-sɔŋ]
13	長興	Chô-kô	[Tʃaŋ-hûŋ]
14	康津	Kô-shûn	[Kaŋ-dʒin]

Numbers	Localities in Chinese Characters	Japanese Pronunciation	Korean Pronunciation
15	莞 島	Kan-tô	[Wan-do]
16	海 南	Kai-nan	[Hæ-nam]
17	珍 島	Chin-tô	[Tʃin-do]
18	靈 岩	Rei-gan	[Jɔŋ-am]
19	木 浦	Mop-po	[Mok-p'ɔ]
20	咸 平	Kam-pei	[Ham-p'ɔŋ]
21	靈 光	Rei-kô	[Jɔŋ-gwaŋ]
22	羅 州	Ra-shû	[Na-dʒu]
23	和 順	Wa-jun	[Hwa-sun]
24	光 州	Kô-shû	[Kwaŋ-dʒu]
25	長 城	Chô-jô	[Tʃaŋ-sɔŋ]
26	潭 陽	Tan-yô	[Tam-jaŋ]
27	玉 果	Gyok-ka	[Ok-kwa]
28	谷 城	Koku-jô	[Kok-sɔŋ]
29	求 禮	Kyû-rei	[Ku-rje]

## (Zen-ra hoku-dô 全羅北道 (B) 30—44)

30	雲 峰	Um-pô	[Un-boŋ]
31	南 原	Nan-gen	[Nam-wɔn]
32	淳 昌	Jun-shô	[Sun-tʃ'aŋ]
33	井 邑	Sei-yû	[Tʃɔŋ-ɨp]
34	高 敞	Kô-shô	[Ko-tʃ'aŋ]
35	扶 安	Fu-an	[Pu-an]
36	金 堤	Kin-tei	[Kim-dʒe]
37	裡 里	Ri-ri	[I-ri]
38	群 山	Gun-zan	[Kun-san]
39	全 州	Zen-shû	[Tʃɔn-dʒu]
40	任 實	Nin-jitsu	[Im-sil]
41	長 水	Chô-sui	[Tʃaŋ-su]

42	鎮	安	Chin-an	[Tʃin-an]
43	茂	朱	Mo-shu	[Mu-dʒu]
44	錦	山	Kin-zan	[Kùm-san]

## (Kei-shô nan-dô 慶尙南道 (C) 45—65)

45	蔚	山	Uru-san	[Ul-san]
46	梁	山	Ryô-zan	[Jaŋ-san]
47	東	萊	Tô-rai	[Toŋ-nɛ]
48	釜	山	Fu-zan	[Pu-san]
49	金	海	Kin-kai	[Kim-hɛ]
50	馬	山	Ma-san	[Ma-san]
51	巨	濟	Kyo-sai	[Kɔ-dʒɛ]
52	統	營	Tô-ei	[T'ouŋ-jɔŋ]
53	固	城	Ko-jô	[Ko-sɔŋ]
54	咸	安	Kan-an	[Ham-an]
55	宜	寧	Gi-nei	[Ui-njɔŋ]
56	晉	州	Shin-shû	[Tʃin-dʒu]
57	泗	川	Shi-sen	[Sa-tʃ'ɔn]
58	南	海	Nan-kai	[Nam-hɛ]
59	河	東	Ka-tô	[Ha-doŋ]
60	山	清	San-sei	[San-tʃ'ɔŋ]
61	咸	陽	Kan-yô	[Ham-jaŋ]
62	居	昌	Kyo-shô	[Kɔ-tʃ'aj]
63	陝	川	Kyô-sen	[Hap-tʃ'ɔn]
64	昌	寧	Shô-nei	[Tʃ'aj-njɔŋ]
65	密	陽	Mitsu-yô	[Mil-jaŋ]

## (Kei-shô hoku-dô 慶尙北道 (D) 66—91)

66	清	道	Sei-dô	[Tʃ'ɔŋ-do]
67	慶	山	Kei-zan	[Kjɔŋ-san]
68	永	川	Ei-sen	[jɔŋ-tʃ'ɔn]

Numbers	Localities in Chinese Characters	Japanese Pronunciation	Korean Pronunciation
69	慶州	Kei-shû	[Kjɔŋ-dʒu]
70	浦項	Ho-kô	[P'o-aŋ]
71	興海	Kô-kai	[Hũŋ-he]
72	盈德	Ei-toku	[Jɔŋ-dok]
73	大邱	Tai-kyû	[Tɛ-gu]
74	高靈	Kô-rei	[Ko-rjɔŋ]
75	星州	Sei-shû	[Sɔŋ-dʒu]
76	倭館	Wai-kan	[Wɛ-gwan]
77	知禮	Chi-rei	[Tʃi-rje]
78	金泉	Kin-sen	[Kim-tʃ'ɔn]
79	善山	Zen-zan	[Sɔn-san]
80	軍威	Gun-i	[Kun-wi]
81	義城	Gi-jô	[Ūi-sɔŋ]
82	尙州	Shô-shû	[Saj-dʒu]
83	咸昌	Kan-shô	[Ham-tʃ'aŋ]
84	聞慶	Bun-kei	[Mun-gjɔŋ]
85	醴泉	Rei-sen	[Je-tʃ'ɔn]
86	安東	An-tô	[An-dɔŋ]
87	榮州	Ei-shû	[Jɔŋ-dʒu]
88	乃城	Nai-jô	[Nɛ-sɔŋ]
89	英陽	Ei-yô	[Jɔŋ-jaj]
90	靑松	Sei-shô	[Tʃ'ɔŋ-sɔŋ]
91	道洞(嶗陵島)	Dô-dô	[To-dɔŋ]
	(Chû-sei-nan-dô 忠清南道 (E) 92—113)		
92	大田	Tai-den	[Tɛ-dʒɔn]
93	公州	Kô-shû	[Kɔŋ-dʒu]
94	論山	Ron-zan	[Non-san]
95	江景	Kô-kei	[Kaj-gjɔŋ]

96	扶 餘	Fu-yo	[Pu-jo]
97	鴻 山	Kô-zan	[Hoŋ-san]
98	青 陽	Sei-yô	[Tʃ'ɔŋ-jaŋ]
99	舒 川	Jo-sen	[So-tʃ'ɔn]
100	藍 浦	Ram-po	[Nam-p'ɔ]
101	大 川	Dai-sen	[Tɛ-tʃ'ɔn]
102	保 寧	Ho-nei	[Po-tjoŋ]
103	炭 浦 (安眠島)	Tam-po	[T'an-p'ɔ]
104	廣 川	Kô-sen	[Kwaŋ-tʃ'ɔn]
105	洪 城	Kô-jô	[Hoŋ-sɔŋ]
106	海 美	Kai-bi	[Hɛ-mi]
107	瑞 山	Zui-zan	[So-san]
108	唐 津	Tô-shin	[Taŋ-dʒin]
109	沔 川	Men-sen	[Mjoŋ-tʃ'ɔn]
110	禮 山	Rei-zan	[Je-san]
111	溫 陽	On-yô	[On-jaŋ]
112	天 安	Ten-an	[Tʃ'ɔn-an]
113	鳥 致 院	Chô-chi-in	[Tʃo-tʃ'i-wɔn]
(Chû-sei hoku-dô 忠清北道 (F) 114—123)			
114	清 州	Sei-shû	[Tʃ'ɔŋ-dʒu]
115	報 恩	Hô-on	[Po-ün]
116	沃 川	Yoku-sen	[Ok-tʃ'ɔn]
117	永 同	Ei-dô	[Joŋ-dôŋ]
118	鎭 川	Chin-sen	[Tʃin-tʃ'ɔn]
119	陰 城	In-jô	[Um-sɔŋ]
120	槐 山	Kai-zan	[Kø-san]
121	忠 州	Chû-shû	[Tʃ'ɔŋ-dʒu]
122	丹 陽	Tan-yô	[Tan-jaŋ]
123	堤 川	Tei-sen	[Tʃe-tʃ'ɔn]

Numbers	Localities in Chinese Characters	Japanese Pronunciation	Korean Pronunciation
(Kei-ki dô 京畿道 (G) 124—143)			
124	平 澤	Hei-taku	[P'jɔŋ-t'ɛk]
125	安 城	An-jô	[An-sɔŋ]
126	水 原	Sui-gen	[Su-wɔn]
127	龍 仁	Ryû-jin	[Joŋ-in]
128	利 川	Ri-sen	[I-tf'ɔn]
129	驪 州	Rei-shû	[Jo-dʒu]
130	楊 平	Yô-hei	[Jaŋ-p'jɔŋ]
131	廣 州 (京安)	Kô-shû	[Kwaŋ-dʒu]
132	京 城	Kei-jô	[Kjɔŋ-sɔŋ]
133	永 登 浦	Ei-tô-ho	[Joŋ-dûŋ-p'o]
134	仁 川	Jin-sen	[In-tf'ɔn]
135	金 浦	Kim-po	[Kim-p'o]
136	江 華	Kô-ka	[Kaŋ-hwa]
137	開 城	Kai-jô	[Kɛ-sɔŋ]
138	長 湍	Chô-tan	[Tjaŋ-dan]
139	汶 山	Mon-zan	[Mun-san]
140	議 政 府	Gi-sei-fu	[Ûi-dʒɔŋ-bu]
141	漣 州	Ren-sen	[Joŋ-tf'ɔn]
142	抱 川	Hô-sen	[P'o-tf'ɔn]
143	加 平	Ka-hei	[Ka-p'jɔŋ]
(Kô-gen dô 江原道 (H) 144—169)			
144	歙 谷	Kyû-koku	[Sɔp-kok]
145	通 川	Tsû-sen	[T'oŋ-tf'ɔn]
146	長 箭	Chô-sen	[Tjaŋ-dʒɔn]
147	高 城	Kô-jô	[Ko-sɔŋ]
148	杆 城	Kan-jô	[Kan-sɔŋ]

149	襄陽	Jô-yô	[Jaŋ-jaŋ]
150	注文津	Chû-mon-shin	[Tʃu-mun-dʒin]
151	江陵	Kô-ryô	[Kaŋ-nuŋ]
152	三陟	San-choku	[Sam-tʃ'ok]
153	蔚珍	Uru-chin	[Ul-tʃin]
154	平海	Hei-kai	[P'jɔŋ-hɛ]
155	旌善	Sei-zen	[Tʃɔŋ-sɔn]
156	寧越	Nei-etsu	[Njɔŋ-wɔl]
157	平昌	Hei-shô	[P'jɔŋ-tʃ'ap]
158	原州	Gen-shû	[Wɔn-dʒu]
159	橫城	Ô-jô	[Høŋ-sɔŋ]
160	洪川	Kô-sen	[Hoŋ-tʃ'ɔn]
161	春川	Shun-sen	[Tʃ'un-tʃ'ɔn]
162	華川	Ka-sen	[Hwa-tʃ'ɔn]
163	楊口	Yô-kô	[Jaŋ-gu]
164	麟蹄	Rin-tei	[In-dʒɛ]
165	淮陽	Wai-yô	[Hø-jaŋ]
166	金化	Kin-ka	[Kim-hwa]
167	鐵原	Tetsu-gen	[Tʃ'ɔl-wɔn]
168	平康	Hei-kô	[P'jɔŋ-gaŋ]
169	伊川	I-sen	[I-tʃ'ɔn]

## (Kô-kai dô 黃海道 (J) 170—187)

170	金川	Kin-sen	[Kûm-tʃ'ɔn]
171	延安	En-an	[Jɔn-an]
172	海州	Kai-shû	[Hɛ-dʒu]
173	龜津	Ô-shin	[Oŋ-dʒin]
174	苔灘	Tai-tan	[T'ɛ-t'an]
175	長湍	Chô-en	[Tʃaŋ-jɔn]
176	松禾	Shô-ka	[Soŋ-hwa]

Numbers	Localities in Chinese Characters	Japanese Pronunciation	Korean Pronunciation
177	殷 栗	In-ritsu	[Ūl-ljul]
178	安 岳	An-gaku	[An-ak]
179	信 川	Shin-sen	[Sin-tʃʷɔn]
180	載 寧	Sai-nei	[Tʃɛ-rjɔŋ]
181	沙 里 院	Sha-ri-in	[Sa-ri-wɔn]
182	黃 州	Kô-shû	[Hway-dʒu]
183	瑞 興	Zui-kô	[Sɔ-hŭŋ]
184	南 川	Nan-sen	[Nam-tʃʷɔn]
185	新 溪	Shin-kei	[Sin-ge]
186	遂 安	Sui-an	[Su-an]
187	谷 山	Koku-san	[Kok-san]
(Kan-kyô nan-dô 咸鏡南道 (K) 188—207)			
188	新 高 山	Shin-kô-zan	[Sin-ko-san]
189	安 邊	Am-pen	[An-bjɔn]
190	元 山	Gen-zan	[Wɔn-san]
191	德 源	Toku-gen	[Tɔg-wɔn]
192	文 川	Bun-sen	[Mun-tʃʷɔn]
193	高 原	Kô-gen	[Ko-wɔn]
194	永 興	Ei-kô	[Jɔŋ-hŭŋ]
195	定 平	Tei-hei	[Tʃɔŋ-pʃɔŋ]
196	咸 興	Kan-kô	[Ham-hŭŋ]
197	五 老 里	Go-rô-ri	[O-ro-ri]
198	新 興	Shin-kô	[Sin-hŭŋ]
199	洪 原	Kô-gen	[Hoŋ-wɔn]
200	北 青	Hoku-sei	[Puk-tʃʷɔŋ]
201	利 原	Ri-gen	[I-wɔn]
202	端 川	Tan-sen	[Tan-tʃʷɔn]
203	豐 山	Hô-zan	[Pʷŋ-san]



204	甲 山	Kô-zan	[Kap-san]
205	惠 山	Kei-zan	[Hje-san]
206	三 水	San-sui	[Sam-su]
207	長 津	Chô-shin	[Tʃaŋ-dʒin]

## (Kan-kyô hoku-dô 咸鏡北道 (L) 208—222)

208	城 津	Jô-shin	[Sɔŋ-dʒin]
209	吉 州	Kis-shû	[Kil-tʃu]
210	明 川	Mei-sen	[Mjɔŋ-tʃʷɔn]
211	鏡 城	Kyô-jô	[Kjɔŋ-sɔŋ]
212	羅 南	Ra-nan	[Na-nam]
213	清 津	Sei-shin	[Tʃʷɔŋ-dʒin]
214	富 居	Fu-kyo	[Pu-gɔ]
215	富 寧	Fu-nei	[Pu-rjɔŋ]
216	茂 山	Mo-zan	[Mu-san]
217	會 寧	Kai-nei	[Hø-rjɔŋ]
218	鍾 城	Shô-jô	[Tʃɔŋ-sɔŋ]
219	穩 城	On-jô	[On-sɔŋ]
220	慶 源	Kei-gen	[Kjɔŋ-wɔn]
221	慶 興	Kei-kô	[Kjɔŋ-hûŋ]
222	雄 基	Yû-ki	[Uŋ-gûi]

## (Hei-an nan-dô 平安南道 (M) 223—239)

223	中 和	Chû-wa	[Tʃuŋ-hwa]
224	平 壤	Hei-jô	[Pʷjɔŋ-jaŋ]
225	鎭 南 浦	Chin-nam-po	[Tʃin-nam-pʷo]
226	龍 岡	Ryû-kô	[Joŋ-gaŋ]
227	江 西	Kô-sai	[Kaŋ-sɔ]
228	江 東	Kô-tô	[Kaŋ-doŋ]
229	成 川	Sei-sen	[Sɔŋ-tʃʷɔn]
230	陽 德	Yô-toku	[Jaŋ-dɔk]

Numbers	Localities in Chinese Characters	Japanese Pronunciation	Korean Pronunciation
231	孟 山	Mô-zan	[Mɛŋ-san]
232	寧 遠	Nei-en	[Njɔŋ-wɔn]
233	德 川	Toku-sen	[Tɔk-tʃ'ɔn]
234	价 川	Kai-sen	[Kɛ-tʃ'ɔn]
235	順 川	Jun-sen	[Sun-tʃ'ɔn]
236	順 安	Jun-an	[Sun-an]
237	永 柔	Ei-jû	[Jɔŋ-ju]
238	肅 川	Shuku-sen	[Suk-tʃ'ɔn]
239	安 州	An-shû	[An-dʒu]
(Hei-an hoku-dô 平安北道 (N) 240—259)			
240	博 川	Haku-sen	[Pak-tʃ'ɔn]
241	寧 邊	Nei-hen	[Njɔŋ-bjɔn]
242	熙 川	Ki-sen	[Hûi-tʃ'ɔn]
243	雲 山	Un-zan	[Un-san]
244	泰 川	Tai-sen	[T'ɛ-tʃ'ɔn]
245	龜 城	Ki-jô	[Kwi-sɔŋ]
246	定 州	Tei-shû	[Tʃɔŋ-dʒu]
247	宣 川	Sen-sen	[Sɔn-tʃ'ɔn]
248	鐵 山	Tetsu-zan	[Tʃ'ɔl-san]
249	龍 岩 浦	Ryû-gam-po	[Jɔŋ-am-p'o]
250	新 義 州	Shin-gi-shû	[Sin-ûi-dʒu]
251	義 州	Gi-shû	[Ûi-dʒu]
252	朔 州	Saku-shû	[Sak-tʃu]
253	昌 城	Shô-jô	[Tʃ'ɑŋ-sɔŋ]
254	碧 潼	Heki-dô	[Pjɔk-toŋ]
255	楚 山	So-zan	[Tʃ'o-san]
256	渭 原	I-gen	[Wi-wɔn]
257	江 界	Kô-kai	[Kaŋ-ge]

258	慈 城	Ji-jô	[Tʃa-sɔŋ]
259	厚 昌	Kô-shô	[Hu-tʃ'aj]

Symbols for the provinces used in this paper are as follows.

(A)	Zen-ra nan-dô	全羅南道
(B)	Zen-ra hoku-dô	全羅北道
(C)	Kei-shô nan-dô	慶尙南道
(D)	Kei-shô hoku-dô	慶尙北道
(E)	Chû-sei nan-dô	忠清南道
(F)	Chû-sei hoku-dô	忠清北道
(G)	Kei-ki dô	京畿道
(H)	Kô-gen dô	江原道
(J)	Kô-kai dô	黃海道
(K)	Kan-kyô nan-dô	咸鏡南道
(L)	Kan-kyô hoku-dô	咸鏡北道
(M)	Hei-an nan-dô	平安南道
(N)	Hei-an hoku-dô	平安北道

## CHAPTER II MAIN SUBSTANCE

I have observed the Korean dialects in three aspects: pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. As it is impossible to present here the whole of my investigation of the various dialect peculiarities, I have chosen as examples of pronunciation 1) ɸ “.”, 2) oi, 3) jɔ, 4) jo, 5) z “△”, 6) b occurring at the middle of a word, 7) k, g occurring at the middle of a word; as examples of vocabulary, the words 8) rice-plant (稻) or unhulled rice (粳), 9) Indian corn (玉蜀黍) and 10) snail (蝸牛); and as examples of grammar some auxiliary verbs in honorific form, and some examples of imported foreign words; and finally, I have dealt with the demarcations of the Korean dialects. All these represent nothing but a series of sketches. It is desirable that the reader will, for further elucidation, refer to my

Japanese work which I intend to publish in near future. This will contain all materials on Korean dialects I have collected and all my studies on them.

### Section 1. ㅁ “.”

馬 (horse) was in ancient times transcribed 馬. It is [mal] in the present-day pronunciation of Keijō and its neighbourhood. As the vowel letter “.” came to lose its practical value, its original sound at the same time also became obscure, being now superseded by such sounds as [a], [ɔ], [o], [u], and [i]. The pronunciation of the word for horse, in modern dialects, shows itself to be of the following three kinds. See Vocabulary p. 121 and Map No. 2 in the Appendix.

(1) [mɔl] is observed in Quelpart Island (A). The quality of the sound “.” observed in the Quelpart dialect is that of a unique vowel observed nowhere else throughout the Korean peninsula. It is a back vowel produced half way between the close vowel ㅜ [o] and the open vowel ㅓ [ɔ]<sup>1)</sup>. Whatever the original quality of “.” may have been, the pronunciation of “.” in Quelpart Island may serve as a valuable hint in solving this problem.

(2) [mol] is distributed in a part of the three provinces (A), (B) and (C), and a northern part of the two provinces (K) and (L).

[mor-i] is observed in a northern part of (L).

(3) [mal] is observed in the greater part of (A), (B), (C), (K), and also in the whole of (D), (E), (F), (G), (H), (J), (M) and (N).

[mar-i] is observed in a northern part of (L).

From the foregoing it may be seen that [mɔl] prevails only in Quelpart Island, [mol] only in the northern and southern extremities, and [mal] most extensively in the greater part of the peninsula.

The fact that the ancient sound of this “.” was approximately [ɔ] or [o] may be proved by the pronunciation of some Korean words introduced into Japan in

1) S. OGURA: *Saishūtō hō-gen* 濟州島方言 (*The Quelpart Island Dialect*), *The Sei-kyū gaku-sō* 靑丘學叢 No. 5, Aug., 1931.

ancient times and also by other considerations. Whether in the pronunciation of the original Korean or of the Chinese words, the sound spelt with the letter “.” was generally transcribed with “o” according to the materials on the Japanese side. For instance, in the *Wa-kan san-sai* 和漢三才圖會<sup>2)</sup>, 天 (heaven) is represented as 波乃留 ha-no-ru, 子 (child) as 阿止留 a-dō-ru, 鷄 (hen) as 止留木 to-ru-ki; 人參 (ginseng) as 伊牟會牟 i-mu-so-mu, 商人 (merchant) as 知也久會 tfa-ju-so. According to the *Ōn-min* table given in the *Kōn-yō man-roku* 昆陽漫錄<sup>3)</sup>, 人 is transcribed ヲ (so), 口ヲ (o), 才 ヲ (zo). Also in various ancient works 牧使 is read もくそ mo-ku-so, 泗川そてん so-ten, 通事とぐそ to-ju-so. Again even in the standard spelling of the Korean language itself, the letter “.” was at an early stage changed to [ɔ], [o], or [u]; for instance, 粉 (powder) is ka-ro, ka-ru; 袖 (sleeve) so-me; 重, 件, 囊, (a unit in counting furniture or clothes) pol; 頤 (chin) t'ɔk.

From the foregoing it may be seen that the word horse (馬) probably contained in ancient times a vowel resembling [o] or [ɔ], as in [mɔl] still preserved in Quelpart Island, and [mɔl] preserved in the northern and southern extremities of the peninsula. As ancient records on the Japanese side, we may cite 毛留 mo-ru for horse in the *Wa-kan san-sai* 和漢三才圖會 and もる mo-ru for the same word in the *Chōsen-monogatari* 朝鮮物語<sup>4)</sup>, and as those on the side of the Westerners, mool een Paerd in N. Witsen<sup>5)</sup> and cheval mól in J. Klapproth<sup>6)</sup>; and 馬, 墨二 in the *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語<sup>7)</sup>; which are all taken as transcriptions of the ancient pronunciation of the word.

2) By Ryō-an TERAJIMA 寺島良庵, 3rd year of *Shō-roku* 正徳 (1713 A. D.), Section entitled *Chōsen koku-go* (The Korean Language).

3) By Konyō AOKI 青木昆陽, 13th year of *Hō-reki* 寶曆 (1763 A. D.)

4) By Riemon KIMURA 木村理右衛門, 3rd year of *Kan-en* 寛延 (1750 A. D.)

5) Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705.

6) *San Kōkf Tsou Ran To Seis* (三國通覽圖說), 1832.

7) The character 墨 in this book is used as in 墨立 (頭 head), 墨大 (遠 far) for the sound [mɔ]; and as in 墨大 (晴 clear as of weather, 明 clear as of water, 清 bright—), 餛墨 (野菜 vegetable) for the sound “.”.

The name for horse (馬) in the languages of Eastern Asia is M. morre, móórä (Ussuri), Pferd. O. morre, O. Schr. mur. Bir, Man. M. morre. Oroč. mori. BS. morí, morín. Or.-S. morí. móri. Man. murin, Man. Iw. morín. D. mórín, móri. m, C, Kl. Ner. morin. Ž. mù-lín, UT. morin, murin. Kl. UT. muréun. K. Mgs, Jen, Jak. múrin. B. murín. G, Ud, Sp, Čap. murin. Oročon. murrin. Oroč. C. u. L. muri. Ob. Ang. múril. Lam. marín. Kl. Och. morón. Oroč. U. myi.<sup>1)</sup> The frequent occurrence of o or u in the first syllable may serve as a key to solving Korean etymology. It may be considered that, despite the fact that [mal] is at present widely used in most districts of Korea and [mɔl] or [mol] is practised only in remote localities, the contrary was the case in ancient times—that is, [mɔl] or [mol] was generally used throughout the country. Once it shifted in later times to [mal] in Central Korea, it seems that [mal] swept the various parts of the peninsula, expelling the older form to remote localities in the north and south. The form [mol] observed in the above-mentioned Japanese and other works was no doubt borrowed from Southern Korea at a time when it was distributed more extensively than to-day.

In the foregoing the word 馬 (horse) has been selected in order to show the distribution of “.”. However, it does not follow that all words containing “.” coincide with the word 馬 in their distribution. For instance, the word 肱 (elbow) contains in Quelpart Island the same “.” sound as in the case of 馬. It is pronounced [p'ol] in some part of (A), (B), (C), (K), (L), which roughly coincide with the districts where 馬 is pronounced [mol]; the distribution in (A) of [p'ol] is slightly wider than that of [mol]. (See Vocabulary p. 121 in the Appendix.) See also 豆 (red beans) in Vocabulary p. 121 and 蠅 (fly) in Vocabulary p. 121 in the Appendix.

## Section 2. oi

For the purpose of showing local differences in pronouncing the sound oi (ㅝ),

1) Leopold v. SCHRENCK: *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, II. Goldisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis, 1900, S. 119.

the Chinese character 外 (외) has been chosen and also few other words containing oi will be observed. Concerning 外, see Vocabulary p. 122 and Map No. 3.

(1) [ø] This is a sound resembling the German ö and is used in the greater part of (A), (B), (E), (G), (H), (J), (K) and (M), and a part of (C), (D), (F) and (L). This constitutes a standard pronunciation in the Korean language.

Not only in the word 外, but in some others, [ø] seems to have been pronounced [o-i] in two syllables, for 猫 (cat) is transcribed 高伊 (ko-i) in the *Tô-gôku yo-chi-shô-ran* 東國輿地勝覽<sup>1)</sup>, 古伊 (ko-i) in the *Wa-kan san-sai* 和漢三才圖會, Kooy, een Kat in N. WITSEN<sup>2)</sup>, and chat, Kôy in J. KLAPROTH<sup>3)</sup>; and 胡瓜 (cucumba) is pronounced [o-i] in some modern dialects. Among the Korean words recorded in ancient Japanese works, 山 (mount) is transcribed 毛惠 (mo-e) in the *Wa-kan san-sai* 和漢三才圖會, もい (mo-i) in the *Chôsen-monogatari*, 左 (left-side) をいんべん (o-in-ben < Kor. øn-p'jon) in the *Chôsen-monogatari*, 會寧 (a geographical term) ほいれん (ho-i ren < Kor. hø-rjon) in the same work, and 槐 山 (another geographical term) こいさん (ko-i san < Kor. Kø-san) in an ancient book.

(2) [ɛ] This is used in the greater part of (C), and in some part of (D), (K), (L) and (M). For instance, 山外面 in Mitsu-yô 密陽 County (C) is pronounced [san-ɛ-mjon]; 外洞里 and 會峴 in Kin-kai 金海 County (C) are respectively pronounced [ɛ-doj-ni], and [hɛ-in]; 槐東洞 in En-nichi 延日 County of (D) is pronounced [kɛ-doj-doj]; the common noun 甜瓜 (common melon) [tʃ'am-ø], and the verb [an-døn-da] (impossible) are in these districts pronounced [tʃ'am-ɛ] and [an-dɛn-da].

(3) [e] This is used in a part of (A), (C), (E), (F), (H), (J) and (L); but never in (B), (D), (G) and (K). For instance, 江外面 in Sei-shû 清州 County of (F) is pronounced [kaŋ-e-mjon] and 槐山郡 [ke-san-gun]; as for common terms,

1) A passage under Kô-yô-ken 興陽縣, Vol. XL, reads 本長興府, 高伊部曲 (formerly Chô-kô-fu 長興府; also called Ko-i pu-kok 高伊部曲); and is annotated below 高伊者方言猫也 (ko-i 高伊 is the Korean for cat.)

2) *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, 1705.

3) *San Kokf Tsou Ran To Sets* (三國通覽圖說), 1832.

in Ka-tô 河東 County of (C) and En-an 延安 County of (J); [sø kô-gi] (牛肉 beef) is pronounced [se kô-gi]; [sø] (鐵 iron) [sɛ]; and [kø-rop-ta] (to be embarrassed) [ke-rop-ta].

(4) [i] This is used only in a part of (C) and (D). For instance, in Shô-shû 尙州 County of (D), reply (回答) is pronounced [hi-dap], and wonder, mystery (怪異) [ki-i].

(5) [wɛ] This is most conspicuous in (N); also used in a part of (C), (D) and (L). For instance, 龍退洞 in Ki-jô 龜城 County of (N) is [noŋ-t'wɛ-doŋ] and 月外里 in Sei-shô 青松 County of (D) [wɔl-wɛ-ri].

(6) [wɛ] This is used in a part of (A), (C), (D), (E), (F), (G), (H), (K) and (L), but never in (B), (J), (M) and (N). For instance, 槐坪里 and 檜山里 in Tan-yô 丹陽 County of (F) are respectively pronounced [kwɛ-p'jɔŋ-ni], [hwe-san-ni]; 橫兵洞 in Fu-kyô 富居 County of (L) is pronounced [hwɛŋ-bjɔŋ-doŋ]; as for common noun, in Hei-kai 平海 district of (H), [sø] (鐵 iron) is pronounced [swɛ], and [tʃ'am-sø] (甜瓜 common melon) [tʃ'am-wɛ].

(7) [wi] This is used only in a small part of (C) and (D). For instance, in Kô-rei 高靈 of (D), common terms [ø-rop-ta] (lonesome) and [kø-rop-ta] (to be embarrassed) are pronounced [wi-rop-ta] and [kwi-rop-ta].

### Section 3. jɔ

For the purpose of showing local differences in pronouncing the syllable containing [jɔ], the Chinese character 病 (disease) 病 has been chosen and also a few other words containing [jɔ] will be observed.

Concerning 病, see Vocabulary p. 124 and Map No. 4 in the Appendix.

(1) [pjɔŋ] This is used in the greater part of (D), (E), (F), (G) and (J); and in other provinces both [pjɔŋ] and [peŋ] (which will be discussed in the following paragraph) are employed simultaneously. [pjɔŋ] is almost a standard pronunciation in the modern Korean language. The pronunciation of [jɔ] in [kjɔŋ] 京 and [pjɔl] 別 is similar to that in [pjɔŋ].



(2) [peŋ] This is observed in the greater part of (A) and (C), and in a small part of (D); but almost never in (E), (F), (G) and (J). In (B), (K), (L), (M) and (N), this [peŋ] and [pjɔŋ] just discussed are observed almost in parallel in the same localities. In (H), [peŋ] is generally used on the eastern coast, while [pjɔŋ] generally prevails in the western districts. The pronunciation of [e] in [keŋ] 京 and [pel] 別 is similar to that in [peŋ]. For instance, 文坪面 in Ra-shû 羅州 County of (A) is [mun-p'eŋ-mjɔŋ]; 鳴鳳面 in Hô-jô 寶城 County of (A) [meŋ-boŋ-mjɔŋ]; and 別東面 in Kei-zan 惠山 County of (K) [pel-doŋ-mjɔŋ].

Shifting of [jo] in the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters to [e] seems to have been the practice from very ancient times, for we find in Japanese literature many instances of [jo] being shifted to [e]. For instance, in the *Chôsen-monogatari* and other works, [kjɔ], [njɔ], [pjɔ], [sjɔ], [tjɔ] in the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters are very frequently changed to [ke], [ne], [pe], [se] and [te] as follows:

(a) Geographical Terms:

(Chinese Characters)	(Geographical Terms)	(Korean Pronunciation)	(Japanese Transcription)	(Japanese Pronunciation)
京	京 畿	kjɔŋ-gui	けくゐ, けんくゐ	ke-ŋu-i
慶	慶 尙 道	Kjɔŋ-sjaŋ-do	けくしやぐ	ke-ŋu ja-ŋu
	慶 州	Kjɔŋ-dzu	けくしう	ke-ŋu su:
鏡	咸 鏡	ham-gjɔŋ	はんげく	ham-ge-ŋu
城	開 城	Ke:-sjɔŋ	かせん	ka-sen
	高 城	Ko-sjɔŋ	かうせん	ko:-sen
	利 城	(r)i-sjɔŋ	りせん	ri-sen
	石 城	sjɔk-sjɔŋ	せきせん	seki-sen
	漢 城	han-sjɔŋ	かんせん	kan-sen
星	星 州	sjɔŋ-dzu	せくしう	se-ŋu-su:
西	西 水 浦	sjɔ-su ge: <sup>1)</sup>	せすがい	se-su ŋai
平	平 康	p'jɔŋ-gaŋ	へくかう	he-ŋu-ko:
	平 壤	p'jɔŋ-jaŋ	へくしやぐ	he-ŋu-jaŋu
	平 海	p'jɔŋ-he:	へくほい	he-ŋu-hai
寧	朔 寧	saŋ-njɔŋ	しやくねん	ja-ŋu-nen
	會 寧	hø-rjɔŋ	ほいれぐ, ほいれん	hoi-reŋu, hoi-ren
營	水 營	sju-jɔŋ	しゆえぎ, しゆえん	ju-e-ŋi, ju-en

1) [ge:] means 浦 (beach).

(Chinese Characters)	(Geographical Terms)	(Korean Pronunciation)	(Japanese Transcription)	(Japanese Pronunciation)
永	永安(道)	jɔŋ-an	ゑあん	e-an
	永 川	jɔŋ-tʃ'ɔn	ゑぐてん	ɛɟu-ten
延	延 豊	jɔn-p'ɔŋ	えんほん	en-hon
全	全 羅	tʃɔl-la	てるら	te-ru-ra
鐵	鐵 原	tʃ'ɔl-wɔn	てるうん	te-ru-un
川	端 川	tán-tʃ'ɔn	たんてん	tan-ten
	漣 川	(ɛ)jɔn-tʃ'ɔn	れんてん	ren-ten
青	北 青	puk-tʃ'ɔŋ	ほくせん	ho-ku-sen
清	忠清(道)	tʃ'ɔŋ-tʃ'ɔŋ	ちくせぐ	tʃi-ɟu-se-ɟu
	清 道	tʃ'ɔŋ-do	せんぐだう, てくとい	se-ɟu-dô, te-ɟu-dô

## (b) Common Nouns

(Chinese Characters)	(Common Nouns)	(Korean Pronunciation)	(Japanese Transcription)	(Japanese Pronunciation)
兄	兄	hjoŋ, sjoŋ	へぎ, せぎ	heɟi, seɟi
別	別 將	pjoɔl-tʃaŋ <sup>1)</sup>	べるちやぐ	beru-tʃaɟu
	訓 別	hün-bjoɔl <sup>2)</sup>	ふんべつ	hun-betsu
平	曉	p'jɔŋ-mjoŋ <sup>3)</sup>	へくめく, べくめく	heɟu-meku, beɟu-meku
	久 敷	p'jɔŋ-an <sup>4)</sup>	べなん, べなん	pe-nan, be-nan
姓	農 夫	ɸek-sjoŋ <sup>5)</sup>	ぱくせぎ, ぱくせぐ	paku-seɟi, paku-seɟu
船	船 倉	sjoŋ-tʃ'aŋ <sup>6)</sup>	せんさん	sen-san
千	千	tʃ'ɔn	でん	den
	一 千	il-tʃ'ɔn	いるてん	iru-ten
請	求 請	ku-tʃ'ɔŋ <sup>7)</sup>	くせぐ, くつせき	ku-se-ɟu, kus-seki

The foregoing is an observation of the shifting of [jɔ] in the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters. The system of its distribution generally coincides with that in the genuine Korean words. Concerning this, see Vocabulary p. 125 under [pjoɔ] (星 star) in the Appendix. The fact that the shifting of [jɔ] to [e] in the genuine Korean words probably dates from considerably ancient times may be proved by the following words imported into Japan in ancient times.

- 1) The name of an official.
- 2) A petty official in charge of translation.
- 3) The transcription of the phrase 平明 (morning light).
- 4) The transcription of 平安 (peace).
- 5) The transcription of 百姓 (people).
- 6) An embankment in the Tsushima 對馬 dialect.
- 7) To solicit for products.

(Chinese)	(Korean)	(Japanese Transcription)	(Japanese Pronunciation)
星 (star)	pjɔl	べ る	pe-ru
十 (ten)	jɔl	ゑ る	er-u
開 (open)	jɔl-ta	ゑ る た	e-ru-ta

In short, it is exceedingly interesting to note that, the [jɔ] sound either in the Korean transcription of Chinese characters or the genuine Korean words is rather regularly represented by the [e] sound in the Japanese records. From these facts, it would seem that this [e] sound prevailed in Southern Korea from ancient times, and the Japanese who came into contact with the Koreans chiefly in Southern Korea introduced their corrupted pronunciation into Japan.

(3) [piŋ] This is chiefly used in a part of (A), (B), (C) and (D). The sound [jɔ] in [pjɔŋ] (邊 border), [p'jɔŋ] (坪 open field) and others is also pronounced as in the case of [piŋ]. For instance, 川邊里 in Tan-yô 潭陽 County of (A) is pronounced [tʃ'in-bin-ri] and 龍坪里 in Mitsu-yô 密陽 County of (C) [joŋ-p'iŋ-ri].

(4) [peŋ] This is observed only in the southern coast of (C) and the eastern part of (D). [jɔ] in [kjɔŋ] (慶 congratulation) and [sjɔk] (夕 evening) is pronounced as in the case of [peŋ]. For instance, in Kin-kai 金海 County of (C), 慶尙 is pronounced [keŋ-saŋ], in Ryô-zan 梁山 County of (C) 明谷里 [meŋ-goŋ-ni], and in Kei-shû 慶州 Conuty of (D), 夕陽 (sunset) [seg-jaŋ].

#### Section 4. jo

For the purpose of showing local differences in the pronunciation of the syllable containing jo (요), the Chinese character 票\*(票) has been chosen. For such words as 車票 (a train or bus ticket) and 門票 (door-plate) are readily understood in any dialect. See Vocabulary p. 127.

(1) [p'jo] This is a standard pronunciation, extensively distributed throughout each province. It is rather faithfully preserved in (E), (F), (G), (J) and (L). In these provinces, [mjo] (妙 strange) and [hjo-dʒa] (孝子 dutiful child) are pronounced [mjo] and [hjo-dʒa].

(2) [p'ɕ] This is a sound observed chiefly in (A), (B), (H) and (K). In

these provinces, [mjo] and [hjo-dʒa] are pronounced [mø] and [hø-dʒa].

(3) [p'ɔ] This is a sound observed chiefly in (C), (D) and (N). In these provinces, [mjo] (妙) and [hjo-dʒa] (孝子) are pronounced [mɔ] and [ho-dʒa], [so-dʒa].

(4) [p'e] This occurs accidentally in various districts.

(5) [p'ɛ] This also occurs accidentally in various districts.

### Section 5. ㅈ “Δ”

The *Ōn-mun*, when first invented in 1446 A. D., included among its 28 letters “Δ”, which soon went out of use. In modern dialects, on the one hand, the letter, having lost its consonant value, is used exactly like the letter “O”: on the other, it exists as the sound ㅈ [s]. For an example, the word ㄱ우 is chosen.

Now, ㄱ우 is a sort of manger made of a large hollowed tree-trunk and used by a farmer. In the *Kun-mô-ji-kai* 訓蒙字會, 馬槽 (horse manger) is rendered ㄱ우; in the *Nammei-zen-shi-keishô* 南明禪師繼頌, 槽頭 (horse manger) is rendered ㄱ우. Formerly “Δ” was used, but in later works written in the language of Central Korea, 櫪 (manger) and 槽 (manger) are spelt ㄱ우 [ku-ju], ㄱ우 [ku-ju], ㄱ우 [ku-jo], showing the disappearance of “Δ”. In the present-day dialects, as will be explained later, the word in the speech of Central Korea is [ku-ju] or [kuɿ-i], not accompanied by the [s] sound; whereas in the other dialects the [s] sound occurs as in [ku-si] or [kui-suɿ]. In the following table, examples from No. 1 down to No. 13 do not contain [s], while examples from No. 14 down to No. 19 contain [s]. Also see Vocabulary p. 128 and Map No. 5.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [ku-ju]	part of (F) (G) (H)
(2) [kuɿ]	part of (J)
(3) [kuɿ-i]	greater part of (N) and in a part of the eastern coast of (H). In Kô-shô 厚昌, Kô-kai 江界, Ki-sen 熙川, and their vicinity of (N), 獨木船 (a canoe) is called [kuɿ-i], perhaps because of the

similarity of its shape.

- (4) [kwɛŋ-i] small part on the boundary of (J) (M)  
 (5) [kwɔŋ] small part of (J)  
 (6) [kwe] small part of (J)  
 (7) [kwɛŋ] small part of (G) (J)  
 (8) [kui] part of (J)  
 (9) [kui-jɔŋ] part of (J)  
 (10) [kui-juŋ] part of (G) (H) (J)  
 (11) [kui-i] eastern part of (D)  
 (12) [kui-iŋ] small part of (G)  
 (13) [kuiŋ] small part of (J)  
 (14) [ku-sɔŋ] small part of (K)  
 (15) [ku-su] greater part of (E); and a part of (B) (F)  
 (16) [ku-suŋ] part of the eastern coast of (H), and a southern part of (K)  
 (17) [ku-si] greater part of (A) (B) (C) (K) (L), a western part of (D) and  
 a part of (F)  
 (18) [kui-suŋ] part of (H)  
 (19) [ki-suŋ] part of (H)

In addition to the foregoing, [sɔ-t'ɔŋ] (牛の飼桶 a feeding pail for a cow), [pap-t'ɔŋ] (飯桶 a cooked-rice pail), and [tʃuk-t'ɔŋ] (粥桶 a porridge pail) are observed in various districts.

The above-mentioned distribution of the present-day dialects for the word 𪛗 shows that they are to be classified into two distinct groups: one containing [s] and the other containing no [s]; and a distinct boundary may be drawn between the regions in which they are distributed. The region containing [s] includes the greater part of (A), (B), (C), (E), (K) and (L), a part of (D) and (F), the eastern coast of (H) connecting (D) and (K), and the region containing no [s] includes the rest,—the greater part of (G), (J), (M) and (N), and a part of (D) and (F). In other words, the dialects containing no [s] represented by Central and Western Korea

are, it seems, surrounded by those containing [s] represented by North and South Korea. It may be said that the dialects containing [s] are being driven away gradually to remoter parts by the rising dialects of Central Korea, containing no [s].

The above is only an observation of the distribution of the dialects containing the [s] sound, in the case of the single word 大根. In the case of many other ancient words spelt with the letter “△”, the same opposing phenomenon is observed: in some districts they contain [s] and in others they do not. Some words of this kind will be listed below.

大 根 (radish)	[mu-u], [mu:]	[mu-si], [mu-su], etc.
秋 (autumn)	[ka-ül]	[ka-sil], [ka-sul], etc.
冬 (winter)	[kjɔ-ül]	[kjɔ-sil], [tɕɔ-sil], etc.
剪 刀 (scissors)	[ka-ui]	[ka-sɛ], [ka-si-gɛ], etc.
狐 (fox)	[jɔ-u]	[jɔ-si], [jɔ-su], [ja-si], etc.
笑 (laugh)	[u-um]	[u-sum], etc.

Does it imply then that the geographical distribution of the dialects for the above-mentioned words, containing [s] or no [s], coincides with that of the dialects for the word 大根 containing [s] or no [s] previously discussed? It would be as well to test it in the case of 大根 (radish). In the following table, examples from No. 1 down to No. 4 do not contain [s]; examples Nos. 5 and 6 contain [s]; example No. 7 and the rest are different from either. See the Vocabulary p. 129 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [mu:]	the greater part of (G) (H) (M) (N), the southern part of (K) ([muk-ki] in the northern half), and a part of (E) (F) (J)
(2) [mu-i]	part of (J) and a small part of (H) (M)
(3) [mu-ju]	small part of (G) (J)
(4) [mi-u]	greater part of (J)
(5) [mu-su]	greater part of (E) (F), and a part of (A) (B) (H) (K)

- (6) [mu-si] greater part of (A) (C), and a part of (B) (D)  
 (7) [muk-ku] part of (D) (F) (H) (K)  
 (8) [muk-ki] greater part of (K) (L)  
 (9) [mik-ki] part of (L)  
 (10) [nom-pi] Quelpart Island (A)

An examination of the distribution of the foregoing dialects in the light of the presence or absence of the [s] sound will show that the area containing [s] comprises the greater part of (A), (B), (C), (E) and (F), and a part of (D) and (H); while the area containing no [s] sound comprises the greater part of (G), (H), (J), (M) and (N), and a part of (E), (F) and (K). It may be seen that this distribution roughly coincides with that of 芋 艸 previously discussed. Only in the case of radish, in the greater part of (K) and (L), and a part of (D), (F) and (H), the word does not contain [s], but ends in *-ku*, *-ki*, etc.—that is, it does not coincide with the geographical distribution of 芋 艸. It may be surmised that *-ku* and *-ki* were probably a sort of word-endings<sup>1)</sup> developed in later days specially in these districts; and that these districts had preserved the [s] sound for “△” before such endings were developed.

It has been shown by the foregoing that the dialectal distribution of the “△” sound in the case of the two words manger (槽) and radish (大根) is almost identical. An examination of the distribution of “△” in the case of autumn (秋), winter (冬), scissors (剪刀), fox (狐), and laugh (笑) belonging to this class has shown about the same result. It follows, therefore, that this matter of investigating into the presence or absence of the sound [s] based upon “△” may be regarded as a trustworthy landmark in drawing the demarcations of the several dialects.

The presence in various provinces of [s] in the place of “△” is by no means a

1) In (D), (H), (K) and (L) provinces, [p'at] (小豆 red bean) is pronounced [p'ɛk-ki]; [jɔ-ho] (狐 fox) [jɔk-ki], [jek-ki], [jɔk-keŋ-i]; [mu:] (大根 radish) [muk-ki], [muk-ku]. Such endings as [-ki], [-ku] occur rather frequently.

very recent phenomenon. The *Zô-sbo kibun sbû-i* 象胥紀聞拾遺 written in the 12th year of *Tempô* 天保 (1841 A. D.) has the following account under the Korean dialect.

“Among those who came to Japan as *messengers*, there was a man from Keijô, ‘When once I went to Tô-rai 東萊’, he said, ‘there was a thing which the natives called むろし (*mu-u-sbi*). At first I had no idea what it could be. When I saw the actual thing, it was nothing but むろろ (*mu-u*)—大根 (radish).’”

This account proves that about a hundred years ago in a part of (C), radish was called [mu-si].

Now, how is it that in the present-day dialects “△” has been replaced by [s], or has completely lost its consonant nature? In order to settle this question, it is necessary first of all to know the original pronunciation of the letter “△”. The letter “△”, when the *Ön-mun* was first invented, stood for the Chinese initial sound of “日”. Various theories have been offered as to the value of the sound. However, I am of the opinion that the sound “△”, when used to represent a genuine Korean word, need not necessarily agree with the value of the Chinese characters. I shall purposely refrain here from entering into a detailed explanation<sup>1)</sup>, but my conclusion, in short, is that I am sure that the sound of “△” was somewhat like the voiced sound [z] contrasted with the unvoiced sound [s]. As “△” was a sound somewhat like [z], it was changed into [s] on the one hand; on the other, it, passing through the sound [j], came to lose its consonant value entirely. The probable resemblance of the sound of “△” to that of [z] may roughly be inferred from the following facts.

(a) In the Chinese work *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語 compiled during the *Hung-wu* 洪武 era, 弟 (younger brother) is transcribed 阿自<sup>2)</sup>; 秋 (autumn) 格自; 冬 (winter)

1) For more detail, see S. OGURA: *Kitsune wo imisuru Chôsen hô-gen* 狐を意味する朝鮮方言 (Korean Dialects for the Fox), *The Sei-kyô gaku-sô* 青丘學叢, Vol. I, 1930.

2) In the *Wa-kan san-sai zu-e* 和漢三才圖會, a Japanese record, 弟 is transcribed 阿之, and in the *Chôsen-monogatari* 朝鮮物語, another Japanese work, the same word is read あじ; but 之 and じ here are no transcription of “△”, but that of [si], a South Korean dialect.



解自; 天邊 (heaven-margin) 哈嫩格自<sup>1)</sup>, and 江邊 (river-side) 把刺格自<sup>2)</sup>; and 自 in these instances is represented by “△” in the *Ōn-mun*; and the same element is rendered, in the present-day dialects, with [s] or without [s].

弟	[a-u] or [a-o]	[a-si]
秋	[kaɾ-ül]	[kaɾ-sil], [kaɾ-sül]
冬	[kjoɾ-ül]	[kjoɾ-sil], [tjoɾ-sil], etc.
邊 (ㄸ)	[ka-e]	[ka-se]

Moreover, the fact that the character 自 is used for the word [tʃa] (紫 purple) also shows that 自 had no sound as a simple vowel.

(b) It is exceedingly interesting to note that many ancient Korean words transcribed with “△” are rendered with j in the Manchurian language. A few examples will be given here.

Chinese Characters	Korean	Manchu
槽 (manger)	구 슈	huju
心 (heart)	ㄹ 슌	mujilen <sup>3)</sup>
志 (will)	ㄹ 슌	mujin
薺 (shepherd's purse)	나 슌	nachiba

When viewed in the light of the foregoing, the supreme importance of “△” in the study of etymology will be realized.

## Section 6. [b] Occurring at the Middle of a Word

A general survey of the Korean dialects shows that [w], [a], [e], [o], or [u] occurring at the middle of a word is often replaced by [b]. The following are such examples.

Silk-worm (蠶)	[nu-e], [nu-we], etc.	[nu-bi], [nu-be], etc.
Brush (刷毛)	[kui-al], [kui-ɔl], etc.	[kui-bal], etc.

1) 哈嫩 is a transcription of ha-nal (天 heaven).

2) 把刺 is a transcription of pa-ral, —an ancient word meaning sea (海) or river (江).

3) The *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語 gives 墨怎 as a Jurchin word for heart (心).

Sunset glow (夕燒)	[noxl], [na-o-ri], etc.	[na-bu-ri], [na-bul], etc.
False hair (鬢)	[tal-ε], [ta-ru], etc.	[tal-bi], [ta-beŋ-i], etc.
Dumb (啞)	[pɔŋ-ɔ-ri]	[pɔ-bɔ-ri], [pɔ-bu-ri], etc.
Being beautiful (美しくて)	[ko-a-]	[ko-ba-]
Being peppery (辛くて)	[mε-wa-], [mε-wɔ-], etc.	[mε-ba-], [mε-bɔ-], etc.

As to the distribution of this peculiarity, an examination of the word 蠶 has shown the following result. See Vocabulary p. 130 and also Map No. 6 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [nu-ε]	small part of (D)
(2) [nu-e]	greater part of (G) (H) (J), and a part of (A) (D) (E) (F) (K) (M) (N)
(3) [nu-ɔ]	small part of (E)
(4) [nu-wε]	small part of (H)
(5) [nu-we]	small part of (J)
(6) [nu-i]	part of (J)
(7) [nue] (𠵼)	small part of (A) (H) (J)
(8) [nui] (𠵼)	small part of (A) (D) (F)
(9) [nui-e] (𠵼 ㄨㄟ)	part of (A) (B)
(10) [nui-ɔ]	part of (B)
(11) [nui]	small part of (C)
(12) [ni]	small part of (D)
(13) [ni-úi]	small part of (C)
(14) [nuŋ-ε]	small part of (D) (F) (H)
(15) [nuŋ-e]	eastern coast of (H), a southern part of (K), a western part of (N), and a small part of (D) (F)
(16) [nu-be]	greater part of (K) (L), and an eastern part of (D)
(17) [nu-bi]	small part of (K)
(18) [nui-bi]	small part of (C)

(19) [nui-bi] greater part of (C), and a small part of (D)

(20) [ni-bi] small part of (C) (D)

Of these 20 variants, [b] is absent in examples from No. 1 down to No. 15, while it is present in examples from No. 16 down to No. 20. Geographically speaking, [b] is present in the greater part of (C), a part of (D), the greater part of (K) and (L), while it is absent in the rest of the peninsula not mentioned here.

This is an observation of the distribution of the presence and absence of the [b] sound in the word silk-worm (蠶). What about the other words mentioned previously—brush (刷毛) and so on? As it is impossible to dwell upon the distribution of them all, only one or two will be discussed here. First, the word false-hair (髻) will be considered. See Vocabulary p. 132 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [tal-ε]	greater part of (J), and a part of (G) (M) (N)
(2) [tal-u]	small part of (A) (B) (E) (N)
(3) [tal-i]	greater part of (A), and a part of (B) (D) (E) (F) (H) (N)
(4) [tal-i ʔkop-tʃi]	part of (G)
(5) [tal-lε]	part of (G)
(6) [təl-ui]	Quelpart Island (A)
(7) [ta-bεɰ-i]	small part of (C)
(8) [tal-bi]	greater part of (C) (D) (H) (K) (L), and a part of (A) (E) (F) (J) (N)

According to the above, it may be seen that those which contain [b] are Nos. 7 and 8, (C), (D), (H), (K) and (L) being the chief provinces involved.

Now, the declining form of the adjective peppery (辛 ㄴ) will be observed. See Vocabulary p. 132 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [mε:-wa-]	greater part of (E) (F) (G) (J), a part of (A) (B) (D) (H), and a southern part of (K)

- (2) [mɛɪ-wɔ-] greater part of (H) (N), and a part of (A) (B) (M)
- (3) [mɛɪ-gu-wɔ-] part of (H)
- (4) [mɛɪ-ba-] greater part of (C) (D) (K) (L); and a small part of (A) (H)
- (5) [mɛɪ-bɔ-] small part of (A) (D) (H)

This observation of the distribution of the [b] sound in the three words silk-worm (蠶), false-hair (髻), and peppery (辛) shows that the sound generally occurs in (C), (D), (H), (K) and (L). Furthermore, investigation of the other words previously mentioned such as brush (刷毛), sunset glow (夕燒), dumb (啞), and being beautiful (美しくて) has shown the same distribution of the [b] sound. In short, the presence or absence of the [b] sound occurring at the middle of a word may be regarded as a trustworthy landmark in drawing dialectal demarcations.

This being the case, the next question is, of the two sounds [b] and [w] occurring in contrast in these words, which is the older? Was [b] the original which was changed to [w], or vice versa? For the following reasons, I should hold that [b] was the original and [w] is an incidental growth.

(1) As a result of the study of Korean etymology:

(a) Lid (蓋) is usually pronounced [tu-e], but in various districts of (K) the [b] sound is observed as [tu-be], [tù-be], [tu-bɔŋ], [tù-büŋ-i]. Seeing that the word was derived from the verb tup-(ta) (to cover), [p] or [b] must be the original sound.

(b) Water-chestnut (菱の實) is generally pronounced [mal-üm], [mal-am]; but in (C) and (D), [b] is observed as [mal-bam], [mal-baŋ-su], [mol-bam]; and [mal-bɛ], [mal-bɛŋ-i] in (K) and (L). [mal] seems, originally, to have been the general term for the sea-weed (海藻) and the duck-weed (水藻), and [pam] seems to have meant chestnut (栗の實). Because of its resemblance to a chestnut, the water-chestnut (菱の實) was so termed, it seems that this interpretation is quite correct from the study of etymology. In the *Kyô-yaku sai-shu getsu-rei* 郷藥採取

月令<sup>1)</sup>, water-chestnut (菱の實) is pronounced [mal-bam] (末栗); the use of pam (栗) in the phrase incidentally shows its etymology.

(c) Burdock (牛蒡) is usually pronounced [u-wɔŋ], [u-waŋ], and in some dialects [wɔŋ]; but in a part of (A), (B), (C) and (D), it is pronounced [u-bɔŋ], [u-boŋ], [u-buŋ], with the [b] sound at the middle. [u-baŋ] in an ancient version of the *Kô-rin su-chi* 交隣須知<sup>2)</sup> on the Japanese side must be a transcription of the word in the dialect of South Korea. As the word is derived from the Chinese word burdock (牛蒡), there is no doubt that the original sound was [b].

(d) Bill (of a bird 嘴) is usually pronounced [pu:-ri], but in a part of (K) and (L), it is [pu-bɔ:-ri], [pu-bu:-ri]. That the vowel [u] in [pu:-ri] contained a long vowel from ancient times may be proved by the fact that, in the *Kum-mô ji-kai* 訓蒙字會<sup>3)</sup>, an ancient work, this word is accompanied by a long-note symbol, and also in the *To-shi gen-kai* 杜詩諺解<sup>4)</sup>, this word is written pu-û-ri, with an [û] sound inserted in the middle. After all, the present form [pu:-ri] has undergone this transition: [pu-bu:-ri] > [pu-u:-ri] > [pu:-ri]. The original form certainly contained [b] in it.

(e) Stonemortar (石臼) is usually pronounced [hoak], but it is [ho-bak], [ho-bæg-i] with [b] in it, in the greater part of (C), (D), (K) and (L), and on the coast of (H). [hoak] is at present pronounced as one syllable, but in such a work as the *Kum-mô ji-kai* 訓蒙字會, it is read definitely as two syllables, being pronounced [ho-wak]. Therefore, this word must have undergone such a change—[ho-bak] > [ho-wak] > [hoak]. It is very probable that the original contained [b].

(2) From the use of Chinese characters:

(a) Younger sister (妹) is usually pronounced [nu], [nuî] (ㄴ), [nu-ûi], [nu-i], but in a part of (A), (B), (C), (D), (K) and (L), it is pronounced with the [b] sound in it as [nu-bɛ], [nu-bu], [nu-bi], [nuî-bi]. In the *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語, 妹 is

1) Published in the 6th year of *Hsüan-tê* 宣德 (1431 A. D.).

2) A work of about the 18th century.

3) Published in the 6th year of *Chia-ching* 嘉靖 (1527 A. D.).

4) Republished in the 5th year of *Chung-chen* 崇禎 (1632 A. D.).

transcribed 餒必. Now the character 必 is used in the book for transcribing [p] or [b] as in the following examples: “雨 (rain) is 必 [pi]; 父 (father) 阿必 [a-bi]; 白 (white) 害必 [hən-pit]; 段 (silk gauze) 必膽 [pi-dan].” So it follows that 必 in the word 餒必 was no doubt [bi]. This fact proves the priority of [b] to [w].

(b) The attributive form of the adjective warm (暑 ㄅ) is usually pronounced [tɔɪ-un], [tɔɪ-wun]; but in the greater part of (C) and (D), and in a part of the coast of (A) and (H), it is pronounced [tɔɪ-bun] with [b] in it. In the *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語, hot rice-wine (熱酒) is transcribed 得賁數本<sup>1)</sup>; now 賁 being used in the book for transcribing [pʻ],—for instance 青山 (green mountain) is 噴磨 (pʻu-run moi); and 青馬 (green horse) is 噴墨二 (pʻu-run mal), it seems that 得賁 here is a transcription of not [tɔɪ-wun], but [tɔɪ-bun]. Therefore, [tɔɪ-bun] may be inferred to have been the more ancient form.

(3) From comparison with other languages:

(a) Hollyhock (葵) is usually pronounced [a-ok], [a-uk]<sup>2)</sup>, but in the greater part of (K) and (L), and a part of (C) and (D), it is pronounced [a-buk], inserting [b] at the middle. In the *Kyô-yaku kyû-kyû-bô* 鄉藥救急方<sup>3)</sup>, a passage reads 葵子常食阿夫實 (The seed of the hollyhock is always eaten, and is called the fruit of 阿夫). This 阿夫 is probably another transcription of [a-buk]. The fact that 葵 in Manchurian is *abuba* and in Japanese *a-fu-bi* < *a-pu-pi* has also to be taken into consideration.

(b) Lobster (鰕) is usually pronounced [sɛ-o], [sɛ-u], and in certain districts [sɛɪ], [sɛ-u-dʒi], [sɛ-uŋ-gɛ], [sɛ-ui], [sɛŋ-o], [sɛŋ-u], [sɛŋ-i], [swɛ]; but in the greater part of (A), (C), (K) and (L), and a part of (B), (D), (E), (F) and (H), it is pronounced [sɛ-bi], [sɛ-bɛŋ-i], [sɛ-buŋ-gɛ], [swɛ-bi], with [b] inserted at the middle.

1) In this work elsewhere 酒 is transcribed 數本 which is probably a transcription of [sul] or [su-ul].

2) The *Kyô-yaku sai-shu getsu-rei* 鄉藥採取月令 and the 2nd edition of the *Kyô-yaku shû-sei-hô* 鄉藥集成方 (published in the 6th year of *Chung-chen* 崇禎 1633 A. D.) give 阿都 for 冬葵子, which must be a transcription of [a-uk].

3) Published in the 15th year of *Yung-lo* 永樂 (1417 A. D.).

In the *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語, 蝦蟇 is transcribed 酒必格以. 酒必 in the phrase is probably a transcription of [sɛ-bi]. And *sampi* the Manchurian for lobster may be traced to the same origin.

(4) From the tendency, in the Manchurian and Mongolian languages, of [b] occurring at the middle of word to turn into the fricative sound [w]. Concerning the Mongolian language, Dr. I. J. SCHMIDT<sup>1)</sup> says :

“Das *b* unterscheidet sich von der allgewöhnlichen Aussprache nur dadurch, dass es, zwischen zwei Vocalen stehend, sehr weich und fast wie *w* ausgesprochen wird, z. B. *eber* ‘Horn’, lies *ewer*.”

And Dr. G. J. Ramstedt<sup>2)</sup> also says :

“Das *b* der Schriftsprache ist zwischen Vokalen (und nach *r*) zu einer Spirans erweitert. Das spirantische Geräusch ist nicht besonders stark; ich bezeichne den Urgaer Laut mit *w*. z. B. . . .”

Concerning the Tunguese language, Dr. L. ADAM<sup>3)</sup> says that [b] at the middle or beginning of a word is sometimes changed to [v]. It is true that the genealogy of the Korean language has never been thoroughly studied; but I am of the opinion that it has an intimate relation with the Altaic languages.<sup>4)</sup> The transition of [b] to [w] in the Altaic languages may be directly applied to that in the Korean language.

(5) In the light of the phonetic development in the transition of sounds, it seems more reasonable to infer that [b] was changed to [w], rather than that [w] was changed to [b].

For the five reasons mentioned above, I am sure that [u] and [w] which exist in the Korean language have evolved from the [b] sound. The existence of [b] only in South and North Korea proves that this sound originally prevailed in the

1) I. J. SCHMIDT: *Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache*, 1831, § 11.

2) G. J. RAMSTEDT: *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart phonetisch verglichen*, 1902, § 15.

3) L. ADAM: *Grammaire de la langue Tongouse*, 1873, § 12.

4) S. OGURA: *The Chōsen-go no kei-tō* 朝鮮語の系統 (*The Genealogy of the Korean Language*) in the *Tōyō-shichō* 東洋思潮 (Oriental Thought), Series published by the Iwanami Shoten, Jan., 1935.

whole of Korea, but it has been driven away into remoter districts by the influence of the [w] sound which later developed in Central Korea. This must be the case, as in the case of “.” and “△” previously discussed.

### Section 7. [k], [g] occurring at the Middle of a Word

A phenomenon remarkable in the general survey of the Korean dialects is the presence or absence of [k] or [g] at the middle of a word. The following are such instances.

#### Hazel-nut 榛の實

[pkɛ:m], [kɛ:m], [kɛ-am], [ke-am], [ka-jam], [kɛ-gum], [pkɛ-gum], [k'ɛ-gum], [kɛ-gum-i],  
[kɛ-jam], [kɛm-i], [pkɛm-i], [kɛ-am-al], [kɛ-  
al], [kɛm-tari], [pkɛ-don] etc. [kɛ-gam], [pkɛ-gom], etc.

#### Smoke 煙

[nɛ]. [nɛ-gul], [nɛ-gul-i], [nɛŋ-gal], [nɛŋ-gi], [nɛŋ-  
gwa-ri].

#### Smoky 煙々

[nɛp-ta], [nɛ-up-ta], etc. [nɛ-gu-ta], [nɛ-gup-ta], [nɛ-gu-rap-ta], [nɛ-gu-  
rop-ta], etc.

#### Chinese bell-flower 桔梗

[tor-at], [tor-a-dʒi], [tor-ɛ]. [tor-gat], [tor-ga-dʒi], [tor-gɛ], etc.

#### Wild grape 山葡萄

[mɔr-u], [mɔr-ɛ], [mɔr-ɛ], [mɔr-e], [mɔr-wi], [mɔr-gu], [mɔr-gui], [mɔr-gi], [mɛr-gu], [mɔr-  
gu], etc. [mɔr-i], [mɔl-li], etc.

#### Sand 砂

[mor-ɛ], [mol-lɛ], etc. [mor-gɛ], [mor-gɛ-mi], etc.

#### Insect 蟲

[pɔlle], [pɔr-ɛŋ-i], [pɔr-ɔ-dʒi], [pɔllo-dʒi], [pɔr-  
ɔk-tʃi], [pɔr-e-gi], etc. [pɔr-gɔ-dʒi], [pɔr-ga-dʒi], [pɔr-gi], [pɔr-gɛŋ],  
[pɔr-gɛŋ-i], [pɔr-gɔk-tʃi], etc.

#### Liver, Gall-bladder 膽

[psir-ɛ], etc. [psur-gɛ], [psir-gɛ], [psi-gɛ], etc.

#### Wheel 車

[sur-ɛ], [sur-e], etc. [sur-gi].

#### Shelf 架

[sir-ɔŋ], [sil-lɔŋ], etc. [sir-gɔŋ], [sir-gaŋ], [sur-gɔŋ], [sir-gɔŋ], [sir-  
gɔŋ], [sir-gwaŋ], [sir-gwɔŋ], etc.

#### Fang 牙

[ɔm-ni]. [ɔ-gum-ni], [c-gom-ni], [a-gum-ni].

#### Fox 狐

[jɔ-ho], [jɔ-u], [jɔŋ-u], [ja-su], [jɔ-si], etc. [jɔk-kɛŋ-i], [jɔk-ki], [jɔŋ-ki], etc.



Flour 粉	[ka-ru], [ka-ri], [kal-li].	[kar-gi].
Deer ( <i>Hydropotes inermis</i> ) 獐	[nor-u], [nor-i], etc.	[nor-ga-dʒi], [nor-gi], etc.
Quail 鶉	[me-tʃ'ʊ-ri], [me-tʃ'ʊ-ri], [me-tʃ'ʊ-ri], [mo-tʃ'ʊ-ri], [mi-tʃ'ʊ-ri], etc.	[me-tʃ'ʊ-re-gi], [mo-tʃ'ʊ-re-gi], [mo-tʃ'i-re-gi], [mø-tʃ'ʊ-re-gi], etc.
Chopping-board 俎	[to-ma], [to-me], [tom-be], etc.	[to-me-gi], [t'o-me-gi], etc.
Charcoal 炭	[sut].	[ʔsuk], [suk-ku], [suk-ki], [sul-kɔŋ], etc.
To be bitten 噛まれる	[mul-li-da]	[mur-gi-da], [mur-gi-u-da].
To turn 廻はす	[tol-li-da].	[tor-gi-da].
To let live 生かす	[sal-li-da].	[sar-gi-da], [sar-gu-da], etc.
To cause to run 走らせる	[tal-li-da].	[tar-gi-da].

How are these words distributed geographically? Here follows the distribution of some of them.

(a) Hazel-nut 榛の實. See Vocabulary p. 132 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [ʔkɛ:m]	small part of (D) (K) (L)
(2) [kɛ:m]	small part of (J)
(3) [kɛ-am]	small part of (J)
(4) [kɛ-am]	small part of (C)
(5) [ka-jam]	part of (G)
(6) [kɛ-jam]	part of (G)
(7) [kɛm-i]	greater part of (J) and a part of (K)
(8) [ʔkɛm-i]	part of (L) and a small part of (K)
(9) [kɛ-am-al]	part of (K)
(10) [kɛm-al]	part of (K)
(11) [ʔkɛm-al]	small part of (K) (L)
(12) [kɛm-da-ri]	small part of (J)

- |      |            |  |
|------|------------|--|
| (13) | [pkɛ-dop]  | small part of (C) (D)                                  |
| (14) | [kɛ-gum]   | southern part of (K) and a part of (A) (B) (E) (F) (H) |
| (15) | [pkɛ-gum]  | greater part of (A) and a part of (B) (C) (D) (F) (H)  |
| (16) | [k'ɛ-gum]  | small part of (B)                                      |
| (17) | [kɛ-gam]   | small part of (E)                                      |
| (18) | [pkɛ-gom]  | greater part of (D) and a part of (C)                  |
| (19) | [kɛ-gum-i] | small part of (K)                                      |

The foregoing 19 varieties may be divided into two groups: those from No. 1 down to No. 13 which do not contain [g], and those from No. 14 down No. 19 which contain [g]. And when geographically observed, the areas which contain [g] are mostly (A), (B), (C), (D), (E) and (F), and a part of (H) and (K), while those which do not contain [g] are the greater part of (G) and (H),—(M) and (N) still to be investigated—and some other districts.

(b) Wild grape 山葡萄. See Vocabulary p. 133 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [mɔr-u]	greater part of (E) (F), and a part of (A) (B) (D) (G)
(2) [mɔr-ɛ]	small part of (C) (J)
(3) [mɔr-ɛ]	part of (C)
(4) [mɔr-e]	part of (J)
(5) [mɔr-ui]	part of Quelpart Island (A)
(6) [mɔr-i]	part of (C) (D)
(7) [mɔl-li]	part of Quelpart Island (A)
(8) [mɔr-gu]	greater part of (D) (N), a part of (A) (C) (G) (J) (K) (L) (M), and the coast of (H)
(9) [mɔr-gui]	part of (K) (L), and a small part of (J)
(10) [mɔr-gi]	part of (K) (L)
(11) [mer-gu]	part of (A) (B)
(12) [mjɔr-gu]	part of (A)

These foregoing 12 variants may be divided into two groups: those from No.

1 down to No. 7 which do not contain [g], and those from No. 8 down to No. 12 which contain [g]. And when geographically observed, [g] is present in the greater part of (D), (K), (L) and (N), and part of (A), (B), (C), (H) and (J). This distribution does not exactly coincide with that of the preceding item hazel-nut.

(c) Insect 蟲. See Vocabulary p. 134 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [pɔl-le]	greater part of (J), and part of (E) (G)
(2) [pɔr-ɛɳ-i]	Quelpart Island (A)
(3) [pɔr-ɔ-dʒi]	part of (A) (B) (E) (F) (G) (H)
(4) [pɔl-lɔ-dʒi]	small part of (E)
(5) [pɔr-ɔk-tʃi]	part of (J), and a small part of (B) (E)
(6) [pɔr-e-gi]	small part of (B)
(7) [pɔr-gɔ-dʒi]	greater part of (A) (B) (C) (D) (H) (K) (L) (M) (N), and a part of (E) (F) (G) (J)
(8) [pɔr-ga-dʒi]	part of (A)
(9) [pɔr-gi]	part of (C) (D) (K)
(10) [pɔr-gɛɳ]	part of (D)
(11) [pɔr-gɛɳ-i]	part of (C) (D)
(12) [pɔr-gɔk-tʃi]	part of (K)

Of the foregoing, [g] is not present in examples from No. 1 down to No. 6, while it is present in examples from No. 7 down to No. 12. Geographically observed, [g] is present in the greater part of (A), (B), (C), (D), (H), (K), (L), (M) and (N), while it is absent chiefly in (G) and (J).

(d) Shelf 架.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [sir-ɔɳ]	greater part of (J), and a part of (A) (B) (D) (E) (G) (H)
(2) [sil-lɔɳ]	part of (G)
(3) [sir-gɔɳ]	greater part of (C) (D) (K) (L), and a part of (A) (B) (E) (F) (H) (M) (N)

- |      |            |   |
|------|------------|---|
| (4)  | [sir-gaŋ]  | part of (D)                                 |
| (5)  | [sür-gɔŋ]  | part of (N)                                 |
| (6)  | [sir-gɔn]  | part of (C)                                 |
| (7)  | [sir-goŋ]  | part of (K)                                 |
| (8)  | [sir-gwaŋ] | part of (D) (F) (H)                         |
| (9)  | [sir-gwɔŋ] | part of (D), (F) (H)                        |
| (10) | [tɔŋ-ɲtɛ]  | greater part of (L) and a small part of (K) |
| (11) | [tɔk-ɲtɛ]  | small part of (L)                           |

Of the foregoing, Nos. 1 and 2 do not contain [g]; from No. 3 down to No. 9 contain [g]; and Nos. 10 and 11 are words of a different genealogy. Observation of the geographical distribution of the presence and absence of [g] will show that [g] is present in the greater part of (C), (D), (K) and (L), and [g] is absent in the greater part of (J) and a part of (A), (B), (H), (M) and (N).

(e) Fox 狐. See Vocabulary p. 135 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [jɔ-ho]	part of (D) (E)
(2) [jɔ-hu]	small part of (E)
(3) [jɔ-hi]	Quelpart Island (A) and a part of (D)
(4) [jɔŋ-ho]	part of (K) (M)
(5) [jɔ-u]	part of (E) (F) (G) (H) (J) (K) (M) (N)
(6) [jɔ-ui]	part of (G) (J)
(7) [jɔŋ]	part of (K)
(8) [jɔŋ-u]	part of (H) (K) (M) (N)
(9) [jɔŋ-i]	part of (K)
(10) [jeŋ-i]	part of (M) (N)
(11) [i:ŋ]	part of (K)
(12) [ja-su]	small part of (D) (H)
(13) [ja-si]	part of (C) (D)
(14) [jɔ-su]	greater part of (E) (F), and a part of (A) (B) (C)

- (15) [jɔ-si] greater part of (A), and a part of (B) (C) (D)  
 (16) [jɛ-su] part of (C) (D)  
 (17) [jɛ-su] part of (D)  
 (18) [jak-kɛɳ-i] part of (D) (F)  
 (19) [jak-kwaɳ-i] small part of (D)  
 (20) [jɔ-k'wɛ-i] part of (J)  
 (21) [jɔk-kɛɳ-i] greater part of (H)  
 (22) [jɔk-kwaɳ-i] small part of (D)  
 (23) [jɔk-ki] small part of (K) (L)  
 (24) [jɔɳ-ʔki] small part of (K)  
 (25) [jek-ki] part of (D) (K) (L)  
 (26) [jɛɳ-ʔki] small part of (K)

An observation of the foregoing will show that the dialect words for fox are of three kinds: (a) those which are monosyllabic or contain [ho], [u], or [i] in the second syllable as examples from No. 1 down to No. 11; (b) those which contain the [s] sound in the second syllable as examples from No. 12 down to No. 17; and (c) those which contain the [k] sound in the second syllable. Of all these, letting along those which contain [s]<sup>1</sup>, those which contain [k] are present in the greater part of (H) and a part of (D), (J), (K) and (L), but not present in the rest.

(f) Deer (*Hydropotes inermis*) 獐. See Vocabulary p. 136 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [nor-u]	greater part of (E) (F) (J), and a part of (B) (C) (D) (G) (H) (M) (N)
(2) [nɔr-i]	greater part of (A) (C) (D), and a part of (B) (H)
(3) [nɔr-ga-dʒi]	greater part of (K) (L), and a part of (G) (J) (N)

(1) [-u] and [-ho] in [jɔ-u], [jɔ-ho] fox 狐 were originally spelt with a ㅜ. That it appears on the one hand as the [s] sound may be made clear by my explanation of "△".

- (4) [nor-gɛ-dʒi] part of (K)  
 (5) [nor-gi] greater part of (K)  
 (6) [nor-gɛɲ-i] eastern coast of (H)

Of these examples, Nos. 1 and 2 do not contain [g], while examples from No. 3 down to No. 6 contain [g]. Observation of the distribution of the dialects according to the presence or absence of [g] shows that [g] is present chiefly in (K) and (L) and on the coast of (H); and it is absent in the rest.

(g) The causative verb tal-li-da (to cause one to run 走らす), and transitive verbs ʔtol-li-da (to drop 落とす), tol-li-da (to turn 廻す), and sal-li-da (to let one live 生かす) are in some districts pronounced [tal-gi-da], [ʔtol-gi-da], [tol-gi-da], and [sal-gi-da], with [g] inserted at the middle. The distribution of these words are roughly as follows. See Vocabulary p. 137 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [tal-gi-da]	part of (C) (D)
[tal-gu-da]	part of the coast of (H)
(2) [ʔtol-gu-da]	part of (C) (G) (H) (J)
(3) [tol-gi-da]	part of the coast of (H)
(4) [sal-gi-da]	part of (C) (D), and a part of the coast of (H)
[sal-gu-da]	small part of (F) (J)
[sal-gut-ta]	part of (D)

It seems that the [k] or [g] sound present in the various cases from (a) to (f) is not always of the same nature. A few different cases as the following may be conceived.

(1) In the Altaic languages, the [g] sound occurring between vowels often disappears. RADLOFF's view<sup>1)</sup> on this may be cited here.

“In einer ganzen Reihe von unzerlegbaren Stämmen sehen wir den zwei Vocale trennenden Hinterlingual in einzelnen Dialecten verschwinden, z. B.

1) W. RADLOFF: *Phonetik der nördlichen Türkssprachen*, 1882, § 364.

kagan=qān, kan (Fürst); sagał, saγał (Bart)=alt. sāł; alt. sygyn(Maral)=abak. sŷn; Tar. kigiz (Filz)=Kirg. kiz.....Dieselbe Erscheinung finden wir im Jakutischen, z. B.....Auch die mongolische Schriftsprache zeigt oft einen Hinterlingual im Inlaute, wo er in der Volkssprache verschwunden ist: dabagan =dabān,.....salaga=salā. In der Mandschu-Sprache ist der Hinterlingual oft ausgefallen, wo ihn das Mongolische und die türkischen Sprachen bewahrt haben, z. B. agola=ōla (Berg)=Mandschu alin; dshag. saγał (Bart)=alt. sāl=Mandschu salu. ....”

It is evident that in this case the [g] sound which had originally existed disappeared under the conditions preceding and following it. As illustrated at the beginning, the Korean dialects for liver or gall-stone (膽) and for shelf (架) are of two forms: [ʔsir-ε] and [ʔsir-gε], and [sir-ɔŷ] and [sir-gɔŷ]—the two words in either case standing in contrast, one with [g] and the other without. Should these two words be related to the Manchu words *sil-bi* and *sel-be* respectively, the form with [g] may be regarded as the original. Nevertheless, a similar assertion could not be made as to the forms containing [g] as in the examples given under (a) hazel-nut, (b) wild grape, and (c) insect and as to the words, smoke, smoky, Chinese bell-flower, sand, wheel, and fang mentioned at the beginning, because there have been found a number of examples where was no [g] originally but it came to be inserted in the course of time.

In addition to these nouns, in Korean, the same particles were denoted from ancient times, though in accordance with a certain rule, with or without [k] ([g]). For instance, [-kɔ-ni-wa] and [-ɔ-ni-wa], [-kɔ-tün] and [-ɔ-tün], [-kɔn-ma-rün] and [-ɔn-ma-rün], [-ke] and [-e], [-ko] and [-o], [-ko-ra] and [-o-ra], [-kok] and [-ok], [-kon] and [-on], [-kot] and [-ot], [-kwa] and [-wa], [kwa-ra] and [-wa-ra], and [-kwan-dε] and [-wan-dε]. It is difficult, however, to decide whether the forms containing [k] ([g]) are the older or not.

(2) As in the case of fox (狐) or deer, *Hydropotes inermis* (獐), it often happens that, when such nouns do not contain [k] ([g]) in the dialects of Central

Korea, it is observed in the greater part of (D), (K) and (L), and on the eastern coast of (H). The examples given at the beginning, as flour (粉), pronounced [ka-ru] and [kar-gi], char-coal (炭) pronounced [sut] and [suk-ki], sand (砂) pronounced [mor-ε] and [mor-gε], [mör-gε-mi], red bean (小豆) pronounced [p'at] and [p'εk-ki], and wheel (車) pronounced [sur-ε] and [sur-gε], [sur-gi]—all these for the most part agree with fox (狐) and deer, *Hydropotes inermis* (獐), in the distribution of the presence and absence of [g] in them.

(3) The presence of [-gi-], [-gu-] in the conjugation of the verbs under (g) usually occurs chiefly in a part of (C) and (D) and on the coast of (H).

In brief, although the quality of the [k] ([g]) sound introduced into the various words is still to be investigated, the fact that this peculiarity is observed chiefly in (C), (D), (H), (K) and (L) is worth special consideration.

### Section 8. pjɔ and na-rak

As to the Korean words for rice-plant (稻) or unhulled rice (粳), there are two types: pjɔ and na-rak. Let us first investigate the distribution of the words of the pjɔ type. See Vocabulary p. 137 and Map. No. 7 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [pjɔ]	part of (G) (J)
(2) [pe]	greater part of (H) (K) (L) (M) (N), and a part of (E) (F) (J)
(3) [pø]	small part of (J)

The distribution of the na-rak type is as follows. See Vocabulary p. 137 and Map No. 7 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(1) [na-rak]	greater part of (A) (B) (C) (D), a part of (E) (F), a part of the coast of (H), and a small part in the extreme south of (K)



- (2) [na-ruk] small part of (G)<sup>1</sup>, (H) and (J)  
 (3) [na-rok] Quelpart Island (A) and small part of (C) (D) (H)  
 (4) [no-rak] small part in the south of (K)

A glance at the foregoing will show that the words of the [na-rak] type are present chiefly in the greater part of (A), (B), (C) and (D), have their influence in a part of (G), (H), (J) and (K), and are used collaterally with [pe] in (E) and (F), while the words of the [pjɔ] type are employed in the rest of the land. In brief, it may be said that the [na-rak] type belongs to the southern dialects, while the [pjɔ] type belongs to the northern. [pjɔ] has been used frequently as an elegant word in various books from ancient times, while [na-rak] has not. However, the use of this word in South Korea from ancient times is proved by the previously quoted passage under the heading *Shiragi Hô-gen* 新羅方言 (The Shiragi Dialect) in the *Kan-chiku-dô shô-hitsu* 寒竹堂涉筆 written about 150 years ago by the well-known scholar Ri Toku-bô 李德懋<sup>2</sup>, which reads:

“The head of a government office should master the dialect of his province so that he may get thoroughly acquainted with the ways of the people. When I first proceeded to Sha-yù 沙郵 my new post, I did not really understand what my inferior officials said, because it was in the Shiragi dialect. Neither did they understand me. Misunderstanding occurred quite frequently. Not long after, however, I mastered their dialect and addressed the people in it. I was once ordering my subordinates to put cereals into the granary. The subordinates said ‘If kɔ-tʃʻi (居穉) are not in perfect condition, na-rak (羅洛) will surely run out. After sifting the cereals with tʃʻɔŋ-i (請伊) and fastening them tight with sa-tʃʻaŋ-i (沙暢歸), we shall store them in tʃʻɔŋ-dʒi-ʔkan (丁支間).’ On that occasion there happened to be a visitor from Kei-jô 京城, who hearing these words burst out laughing, and asked ‘What are they saying?’ So I took the trouble of

1) It seems that in a small part of (J), [na-rak] means unhulled rice (粃) spread on the ground or mats, while it means millet (粟) in a small part of (G) and (H).

2) Ri Toku-bô 李德懋 died in the 58th year of Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (1793 A. D.)

explaining the words for the visitor. 'kɔ-tʃ'i is bales', said I, 'na-rak rice-plant, tʃ'ɔŋ-i sieve, sa-tʃ'əŋ-i straw rope, and tʃ'ɔŋ-dʒi-ʔkan granary.'

Even to-day bale (俵) is pronounced [kɔ-tʃ'i] (居稗), rice-plant (稻) or unhulled rice (粳) [na-rak]; sieve (箕) [tʃ'ɛŋ-i], [tʃ'ɛŋ-i], [tʃ'iŋ-i]; rope (藁繩) [sa-tʃ'ɛŋ-i]; granary (庫) [tʃ'ɔŋ-dʒi ʔkan]. This will serve to prove that the word [na-rak] was in use in these districts for a long time.

As to the etymology of the word [na-rak], the *Tô-kan-roku* 東寰錄<sup>1)</sup> says;

"In these days the people in Kei-shô dô 慶尙道 and Zen-râ dô 全羅道 call rice-plant (稻) 羅祿 (na-rok). In ancient times when an officer was appointed in Silla, unhulled rice in place of hulled rice was offered as his salary. It is said that this is the origin of the word [na-rak] 羅祿 (the salary of Silla)."

It is evident that we could not take this account as a trustworthy account. It is given here only as a view.

In brief, it may be seen that the words for rice-plant (稻) or unhulled rice (粳) used in South and North Korea are of two entirely different types.

### Section 9. Indian Corn (玉蜀黍)

The words meaning Indian corn (玉蜀黍) may be classified into four types: (a) [suk-ki]; (b) [taŋ-sui]; (c) [kaŋ-nam]; and (d) [ok su-su]. See Vocabulary p. 1. 8 and Map No. 8 in the Appendix.

(a) The [suk-ki] type:

Variants	Distribution
(1) [suk-ki]	northeastern part of (L)
(2) [ʃuk-ki]	northeastern part of (L)

In the northern half of (D) and on the southeastern coast of (H), [suk-ki] and [suk-ku] are used for dhurra (蜀黍). In a part of (L), [suk-ki] and [suk-ku] are used for Indian corn (玉蜀黍), but in a part of (D) and (H), for dhurra,—that is, a confusion of use is observed.

1) Published in the 9th year of Hsien-fêng 咸豐 (1859 A. D.)

The original Korean word for dhurra is [su-su] (see the following item [taŋ-sui] under (b)), which was varied to [su-si], [sui-su], [sui-si], [su], [sui], is extensively used throughout Korea. Now the dialects of (D), (H), (K) and (L) have a peculiar custom of affixing [-ki], [-ku], etc. to certain nouns and some other words; for instance, [p'εk-ki] for [p'at] (red bean 小豆); [muk-ki], [muk-ku] for [mur] (radish 大根); [jɔk-ki], [jek-ki], [jɔk-keŋ-i] for [jɔ-ho] (fox 狐); [mor-gε] for [mor-ε] (sand 砂). Varying the word for dhurra (蜀黍) to [suk-ki] and [suk-ku] in a part of (D) and (H) is in perfect accordance with the local custom, but as for (K) and (L) no such form as [suk-ki] or [suk-ku] for dhurra (蜀黍) exists there.<sup>1)</sup> The form refers to Indian corn.<sup>2)</sup>

(b) The [taŋ-sui] type:

This is observed in a small part in the north of (K) and in the south of (L).

[taŋ] is 唐 (T'ang). From ancient times it was a custom in Korea to prefix [taŋ] to anything imported from China. In addition to such ancient phrases as [taŋ-mur:] (唐菁) for radish (萊菔); [taŋ tʃ'uf-dʒa] (唐楸子) for nut (胡桃), there are [taŋ-mok] (唐木) for Chinese cotton goods; [taŋ-sɔn] (唐扇) for Chinese fans; [taŋ-in] (唐人) for Chinese people; and even today in some districts sweet potatoes are called [taŋ kam-dʒa]; matches (燐寸) [taŋ-hoap], [taŋ sɔŋ-njaŋ].

[sui] originally meant dhurra (蜀黎 or 高粱) and it is even to-day used in the same meaning in (K), (L) and (N). The original form was [ʃu-ʃu], and it is still used in the same meaning in various dialects only varied into [su-su], [su-si], [ʃsu-si], [su-dʒi], [sui-su], [sui-sui], [sui-si], [ʃsü-si]. As to the etymology of [ʃu-ʃu], some ancient Korean scholars held that it meant hanging ears (垂穗), but probably came from the same source as the Mongolian *si-si* and the Manchurian *shu-shu*, either of which meant dhurra (蜀黍).

1) In (K) and (L), [sui] is the word generally used for dhurra (蜀黍). Again, in a part of (L), this is called [pap suk-ki] which means rice-dhurra (飯の蜀黍), a fact proving that the people in the district have a custom of making a diet of dhurra in place of rice.

2) In a part of (L), Indian corn (玉蜀黍) is called [suk-ki]; in other districts of (K) and (L), it is [taŋ-sui], [kaŋ-nεŋ-i], [ok-sui], etc.

In brief, [taŋ-sui] is a word which originally meant dhurra imported from China and this fact proves that Indian corn (taŋ-sui 玉蜀黍) was imported later than dhurra (sui 蜀黍). I am of the opinion that this word [taŋ-sui] spread rather extensively in the peninsula in ancient times, but being oppressed by the words of the more modern [kaŋ-nam] and [ok su-su] types, it came to survive in such districts. The fact that where [taŋ-sui] is used such words as [kaŋ-nεŋ-i] and [ok-sui] are also used at the same time also serves to support my theory.

(c) The [kaŋ-nam] type:

Variants	Distribution
(1) [kaŋ-nam-i]	part of (J)
(2) [kaŋ-nεm-i]	part of (J)
(3) [kaŋ-naŋ]	part of (D) (H)
(4) [kaŋ-nε]	part of (K)
(5) [kaŋ-njε]	part of (K)
(6) [kεŋ-nε]	small part of (L)
(7) [kaŋ-naŋ-i]	part of (J)
(8) [kaŋ-nεŋ-i]	many districts of (A) (B) (C) (D) (G) (H) (J) (K) (L) (M) (N)
(9) [ʔkaŋ-nεŋ-i]	small part of (A) (B)
(10) [kaŋ-nε-i]	small part of (J)
(11) [kaŋ-naŋ tε-dʒuk] <sup>1)</sup>	greater part of Quelpart Island (A)
(12) [kaŋ-naŋ tε-tʃ'uk] <sup>2)</sup>	small part of Quelpart Island (A)
(13) [kaŋ-naŋ sεk-ki]	part of (C)
(14) [kaŋ-naŋ suk-kε]	part of (D)
(15) [kaŋ-naŋ suk-ku]	part of (D)
(16) [kaŋ-njaŋ suk-ki]	small part of (L)
(17) [kεŋ suk-ki]	small part of (L)
(18) [ka-nε suk-ki]	small part of (L)

1), 2) In Quelpart Island, Indian corn is also called [tε-dʒuk pu-rε-gi], or [tε-tʃ'uk pu-rε-gi].

- (19) [kɛ su-gi]                      small part of (L)

Of the foregoing, [kaŋ-nam-i] [kaŋ-nɛm-i], [kaŋ-naŋ], [kaŋ-nɛ] etc. under from No. 1 down to No. 16 are all variants of Kaŋ-nam (江南); and No. 17 [kɛŋ], No. 18 [ka-nɛ], and No. 19 [kɛ] are its abbreviations. [tɛ-dʒuk] under No. 11 and [tɛ-tʃ'uk] under No. 12 are dialects peculiar to Quelpart Island which mean dhurra (蜀黍); [sɛk-ki], [suk-ki], [suk-kɛ], [su-gi] under from No. 13 down to No. 19 are dialects of these districts all meaning dhurra (蜀黍). To affix [-ki], [-ku] to endings is a peculiarity of the dialects of (D), (H), (K) and (L) as has been referred to before.

In brief, [kaŋ-nam] (江南) is a word derived from the Chinese phrase Chiang-nan (江南 the region to the south of the Yang-tse River) which has been often employed in Korean poetry and fiction from ancient times as a phrase of supreme elegance. It is no wonder that this word should have been popularized.

- (d) The [ok su-su] type :

Variants	Distribution
(1) [ok su-su]	part of (E) (F) (G)
(2) [ok su-si]	small part of (A) (B)
(3) [ok so-si]	small part of (A)
(4) [ok sui]	small part of (L)
(5) [ok suk-ku]	small part of (D) (E) (F)
(6) [ok sik-ki]	small part of (H)
(7) [ok si-gi]	small part of (F) (H)
(8) [ok tek-ki]	small part of (H)

[ok] is the pronunciation of 玉; [su-su], [su-si], [so-si], [suk-ku], [sik-ki], [si-gi] all mean dhurra (蜀黍). In other words of this form being literal translations of the Chinese phrase 玉蜀黍, which are rather bookish and lack in elegance. Therefore, their power of distribution being slight, they exist only lurking among the words of the [kaŋ-nam] form.

Of the words of the four forms, excepting [suk-ki] because it is a misuse of dhurra (蜀黍) for Indian corn (玉蜀黍), it may be said that the distribution of the [kaŋ-nam] type is the most extensive, then the [ok su-su] form the next, and then the [taŋ-sui] form.

### Section. 10. Snail (蝸牛)

As the snail and the slug belong to the same family zoologically, and resemble each other externally, they are, in various languages, termed in common or their names are often confused. In Korea such an old work as the *Kyô-yaku shû-sei-hô* 鄉藥集成方<sup>1)</sup> describes the snail as 有殼月乙板伊 (月乙板伊 with a shell) and the slug as 無殼月乙板伊 (月乙板伊 without a shell); and later works transcribe the snail “tʃip tʃin tal-pʻɛŋ-i” and the slug “tʃip ɔpsun tal-pʻɛŋ-i”. “tʃip tʃin” means “bearing a house (shell)”—in a attributive form—while “tʃip ɔpsun” means “without a house (shell)”—also in attributive form; and “tal-pʻɛŋ-i” (蝸牛) is a word which stands for 月乙板伊. In short, “tʃip tʃin tal-pʻɛŋ-i” is “the snail with a shell”. Though they are both snails, they are differentiated by the presence or absence of the shell.

The words meaning snail (蝸牛) in the Korean language may be classified into the following types. See Vocabulary p. 139 and Map No. 9 in the Appendix:

(A) The [tal-pʻɛŋ-i] type:

Variants	Distribution
(1) [təl-bʻɔŋ-i]	Quelpart Island (A)
(2) [tal-bɛŋ-i]	small part of (K)
(3) [tal-pʻan-i]	greater part of (J) (M) (N), and part of (A) (B) (C)
(4) [tal-pʻɛŋ-i]	greater part of (E) (F) (G) (H), southern part of (K), and part of (A) (B) (D)
(5) [tʰl-pʻɛŋ-i]	part of (D), and part of eastern coast of (H)
(6) [tʰal-pʻɛŋ-i]	small part of (F)

1) Published in the 6th year of Chung-chen 崇禎 (1633 A. D.)

- (7) [t'ɔl-p'ɛŋ-i] small part of (D)  
 (8) [t'ul-p'ɛŋ-i] small part of eastern coast of (H)  
 (9) [nül-p'ɛŋ-i]<sup>1)</sup> small part of eastern coast of (H)

It is obvious that the foregoing words of the [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] type are all combinations of such words as [tɔl], [tal], [tül], [t'al], [t'ɔl], [t'ül] and [nül] and of such words as [bɛŋ-i], [p'an-i], [p'ɛŋ-i]. What do the initial parts [tɔl], [tal], [t'al] signify? As to the initial sounds t and t', t must be the original and t' a corruption. For on the coast of (H), [tɔm-bul] (vine, creeper 蔓) is pronounced [t'üm-bul], and [to-ma] (chopping-board 俎) [t'o-ma]. As to the vowels o, a, ɔ, ü contained in the words, inferring from the fact that the Quelpart Island dialect retains [o], the original must have been “o”. Some ancient works give 𪛗 as the more correct form. But what does 𪛗 signify? The words spelt with 𪛗 meant as nouns moon (月) and “the act of (こと)” as in such an example as in the act of doing such and such thing (何々したと); and as verb of the -l form, to hang (懸ける) and to freeze (凍える), and as an adjective of the -l form sweet as of sugar (甘い), and as a particle denoting the plurality of a noun and another denoting though (とて) as in “though . . . may do such and such a thing (何々したとて).” As to which of these the 𪛗 present in the term snail (蝸牛) comes under, various views may be offered. Moon (月) may well suggest the round shell of a snail, but would hardly explain the phrase [tal-p'ɛŋ-i]. I should like to regard 𪛗 as the verb to hang (懸ける). In connection with this the following explanation should be considered.

Now the meaning of [bɛŋ-i], [p'an-i], [p'ɛŋ-i] forming the latter part of the various words of the [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] type must be interpreted. There is no doubt these are all of the same word; and I am of the opinion that the original meaning was top (獨樂). Top is [p'ɛŋ-i] in the present Kei-jō speech, but there are many types in various dialects. Lest it should confuse the reader, their distribution will not be given here. Only their variants and types will be mentioned.

1) [nül-p'ɛŋ-i] is probably a corruption of [tül-p'ɛŋ-i].

- (a) [poŋ-ɛn], [po-ɛ], [paŋ-ɛ], [poŋ], [poŋ-ɛ], [paŋ-i], [pɛ-a-ri], [pɛŋ-dor-i], [piŋ-dùŋ-i]
- (b) [p'ɛŋ-i], [p'ɛŋ-dɛŋ-i], [p'ɛŋ-gu-ra-mi], [p'ɛŋ-dùŋ], [p'ùŋ-dùŋ-i], [p'ìŋ-biŋ-i], [p'ìŋ-dùŋ-i]
- (c) [p'ɛŋ-i], [p'ɛŋ-dor-i], [p'ɛŋ-o-ri], [p'ɛŋ-sɛŋ-i], [p'ɛŋ-soŋ-i], [p'ɛŋ-so-i], [p'ɛŋ-goŋ-i], [p'ɛŋ-jɛ], [p'ɛ-ri]
- (d) [kol-bɛŋ-i], [kol-bɛŋ], [kol-p'ɛŋ], [kol], [koŋ-gɛ]
- (e) [to-rɛ-gi]
- (f) [sɔ-ri], [sɛ-ri]

Of the foregoing, [kol-bɛŋ] under (d) will be explained later. [to-rɛ-gi] under (e) is a dialect of Quelpart Island, which means "a thing which spins." [sɔ-ri] and [sɛ-ri] used in the greater part of (M) and (N), and a part of (J) and (L) must mean "a thing which stands up" or "to coil round". (a), (b) and (c) probably derived from the same origin, must refer to the manner in which a top spins. This may be readily be seen from [p'ɛŋ-p'ɛŋ] and [p'ìŋ-p'ìŋ]—the words used for describing the manner of the spinning of the top. In brief, as the roundness of the snail's shell resembles the shape of the Korean top, it was probably so named. The Korean top, being really more round than the common top in Japan proper, considerably resembles the shape of a snail. [bɛŋ-i] in the phrase [kol-bɛŋ-i] commented upon in the following probably came from this word also.

In the foregoing I have explained that [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] is a compound of "to hang" and "top." Speaking more strictly, [tal] being a transitive verb, [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] is "a hang top"; but as this makes no phrase, it should be "a hung top" or "a suspended top." Then the phrase should be [tallin-p'ɛŋ-i] or [tallil-p'ɛŋ-i]. However, a speech habit is not always formed logically. My conclusion is that [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] means a suspended top. In brief, I am of the opinion that the name [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] was originated from the fact that the snail climbs up trees, grasses, and rocks, over against the turbo (榮螺) and the mud-snail (田螺) which live in the water, never crawling out upon the ground.



## (B) The [kol-bɛŋ-i] type:

Variants	Distribution
(1) [kol-bɛŋ-i]	greater part of (L), and small part of (D) (H) (K)
(2) [kol-ɛ]	part of (G)

Here [kol-bɛŋ-i] the word for the mud-snail has been borrowed for the snail, since the snail and the mud-snail look alike. In discussing this matter, it is necessary first to give the dialect words for the mud-snail in the modern Korean language and explain their distribution. For detail, see Vocabulary p. 141 in the Appendix.

Variants	Distribution
(a) [kol-bɛŋ-i]	part of (D) (K), and eastern coast of (H)
(b) [kol-bu-ri]	part of (D)
(c) [ko-don]	part of (C)
(d) [ko-dũŋ-i]	part of (C) (D)
(e) [non-ko-don]	small part of (C)
(f) [non-ko-dũŋ-i]	small part of (C)
(g) [hoan-se ko-dũŋ-i]	small part of (D)
(h) [u-rɛŋ-i]	part of (G)

Of the foregoing, [kol-bɛŋ-i] (a) and [kol-bu-ri] (b) belong to the same word, a form just the same as [kol-bɛŋ-i] which means snail. (e), (f) and (g) are combinations of [ko-don], or [ko-dũŋ-i] with other words; and [u-rɛŋ-i] under (h) belongs to another type. In short, [kol-bɛŋ-i] is a word used for snail, in the greater part of (L) and in a small part of (D), (H) and (K), while in a part of (D), (H) and (K), it is used for mud-snail.

Now the names for mud-snail (田螺) found in literature are as follows.

- (a) [kol-waŋ-i] This is observed in the *Kun-mô ji-kai* 訓蒙字會, *Yaku-go rui-kai* 譯語類解, *To-shi gen-kai* 杜詩諺解, etc.
- (b) [u-roŋ-i], [u-rɔŋ-i] This is observed in the *Kyô-yaku shû-sei-bô* 鄉藥集成方,

*Tô-i hô-kan* 東醫寶鑑, *Sai-shû shim-pen* 濟衆新編, *Yaku-go rui-kai* 譯語類解, etc.

On [u-roŋ-i], [u-rɔŋ-i] (b), more will be said later. [kol-waŋ-i] (a) belongs to the same source as [kol-bɛŋ-i] the dialect already discussed. The frequency of [b] and [w] standing in contrast at the middle of a word has already been treated under silk-worm (nu-e 蠶).

So the word [kol-bɛŋ-i] is at present used in some districts for either snail or mud-snail. It is also interesting to note that in (K) this word, varied as [kol-bɛŋ], [kol-bɛŋ-i], [kol-p'ɛŋ], etc., is used for the top. In short, the word [kol-bɛŋ-i] is being used in these meanings—snail, mud-snail, and top—in different districts, no doubt on account of their external resemblance.

As to the original meaning of [kol-bɛŋ-i], I am of the opinion that [kol] in this case was similar to [kol] the word which means the brain or marrow; and [bɛŋ-i], like [p'ɛŋ-i] in the phrase [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] (snail 蝸牛), originally meant top; and therefore, [kol-bɛŋ-i] for the snail and mud-snail originally meant "the shell-top" very probably.

Finally, [kol-ɛ] used for snail in a part of (G) must be regarded as a variant of [kol-bɛŋ-i] or [kol-waŋ-i]; and [kol] used for top in a part of (K) must also be an abbreviation of the same word.

(C) The [ol-bɛŋ-i] type:

This is observed only in a small part of (K). [bɛŋ-i] a word similar to [bɛŋ-i], [p'ɛŋ-i] in such phrases as [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] and [kol-bɛŋ-i] must have referred to top and [ol] may be a corruption of [u-roŋ-i] or [u-rɔŋ-i] for mud-snail.

(D) The [hal-ma go-doŋ] type:

Variants	Distribution
----------	--------------

(1) [ha-ma go-düŋ-i] small part of (D)

(2) [hal-ma go-düŋ-i] small part of (C)

(3) [hal-maŋ go-doŋ] small part of (C)

(4) [hal-mɛ go-düŋ-i] small part of (D)

- (5) [hal-mi go-doŋ]      small part of (C)  
 (6) [hal-mi go-dũiŋ-i]    part of (C) (D)  
 (7) [ha-mɛ]                small part of (D)  
 (8) [ha:m]                 small part of (D)

The words of the [hal-ma go-doŋ] type are combinations of [hal-ma] and [ko-doŋ]. [hal-ma], [ha-ma], [hal-maŋ], [hal-mɛ], [hal-mi] constituting the first part, are all the same words meaning old woman; [ha-mɛ] (7) and [ha:m] (8) are both shortened forms. The snail swinging its antennae is graceful enough to remind one of a woman. This is in accordance with the principle of meaning on which 老姑花 (anemone pateris) is named [hal-mi-ʔkot] ([ʔkot] being flower); 鶺鴒 (wagtail) [hal-mi-sɛ] ([sɛ] being bird); and 白頭翁 (anemone) [hal-mi-ʔsi-ʔkabi]. [ko-doŋ] and [ko-dũiŋ-i], though originating from the same word, have at present two different meanings, it seems.

(a) The word was used, in ancient works, for turbo (榮螺 or 海螺), later came to be applied to the mud-snail (田螺), and then became a general term for the shell of this genus. As it has been already stated, this word is used for the mud-snail in a part of (C) and (D). As instances of this word becoming a general term for shell-fish of this genus, I may mention that in a part of (C), the phrase [non ko-doŋ] (turbo living in the paddy-field)—a compound of [non] (the paddy-field) and this word—means mud-snail; and that in a part of (D), the phrase [hoŋ-sɛ ko-dũiŋ-i] (turbo the prey for the stork)—a compound of [hoŋ-sɛ] (stork) and this word—means mud-snail: and that, in a part of (A), (C), (D) and (E), the phrase [so-ra ko-doŋ], [so-ra ko-dũiŋ-i], [so-rɛ ko-doŋ] (turbo-of-turbo)—a compound of [so-ra] (turbo 榮螺) and this word—means turbo. In this last instance, both [so-ra] and [ko-doŋ] referred to turbo in ancient times; as [ko-doŋ] the word for turbo later came to be a general term for the shells of this genus, both words [so-ra] and [ko-doŋ] were doubly used particularly to indicate the turbo.

(b) This originally meant “languette d’un piège; pêne de serrure; gâchette

d'un fusil"<sup>1)</sup>; but later it came to mean "a steam whistle<sup>2)</sup>; a horn; a joint; a switch; the turning point; the important matter."<sup>3)</sup>

In short, the original meaning of [hal-ma go-doŋ] was "a turbo looking like an old woman." And in a part of (D), [ha:mɛ] (7) and [hɑ:m] (8) mentioned above are used for snail. If taken apart by themselves, it is hard to decide the etymology of these words, but if compared with [hal-ma go-doŋ], it may be seen that they are abbreviated forms of [hal-ma]. The importance of studying dialects will show itself in this point also.

(E) The [mu-daŋ] type:

[mu-daŋ] is observed in a small part of the eastern coast of (H). [mu-daŋ] means a witch or temple-maid (巫女). Because of the resemblance of appearance between the snail with its antennae held up and the fully decorated head of a temple-maid (巫女), it was perhaps so named. This may be regarded as a case in which this social custom saturated in Korean folklore is most happily reflected on speech. [mu-daŋ pol-le] (literally, a temple-maid bug 巫女蟲) for the lady-bug was also named through an association of the head of a temple-maid. Again, [mu-daŋ-sɛ] (literally, a temple-maid bird 巫女鳥)—the name for the lark was probably coined with reference to the pose of a temple-maid wildly dancing in a frenzied state.

(F) [mun-düi] This is observed in a small part of (D). It means "a leper."

(G) The [kum-bɛŋ-i] type:

Variants	Distribution
(1) [kum-bɛŋ-i]	small part of (D)
(2) [kum-bi]	small part of (H)
(3) [kun-bi]	small part of (D)

[kum-bɛŋ-i] is the original, [kum-bi] and [kun-bi] being its variants. [kum-

1) Dictionnaire Coréen-Français, 1880.

2) The use of [ko-doŋ] for a steam-whistle may be a variant of turbo (海螺). The variation process of its meaning may be proved by such a translation as ko-doŋ pu-da for "... blew a turbo (吹海螺)," a phrase in the *Kan-shin bun-kan* 漢清文鑑.

3) J. S. Gale: Korean-English Dictionary, 3rd ed., 1931.

bɛŋ-i] means the grey grub (the larva coming out of the ground, usually of the beetle) though pronounced in various districts variously—[kum-bu-ri], [kum-biŋ-i], [kum-bɛŋ-i], [kum-bi-gi], [kum-be-i], [kum-be-dʒi], [kun-be], [kun-bi], etc. The body being slender, round and greyish in colour, the word is used in some districts for a maggot and cutworm. Though the snail and larva differ a great deal in shape, resemblance was probably found in their greyish colour and their slender roundness.

(H) [toŋ-bal-i] This is observed in a small part of (C). [toŋ-bal] is a word for a prop for supporting an article. This was used for the snail probably on account of its appearance with its body and shell supported as if with a prop.

(I) [ʈʈal-lɛ-bi] This is observed only in a small part of (A), but its meaning has not been ascertained.<sup>1)</sup>

The foregoing general survey of the various dialects for the snail has shown that (A) [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] means a hanging top; (B) [kol-bɛŋ-i] a shell top; (C) [ol-bɛŋ-i] a mud-snail; (D) [hal-ma go-doŋ] a turbo looking like an old woman; (E) [mu-daŋ] a temple-maid; (F) [mun-dui] a leper; (G) [kum-bɛŋ-i] a grey grub; (H) [toŋ-bal-i] a prop; [ʈʈal-lɛ-bi] unknown;—all these words, you have seen, were applied to snails as metaphors based on the characteristics of snails. Of all these metaphors, the one most widely found in the past literature and the most extensively distributed in the present dialects is the [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] type. It is not too much to say that [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] is the representative of the Korean terms for the snail. And remembering [p'ɛŋ-i] in the word [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] means a top ([bɛŋ-i] in the words [kol-bɛŋ-i], [ol-bɛŋ-i] means the same thing), it will be seen that in the idea of the Korean word for the snail, the idea of a top is by far the most prominent in it.

Since the term [tal-p'ɛŋ-i] was suggested by the top, this metaphoric word must be considered to have originated after the popularization of the toy called top. In deciding this, the genesis of the toy in Korean history has to be investigated,

1) At some points on the coast of (C), a small dragon-fly is called [ʈʈʈal-la-bi].

but I am of the opinion that it was introduced from China. The reason why the top is called "ko-ma" in Japan, is supposed to be due to introduction from Koma, the ancient title of Korea.<sup>1)</sup> In view of this fact, the Korean words [tal-p'εŋ-i], [kol-bεŋ-i], [ol-bεŋ-i] which contain [p'εŋ-i] and [bεŋ-i] have to be regarded as words coined later than the introduction of the top (ko-ma) to Korea. However, it is a fact that the snail had existed even before the introduction of the top. If so, there must have been some original words for snail, which were interchangeable with [tal-p'εŋ-i], [kol-bεŋ-i] and [ol-bεŋ-i].

However, in addition to these words above-cited containing [p'εŋ-i] and [bεŋ-i], it is true, there are such other words for snail as [hal-ma go-don], [to-rε-gi], [sɔ-ri], which have a limited distribution and somehow smell of modern origin. There must have existed an ancient Korean word meaning the snail, and which was not a term of simile. I am of the opinion that this word is found in the expression [ol-bεŋ-i] now used in a small part of (K). Now, [ol-bεŋ-i], as has been discussed previously, is composed of [ol] and [bεŋ-i]. [bεŋ-i] was no doubt added through as analogy from [p'εŋ-i] and [bεŋ-i] in [tal-p'εŋ-i] and [kol-bεŋ-i]; greater importance is to be found in [ol], the initial part. And this [ol] must be related to [u-roŋ-i], [u-rɔŋ-i] meaning the mud-snail; furthermore, it may be observed to have some relation with the Manchurian word *buren* (a general term for snail, turbo, etc.), because the [b] sound very often passes into the [u] or [w] sound. Inferring from this fact, I am convinced that the ancient Korean word for snail was [u-roŋ-i], [u-rɔŋ-i], etc., which might be regarded as of the same origin as the Manchurian word, and were no doubt the genuinely Korean name formed prior to the introduction of the top, and not a metaphoric term.

## Section 11. Auxiliary Verbs in Humble Form

Auxiliary verbs in humble form are those placed after verbs and adjectives for the purpose of mentioning to the one addressed the speaker's own action in self-

1) The *Ki-yū shō-ran* 嬉遊笑覽, *Wakun-no-shiori* 倭訓栞, etc.

abasement. In Japanese, “suru 爲る to do” is changed to “shi-masu 爲ます”; and “aru 有る to be” to “ari-masu 有ります”; *masu* in these cases is an auxiliary verb of this kind. The Korean language has exactly the same way of expression. In ordinary speech nowadays, when the word-stem ends in a vowel, -m-nika (in questioning) and -m-nida (in answering) are used; and when the word-stem ends in a consonant, -sùm-nika (in questioning) and -sùm-nida (in answering). For instance, the following are used in answering in the present tense.

- (1) When the stem ends in a vowel: ha-m-nida (the humble form of to do, Jap. shi-masu 爲ます); ka-m-nida (the humble form of to go, Jap. yuki-masu 行きます); and po-m-nida (the humble form of to see, Jap. mi-masu 見ます).
- (2) When the stem ends in a consonant: is-sùm-nida (the humble form of to be, Jap. ari-masu 有ります); mok-sùm-nida (the humble form of to eat, Jap. tabe-masu 食べます); and op-sùm-nida (the humble form of not to be, Jap. ari-masen 有りません).

As this is a standard expression extensively used and understood, and hardly to be called a dialectal expression, its interpretation will be omitted in the present paper. As dialectal expressions, however, the following may be mentioned.<sup>1)</sup> See Vocabulary p. 141 in the Appendix.

(A) [-oi-da], [-soi-da]:

When the stem ends in a vowel, [-oi-da] is used and when it ends in a consonant, [-soi-da]. In giving examples in the following, ha- (to do, Jap. suru 爲る) is chosen as a word ending in a vowel, and is- (it-) (to be, Jap. aru 有る) as one ending in a consonant.

(a) [-oi-da]

Variants

Distribution

- (1) [ha-oi-da]      part of (G)

1) There are humble forms of questioning, answering, and commanding; only answer forms have been treated here:

- (2) [ha-o-da] small part of (C), and part of (K) (L)  
 (3) [ha-wɛ-da] small part of (N)  
 (4) [ha-u-da] part of (K)  
 (5) [ha-we-da] part of (E) (K) (L) (M)

Though of a very limited distribution, this is rather intensively used in the northern part of Korea. John Ross, the author of "*Korean Speech, with Grammar and Vocabulary*," New Edition, 1882, was a missionary who lived in Manchuria and studied the Korean language under some Koreans from (N). For this reason, his grammar might well be called a grammar of the dialect of North Korea. [-o-da] in his examples such as [ke-si-o-da] (He is at home), [jaŋ-sok i kui-ha-o-da] (Foreign goods are up), etc., must be a record of this [-o-da] of North Korea.

Omission of [-da] means a slight decrease of the feeling of civility. Such are [-wɛ] and [-we] in (1) [ha-wɛ] observed in a small part of (L) and (2) [ha-we] observed in a part of (M) and (N). These are chiefly used by superiors to inferiors. As mentioned above, [-oi] which is only of an exceedingly limited distribution seems to have been used rather extensively until recent years. It is a most common expression in conversation books such as the *Kô-rin su-chi* 交隣須知 and *Rin-go tai-hô* 隣語大方, and the Japanese interpreters on the Japanese side in the early years of the Meiji era are quoted as having used it very frequently.

(b) [-soi-da]:

Variants	Distribution
(1) [is-soi-da]	small part of (E) (G)
(2) [is-so-da]	part of (K) (L), and small part of (C) (H) (N)
(3) [is-so-we-da]	part of (L)
(4) [is-swɛ-da]	part of (N)
(5) [is-sø-da]	part of (N)
(6) [is-su-da]	part of (K) (N), and small part of (M)
(7) [is-su-we-da]	small part of (E)
(8) [is-swe-da]	part of (E) (J) (K) (M) (N)



- (9) [is-sui-da]      small part of (G) (J)  
 (10) [iʃ-fui-da]    small part of (M).  
 (11) [is-si-da]      greater part of (J), and a small part of (G).

The above are distributed chiefly in those districts which use [-oi-da]; only the range of use extends as far as (J), that is, somewhat wider than [-oi-da]. Both [-suda] in [gassuda], the past indicative of the verb gan-da (to go) given in J. MacIntyre: "*Notes on the Korean language*,"<sup>1)</sup> and [-sooda] in [gassooda], the perfect affirmative and also in [gagassooda], the future affirmative of the verb gan-da (to go) in Ross: "*Korean Speech*," are records of [-suda] under (6) in the above list.

Omission of [-da] from [-soi-da] means a slight decrease of civility. Such are [-su-we] and [-fui] in (1) [is-su-we] observed in a part of (J) and (M) and (2) [iʃ-fui] observed in a small part of (M). These are now chiefly used by superiors to inferiors. The geographical distribution of the word, about like that of [-oi] previously discussed, is considerably limited. But it seems to have been used rather extensively until recent years. The *Kô-rin su-chi* 交隣須知 and *Rin-go tai-bô* 隣語大方 both give this expression most commonly, and the interpreters of the earlier years of Meiji are quoted as having used it a great deal. [-se] in [tʃɔ-njɔk ʉn hæ tʃin hu e mɔk-se] (My supper I eat after sunset) in a conversation given in Ross: "*Korean Speech*," may be a transcription of this word.

(B) [-nui-də], [-ni:-də]:

This may be used with the word-stem ending either in a vowel or a consonant. [ha-nui-də] and [in-nui-də] (<is-nui-də) are such instances. Taking ha- (to do, Jap. suru 爲る) as a typical case, its distribution as [ha-nui-də] is in the eastern half of (D) and the southern part of the coast of (H). The more ancient form of this expression was [ha-ni-ŋi-ta], but later changed to [ha-ni-i-ta], and finally to [ha-nui-də] of to-day. I believe that this still retains traces of an old Silla word.

(C) [-m-me-da], [-sùm-me-da]:

A stem ending in a vowel takes [-m-me-da], and a stem ending in a consonant

1) The *China Review*, Vol. VIII, 1879.

takes [-sùm-me-da]. The distribution is as follows.

(a) [-m-me-da]

- (1) [ham-me-da] is observed in the districts north of the central part of (K) and in a part of (L), (M) and (N).
- (2) [ham-mi-da] is observed in a part of (K).

This expression is thus distributed in a part of (M) and (N) around the districts north of the central part of (K). It is the same word as [mmuda] in [gammuda] given as one of the three forms of civility of the present indicative in MACINTYRE: "*Notes on the Korean Language*," and also the same word as [mmooda] in [gammooda], the present affirmative, and in [gariuhammooda] the future affirmative of the verb [ganda] (to go) in Ross: "*Korean Speech*."

Omission of [-da] from [-m-me-da] decreases the feeling of civility. For instance, [ham-me] observed in the greater part of (K) and (N) and a part of (J), (L) and (M) is such a case. It is now a word used chiefly by superiors to inferiors. Its area of distribution is slightly larger than that of [-m-me-da]. [-mme] in [gamme] cited as one of the three forms of civility of the present indicative in MACINTYRE: "*Notes on the Korean Language*", and [-mmê] in [gammê], the present affirmative of the verb [ganda] (to go) in Ross: "*Korean Speech*," are one and the same term.

(b) [-sùm-me-da]

This occurs as in [is-sùm-me-da]. Its geographical distribution is exactly similar to that of [-m-me-da].

Omission of [-da] from [-sùm-me-da] will decrease the feeling of civility. That is, it is used as in [is-sùm-me]; its area of distribution is identical with that of [-mme]. [-seme], [-semme], in [gasseme] given as the past indicative and in [gagasse-mme] given as the future indicative of the verb [ganda] (to go) in MACINTYRE: "*Notes on the Korean Language*," and [-summê] in [gassummê] given as the perfect affirmative and in [gagassummê] given as the future affirmative in Ross: "*Korean Speech*," are words identical with this.

In brief, words of the [-m-me-da] type have become the special dialects peculiar to (K), (L), (M) and (N); but the fact that the Rev. MACINTYRE and ROSS record them is enough to prove their rather ancient origin.

(D) [-m-du (-m-duŋ)], [-sùm-du (-sùm-duŋ)]:

A word ending in a vowel takes [-m-du] or [-m-duŋ], while one ending in a consonant [-sùm-du] or [-sùm-duŋ]. This is used only in questions, and its distribution is as follows.

(a) [-m-du], [-m-duŋ]

(1) [ham-du] observed in a northern part of (L).

(2) [ham-duŋ] observed in a northern part of (L).

(b) [-sùm-du], [-sùm-duŋ]

(1) [is-sùm-du] observed in the same area as [ham-du].

(2) [is-sùm-duŋ] observed in the same area as [ham-duŋ].

## Section 12. Foreign Words

As Korea from ancient times held intimate international relations with the Asiatic Continent on the north and Japan on the south, it imported a good many words from these foreign countries. The foreign words imported are classified here as follows: Chinese, Jurchin, and Manchurian, Mongolian, Russian and Japanese; and chiefly their influence upon the Korean dialects will be discussed briefly.<sup>1)</sup>

### (a) Chinese

Many Chinese words were introduced into Korea from ancient times; some of them were pronounced exactly as the original, while others were rendered into Korean sounds. Though the latter may be regarded as foreign words also, their number is almost unlimited, entirely too large to be mentioned in this connection.

1) For detailed discussion, see S. OGURA: *Chōsen-go ni okeru Gajrai-go* 朝鮮語に於ける外來語 (Foreign Words in the Korean Language), *Gairaigo-kenkyū* 外來語研究 Nos. 3, 4, Vol. II, May, October, 1934; No. 1, Vol. III, Feb., 1935.

This being the case, only those pronounced with Chinese sounds are here treated as foreign words, and their influence upon the dialect speech will be observed.

(1) [pal-gi] This refers to a sort of sleigh used on the snow in mountain regions of (K), (L), (M) and (N). In various regions, it is pronounced [pal-gi], [pal-gu], [pal-gwi]. *pal-go* 跋高 in the *Hoku-sai ki-ryaku* 北塞記略 corresponds to this word, probably derived from *pa-li* 把犁 a Chinese word recorded in the *Yaku-go rui-kai* 譯語類解<sup>1)</sup> and to be traced back to *para, fara*, the Tunguse word<sup>2)</sup>. Insertion of the [g] sound at the middle of a word as in [pal-gi], [pal-gu], [pal-gwi] is a peculiarity of the dialect of (K) and (L) as already discussed on p. 40.

(2) [su-jɔ-dʒa] 快靴子 is read [su-jɔ-dʒa] in the *Yaku-go rui-kai* 譯語類解. There is a kind of ceremonial shoes nowadays used at confucianist festivals called [su-jɔ-dʒa], in some dialects [sɔ-dʒa], [swi-jɔ-dʒa], [swen-dʒa], [sue-dʒa]. Probably these are variants of the modern Chinese word for *hsüeh-tzū* 靴子 (shoes). See also the following item for [hwo].

(3) [hwo] This is the name of shoe made in Chinese style. In some dialects, it is pronounced [hwe], and [hwe-dʒa] with the character 子 affixed. The word is derived from the modern Chinese pronunciation of *hsüeh* 靴 (shoes).

(4) [tʃ'an] In the dialect used in many districts of (L), a ship which can carry about ten people on board is called [tʃ'an] or [tʃ'wan]. It may be the Chinese pronunciation of *ch'uan* 船 (ship).

(5) [mu:t'u] This is an argot for tree used by ginseng collectors<sup>3)</sup> in (K)

1) Published in the 29th year of K'ang-hsi 康熙.

2) L. Adam: Grammaire de la langue Tongouse, 1873. "AM. para, traîneau=MAN. fara."

3) In the mountains of (H), (J), (K), (L), (M) and (N), there live men who make a living collecting mountain ginseng. Before entering mountains, they purify themselves and hold religious services, praying for a plentiful harvest. While engaged in collecting ginseng, they refrain from using the Korean language which they regard as profanity and use a set of argots. Some time ago I had an opportunity to talk to ginseng collectors in (K) and (L) and investigate their secret language. Most of the argots were found to be Chinese and Mongolian. For detailed discussion see S. OGURA: *Hei-an nampoku-dô no hô-gen* 平安南北道の方言 (A Study of the Dialects in North and South P'yông-an-do), Bulletin of the Faculty of Law and Letters, Miscellaneous Series, Vol. I, the Keijô Imperial University, March, 1929; and also *Kankyô-nandô oyobi Kôkaidô no hô-gen* 咸鏡南道及び黄海道の方言 (A Study of the Dialects in Hamgyông-namdo and Hoanghai-do), Ibid., Vol. II, April, 1930.

and (N). It is [mu-t'ou] 木頭 (tree) in modern Chinese.

(6) [to-dʒa] This is another argot for a knife used by ginseng collectors in (K) and (N), which is a corruption of the modern Chinese tiao-tzū 刀子 (small knife).

(7) [tʃwi-t'o] This is still another argot of the ginseng collectors in (K) and (N) for an agricultural tool called [ho-mi] in various districts. It is the modern Chinese ch'u-t'ou 鋤頭 (plough).

### (b) Jurchin, Manchurian

As the Manchus are descendants of the Jurchins, so the Manchurian language is the descendant of the Jurchin. There having been intimate relations between Korea and these peoples, a great many Jurchin and Manchū words have been introduced into the Korean language. Omitting all such words introduced into written language from ancient times, only those which occur in modern Korean dialects will be mentioned here. It must be specially remembered that these words are chiefly used in West or North Korea adjoining Manchuria.

(1) [na-dan] In Kei-gen 慶源 of (L), there is a mountain named 羅端山 (Korean pro., [na-dan-san]). An ancient record says that this name was given because of the seven stones standing in a row on the top of the mountain. [na-dan] is the Manchurian word for seven.

(2) [ʔsaŋ-gɛ] In Kis-shu 吉州 county of (L), there is a place named 雙介院 (Korean pro., [ʔsaŋ-gɛ-wŏn]). It is said that this was chosen because of the fact that fantastic rocks stand in the sea forming a gate and small boats pass under them. [ʔsaŋ-gɛ] is a corruption of the Manchurian word *sangga* (hole).

(3) [tu-man] The Tu-man River 豆滿江 in (L) (Korean pron., [tu-man-gaŋ]) is said to have been so termed because many rivers feed it. [tu-man] in the Manchurian language is *tu-men* 萬 (ten thousand).

(4) [ja-rɛ] A fish living in the rivers of (K), (L), (M) and (N) is called [ja-rɛ], [ja-rui], [ja-ri]. This is probably a word which corresponds to *ya-lu* 鴉嚙 (鮫).

魚 or 鯊 a kind of fish) mentioned among the river fishes recorded in the *San-ho-ch'ieh-yin-ch'ing-wên-chien* 三合切音清文鑑.

(5) [t'an] The *Hoku-sai ki-ryaku* 北塞記略 where it discussed the dialects of North Korea has a passage reading 鳥網曰彈 (A fowler's net is called 彈). 彈 is [t'an] in Korean pronunciation. Even in the present-day dialect of (K), there is a kind of fowler's net called [t'an] or [t'aŋ]. This must be a word derived from *dan* found in such a passage as “*dan*, 打鷗雁的套子” (fowlers net for wild geese) in the *Ch'ing-wên-chien* 清文鑑.

(6) [k'u-ru-mɛ] This refers to a short overcoat worn by the Chinese in winter, and is used in (K), (L), (M) and (N). In some districts it is pronounced [k'u-ru-mɛ], [k'u-ri-mɛ], [ku-ru-mɛ], [k'u-ru-mɛ-gi]; and [hu-ru-mɛ] in Shin-kô 新興 of (K). This probably corresponds to *ku-ru-me* the Manchurian word and *halmy* the Oroton-Tunguse word.<sup>1)</sup>

(7) [ma-u-rɛ] This refers to a winter cap in a Chinese fashion. Though used rather extensively in (L) and (N), it is rarely used in districts comparatively to the south. In some districts, it appears in such forms as [ma-u-rɛ], [ma-u-rɛ-gi], [ma-rɛ-gi]. The Manchurian word *mabara*; mongolisch an der Chinesischen Mauer, *malacha*; Chalcha-mongolish, *malachai*; Buriätisch, *malgai*; Ölötisch in Dsungarien, *malachai*; Ölötisch an der Wolga, *malachai*, *machalai*<sup>2)</sup>—these must be all related to the word.

(8) [o-ro-si] This is a word used only on the boundary districts of (L) and refers to a sort of skin-shoes. [si] may be an abbreviation of [sin] the Korean word—a general term for shoes, straw-sandals, wooden clogs, and all foot-gears; and [o-ro] may be either a corruption of *olongo* the Manchurian word for long shoes (長勒靴), or of 烏拉, 兀刺 in 烏拉履, 兀刺靴 of the same language.

(9) [sa-bu] This is a dialect in Ji-jô 慈城 district in (N) which refers to shoes. It may be a derivative of *sabu* the Manchurian word meaning a sandal.

1 J. KLAPROTH: *Asia polyglotta*, 1823. Pelz, Blustlatz:—Orotong-Tungusen *halmy*, s. 287.

2) Ibid, s. 281.

(10) [to-ro-gi] This is a word used in West and North Korea and refers to a sort of short cow-hide shoes. In some districts, it is pronounced [to-ro-gi], [to-re-gi], [to-rø-gi], [ta-ru-gi]. It is a word identical with 多路岐 (Kor. pron., [ta-ro-gi]) mentioned in the *Hoku-sai ki-ryaku* 北塞記略 and probably related to 察魯黑 given for 鞋 (straw-sandals) under Tartan words 韃韃譯語 in the *Hua-i-i-yü* 華夷譯語.

(11) [no-p'e] Mountain ginseng collectors in West and North Korea have an argot [no-p'e] or [no-p'εy-i] for the bear, which is a corruption of *lefu* the Manchurian. The words given after this down to No. 20 are all argots of the ginseng collectors.

(12) [soŋ-k'u] This refers to a rat, a corruption of *singgeri* (rat) a Manchurian word. In the languages of the Ugro-finnic family, words of the same source as *singgeri* are used.

(13) [ʔsɔk-k'ε] This refers to [ton-p'i] (marten skin or sable), probably a corruption of the Manchurian word *seke* (sable).

(14) [sal-p'i] This refers to a spoon. In some districts, it is pronounced [sal-p'i], [sal-p'u], [sil-p'i]. It is probably a corruption of the Manchurian word *sai-fi* (spoon).

(15) [su-tʃ'ɔŋ-i] This refers to a hatchet. In some districts, it is pronounced [su-tʃ'ɔŋ-i], [sui-tʃ'e], [tʃu-tʃ'ɔŋ-i], probably a corruption of the Manchurian word *sube* (hatchet).

(16) [mo-rε-mi] This refers to boiled rice. Consequently white rice meal is [waŋ mo-rε-mi], and Indian millet meal 粟飯 [so mo-rε-mi]. It is probably a corruption of the Manchurian word *bele* (rice).

(17) [tap-suŋ] This refers to salt. In some districts, it is pronounced [tap-suŋ], [t'ap-sui]. It is a corruption of the Manchurian word *dabsun*: words of this system are extensively distributed in the various Altaic languages.

(18) [ja-sa] This is the Manchurian word *yasa* referring to the eye.

(19) [t'o-ha-ri] This refers to fire, borrowed from the Manchurian word *tua*: words of this type, it seems, are extensively distributed in the various Altaic

languages.

(20) [u-k'e] This refers to water. It is pronounced [u-k'e], [uk-k'i], [uk-he] in some districts. It was probably borrowed from the Manchurian word *muke*.

### (c) Mongolian

Communications between the Korean peninsula and Mongolia date from the reign of the King Kô-sô 高宗 of the Kô-rai 高麗 dynasty in the 13th century; Kô-rai was for some time under the influence of the Yüan 元 dynasty. As a result, a large number of Mongolian words were introduced into Korea, but few are found in the present-day dialects. As Quelpart Island was in ancient times a pasture of the Mongolian Empire, however, black horse is called [ka-ra mɔl], [ka-rɛ mɔl]; a chestnut horse [ku-rɔɨ mɔl]; a red horse [tʃɔk-ta mɔl], [tʃɔk-tɛ mɔl]; and piebald horse [wolla mɔl], [wolle mɔl] etc. Some such terms of Mongolian or Manchurian origin are still preserved there.

### (d) Russian

Since about 1890, Russian influence came to be gradually felt in the Korean peninsula, especially the two provinces (K) and (L) were, as it were, included in the sphere of Russian influence. Consequently until some two decades ago a great many Russian words were found in the Korean dialects, but with the decline of Russian influence these words have gradually gone out of use. A few examples are given below, but even some of them may have become obsolete since.

(1) [ka-rum-da-si], [ka-nun-da-si] The former is used in Ra-nan 羅南 and its vicinity in (K), while the latter is used in Mo-zan 茂山 and Kis-shû 吉州 districts of (L). Both refer to the pencil,—a corruption of the Russian word карандаш (pencil).

(2) [ʔkal-tʃiɨ-gɛ] This means a railway ticket in Ra-nan 羅南 district of (K). It is a derivative of the Russian word карточка (ticket).

(3) [kɔt-toɨ] This is used only in the district to the north of Tan-sen 端川



of (K). It is a corruption of the Russian word *контора* (office).

(4) [kɔ-rü-man] This means a pocket. In some districts it is pronounced [kɔ-rü-man], [kɔ-rü-man-i], [kɔ-ri-man-i], [kɔ-rü-maŋ], [kɔ-rü-maŋ-i], [k'ɔl-la-ni]. Its area of distribution lies to the north of Ei-kô 永興 and Bun-sen 文川 of (K). Moreover, in a certain part of that area, [kɔ-rü-maŋ] is used for a satchel. It is a corruption of the Russian word *карман* (pocket).

(5) [kol-lo-si] In some districts it is pronounced like [kol-lo-sin]. It is used extensively in the districts to the north of Am-pen 安邊 and Toku-gen 德源 of (K). It refers to rubber-shoes, but the article and the name are being fast forgotten. [kol-lo-si] probably is a transcription of the Russian word *галопи*, the plural form of *галопи* (rubber-shoe). [sin] the ending of [kol-lo-sin] may be a variant of *sin* the Korean word for foot-gear affixed through association of meaning.

(6) [me-dü-re] This refers to the bucket—a word used only in the districts to the north of Ri-gen 利原 and Tan-sen 端川 of (K), and a corruption of *ведро*.

(7) [ma-sɔn] This is a word meaning a sewing-machine used only in the districts to the north of Kan-kô 咸興 and Tei-hei 定平 of (K). In the districts to the south of these points, [tʃa-boŋ-tʃ'im], [tʃa-baŋ-tʃ'im], [tʃɛ-baŋ-t'ul] and other Korean words are used for it. [ma-sɔn] is a corruption of the Russian word *машина*, not that of the Japanese *mishin* (<Eng. machine) as proved by the fact that [ma-sɔn] is used only in North Korea.

(8) [mu-du-gɛ] This is pronounced [mu-duk-kɛ] also in some districts. It means the beer bottle and is used only in the districts to the north of Tan-sen 端川 in (K). A corruption of the Russian word *бутылка*.

(9) [pi-dʒi-gɛ] This is pronounced [pi-dʒik-kɛ] also in some districts. It means a match and most commonly used in the districts to the north of Kô-gen 洪原 in (K). It is a corruption of the Russian word *спичка* (plural *спички*).

(10) [pɔl-do] This is used in the districts to the north of Tan-sen 端川 in (K). It means an overcoat 外套—a corruption of the Russian word *пальто*.

(11) [sa-ba-gwi] This is pronounced [sa-ba-gui] or [sa-ba-gi] in some districts,

and used only in the districts to the north of Ri-gen 利原 and Tan-sen 端川 of (K). It refers to long boots,—a corruption of the Russian word сапог (plur. сапоги).

(12) [sap-kwε] This is pronounced [sak-kε] or [sak-kwε] also in some districts. It refers to a hat, and is used in a district north of Kan-kô 咸興 in (K) and a part of (N). It is a corruption of the Russian word шапка.

(13) [hul-le-ba-ri] This was observed in the neighbourhood of Gen-zan 元山, though its distribution is unknown. It means bread or sponge-cake. It may be a corruption of the Russian word хлеб (bread).

### (e) Japanese

Although a large number of Japanese words must have been borrowed from ancient times, we do not come across many in writings. Some occurring in the present-day dialects will be enumerated here.

(1) [dʒan-ken-poi] This shout to mark time in a toss-up has been borrowed entire exactly as it is pronounced in Japanese. It is a word used by children.

(2) [hi:ro] This is a general term for cigarettes, used in the greater part of (K) and (L), and in Ji-jô 慈城 and Kô-shô 厚昌 districts of (N). It is pronounced [hi:ro] in Am-pen 安邊 and Shin-kô-zan 新高山 districts of (K); and [si:ro] in Fu-kyo 富居 district of (L). This is used mostly by old people, and is being forgotten by the general people. The word dates from the introduction of the *bi:ro* ヒーロ (<Eng. hero), one of the Japanese cigarettes manufactured and sold in the Meiji era.

(3) [hu-gu-me] A winter cap covering the whole face and exposing the eyes only. It is also pronounced like [hu-gu-mi], [hu-gu-man]. It seems to be used in the greater part of (K) and (L), and in a small part of (J). I am of the opinion that it is a corruption of the Japanese word *fuku-men* 覆面 (to cover the face).

(4) [ke-da] This refers to *geta* 下駄 (wooden clogs worn by the Japanese). It is also pronounced [ke-da], [kε-da], [ke-dʒa], [kja-da], [ke-dal], [ke-dal-i], [ken-ta], [ket-ta], [kjo-dʒa], [ki-da], [kit-ta]. But [ke-da] is the most widely distributed.

(5) [ki-sa-mi] This is also pronounced [tʃi-sa-mi]. It is *kizami* the Japanese word (cut),—an abbreviation of *kizami-tabako* (cut tobacco).

(6) [ko-gu-ma] This refers to sweet potatoes. In some dialects the word is pronounced [kam-dʒa], [kam-dʒe], [ho kam-dʒa], [ti-gwa], but [ko-gu-ma] and its variants [ko-gu-mæ] and [ku-gu-ma] are most widely distributed. It is a corruption of *Kô-kô-imo* 孝行薯 (dutiful child's potatoes) in the dialect of Tsushima Island. On the occasion of Ieharu Tokugawa's succession to the Shogunate, the Korean court sent a messenger to Japan to congratulate him in the 28th year of Ch'ien-lun 乾隆 (1763 A. D.), and the messenger brought this potato from Tsushima Island and spread it throughout the peninsula.<sup>1)</sup>

(7) [ko-mu sin] This refers to rubber-shoes; [ko-mu] (<Eng. gum) being rubber, and [sin] foot-gear. It is used in various districts of Korea.

(8) [ku-du] This refers to shoes (靴 Jap. *kutsu*). Though pronounced [ku-du] generally in all Korea, it is [kû-dʒu] in the greater part of (K) and (L).

(9) [ku-ru-ma] 車 Jap. *kuruma* which means wheel, carriage. It is pronounced [ku-ru-mæ] in some districts.

(10) [me-da-si] This refers to the same article as [hu-gu-me] under No. 3. It is observed only in a part of (K). It probably came from Jap. *medasbi* 目出し (exposing the eyes). Even to-day in the greater part of (J) and in a small part of (K), there are used such words as [mok-tʃ'ul mo] which is the Korean pronunciation of the word 目出帽 (eye-exposing cap) and [mok-tʃ'ul mo-dʒa] which is the literal pronunciation of the characters 目出帽子 (eye-exposing cap). Moreover, the same article is called [a-ma-wi] in (G), and [t'ol mo-dʒa], [t'ol pɔŋ-ɔ-dʒi] (all these mean wool-caps) in some parts of (K).

(11) [nam-p'ŏ] A corruption of Jap. *rampu* ランプ (<Eng. lamp). It is a word introduced a great many years ago.

1) See S. OGURA: *Kansho wo arawasu Chôsen-hôgen no Bumpu to sono Yurai* 甘薯を表はす朝鮮方言の分布と其の由來 (The Distribution and Origin of the Korean Dialects for Sweet Potato), *Nan-tô ron-sô* 南島論叢, published in commemoration of Mr. Fuyû Iha's 61st birthday, July, 1937.

(12) [no-ri-ka-e] Jap. *Nori-kae* 乗換 (changing cars) used of trains and electric cars.

(13) [paŋ] Jap. *pan* 麵包 (bread) (<Port. pão). Jap. *Man-jū* 饅頭 (bun) is sometimes called [paŋ-ɾɔk] ([ɾɔk] being rice-cake).

(14) [sa-bun] Soap is generally called [pi-no], [pi-nu], [pi-nul], [pi-nul] in various districts, but in a part of (C) and (D), it is called [sa-bun]—a corruption of Jap. *shabon* シヤボン (<Port. sabaõ).

(15) [sa-si] Jap. *saji* 匙 (spoon). A word introduced a great many years ago.

(16) [sap-po] Jap. *bôshi* 帽子 (cap, hat) is commonly called [mo-dza] (the literal pronunciation of the characters 帽子), but at various points in (E) [sap-po] was observed. It is a corruption of Jap. *shappo* シヤツポ (<Fr. chapeau) and now seems a word out of fashion.

(17) [su-gu mok] Jap. *sugi-no-ki* 杉の木 (cryptomeria) is generally called [sam na-mu] ([sam] being the Korean pronunciation of the character 杉 (cryptomeria) and [na-mu] a tree) or [ik-kal na-mu], but in Uru-san 蔚山 district of (C) [su-gu mok] was observed. [su-gu] is probably a corruption of *sugi* the Japanese for the cryptomeria; [mok] being the Chinese 木 (tree).

(18) [ta-bi] Jap. *tabi* 足袋 (sock) the Japanese wear is called (a) [pɔ-sɔn], [pɔ-son], [pɔ-sun], [pɔ-sin], (which refer to the genuine Korean sock); and (b) [jaŋ-mal] which is the literal pronunciation of 洋襪 (foreign stocking) or [jaŋ-bal] ([bal] a corruption of [mal]; stockings being worn on feet (pal), [bal] was used through association). However, the Japanese word [ta-bi] or [tɛ-bi] a corruption is used rather extensively in the land.

(19) [tam-bɛ] This refers to tobacco. Introduction of tobacco into Korea requires an elaborate inquiry. But this word probably is a corruption of the Japanese *tabako*.

(20) [ten-ma] The name for a small boat which is plied in sea-ports seems to be descended from four sources.

(a) [ɾkɔl-lɔk tʃɛŋ-i] is observed in Ka-tô 河東 district of (C).

(b) [ko-mɛŋ-i], [ku-mɛŋ-i] The former is observed in Rei-sui 麗水 district of (A), and the latter in Ka-tô 河東 district of (C).

(c) [mɛ-sɛ-i], [mɛ-sɔŋ] The former is observed in a part of the west coast of (J), and the latter in Kô-kei 江景 district<sup>1)</sup> of (E).

(d) [ten-ma] It is obvious that [ten-ma] is based upon the Japanese word *ten-ma* 傳馬 (boat). The following variants are observed in different districts.

(1) [ten-ma] This is observed on the coast of (A), (C), (D), (E), (H) and (J).

(2) [tɔm-bɛ], [tem-bɛ] These are observed in Kô-shin 康津 district of (A).

[-bɛ] under (2) may be the Korean word [pɛ] which means a ship in the Korean language. The original was [ma], but [m] and [p(b)] being interchangeable, and also through an association of the ship, [ma] was probably changed to [pɛ(bɛ)].

(21) [tʃɔk-ki] Jap. *Chokki* チヨツキ (waist-coat) (<Eng. jacket).

(22) [ju-ri] The name for the lily are of several types:—(a) [pɛk-hap (ʔkot)]<sup>2)</sup>; (b) [hoŋ-ap (ʔkot)], (c) [mol-mɛŋ-i], (d) [na-ri (ʔkot)], [na-rɛ (ʔkot)], (e) [kɛ-na-ri (ʔkot)], (f) [na-bal (ʔkot)], [na-p'al (ʔkot)]. In Uru-san 蔚山 district of (C), however, [ju-ri] is observed, which is no doubt the Japanese word *yuri* 菖蒲.

### Section 13. Demarcations of the Korean Dialects

As the study of dialectology most recently developed has shown, the area of a dialect can never be marked with a simple line, but it makes a zone. As to the areas of the Korean dialects, a similar statement may be made, and it is exceedingly difficult to determine their boundaries definitely. Sometimes geographical terms are used in connection with differentiating dialects, as such and such province dialects. However, it goes without saying that jurisdiction and the dialectal boundary do not always coincide. The thorough-going study of the Korean dialects still

1) [ma-sɔŋ], [mɛ-sɛŋ-i], [maŋ-jɛ] of the [mɛ-sɛ-i] or [mɛ-sɔŋ] type refer to a ferry-boat or canoe on a river in the mountain dialects of (J), (K), (L), (M) and (N).

2) [pɛk-hap] is a literal pronunciation of 百合, [hoŋ-hap] probably a literal pronunciation of 紅合 (?); [na-ri], [na-rɛ] come from the [nal-la-ri] 太平簫 a sort of trumpet; [kɛ-na-ri] a combination of [kɛ] and [na-ri], [kɛ] being "a dog" or "coarse and large", [na-bal], [na-p'al] being a trumpet. [ʔkot] present at the endings of many words mean 花 (flowers).

leaves much to be achieved in the light of further investigation. In attempting to determine their areas, therefore, the writer may be criticized as being too hasty. Based upon the various instances mentioned in the foregoing and also upon the many others omitted in the foregoing, the writer wishes to explain the actual state of the dialectal boundaries which exist in the various districts of Korea, and further discuss the areas over which the Korean dialects extend, and thereby contribute to the future study in this field.

### 1. Demarcation between the Kei-shô-dô 慶尙道 Dialect and the Kô-gen-dô 江原道 Dialect

(D) and (H) adjoin each other, with four counties—Ei-toku 盈德, Ei-yô 英陽, Hô-ka 奉化, and Ei-shû 榮州, on the (D) side, and the three counties—Uru-chin 蔚珍, San-choku 三陟, and Nei-etsu 寧越 on the (H) side composing the borderline. Now, for the purpose of testing to what extent the borderland of the so-called Kei-shô 慶尙 dialect and the Kô-gen 江原 dialect coincides with the administrative borderland of the two provinces, the writer will proceed to compare the local peculiarities with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar observed in the above-mentioned counties, and also at four more points specially chosen for the purpose—Ei-shû 榮州 from (D) and Hei-kai 平海 (Uru-chin 蔚珍 County), Kô-ryô 江陵 and Hei-shô 平昌 from (H), and thereby illustrate the manner of their distribution.

#### (a) Pronunciation

	Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Ei-toku	Hei-kai	Uru-chin
	ø (外) (outside)	wé	we	we	we
	tʃ'am-ø (common melon)	—wi	—wi	—we	—wi
	sø (iron)	ʔswe	swe	swe	swe
	p'jo (ticket)	p'ô	p'ô	p'ô	p'ô
	tɔ-wɔ- (being hot)	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-bɔ-	tɔ-bɔ-	tɔ-wa-, tɔ-bɔ-
	mɛ-wɔ- (being peppery)	mɛ-wa-	mɛ-ba-	mɛ-ba-	mɛ-wa-
	Kei-jô	San-choku	Kô-ryô	Hei-shô	Nei-etsu
	ø (外) (outside)	ø	ø	ø	ø

tʃ'am-ø (common melon)	—ø	—ø	?	?
sø (iron)	sø	sø	?	?
p'jo (ticket)	p'ø, p'ë	p'ø	?	?
tɔ-wɔ- (being hot)	tɔ-wa-	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-
mɛ-wɔ- (being peppery)	mɛ-wa-	mɛ-wa-	mɛ-wɔ-	mɛ-wɔ-

A glance at the foregoing will suffice to show that the pronunciation in San-choku, Kô-ryô, Hei-shô and Nei-etsu districts is almost identical with that of the Kei-jô district and is widely different from that of Ei-shû, Ei-toku, Hei-kai and Uru-chin districts.

## (b) Vocabulary

	Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Ei-toku	Hei-kai	Uru-chin
1. ip-sal (lip)	ip-sal	ip-sul	{ ip-su-buri ip-su-guri	ip-su-bul	ip-su-bul
2. jɔ-ho (fox)	jɔ-ho	jɔk-kwɛŋ-i	jɛ-su	ja-su, jɔk-kɛŋ-i	jɔk-kɛŋ-i
3. ka-e (near by)	ka-e	ka-e, ka-se	ka-se	ka-e	ka-se
4. ka-ül (autumn)	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül, ka-sil	ka-ül, ka-sil	ka-ül
5. ki:m mɛnda (to weed)	tʃi:sim mɛnda	tʃi:sim mɛnda	tʃi:sim mɛnda	tʃi:sim mɛnda	tʃi:sim mɛnda
6. ku-ju (manger)	tʃuk-t'ɔŋ	tʃuk-t'ɔŋ	tʃuk-t'ɔŋ	swe-t'ɔŋ	sø-t'ɔŋ
7. ok-susu (Indian corn)	kaŋ-naŋ	kaŋ-naŋ	kaŋ-naŋ	kaŋ-naŋ	kaŋ-nɛŋ-i
8. pjɔ (unhulled rice)	na-rak	na-rak	na-rak	na-rak	na-rak
9. u-bak (hail)	ju-ri	ju-ri	ju-ri	ju-ri	nu-ri

	Kei-jô	San-choku	Kô-ryô	Hei-shô	Nei-etsu
1. ip-sal (lip)	ip-sal	ip-sul	ip-sul-gi	ip-sul	ip-sul
2. jɔ-ho (fox)	jɔ-ho	jɔk-kɛŋ-i	jɔk-kɛŋ-i	jɔ-u, jɔk-kɛŋ-i	jɔ-u, jɔk-kɛŋ-i
3. ka-e (near by)	ka-e	ka-e	ka-e	?	?
4. ka-ül (autumn)	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül, ka:l	ka-ül, ka:l
5. ki:m mɛnda (to weed)	tʃi:m mɛnda	tʃi:m mɛnda	tʃi:m mɛnda	tʃi:m mɛnda	tʃi:m mɛnda
6. ku-ju (manger)	kuŋ-i	kuŋ-i	kuŋ-i	kwi-juŋ	kwi-juŋ
7. ok-susu (Indian corn)	ok-tekki	ok-tekki	ok-sikki	?	?
8. pjɔ (unhulled rice)	pe, na-rak	pe, na-rak	pe	pe	pe
9. u-bak (hail)	nu-ri	nu-ri	nu-ri	?	?

No. 1 is an example showing whether or not [b] occurs at the middle of the word (see p. 33). From No. 2 down to No. 5 are examples showing whether or not [s] occurs at the middle of the word (see p. 28). No. 6 is a comparison of the [tʃuk-t'ɔŋ] or [sø-t'ɔŋ] type and the [ku-ju] type. No. 7 is a comparison of the [ok-susu] type and the [kaŋ-nam] type (see p. 50.) No. 8 is

the [pjɔ] type and the [na-rak] type (see p. 48). No. 9 is a comparison of [ju-ri] and [nu-ri]. A glance at these will show that Ei-shû, Ei-toku, Hei-kai, and Uru-chin, on the whole, make a group, and San-choku, Hei-shô and Nei-etsu another.

(c) Grammar

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Ei-toku	Hei-kai	Uru-chin
ham-ni-da	ha-ni:-də	ha-ni:-də	ha-ni:-də	ha-ni:-də
Kei-jô	San-choku	Kô-ryô	Hei-shô	Nei-etsu
ham-ni-da	—	—	—	—

For the [-m-ni-da] type in Kei-jô speech as in [ham-ni-da] (Jap. *shi-masu* 爲ます the humble form of to do) and [kam-ni-da] (Jap. *yuki-masu* 行きます the humble form of to go), only Ei-shû, Ei-toku, Hei-kai and Uru-chin districts have the [-ni:-də] form as in [ha-ni:-də] and [ka-ni:-də] (see p. 65, and p. 142 in the Appendix). No such form exists at San-choku, Kô-ryô, Hei-shô and Nei-etsu.

The manner of distribution of the dialects on the borderland of (D) and (H), when investigated in three aspects—pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar,—on the whole, evinces two groups of dialects—one composed of Ei-shû, Ei-toku, Hei-kai and Uru-chin and the other composed of San-choku, Kô-ryô, Hei-shô and Nei-etsu. The perfect identity of the dialect of Hei-kai and Uru-chin on the southern coast of (H) and of that of the northern part of (D) may appear strange at first sight, but it is due to the exceedingly intimate communications and economic relations between those districts of (H) and the various districts of (D). In brief, the border of the dialects of (D) and (H) may be said to lie, not along the administrative border, but along the boundary between the counties Ei-shû, Hô-ka, Ei-yô and Uru-chin, on the one hand, and the counties Nei-etsu and San-choku on the other.

2. Demarcation between the Kei-shô-dô 慶尙道 Dialect and the Zen-ra-dô 全羅道 Dialect

Nan-kai 南海, Ka-tô 河東, Kan-yô 咸陽 and Kyo-shô 居昌 have been taken as the points of reference in (C), and Rei-sui 麗水, Jun-fen 順天, Kyû-rei 求禮, Nan-



gen 南原, Um-pô 雲峰, Chô-sui 長水 and Mo-shu 茂朱 as those in (A) and (B); and the dialects have been observed as to their pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. The presence of the [s] sound in these dialects as shown below

Kei-jô	Nan-kai	Ka-tô	Kan-yô	Kyo-shô	Rei-sui	Jun-ten
ku-ju (manger)	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-si-ge	ka-si-ge	ka-si-ge	ka-si-ge	ka-si-ge	ka-si-ge
neŋ-i (shepherd's purse)	na-seŋ-i	ne-san-i	na-sũŋ-ge	na-su-reŋ-i	ne-san-i	na-suŋ-ge
mu-u (radish)	mu-si	mu-si	mu-si	mu-si	mu-si	mu-si
jɔ-u (fox)	jɔ-su	jɔ-su	jɔ-su	jɔ-su	jɔ-su	jɔ-su
ka-ul (autumn)	ka-sil	ka-sil	ka-sil	ka-sil	ka-sil	ka-sil

Kei-jô	Kyû-rei	Nan-gen	Um-pô	Chô-sui	Mo-shu
ku-ju (manger)	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-si-ge	ka-se	{ka-si-ge ka-se	ka-se	ka-se
neŋ-i (shepherd's purse)	na-sũŋ-ge	na-suŋ-ge	na-sũŋ-ge	na-sũŋ-ge	na-siŋ-ge
mu-u (radish)	mu-si	mu-si	mu-si	mu-si	mu-si
jɔ-u (fox)	jɔ-si	jɔ-si	jɔ-si	jɔ-si	jɔ-su
ka-ul (autumn)	ka-sil	ka-sil	ka-sil	ka-sil	ka-sil

which is absent in Kei-jô speech<sup>1)</sup>; and the absence of, in any one of these dialects, the auxiliary verbs in humble form as [ha-oi-da], [is-soi-da]<sup>2)</sup>, [ha-nũi-də]<sup>3)</sup>, [ham-me-da], [is-sũm-me-da]<sup>4)</sup> which are present in other provinces; and the remarkable frequency of the same kind of vocabulary prove that there is no dialectal difference to be observed on the borderland of these two provinces, is it true; but there are also some dialect words which show a rather complicated distribution along the borderline. These peculiarities will be investigated below with reference to three aspects—pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

#### (a) Pronunciation

(i) The sound formerly represented by “.” in the *Ōn-mun* is now represented by [a] or [o], or sometimes [ɔ] or [ɛ] as previously stated.<sup>5)</sup> A glance at their distribution will be given below.

1) See p. 28, the paragraph under ž.

2) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 65, 142 in the Appendix.

4) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

5) See p. 20.

Kei-jō	Nan-kai	Ka-tō	Kan-yō	Kyo-shō	Rei-sui	Jun-ten
mal (horse)	mal	mal	mal	mal	mol	mal, mol
mak-ta (clear)	{mak-ta mok-ta	mok-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta	mok-ta	mak-ta
ʔpan-da (lick)	ʔpon-da	ʔpon-da	ʔpan-da	ʔpan-da	ʔpan-da	ʔpon-da
pak-tʃwi (bat)	ʔpol-tʃi,	ʔpol-tʃi	ʔpok-tʃi	ʔpol-tʃwi	ʔpok-tʃu	pok-tʃwi
p'at (red bean)	p'ot	p'ot	p'ot	p'at	p'ot	p'ot
p'al (elbow)	p'ol	p'ol	p'ol	p'al	p'ol	p'ol
p'a-ri (fly)	p'o-ri	p'o-ri	p'o-ri	p'a-ri	p'o-ri	p'o-ri
nam (other person)	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm
pɔl (numerative of suits of clothes)	pul	pol	pul	pul	pol	pɔl
t'ɔk (jaw)	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	t'ɛk

Kei-jō	Kyū-rei	Nan-gen	Um-pō	Chō-sui	Mo-shu
mal (horse)	mal	mal, mol	mal	mal	mal
mak-ta (clear)	mok-ta	{mak-ta mok-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta
ʔpan-da (lick)	ʔpan-da	ʔpan-da	ʔpan-da	ʔpan-da	ʔpan-da
pak-tʃwi (bat)	pok-tʃu	ʔpok-tʃwi	ʔpok-tʃu	ʔpak-tʃwi	ʔpak-tʃu
p'at (red bean)	p'ot	p'ot	p'ot	p'at, p'ot	p'at
p'al (elbow)	p'ol	p'ol	p'ol	p'al p'ol	p'al
p'a-ri (fly)	p'o-ri	p'o-ri	p'o-ri	p'a-ri, p'o-ri	p'a-ri
nam (other person)	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm
pɔl (numerative of suits of clothes)	pol	pɔl	pol	pɔl	pɔl
t'ɔk (jaw)	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	t'ɛk

As a glance at the above shows, [o] is present in the greater part of the borderland and [a] in the northern districts; no line of demarcation in pronunciation may be drawn between (CD) and (AB).

(ii) While the speech of (G) is not made with the “toin-siot” sound, that of these districts is often made with it.

Kei-jō	Nan-kai	Ka-tō	Kan-yō	Kyo-shō	Rei-sui	Jun-ten
ka-dʒi (egg-plant)	ʔka-dʒi	ʔka-dʒi	ʔka-dʒi	ʔka-dʒi	ʔka-dʒi	ʔka-dʒi
kɛ-go-ri (frog)	ʔkɛ-go-ri	ʔkɛ-go-ri	ʔkɛ-gu-ri	ʔkɛ-gu-ri	ʔkɛ-go-ri	ʔkɛ-o-rak-tʃi
kas-sin (leather shoe)	ʔka-dʒuk-sin	ʔkat-tʃ'in	ʔ	ʔ	ʔkal-tʃ'in	ʔ
kweŋ-i (hoe)	ʔkɛŋ-i	ʔkɛŋ-i	ʔkɛŋ-i	ʔkɛŋ-i	ʔkɛŋ-i	ʔkweŋ-i
pʃɔŋ-ari (chicken)	ʔpi-gɛŋ-i	ʔpi-gɛŋ-i	ʔpi-ga-ri	{pi-ga-ri pi-gɛ-i	ʔpi-gɛŋ-i	ʔpi-gɛŋ-i
pak-tʃwi (bat)	ʔpol-tʃi	ʔpol-tʃi	ʔpok-tʃi	ʔpol-tʃwi	ʔpok-tʃu	pok-tʃwi
hʃɔ (tongue)	ʔse	ʔse	ʔse	ʔse	ʔsi	se
si-gol (native place)	si-gol	ʔsi-gol	si-gol	ʔ	si-gol	si-gol
su-su (dhurra)	su-si	ʔsu-si	su-si	su-si	ʔsu-si	su-si
su-jɔm (moustache)	swi-jɔm	ʔsi-jɔm	sɛ-jɔm	ʔ	ʔsu-jɔm	swi-jɔm
sal-gu (almond)	sal-gu	ʔsal-gu	sal-gu	sal-gu	sal-gu	sal-gu

Kei-jô	Kyû-rei	Nan-gen	Um-pô	Chô-sui	Mo-shu
ka-dzi (egg-plant)	ʔka-dzi	ʔka-dzi	ʔka-dzi	ʔka-dzi	ʔka-dzi
ke-go-ri (frog)	ʔke-go-rak-tʃi	ʔke-go-rak-tʃi	ʔke-go-ri	ʔke-go-ri	ʔke-go-ri
kas-sin (leather shoe)	ʔkat-tʃin	ʔkat-tʃin	ʔkat-tʃin	ʔkas-sin	ʔkat-tʃin
kweŋ-i (hoe)	ʔkweŋ-i	ʔkweŋ-i	ʔkeŋ-i	ʔkweŋ-i	ʔkweŋ-i
piŋ-ari (chicken)	ʔpiŋ-ari	{ ʔpi-e-gi ʔpiŋ-ari	ʔpiŋ-ari	ʔpiŋ-ari	ʔpiŋ-ari
pak-tʃwi (bat)	pok-tʃu	ʔpok-tʃwi	ʔpok-tʃu	ʔpak-tʃwi	ʔpak-tʃu
hjo (tongue)	se	sɔ	se	se	se
si-gol (native place)	si-gol	si-gol	si-gol	si-gol	si-gol
su-su (dhurra)	ʔsu-si	ʔsu-si	ʔsu-si	ʔsu-si	ʔsu-su
su-jɔm (moustache)	swi-jɔm	swi-jɔm	swi-jɔm	swi-jɔm	swi-jɔm
sal-gu (almond)	sal-gu	sal-gu	sal-gu	sal-gu	sal-gu

This peculiarity is rather extensively observed in (AB) and (CD) as well as the borderland; but very rarely in the north-eastern part of (D). On the other hand, the most typical presence of this peculiarity in Ka-tô 河東 district shows that this kind of pronunciation probably originated from the district.

(iii) The spelling ㅅ is pronounced as follows.<sup>1)</sup>

Kei-jô	Nan-kai	Ka-tô	Kan-yô	Kyo-shô	Rei-sui	Jun-ten
ø (cucumba)	e	e	we	we	ʔ	ʔ
ø (outside)	we	e	ɛ	ʔ	ø	ø
kø-gi (meat)	ke-gi	ke-gi	ke-gi	ke-gi	kø-gi	kø-gi
sø (iron)	ʔse	ʔse	se	ʔse	sø	sø
øn-da (to recite)	o-un-da	ʔ	e-un-da	e-un-da	ʔ	ʔ

Kei-jô	Kyû-rei	Nan-gen	Um-pô	Chô-sui	Mo-shu
ø (cucumba)	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
ø (outside)	ø	ø	e, ø	ø	ø
kø-gi (meat)	kø-gi	kø-gi	kø-gi	kø-gi	kø-gi
sø (iron)	sø	sø	sø	sø	sø
øn-da (to recite)	øn-da	øn-da	øn-da	øn-da	øn-da

The boundary of [e] and [ø] here approximately coincides with the boundary of (AB) and (C). The presence of [e] at Um-pô is probably due to the influence of the (C) dialect.

(iv) The spelling ㅄ is pronounced as follows.

1) See p. 22.

Kei-jô 궑kwɔŋ (pheasant)	Nan-kai 궑kwɔŋ	Ka-tô 궑kɔŋ	Kan-yô 궑koŋ	Kyo-shô 궑koŋ	Rei-sui 궑koŋ	Jun-ten 궑kwɔŋ
Kei-jô 궑kwɔŋ (pheasant)	Kyû-rei 궑kwɔŋ	Nan-gen 궑kwɔŋ	Um-pô 궑koŋ	Chô-sui 궑kwɔŋ	Mo-shu 궑kwɔŋ	

[궑koŋ] observed at Rei-sui and Um-pô is due to the influence of the (C) dialect.

(v) The sound ɲ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô tʃwi (rat)	Nan-kai tʃi	Ka-tô tʃi	Kan-yô tʃi	Kyo-shô tʃi	Rei-sui tʃwi	Jun-ten ʔ
Kei-jô tʃwi (rat)	Kyû-rei tʃwi	Nan-gen tʃwi	Um-pô tʃwi	Chô-sui tʃwi	Mo-shu tʃwi	

The boundary between [i] and [wi] here coincides with that of (AB) and (C). A glance at the above-mentioned phonetic peculiarities shows that, in (ii), (iii) and (iv), the (AB) dialect is to a degree influenced by the (CD) dialect.

(vi) At those points in Jun-ten 順天, Kyû-rei 求禮, Nan-gen 南原, Chô-sui 長水 and Mo-shû 茂朱 counties in (A) and (B), which adjoin (CD), an accent peculiar to (CD) is observed.

(b) Vocabulary

Words peculiar to South Korea and in common with (AB) and (CD) are naturally numerous and therefore are not mentioned here. Only a few considered interesting in their way distribution are cited.

Kei-jô a-dʒi-raŋ-i (gossamer)	Nan-kai a-dʒi-raŋ-i	Ka-tô sam-sɛ-mi	Kan-yô a-dʒi-raŋ-i	Kyo-shô { a-dʒi-raŋ-i sam-sɛ-mi	Rei-sui a-dʒi-raŋ-i	Jun-ten a-dʒi-raŋ-i
tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ (lark)	궑pi-궑tʃuk-sɛ	{ tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ no-gu-dʒo-ri	tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ	no-gu-dʒo-ri	tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ	tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ
Kei-jô a-dʒi-raŋ-i (gossamer)	Kyû-rei sam-sɛ-mi	Nan-gen a-dʒi-raŋ-i	Um-pô a-dʒi-raŋ-i	Chô-sui a-dʒi-raŋ-i	Mo-shu a-dʒi-raŋ-i	
tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ (lark)	no-go-dʒi-ri	no-gu-dʒi-ri	no-gu-dʒo-ri	tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ	tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ	

[a-dʒi-raŋ-i] is a word generally used in (CD) as well as (AB); [sam-sɛ-mi] is used only at Ka-tô, Shin-shû, Kyo-shô, and Kyû-rei; Kyû-rei must have been under the influence of (C). And lark, in the greater part of (CD), is of the [no-go-

dzi-ri] type, while it is [tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ] in the greater part of (AB). In view of this, it may be said that [no-go-dzi-ri], [no-gu-dzo-ri] at Kyû-rei, Nan-gen and Um-pô have been influenced by the (C) dialect, while [tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ] observed in a part of Ka-tô and Kan-yô has been influenced by the (A) dialect.

(c) Grammar

(i) It is a grammatical peculiarity of the (CD) dialect to affix the word-ending [-nùn-gio] in indicating the present or future of verbs, both in questioning and answering, for instance, [mu-ot ha-nùn-gio] (What do you do?) and [nɛ-ga ka-nùn-gio] (I will go). In some districts the form is also used for the past and future as [hɛn-nùn-gio] (past) and [ha-gen-nùn-gio] (future). The distribution of this peculiarity on the borderland of (AB) and (CD) is as follows.

Kei-jô	Nan-kai	Ka-tô	Kan-yô	Kyo-shô	Rei-sui	Jun-ten
—	—	-nùn-gio	-nùn-gio	—	—	—
Kei-jô	Kyû-rei	Nan-gen	Um-pô	Chô-sui	Mo-shu	
—	—	—	-nùn-gio	-nùn-gio	-nùn-gio	

However, [-nùn-gio] is not used throughout Mo-shu county, but at Mo-hô-men 茂豐面, Ses-sen-men 雪川面 and other villages which adjoin (CD). In short, it may be said that Um-pô, Chô-sui, and Mo-shu were influenced in this respect by the (CD) dialect.

(ii) It is also a grammatical peculiarity of the (CD) dialect to affix as a word-ending [-l-lak-ha-] to indicate the future form of verbs, both in questioning and answering, as in [mu-ot hal-lak-ha-o] (What will you do?), [nɛ-ga kal-lak-ha-ne] (I will go.) The distribution of this peculiarity on the borderland is as follows.

Kei-jô	Nan-kai	Ka-tô	Kan-yô	Kyo-shô	Rei-sui	Jun-ten
—	-l-lak-ha-	-l-lak-ha-	-l-lak-ha-	-l-lak-ha-	—	-l-lak-ha-
Kei-jô	Kyû-rei	Nan-gen	Um-pô	Chô-sui	Mo-shu	
—	—	—	—	-l-lak-ha-	-l-lak-ha-	

As to Chô-sui, however, [-l-lak-ha-] is not used throughout the county, but only in the eastern part of Chô-sui-men 長水面 and Ban-gan-men 蟠岩面, which adjoin

(C); and as to Mo-shu, only at Mohô-men 茂豐面 and Ses-sen-men 雪川面 which form the easter half of the county, which adjoin (C). In brief, this peculiarity observed in Jun-ten, Chô-sui, Mo-shu, etc. has no doubt been influenced by the (CD) dialect.

(iii) It is a grammatical peculiarity of the (AB) dialect to affix the word-ending [-rao] to verbs in various forms, almost generally both in questioning and answering; for instance, [ha-dz̄i-rao] (I do), [kat-tʃi-rao] (Did you go?), [poas-sɔ-rao] (Did you see?). The distribution of this peculiarity on the borderland is as follows.

Kei-jô	Nan-kai	Ka-tô	Kan-yô	Kyo-shô	Rei-sui	Jun-ten
—	—	—	-rao	—	—	—
Kei-jô	Kyû-rei	Nan-gen	Um-pô	Chô-sui	Mo-shu	
—	-rao	-rao	-rao	-rao	—	—

In view of the foregoing, it is no wonder that [-rao] should be used in the various districts of (AB). The absence of this form in Rei-sui, Jun-ten and Mo-shu in (AB) is due to the influence of the (CD) dialect. And the presence of this form at Kan-yô shows the influence of (AB).

Investigation of the distribution of the dialect on the borderland of (CD) and (AB), as to their pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, may show that the eastern part of (AB) has been considerably influenced by the (CD) dialect. Various reasons may be offered for this, but I am of the opinion that the cultural dignity of the populace of (CD) dating from the Silla dynasty and also its economic power have brought about this result.

### 3. Demarcation between the Kei-shô-dô 慶尙道 Dialect and the Chû-sei-dô 忠清道 Dialect

As points of reference in (D), Ei-shû 榮州, Rei-sen 醴泉, Bun-kei 聞慶 and Shô-shû 尙州 have been chosen, and as those in (F), Tan-yô 丹陽, Sei-shû 清州 Hô-on 報恩 and Ei-dô 永同. The dialects have been investigated as to their pro-

nunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

(a) Pronunciation

(i) The sound formerly represented by “.” in the *Ön-mun* appears as [a] or [o] or sometimes [ɔ] or [ɛ] in the present-day dialects, as previously referred to.<sup>1)</sup> In the present districts, the sound is nearly always pronounced [a] as follows, showing no difference caused by the boundary of the provinces.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
mal (horse)	mal	mal	mal	mal	mal	mal	mal	mal
p'at (red bean)	p'at	p'at	p'at	p'at	p'at	p'at	p'at	p'at
mak-ta (clear)	mak-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta	mak-ta
pak-ta (bright)	pak-ta	pak-ta	pak-ta	pak-ta	pak-ta	pak-ta	pak-ta	pak-ta
nam (other {people {person)	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam

(ii) The sound ㅈ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
ㅈㅊ (star)	ㅈㅊ, pi:l	pi:l	pi:l	pi:l	pi:l	pi:l	pi:l	ㅈㅊ, pi:l
ㅈㅊ-sil (rank, office)	{ㅈㅊ-sil {pe-sil	pi-sil	pi-sil	pi-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil
ㅈㅊ-rok (flea)	pe-re-gi	pi-rök	pi-rök	pi-rök	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk
ㅈㅊ-ru (ink-stone)	pe-ro	pi-ro	pi-ru	pi-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru
ㅈㅊᄂᆞᆫ (vase)	piᄂᆞᆫ	piᄂᆞᆫ	piᄂᆞᆫ	piᄂᆞᆫ	ㅈㅊᄂᆞᆫ	ㅈㅊᄂᆞᆫ	ㅈㅊᄂᆞᆫ	ㅈㅊᄂᆞᆫ
ㅈㅊᄂᆞᆫ (tongue)	he	se	se	si	se	se	se	se

It may be seen from the foregoing that ㅈ is, generally speaking, pronounced [i] in the northern part of (D) and [e] in the southern part of (F).

(iii) The sound ㅊ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
mø (mountain)	mi	mi	?	?	mi	mo-i	mø	mø
øᄂᆞᆫ (left)	win, wen	wen	wen	en	wen	wen	wen	øᄂᆞᆫ
ø (cucumba)	wi	wi, wε	?	?	?	o-i	we	oi, ø
tʃ'am-ø (common {melon)	tʃ'am-wi	tʃ'am-wi	tʃ'am-i	tʃ'am-i	tʃ'am-u	tʃ'am-i	tʃ'am-u	tʃ'am-ø
sø (iron)	ʔswe	ʔsε	?	?	swe	swe	sø	sø
øᄂᆞᆫ-da (to recite)	o-un-da	o-un-da	?	?	win-da	wen-da	wen-da	øᄂᆞᆫ-da
ø (outside)	wε	wε, wi	we	we	we	e	we	e

No definite difference in pronunciation is caused by the borderline of the two

1) See p. 20.

provinces. Roughly speaking, however, the sound tends to be [i] or [wi] in (D), and [we] in (F). [ø] at Hô-on and Ei-dô resembles the pronunciation of the Kei-jô district.

(iv) The sound ㄐ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
wɔl(moon)	wɔl	wɔl	wɔl	ɔl	wɔl	wɔl	wɔl	wɔl

It is a pretty common practice in the Kei-shô 慶尙 dialect to pronounce [wɔ] as [ɔ]. A definite difference is observed between the two provinces.

(v) The sound ㄑ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
kwan (official)	kwan	kan	kan	kan	kwan, kan	kwan	kwan	kwan, kan

It is a pretty common practice to pronounce [wa] as [a] in the (CD) dialect. In this case there is a definite difference in pronunciation between the two provinces.

(vi) The sound formerly represented by “△” is, in the present-day dialects, pronounced [s] on the one hand and [w] on the other, or it loses its consonant quality. This practice has been investigated on the borderland of the two provinces. At every point 齊 (shepherd's purse) is pronounced [na-sɛŋ-i], completely retaining [s], but [ka-wi] (鋏 scissors) is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
ka-wi	{ka-se ka-we	{ka-se ka-si-ge	ka-se	ka-se	ka-se	ka-se	ka-se	ka-se

At Ei-shû the word contains [s] and also [w]—a fact proving that the (F) dialect which does not include [s] has invaded part of the sphere of the (D) dialect which includes [s]. Furthermore, such examples as

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
ka-ül (autumn)	ka-ül	ka-ül	?	?	ka:l	ka:l	ka-ül	ka-ül
pu-ɔk (kitchen)	pɔ:k	{pu-ɔk pu-sɔk	?	?	pɔ:k	pɔ:k	pɔ:k	pu-ɔk

prove that the (F) dialect has penetrated deep into (D) and expelled [s] from the



latter dialect. (The word for kitchen is [pu-sɔk] in most districts of (D); according to the above table [pu-sɔk] is retained only at Rei-sen.) Again, what is more important still is the word for 邊り (near by)

Kei-jō	Ei-shū	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shō-shū	Tan-yō	Sei-shū	Hō-on	Ei-dō
ka-e (near by)	{ka-se ka-e}	{ka-se ka-e}	ka-se	ka-se	ka-se	{ka-se ka-e}	{ka-se ka-e}	ka-e

[s] in the dialect of (D) appears in that of (F), and the form without [s] in the dialect of (F) appears in that of (D) also, thus proving that the two have influenced each other with equal intensity.

(vii) When adjectives and verbs such as hot [tɔp-ta], peppery [mɛp-ta], cold [tʃ'up-ta], and to roast [kup-ta] are conjugated, [p] at the end of the word-stem is changed to [b] or [w] in various districts as [tɔ-bɔ-]—[tɔ-wɔ-], [mɛ-ba]—[mɛ-wa-], [tʃ'u-bɔ-]—[tʃ'u-wɔ-], [ku-bɔ-]—[ku-wɔ-], etc. Investigation of this peculiarity in the dialects of the borderland has resulted as follows.

Kei-jō	Ei-shū	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shō-shū	Tan-yō	Sei-shū	Hō-on	Ei-dō
tɔ-wɔ- (being hot)	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wa	?	?	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-
mɛ-wɔ- (being peppery)	mɛ-wa-	mɛ-wa-	?	?	mɛ-wa-	mɛ-wa-	mɛ-wa-	mɛ-wa-
tʃ'u-wɔ- (being cold)	tʃ'u-bɔ-	tʃ'u-wa-	?	?	tʃ'u-wɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-
ku-wɔ- (roasting)	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-	?	?	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-

The general rule is that [-p-] of this kind appears in the (CD) dialect as [-b-]<sup>1)</sup>, and in the (EF) dialect as [-w-]. According to the above table, however, the only presence of [b] in (D) is in [tʃ'u-bɔ-] at Ei-shū. This shows that the (CD) dialect of the [-b-] type has been invaded by the (EF) dialect of the [-w-] type.

(viii) At various points of (D) a literal accent peculiar to the province is observed conspicuously, but not in the (F) dialect.

A glance at the phonetic peculiarities shows that, so far as (iv), (v) and (viii) are concerned, the line of demarcation of pronunciation and the borderline of the two provinces approximately coincide, while in (vi) and (vii) the (F) dialect is dominated over the (D) dialect to a considerable extent.

#### (b) Vocabulary

1) See p. 33.

Though there is a large vocabulary in common in the two dialects, here will be given only a few examples worth mentioning in connection with their distribution.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
ku-ju (manger)	tʃuk-t'ouŋ	tʃuk-t'ouŋ	{tʃuk-t'ouŋ ku-si	tʃuk-t'ouŋ	tʃuk-t'ouŋ	ku-su	ku-si	ku-si
mu-u (radish)	muk-ku	muk-ku	{muk-ku mu-su	{muk-ku mu-si	muk-ku	mu-su	mu-su	mu-su
kul-p'i (second day after to-morrow)	tʃo-mors	tʃo-mors	?	?	kul-p'ε	kul-p'ε	kul-p'ε	kul-p'ε
mɔ-ru (wild grape)	mol-gu	mol-gu	?	?	mɔ-ru	mɔ-ru	mɔ-ru	mɔ-ru
mo-rs (sand)	mol-gs	{mol-gs mo-rs	?	?	{mo-rs mo-sε	mo-sε	mo-sε	mo-sε
pja (rice plant)	na-rak	na-rak	na-rak	na-rak	pe	na-rak	na-rak	na-rak
ok-su-su (Indian corn)	kaŋ-naŋ	kaŋ-naŋ	?	?	ok-sukku	ok-sukku	{ok-susu ok-sisi	{kaŋ-neŋ-i ok-susu
su-su (dhurra)	suk-ku	suk-ku	?	?	su-su	su-su	su-su	su-su
tan-nim (foot string)	pat-tɛŋ-i	pat-tɛŋ-i	?	?	tɛn-nim	tʃɛn-nim	tʃɛn-nim	tɛn-nim

Though there are words like [na-rak]<sup>1)</sup> where in the (CD) dialect has prominently encroached on the (EF) dialect, so far as vocabulary is concerned, the borderline of the two provinces usually coincides with the line of demarcation of the two dialects.

(c) Grammar

(i) Auxiliary verbs in honorific form such as [-gɛ-], [-gjo-] as in [hɛi-gɛs-so], [hɛi-gjo-(so)]<sup>2)</sup> are used in the north-eastern part of (D); their distribution on the borderland of (D) and (F) is as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
—	hɛi-gɛs-so	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	hɛi-gjo-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

This form is present only in Ei-shû district, and all other districts are encroached on by the (G) and (EF) dialects.

(ii) Use of the [-niɾ-də] form as in [ha-niɾ-də] (to do), [ka-niɾ-də] (to go) over against the [-m-ni-da] form of Kei-jô speech as in [ham-ni-da], [kam-ni-da], is

1) See pp. 48, 137 in the Appendix.

2) See S. OGURA: *Chôsen-go ni okeru Kenjôhô Sonkeihô no Jodôshi* 朝鮮語に於ける謙讓法・尊敬法の助動詞 (*A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language*), The Tôyô Bunko Ronsô, Series A, Vol. XXVI, p. 201.

limited to Ei-shû and Rei-sen; it is not to be observed elsewhere.<sup>1)</sup> The presence of the form [ha-ni:kjɔ], [ka-ni:kjɔ] (only in questioning) at Tai-kô-men 大崗面 in Tan-yô county, which adjoins Ei-shû county, shows the influence of the Ei-shû dialect of (D).

(iii) A form peculiar to the (CD) dialect is use of [-nùn-gio] to denote the present or future of a verb (chiefly in questioning) on the borderland as in [muɔt ha-nùn-gio] (What do you do?), [ɔ-düi ka-nùn-gio] (Where do you go?). Frequency of the use is rather low, the distribution being as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
—	—	—	-nùn-gio	-nùn-gio	-nùn-gio <sup>2)</sup>	-nùn-gio	-nùn-giu	—

Use of this form in (F) shows the influence of the (CD) dialect.

(iv) Another form peculiar to the (CD) dialect is use of [-l-lak-ha-] to denote the future form of a verb (both in questioning and answering) as in [mu-ɔt hal-lak-hao] (What will you do?), [nɛ-ga ka-l-lak ha-ne] (I will go). The distribution of this form on the borderland is as follows.

Kei-jô	Ei-shû	Rei-sen	Bun-kei	Shô-shû	Tan-yô	Sei-shû	Hô-on	Ei-dô
—	-l-lak-ha-	—	-l-lak-ha-	-l-lak-ha-	-l-lak-ha-	—	-l-lak-ha-	—

The presence of this form in Tan-yô<sup>3)</sup> and Hô-on districts is an influence of the (D) dialect.

A glance at the grammatical forms shows that (i) has been so dominated by the (EF) dialect that it has lost strength; and (ii), (iii) and (iv) have lost much of their strength in the northern part of (D), but have much influenced part of the (F) dialect on the other hand.

The distribution of the dialects on the borderland of these provinces, (D) and (F)—studied in three aspects—pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar—will show that, so far as vocabulary is concerned, the provinces differ to some extent; but as regards pronunciation and grammar, broadly speaking, the dialect of the northern

1) See pp. 65, 142 in the Appendix.

2), 3) This is used only at Tai-kô-men 大崗面 in Tan-yô county.

part of (D) has been considerably influenced by the (F) dialect; on the other hand, the (D) dialect has stealthily pressed on the (F) dialect. When viewed in the light of the degree of the influence of the dialects in these provinces upon the borderland, it is evident that minor struggles between the two dialects often took place in the eastern districts such as Ei-shû, Rei-sen, Bun-kei and Tan-yô, but in the western districts such as Shô-shû, Sei-shû, Hô-on, Ei-dô, the (F) dialect has overwhelmingly dominated. The rise of the (F) dialect thus resulted in expelling the original dialect of (D) to the more eastern districts such as Ei-shû and Rei-sen. It was due to the fact that these districts are situated at the strategic points of the traffic route running through Kei-jô, Sei-shû, Tai-kyû, and Fu-san, and were considerably influenced by the culture of (G) and (EF).

#### 4. Demarcation between the Zen-ra-dô 全羅道 Dialect and the Chû-sei-dô 忠清道 Dialect

As points of reference, Mo-shu 茂朱, Kin-zan 錦山 and Zen-shû 全州 were chosen in (B), and Ei-dô 永同 in (F), and Kô-shû 公州, Kô-kei 江景 and Jo-sen 舒川 in (E), in investigating the relations amongst them in the three aspects—pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

##### (a) Pronunciation

(i) The sound formerly represented by “.” in the *Ōn-mun* is represented in modern dialects by [a] or [o], or sometimes [ɔ] or [ɛ] as already referred to.<sup>1)</sup> In this area it is nearly always pronounced [a] as [a] in [mal] (horse), [p'at] (red bean), [mak-ta], [mal-ta] (clear), [pak-ta] (bright). Only 𠵼 (other person) and 𠵼 (jaw) are pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
nam (other person)	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm	nam	nam	nam	nam
t'ok (jaw)	t'ɛk	t'ɛk	{ t'ɛk t'ɛ-ga-ri	t'ɛ-ga-ri	t'ɔ-gɔ-ri	{ t'ɛ-ga-ri t'ɔ-gɔ-ri	{ t'ok t'ɔ-ga-dzi

It may be seen that there exists a distinct vowel difference between (B) and (E).

1) See p. 20.

(ii) The sound ㅈ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
pjɔl (star)	pjɔl	pjɔl	pjɔl, pi:l	pjɔl, pi:l	pjɔl	pi:l	pi:l
pjɔ-sil (rank, office)	pe-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil	pe-sil
pjɔ-rok (flea)	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk
pjɔ-ru (ink stone)	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru
pjɔŋ (vase)	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ
hɔ (tongue)	se	se	sɔ	se	se	sɔ	sɔ

ㅈ is thus pronounced [e] quite frequently; and no marked difference in pronunciation is to be detected.

(iii) The sound ㅊ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
ɕn (left)	ɕn	ɕn	ɕn	ɕn	ɕn	ɕn, o-jak	o-jat
ɕ (cucumba)	ɕ	ɕ	ɕ	ɕ, o-i	o-i	o-i	o-i
ɕn-da (to recite)	ɕn-da	ɕn-da	ɕn-da	ɕn-da	ɕn-da	ɕn-da	ɕn-da
mɕ (mountain)	mɕ	mɕ	mɕ	mɕ	mo-i	mɕ	mo-i
sɕ (iron)	sɕ	sɕ	sɕ	sɕ	sɕ	sɕ	sɕ

According to the foregoing, ㅊ is pronounced [ɕ] almost uniformly in the different districts of this area; no difference is caused by the borderline. Only in some districts of (E), [ɕ] (cucumba) is pronounced [o-i] in two syllables.

(iv) The sound formerly represented by “Δ” in the *Ōn-mun* is, in modern dialects, represented either by [s] on the one hand, or by [w] on the other, or loses its consonant quality. Investigation of this practice on the borderland has resulted as follows.

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
jɔ-u (fox)	jɔ-su	jɔ-su	jɔ-si	jɔ-su	jɔ-su	jɔ-su	jɔ-su
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ
ka-ül (autumn)	ka-sil	ka-sil	{ka-sül ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka:l	ka-ül
ka-e (near by)	ka-si	ka-se, ka-e	ka-se	ka-e	ka-se	ka-si	ka-se
ku-ju (manger)	ku-si	ku-si	ku-su	ku-si	ku-su	ku-su	ku-su
mu-u (radish)	mu-su	mu-su	mu-su	mu-su	mu-su	mu-su	mu-su
æŋ-i (shepherd's purse)	na-siŋ-gɛ	na-siŋ-gɛ	na-suŋ-gɛ	na-siŋ-gɛ	na-siŋ-gɛ	na-suŋ-gɛ	na-suŋ-gɛ

According to the foregoing, the [s] sound is extensively distributed throughout

this area, but is lost in (EF) in the case of "autumn" and "near by." Seeing that the presence of the [s] sound is the peculiarity of the (AB) dialect and the absence of it is that of the dialect of (G), it may be said that the presence of the [s] sound in (EF) as shown in the above-given table indicates a marked influence of the (AB) dialect.

(v) In these dialects, there are certain words which are distinguished by the presence or absence of the "toin-siot".

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
ka-dzi (egg-plant)	ʔka-dzi	ʔka-dzi	ʔka-dzi	ka-dzi	ka-dzi	ka-dzi	ka-dzi
ku-wa- (roasting)	ʔku-wa-	ʔku-wa-	ʔku-wa-	ku-wa	ku-wa-	ku-wa-	ku-wa-
su-su (dhurra)	ʔsu-su	ʔsu-su	su-si *	su-su	su-su	su-su	su-su

According to the above, the "toin-siot" is usually present in the (B) and absent in the (EF) dialect; in this case the borderline of the dialects and the administrative borderline of the provinces coincides, roughly speaking. It is also noteworthy that conspicuity of "toin-siot" is a peculiarity of the (AB) and (CD) dialects.<sup>1)</sup>

A general survey of the foregoing shows that (i), (ii) and (iii) are not much affected by the borderline; (v) is rather distinctly differentiated by the borderline; and (iv) shows the prominent influence of the (AB) dialect upon the (EF) dialect.

(b) Vocabulary

It goes without saying that there exist a great many words used in common in (B) and (EF), but here are mentioned only a few considered interesting as to their distribution.

(i) Words markedly influenced by (E)

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
kjɔ-ül (winter)	tʃül-gi	tʃɔl-gi	tʃɔ-sül	{kjɔ-ül tʃɔ:l	tʃül-gi	tʃül-gi	tʃɔk
tan-nim (foot string)	ten-nim	{ten-nim tʃen-nim	ʔkot-temi	ten-nim	tʃen-nim	tsen-nim	tsen-nim

"Winter" is pronounced [tʃɔ-sil], [tʃɔ-sül] with the [s] sound in it in the greater part of (AB), but in many districts of (E) it is rendered with [-gi] as [tʃɔl-gi], [tʃül-

1) See p. 82.

[gi]. [tʃɔ-sùl] at Zen-shû is indicative of the peculiarity of the (AB) dialect, but [gi] adopted at Mo-shu and Kin-zan which likewise belong to (B) shows the influence of (E).

[pʰot-tɛmi] for "the string for fastening the lower part of the leg" is a dialect of Ra-shû 羅州, Zen-shû 全州, Jun-shô 淳昌, Tan-yô 潭陽, Chô-jô 長城, Sei-yû 井邑 and Kin-tei 金堤 districts in the (AB) area; and words of the [tɛn-nim] type are dialect words of the (EF) area. The preservation of [tɛn-nim], [tʃɛn-nim] at Mo-shu and Kin-zan shows that the districts were under the influence of the (EF) dialect.

(ii) One markedly influenced by (B)

Kei-jô (rice plant, unhulled rice)	Mo-shu na-rak	Kin-zan na-rak	Zen-shû na-rak	Ei-dô na-rak	Kô-shû {na-rak pe	Kô-kei na-rak	Jo-sen {na-rak pe
--	------------------	-------------------	-------------------	-----------------	-------------------------	------------------	-------------------------

[na-rak] is a dialect word used in the whole of South Korea, and [pʰɔ] one used in the (EFG) area.<sup>1)</sup> The general dominance of [na-rak] in the southern part of the (EF) area, as given in the above table, indicates the northern encroachment of the (AB) dialect.

(iii) Mutual influence of (B) and (E)

Kei-jô tʃɔ-ʔkarak (chop sticks)	Mo-shu tʃɔ-bum	Kin-zan {tʃɔ-bum tʃɔ-ʔkarak	Zen-shû tʃɔ-bum	Ei-dô {tʃɔ-bum tʃɔ-ʔkarak	Kô-shû {tʃɔ-bum tʃɔ-ʔkarak	Kô-kei {tʃɔ-bum tʃɔ-ʔkarak	Jo-sen tʃɔ-bum tʃɔ-ʔkarak
---------------------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------------

[tʃɔ-bum] is a dialect of the (AB) area, and [tʃɔ-ʔkarak] one of the (EFG) area. As shown in the above table, [tʃɔ-bum] has quite intensively penetrated into (EF), but in Kin-zan district [tʃɔ-ʔkarak] the word of the (EF) area is used.

(iv) Influence from (D) and (F).

Kei-jô tʃɔŋ-dal-sɛ (lark)	Mo-shu tʃɔŋ- dal-sɛ	Kin-zan no-gu- dʒu-ri	Zen-shû tʃɔŋ- dal-sɛ	Ei-dô tʃɔŋ- dal-sɛ	Kô-shû tʃɔŋ- dal-sɛ	Kô-kei tʃɔŋ- dal-sɛ	Jo-sen tʃɔŋ- dal-sɛ
u-bak (hail)	{u-bak nu-ri	u-bak	u-bak	ju-ri	u-bak	u-bak	u-bak

"Lark" is generally [tʃɔŋ-dal-sɛ] in the greater part of (AB) and (EF), while

1) See p. 48.

words of the [no-go-dzo-ri] system are generally used in almost the whole of (CD), and in the south-western part of (F). [no-go-dzo-ri] used in Kin-zan district is probably due to an influence from (D) and (F).

“Hail” is [u-bak] in the greater part of (AB) and (E), and [ju-ri] or [nu-ri] in a number of districts in (D) and (F). [nu-ri] in Mo-shu district is an influence of the dialect of (F).

A study of the distribution of these words under from (i) down to (iv) shows that on the borderland the mutual influence of the (AB) and (EF) dialects is to be noticed. It is worth special consideration that Mo-shu and Kin-zan districts are specially influenced by (EF).

(c) Grammar

(i) In a part of (AB) and (D), [-gɛ-], [-gjo-] are used as auxiliary verbs indicative of civility, as [hɛ-gɛ-jo] (Do you do? Are you be pleased to do?) [hɛ-gjo-sɔ] (Did you do? Were you pleased to do?), and [ha-gjo-rao] (Will you do? Will you be pleased to do?).<sup>1)</sup> The distribution of this form on the borderland is as follows.

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
—	—	—	—	—	—	{ha-gɛ-jo ha-gɛ-ju	ha-gɛ-jo

So far as this practice is concerned, Kô-kei and Jo-sen districts are under the influence of the dialect of (B).

(ii) It is a peculiarity of the (CD) dialect to affix an ending [-nün-gio] in order to indicate the present and future forms (both in questioning and answering) of verbs.<sup>2)</sup> The distribution on the borderland of these provinces is as follows.

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
—	—	—	—	—	-nün-gio	—	—

It is used only in Kô-shû district.

1) See S. OGURA: *Chôsen-go ni okeru Kenjôhô Sonkeihô no Jodôshi* 朝鮮語に於ける謙讓法・尊敬法の助動詞 (*A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language*), op. cit., p. 201.

2) See p. 85.



(iii) As a peculiarity of (AB), [-rao] is often affixed as an ending to a word, in order to indicate civility, as in [pus-i-rao] (Is it a writing-brush?), [hɛn-nɛn-ge-rao] (Did you do?), [hɛs-sɔ-rao] (Did you do?), [hɛt-tʃi-rao] (Would you have done?). This form, however, is not used in Mo-shu, Kin-zan and Zen-shû districts. And in (E), it is used only in Jo-sen district.

(iv) Among auxiliary verbs in humble form, there are [-oi-da] or [-ø-da]<sup>1)</sup> used when the word-stem ends in a vowel, as in [ha-oi-da], [ha-ø-da] (to do), and [-soi-da] or [-sø-da]<sup>2)</sup> used when the word-stem ends in a consonant, as [is-soi-da], [is-sø-da] (to be). As the degree of civility decreases, [-da] the final syllable is dropped so that the verbs may read [ha-oi], [ha-ø]<sup>3)</sup> and [is-soi], [is-sø].<sup>4)</sup> These forms are most frequently used in (J), less frequently in (KL) and (MN), very little in (E) and (G), and almost never in (AB), (CD), (F) and (H). The distribution of these forms on this borderland is as follows.

Kei-jô	Mo-shu	Kin-zan	Zen-shû	Ei-dô	Kô-shû	Kô-kei	Jo-sen
ham-ni-da	—	—	—	—	ha-we-da	—	ha-we-da
is-sùm-ni-da	—	—	—	—	is-swe-da	—	is-swe-da

The presence of these forms in Kô-shû and Jo-sen districts may be considered not an influence of the (AB) dialect, but an indirect effect of the (G) area.

This study of the dialectal distribution, on the borderland of (B) and (EF), with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, shows that the (B) and (EF) dialects may be said to be separated by the borderline; however, the fact that the presence of the [s] sound (see (iv) under pronunciation) over the extensive area of (E), the presence, in a part of (E), of [-gɛ-] an auxiliary verb in honorific form (see (i) under grammar) and also of [-rao] indicative of civility (see (iii) under grammar) proves a striking influence of the (B) dialect on the (E) dialect. Furthermore, Mo-shu and Kin-zan districts are influenced by the (F) dialect, not so remarkably in

1) See pp. 63, 141 in the Appendix.

2) See pp. 63, 141 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

4) See pp. 65, 141 in the Appendix.

pronunciation, but a great deal in vocabulary and grammar. It may be more proper to regard the speech of these two counties, not as a part of the (B) dialect, but rather as one of the (EF) dialect. As has been already referred to<sup>1)</sup>, the dialect of Mo-hô-men 茂豐面 and Ses-sen-men 雪川面 lying in the east of Mo-shu county and adjoining (D), is so curiously under the influence of the (D) dialect. This influence of the (EF) dialect upon the dialect of a part of Mo-shu and Kin-zan districts, as shown in the foregoing, is due to the topographical conditions of the districts, which are confronted on the south by mountains which have inconvenienced their communication with the south, but being situated on the north near the cultural traffic between Kei-jô and Fu-zan, have been favoured, especially in recent times, with most frequent communication and intimate economic relations with Ei-dô district of (F).

#### 5. Demarcation between the Kan-kyô-dô 咸鏡道 Dialect and the Kô-gen-dô 江原道 Dialect

As points of reference, Kan-kô 咸興, Tei-hei 定平, Ei-kô 永興, Kô-gen 高原 and An-pen 安邊 in (K) and Jô-yô 襄陽 in (H) have been chosen; and the relations amongst them will be studied, with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

##### (a) Pronunciation

(i) The sound formerly represented by “.” in the *Ôn-mun* occurs in modern dialects as [a] or [o], or sometimes [ɔ] or [ɛ].<sup>2)</sup> As to (K) and (L), there are some districts in (L) where it is pronounced [o], but in all other districts in the provinces and in (H), it is pronounced [a] or [ɛ] as in [mal] (horse), [p'al] (elbow), [p'at], [p'ɛ k-ki] (red bean), and [p'a-ri] (fly). No difference is observed on either side of the borderline.

(ii) ㅅ is, on the borderland, pronounced [ø] as is generally pronounced in the

1) See p. 86.

2) See p. 20.

Kei-jô area, but this pronunciation being rather difficult in Kan-kô district, [ø] (outside, melon) is pronounced [ɛ], [an-døŋ-da] (impossible) [an-dɛn-da], [øŋ tʃib-an] (the whole household) [ɛŋ tʃib-an], and [øŋ-t'oy] (the whole) [ɛŋ-t'oy].

(iii) The sound formerly represented by “△” in the *Ön-mun* occurs in modern dialects as [s] or [w], or sometimes disappears losing all its consonant quality. On the borderland, as the following table shows,

Kei-jô	Kan-kô	Tei-hei	Ei-kô	Kô-gen	Am-pen	Jô-yô
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ
ku-juŋ (manger)	ku-si	ku-si	ku-suŋ	ku-suŋ	ku-suŋ	ki-suŋ
nɛŋ-i (shepherd's purse)	na-si	na-si	na-si	na-si	na-si	na-sɛŋ-i

the sound occurs as [s] alike in some districts on either side of the borderline, while in some others [s] is lost, as

Kei-jô	Kan-kô	Tei-hei	Ei-kô	Kô-gen	Am-pen	Jô-yô
Ka-ül (autumn)	ka-sül	ka-sül	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül
ʔtʃo-a (pecking)	ʔtʃo-sa	ʔtʃo-sa	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a
tʃi-üm mɛn-da (to weed)	tʃi-süm	tʃi-süm	tʃi:m	tʃi:m	tʃi:m	tʃi:m

and districts retaining [s] are located to the north of Tei-hei, while those which have lost [s] to the south of Ei-kô. This fact deserves notice.

(iv) [p] (or [b]) occurring at the middle of a word is, in some districts, retained as before, and is changed to [w] in others. As the following investigation on the borderline shows,

Kei-jô	Kan-kô	Tei-hei	Ei-kô	Kô-gen	Am-pen	Jô-yô
no:l (sunset glow)	no-bul	nu-ri	no-ri	no:l	na-o-ri	no:l
ku-wɔ- (roasting)	ku-bɔ-	ku-bɔ-	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-
tʃ'u-wɔ- (being cold)	tʃ'i-bɔ-	tʃ'i-bɔ-	tʃ'i-wɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-	tʃ'i-wɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-

the districts where [b] occurs are all to the north of Tei-hei. A glance at the phonetic peculiarities will show that, so far as at least (iii) and (iv) are concerned, a clear-cut line of borderline in pronunciation runs, not along the geographical borderline of the two provinces between Am-pen and Jô-yô, but between Tei-hei and Ei-kô in (K).

## (b) Vocabulary

Naturally there are a large number of words in common in (K) and (H); but here only a few considered interesting in the point of distribution will be cited.

Kei-jô	Kan-kô	Tei-hei	Ei-kô	Kô-gen	Am-pen	Jô-yô
hûk (soil)	hûl-gi	hûl-gi	hûk	hûk	hûk	hûk
ip-sul (lip)	im-njok	im-njok	ip-sul	ip-suk	ip-suk	ip-sul-gi
ko-du-ro-mi (icicle)	ko-d3u-ro-mi	ko-d3o-ro-mi	ko-du-re mi	ko-du-re-mi	ko-du-re-mi	ko-du-re-mi
ʔkot paŋ-ul (bud)	ʔ	po-mu-ra-d3i	ʔkot ma-ul	ʔkot ma-ul	ʔkot paŋ-ul	ʔkot paŋ-u-ri
mu-u (radish)	muk-ki	muk-ki	mu-u	mu-u	{ muk-ki muk-ku	mu-u
mo-mil (buck-wheat)	mø1	mø1	mø-mil	mø-mil	mø-mul	mø-mul
no (string)	noŋ	noŋ	no-re-gi	no-re-gi	no-re-gi	no-ne-gi
pu-ri (beak of a bird)	pu-bu-ri	pu-bu-ri	tʃwi-düŋ-i	tʃwi-düŋ-i	tʃwi-düŋ-i	tʃwi-düŋ-i
pjɔŋ-ari (chicken)	{ pɛŋ-sal pɛ-ari	pɛŋ-sal	pi-ari	pi-ari	pɛŋ-ari	pjɔŋ-ari
pɛ-kop (navel)	pɛ-puk	pɛ-puk	pɛ-kop	pɛ-kop	pɛ-kop	pɛ-kop
p'i (millet)	p'i-na-d3i	p'i-na-d3i	p'i-nat	p'i-nat	p'i-nat	p'i
si-da (to be sour)	si-gu-da	si-gu-da	si-gul-da	{ si-gul-da si-gu-rop-ta ta	si-gu-rop-	si-gu-rop-ta
sut (charcoal)	suk-ki	suk-ki	suk-ku	suk-ku	sut	sut
to-ma (chopping board)	to-mɛ	to-mɛ	to-mɛ-gi	to-mɛ-gi	tom-bɛ-gi	t'o-mɛ-gi
tʃe (bran)	tʃ'e	tʃ'e	tʃe	tʃe	tʃe	tʃe
tɛ-ri-mi (an iron)	ʔ	ta-ri-ul	ta-ri-mi	ta-ri-mi	tɛ-ri-mi	tɛ-ri-mi
tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ (lark)	nø-d3o-ri	nø-d3o-ri	tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ	{ nø-d3o-ri tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ	tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ	{ no-go-d3i-ri tʃoŋ-dal-sɛ
tʃɛ-boŋ-tʃ'im (sewing machine)	ma-sɔn	ma-sɔn	tʃɛ-baŋ-tʃ'im	tʃa-baŋ-tʃ'im	tʃa-boŋ-tʃ'im	tʃɛ-boŋ-tʃ'im

A glance at the above table will readily show that the borderline of distribution of words runs, not along the borderline of the provinces between Am-pen and Jô-yô, but between Tei-hei and Ei-kô in (K).

## (c) Grammar

(i) As auxiliary verbs in humble form, there are used [-oi-da] or [-ø-da]<sup>1)</sup> when the word-stem ends in a vowel as [ha-oi-da], [ha-ø-da] (to do) or [-soi-da] or [-sø-da]<sup>2)</sup> when the stem ends in a consonant as [is-soi-da], [-is-sø-da] (to be). In a case of less civility, the final part is dropped so that they may read [ha-oi], [ha-ø]<sup>3)</sup> and [is-soi], [is-sø]<sup>4)</sup>. These forms are most frequently used in (J), but the distribu-

1) See pp. 63, 141 in the Appendix.

2) See pp. 63, 141 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

4) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

tion in this area is as follows.

Kei-jô	Kan-kô	Tei-hei	Ei-kô	Kô-gen	Am-pen	Jô-yô
ham-ni-da	ha-o-da	ha-o-da	ha-o-da	ha-u-da	ha-u-da	—
is-sûm-ni-da	is-so-da	is-so-da	{ is-so-da is-swe-da	is-su-da	is-su-da	—

This shows that the presence of these forms in (K) extends as far as the borderline of (H).

(ii) As auxiliary verbs in humble form there are used [-m-meda] or [-m-mida]<sup>1)</sup> when the word-stem ends in a vowel as [ham-meda] (to do) and [-sûm-meda] or [-sûm-mæda]<sup>2)</sup> when the stem ends in a consonant as [is-sûm-meda] (to be). In a case of less civility, the final part [-da] is dropped so that they may read [ham-me]<sup>3)</sup> and [is-sûm-me].<sup>4)</sup> The distribution in this area is as follows.

Kei-jô	Kan-kô	Tei-hei	Ei-kô	Kô-gen	Am-pen	Jô-yô
ham-ni-da	ham-me-da	ham-meda	—	—	—	—
ha-o	ham-me	ham-me	—	—	—	—

It may be seen that these forms are extensively used only to the north of Tei-hei.

(iii) As auxiliary verbs in humble form in a part of (K) and (L), there are used [-p-tʃibi], [-tʃibi]<sup>5)</sup> as [ha-p-tʃibi], [ha-tʃibi] (to do). In (K), [ha-p-tʃibi] is used only in Kan-kô and Tei-hei districts, but no where to the south of them.

(iv) As an auxiliary in this area, [-m-ne]<sup>6)</sup> as [ha-m-ne] (to do) is used.

Kei-jô	Kan-kô	Tei-hei	Ei-kô	Kô-gen	Am-pen	Jô-yô
ha-o	—	ham-ne	ham-ne	ham-ne	—	—

This form is most intensively used in (J), less so in (M) and (N) and this area,

1) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

2) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

4) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

5) See S. OGURA: *Chôsen-go ni okeru Kenjôhô Sonkeihô no Jôdôshi* 朝鮮語に於ける謙讓法・尊敬法の助動詞 (*A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language*), op. cit., p. 48.

6) See *ibid.*, pp. 28, 47.

scarcely in (L), and never in (G) and (H). Its presence in this area is probably an influence from (J).

A glance at the distribution of the grammatical peculiarities shows that, so far as (i) and (iv) are concerned, the line of demarcation of these dialects might be located somewhere on the geographical borderland; but the most conspicuous phenomenon is that the characteristics of the dialects are most distinctly divided by a line drawn between Tei-hei and Ei-kô.

In the light of the foregoing investigation of the distribution of dialects on the borderland of (K) and (H), with reference to their pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, many peculiarities indicate that the borderline of the dialects may be more properly drawn, not on the borderland of (K) and (H), but rather between Tei-hei and Ei-kô in (K). The writer is convinced that if the term the (KL) dialect be used, it might be applied to the dialect of the district to the north of Tei-hei, and the dialect of the district to the south of Ei-kô should be more properly referred to as the (G) dialect or the (H) dialect.

How is it then that such dialectal characteristics should be so distinctly located along the line drawn between Tei-hei and Ei-kô? Geographical, historical, social, and ethnological reasons are generally assigned for the origin of a dialect. Which of them is responsible for the demarcation of the dialects here discussed? An inquiry into the topographical features shows that between Tei-hei and Ei-kô there is no serious natural barrier such as mountains, rivers, sea or bay. It is evident, therefore, that the demarcation of these dialects did not originate from any geographical reason. Dr. A. DAUZAT in his "*La géographie linguistique*," (1922) says that the Latin word *cantare* is in Central France palatalized as chanter (ch=f), while in Normandy and Picardy in North France, the same word is preserved with the k sound. He goes on to comment on this distribution "Le problème se précise donc : pourquoi, aux alentours du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, s'était-il formé une digue linguistique (allant, grosso modo, de Granville à Mons par Evreux et Beauvais), qui n'existait pas deux siècles plus tôt et qui a disparu dans la suite? Cette barrière,—fait plus

curieux—en dehors peut-être du Bocage normand à son extrémité occidentale, ne correspond à aucune frontière géographique naturelle, ni à aucune grande division politique et sociale de l'époque. Reste une hypothèse, celle d'une frontière ethnique, constituée par une forte colonisation franque et saxonne massée au nord-ouest de cette ligne : à l'histoire de la vérifier." (p. 177) Although Dr. DAUZAT's argument concerns the phonetic aspect only, may not this question of dialectal borderlines in the French language in North France serve as a material in an attempt to solve the problem of a dialectal boundary lying between Tei-hei and Ei-kô?

According to an inquiry into the history of Tei-hei and Ei-kô and their neighbourhood, this region along the Japan Sea had been inhabited by the Kwai 濊, the Yoku-so 沃沮 and other foreign tribes until the Silla 新羅 dynasty rose and its influence came to be felt even in this region. As Silla fell and Kô-rai 高麗 superseded it, the (KL) area was invaded by the Jurchens 女眞; and Tei-hei and Ei-kô districts, under the King Ken-sô 顯宗 (1010-1031 A. D.), were a scene of collision or intercourse between the Kô-rai and Jurchens. With the campaign of the Jurchens by General In Kan 尹瓘 during the reign of the King Ei-sô 睿宗 (1106-1122 A. D.), the territory of Kô-rai seems to have extended further north. Later in the 45th year of the King Kô-sô 高宗 (1258), the invading Yüan 元 forces subjugated all the region to the north of Wa-shû 和州 (Ei-kô 永興) where they founded the headquarters. In the 5th year of the King Kyô-bin 恭愍王 (1356), the region was regained after a conquest and the region was called Saku-hô-dô 朔方道 during the reign of the King Kyô-jô 恭讓王. Now in the reign of the King Tai-so 太祖 of the Ri 李 dynasty, the area was cultivated, and his influence extended north as far as the Tuman 豆滿 River. In the 13th year of the King Tai-sô 太宗 (1413), the region was renamed Ei-kitsu-dô 永吉道, and in the 16th year (1416) Kan-kô-fu 咸興府 became the 觀察使本營 (Headquarters of the Inspector) and the name of the province was changed to Kan-kitsu-dô 咸吉道. After this, in the 1st year of the King Sei-sô 成宗 (1470), Kan-kô-fu, on account of a certain affair, was lowered to a gun 郡 (county), and the Headquarters were moved to Ei-kô 永興,

and the name of the province was again changed to Ei-an-dô 永安道. In the 4th year of the King Chû-sô 中宗 (1509), the province was again renamed Kan-kyô-dô 咸鏡道 and the Inspector's Office was moved to Kan-kô 咸興. This state of affairs continued until recent years. When viewed in the light of the foregoing facts, Kan-kô and Ei-kô districts have been, since ancient times, a scene of collision between the Koreans and the Jurchens or Mongols and the frontier of the central power of Korea; their history has been much chequered. The political significance of the two towns Kan-kô and Ei-kô in those circumstances has been no doubt of paramount importance, and it cannot be supposed that these facts account for the presence of the distinct dialectal demarcation between Tei-hei and Ei-kô. And the conspicuous resemblance of the (K) dialect to the south of Ei-kô to the (GH) dialect no doubt shows that this region has been in the sphere of influence of the central government.

#### 6. Demarcation between the Kan-kyô-dô 咸鏡道 Dialect and the Hei-an-dô 平安道 Dialect

As points of reference, Kei-zan 惠山, Go-rô-ri 五老里 and Tei-hei 定平 have been chosen in (K) and Kô-shô 厚昌, Kô-kai 江界 and Ki-sen 熙川 in (N); and the relations among them will be studied here with reference to their pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. It is a matter of grief to me that I have had no opportunity to carry out a personal investigation at such important points near the borderline as Chô-shin 長津 in (K), and Nei-en 寧遠 and Mô-zan 孟山 in (M).

##### (a) Pronunciation

(i) The sound formerly represented by “.” in the *Ön-mun* is often preserved in modern dialects as [a] or [o], sometimes [ɔ] or [ɛ].<sup>1)</sup> So far as the borderland is concerned, in Kei-zan district old people sometimes pronounce [o] for “.” as in [mol] (horse), [p'ol] (elbow), [p'ot] (red bean), and [p'o-ri] (fly), but in some other

1) See p. 20.



districts it is pronounced [a] or [ɛ] as in [mal], [p'al], [p'ak], [p'ɛk-ki], and [p'a-ri].

No dialectal demarcation is caused by the borderline.

(ii) The sound ㅍ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jō	Kei-zan	Go-rō-ri	Tei-hei	Kō-shō	Kō-kai	Ki-sen
pjo (rice plant)	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe
pjo-ru (ink stone)	pe-ri	pe-ri	pe-ri	pe-ri	pe-ru	pe-ru
pjo-rok (flea)	pe-re-gi	pe-ri-gi	pe-ri-gi	pe-ri-dzi	pe-ri-di	pe-ri-di
hjo (tongue)	se	se	se	he	he	he

Thus ㅍ is most frequently pronounced [e], and no marked dialectal demarcation is caused by the borderline.

(iii) The sound ㅍ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jō	Kei-zan	Go-rō-ri	Tei-hei	Kō-shō	Kō-kai	Ki-sen
ø (melon)	wɛ	ø	ø	wɛ	wɛ	o-i
ø (outside)	wɛ	ø	ø	wɛ	wɛ	wɛ
sø (iron)	sø	sø	sø	swe	swe	swe

Thus in (K) it is mostly pronounced ø, while it is usually [wɛ] in (N). This is a distinct difference.

(iv) The sound ㅍ in (K) is often pronounced [ø] as in [tʃ'a-pø] (ticket), [mø-hjaŋ-san] (妙香山); but in (N) it is often pronounced [o] as in [tʃ'a-p'o] (ticket), [ho-dʒa] ([so-dʒa]) (dutiful child).

(v) The sound formerly represented by “△” in the *Ön-mun* occurs in modern dialects as [s] or [w], or sometimes disappears, losing its consonant quality. In the borderland of these provinces [s] regularly occurs in (K), and [s] always disappears in (N) as the following table shows.

Kei-jō	Kei-zan	Go-rō-ri	Tei-hei	Kō-shō	Kō-kai	Ki-sen
ka-ül (autumn)	ka-sül	ka-sül	ka-sül	ka-sül, ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ	ka-sɛ, kaŋ-ɛ	kaŋ-e	kaŋ-e
ku-ju (manger)	ku-si	ku-si	ku-si	kuŋ-i	kuŋ-i	kuŋ-i
nɛŋ-i (shepherd's purse)	na-si	na-si	na-si	nɛŋ-i	nɛŋ-i	nɛŋ-i
ʔtʃo-a- (pecking)	ʔtʃo-sa-	ʔtʃo-sa-	ʔtʃo-sa-	ʔtʃo-a-	ʔtʃo-a-	ʔtʃo-a-

(vi) [p] ([b]) occurring at the middle of a word is retained entire in some districts, but in others it passes into [w]. An inquiry of this fact in the dialect words

of the borderland of these provinces shows, as in the following table, that [b] generally occurs in (K), while it is lost in (N).

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
hoak (stone mortar)	ho-bɛ-gi	ho-bak	ho-bak	hoak	hoak	hoak
nu-e (silk-worm)	nu-be, nu-e	nu-be	nū-be	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e
no:l (sunset glow)	nu-bu-ri	nū-bu-ri	nu-ri	no-ri	no-ri	no-ri
sɛ-o (lobster)	sɛ-bi	sɛ-bi	sɛ-bi	sɛ-u	sɛ-u	sɛ-u
tal-lɛ (false hair)	tal-bi	tal-bi	tal-bi	tal-bi	ta-ri	ta-ri
ku-wɔ- (roasting)	{ku-bɔ- ku-wɔ-	ku-bɔ-	ku-bɔ-	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-	ku-wɔ-
mɛ-wɔ- (being peppery)	mɛ-ba-	mɛ-ba-	mɛ-ba-	mɛ-wɔ-	mɛ-wɔ-	mɛ-wɔ-
tʃ'u-wɔ- (being cold)	tʃ'i-bɔ-	tʃ'i-bɔ-	tʃ'i-bɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-	tʃ'u-wɔ-

(vii) Of the words beginning with the [r] sound, [rja-], [rjɔ-], [rjɔ-], [rju-], [ri-] are varied in some districts as follows.

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
jaŋ-ban (the nobility)	jaŋ-ban	jaŋ-ban	jaŋ-baŋ	{jaŋ-ban naŋ-ban	naŋ-ban	naŋ-ban
jɔ-hɛŋ (travel)	jɔ-hɛŋ	jɔ-hɛŋ	jɔ-hɛŋ	{jɔ-hɛŋ nɔ-hɛŋ	nɔ-hɛŋ	nɔ-hɛŋ
jo-ri (cooking)	jo-ri	jo-ri	jo-ri	jo-ri, nori	no-ri	no-ri
juk-sip (sixty)	juk-sip	juk-sip	juk-sip	{juk-sip nuk-sip	nuk-sip	nuk-sip
i-ga (Ri family)	i-ga	i-ga	i-ga	ri-ga, ni-ga	ni-ga	ni-ga

Thus it is the peculiarity of (M) and (N) to change [r-] to [n-], and that of (K) and (L) to drop [r-] and retain [j-] or [i-] only. The geographical borderline of these provinces makes a clear-cut dialectal demarcation. The collateral presence of both forms [n-] and [j-] in Kô-shô 厚昌 district indicates the remarkable influence of the (K) dialect.

(viii) [k] in [ki-], [ke-], [kje-] retains, in (M) and (N), its original sound, but in (K) it is palatalized as to assume the sound [tʃ].

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
kje-dʒip (woman)	ke-dʒip	ke-dʒip	ke-dʒip	ke-dʒip	ke-dʒip	ke-dʒip
kjɔt (side)	tʃɔt	tʃɔt	tʃɔt	kjɔt	kjɔt	kjɔt
kjɔ (rice bran)	tʃe	tʃ'e	tʃ'e	ke	ke	ke
kil (road)	tʃil	tʃil	tʃil	kil	kil	kil
ki-dɔŋ (pillar)	tʃi-duŋ	tʃi-duŋ	tʃi-duŋ	ki-duŋ	ki-duŋ	ki-duŋ
kim-mɛn-da (to weed)	tʃi-sùm- mɛn-da	tʃi-sùm- mɛn-da	tʃi-sùm- mɛn-da	tʃi-sùm- mɛn-da	kim-mɛn- da	kim-mɛn-da

(ix) [tja-], [tjɔ], [tjo-], [tju-], [ti-] are, in (M) and (N), pronounced [ta-], [tɔ-], [to-], [tu-], [ti-], but in (K) and (L) they are in most cases palatalized to assume the sounds [tʃa-], [tʃɔ-], [tʃo-], [tʃu-], [tʃi-].

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
tʃaŋ (place)	tʃaŋ	tʃaŋ	tʃaŋ	taŋ, tʃaŋ	taŋ, tʃaŋ	taŋ
tʃ'ɔn-dʒi (heaven-earth)	tʃ'ɔn-dʒi	tʃ'ɔn-dʒi	tʃ'ɔn-dʒi	{t'ɔn-di tʃ'ɔn-dʒi}	t'ɔn-di	t'ɔn-di
tʃɔ (he)	tʃɔ	tʃɔ	tʃɔ	tʃe	te	te
tʃɔ (flute)	tʃɔ	tʃɔ	tʃɔ	tʃe	te	te
tʃɔl (temple)	tʃɔl	tʃɔl	tʃɔl	tʃɔl	tɔl	tɔl
tʃo-t'a (good)	tʃo-t'a	tʃo-t'a	tʃo-t'a	{to-t'a tʃo-t'a}	to-t'a	to-t'a
tʃip-sin (sandal)	tʃip-sin	tʃip-sin	tʃip-sin	tʃip-sin	tip-sin	tip-sin
tʃin-da (to fall)	tʃin-da	tʃin-da	tʃin-da	tʃin-da	tin-da	tin-da

The preservation of both [t] and [tʃ], or only [tʃ] at Kô-shô in (N) is due to the influence of the (K) dialect.

A glance at the foregoing phonetic peculiarities shows that all except (i) and (ii) are usually differentiated by the borderline of the two provinces. The frequent agreement of the dialect words at Kô-shô district with the (KL) dialect indicates the influence of the latter upon the former.

#### (b) Vocabulary

A great deal of difference is observed between the words used in (K) and those used in (MN). Only a few interesting examples will be cited here.

(i) Many nouns in the (K) dialect have [-ki] ([-gi]) affixed to the end.

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
jɔ-ho (fox)	jɔk-ki	jɔŋ-i	jɔŋ-i	jɔŋ-u	jɔ-u	jɔ-u
ka-ru (powder)	kal-gi	kal-gi	kal-gi	ka-ru	ka-ru	ka-ru
mu-u (radish)	muk-ki	muk-ki	muk-ki	mu-u	mu-u	mu-u
p'at (red bean)	p'ek-ki	p'ek-ki	p'ek-ki	p'ak	p'ak	p'ak
puk (shuttle)	puk-ki	puk-ki	puk-ki	pu-bu	pu-bu	pu
sut (charcoal)	suk-ki	suk-ki	suk-ki	ʔsuk	ʔsuk	ʔsuk

(ii) Moreover, the eastern and western sides of the borderline very often use different kinds of words.

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
ip-sal (lip)	{ ip-sül ip-tʃʷn	im-njək	im-njək	ip-sul	ip-sul	ip-sul
jɔ-wın-da (to grow thin)	jɔ-bin-da	jɔ-bin-da	jɔ-bin-da	pʻe-rɛn-da	pʻe-rɛn-da	pʻe-rɛn-da
ka-bjɔp-ta (to be light)	ka-gɛp-ta	kɛ-gap-ta	kɛ-gap-ta	ka-gɔp-ta	ka-bup-ta	ka-bjɔp-ta
ko-guma (sweet potato)	ko-gu-ma	ko-gu-ma	ko-gu-ma	ti-gwa	ti-gwa	ti-gwa
na-mak-sin (wooden clog)	kək-twi-gi	na-mu-sin	na-mu-sin	ʔkək-twi-gi	ʔkək-twi-gi	ʔkək-twi-gi
kal-gi (mane)	mo-rɛ-gi	mo-rɛ-gi	mo-rɛ-gi	tʻa-rɛŋ-i	tʻa-rɛŋ-i	tʻa-rɛŋ-i
kwi-ja (paste brush)	pʻul kwi-bal	pʻul-pi	pʻul-pi	pʻul-sa-dʒi	pʻul-sa-dʒi	{ pʻul-sa-dʒi kwi-al
pup (drum)	pu-pʻi	pup	pup, pu-pʻi	puk	puk	puk
pu:ri (bill, beak)	pu-bɔ-ri	pu-bu-ri	pu-bu-ri	tʃu-duiŋ-i	tʃu-duiŋ-i	tʃu-duiŋ-i
tʃɔ ʔka-rak (chop stick)	tʃɔl	tʃɔl	tʃɔl	tʃe-ka-tʃʻi	tʃe-ka-tʃʻi	tʃe-ka-tʃʻi
tʃɔl-lin-da (sleepy)	tʃa-bu-rop-ta	tʃa-bu-rop-ta	tʃa-bu-rop-ta	tʃɔl-lin-da	tʃɔl-lin-da	tʃɔl-lin-da
tʃe-boŋ-tʃʻim (sewing machine)	ma-sɔn <sup>1)</sup>	ma-sɔn	{ ma-sɔn, tʃa- boŋ-tʃʻim	tʃa-boŋ-tʃʻim	tʃa-boŋ-tʃʻim	tʃa-boŋ-tʃʻim
u-dʒaŋ (straw raincoat)	u-dʒaŋ	u-dʒaŋ	u-dʒaŋ	nu-jək	nu-jək	nu-jək

Thus it may be seen that the demarcation of the two dialects roughly coincides with the administrative borderline.

(c) Grammar

(i) Some auxiliary verbs in humble form end in [-oi-da] or [-ø-da]<sup>2)</sup> when the word-stem ends in a vowel as [ha-oi-da], [ha-ø-da] (to do) and others in [-soi-da] or [-sø-da]<sup>3)</sup> when the stem ends in a consonant as [is-soi-da], [is-sø-da] (to be). To indicate a slightly lesser degree of civility, the final part [-da] is dropped as [ha-oi], [ha-ø]<sup>4)</sup> or [is-soi], [is-sø]<sup>5)</sup>. These forms are most frequently used in (J); and their distribution in this area is as follows.

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
ham-ni-da	ha-o-da	ha-o-da	ha-o-da	—	—	—
is-sùm-ni-da	{ is-so-da is-su-da	is-so-da	is-so-da	—	{ is-so-da is-sø-da	{ is-su-da is-sø-da
ha-o	—	—	—	ha-we	—	ha-we

Thus this peculiarity is not very intensively diffused, but is rather evenly observed on either side of the borderline.

1) This is a word of Russian origin. There are some Russian words observed in the dialects of (KL), due to the Russian influence felt there for some time. See p. 73.

2) See pp. 63, 141 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

4) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

5) See pp. 65, 141 in the Appendix.

(ii) Some auxiliary verbs in humble form in the (KL) area end in [-m-me-da] or [-m-mi-da]<sup>1)</sup> when the word-stem ends in a vowel as [ham-me-da] (the humble form of to do), and in [-sùm-me-da] or [-sùm-mε-da]<sup>2)</sup> when the word-stem ends in a consonant as [is-sùm-me-da] (the humble form of to be). To indicate a slightly less degree of civility, the final part [-da] is dropped as [ham-me]<sup>3)</sup> or [is-sùm-me]<sup>4)</sup>. The distribution of the forms in this area is as follows.

Kei-jô	Kei-zan	Go-rô-ri	Tei-hei	Kô-shô	Kô-kai	Ki-sen
ham-ni-da	ham-me-da	ham-me-da	ham-me-da	—	—	—
ha-o	ham-me	ham-me	ham-me	ham-me	ham-me	ham-me

These forms are thus observed, in the (K) dialect, only to the north of Tei-hei; and they are peculiarities almost common to (K) and (N).

(iii) Some auxiliary verbs in humble form, in a part of (KL), end in [-p-tʃi-bi], [-tʃi-bi] as [hap-tʃi-bi], [ha-tʃi-bi] (to do); but in this borderland [-p-tʃi-bi] does not exist. Only [-tʃi-bi] is observed in Kei-zan, Go-rô-ri, and Tei-hei districts of (K).

(iv) Some auxiliary verbs in humble form ending in [-m-ne]<sup>5)</sup> as [ham-ne] (to do) are used only in Tei-hei and Kô-shô districts. This form is most intensively used in (J), and to some extent in (MN) and (K).

A glance at the distribution of these grammatical forms shows that the demarcation of the two dialects may be said to coincide with the administrative borderline.

In the light of the foregoing study of the distribution of the dialectal peculiarities on the borderland of (K) and (N), with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, it may be said that the grammar is much in common with each other, but so far as pronunciation and vocabulary are concerned, the (KL) and (MN) dialects are definitely divided approximately by the administrative borderline of

1) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

2) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

4) See pp. 66, 143 in the Appendix.

5) See S. OGURA: *Chôsen-go ni okeru Kenjôhó Sonkeihó no Jôdôshi* (A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language), op. cit., pp. 28, 47.

these provinces. The phonetic resemblance between Kô-shô district in (N) and the various districts of (K) may be ascribed to the intimate relations geographical and economic between this district and those of (K) in the upper reaches of the Yalu River.

### 7. Demarcation between the Hei-an nan-dô 平安南道 and the Kô-kai-dô 黄海道 Dialects

As points of reference, Hei-jô 平壤 and Chû-wa 中和 have been chosen in (M), and Kô-shû 黄州 and Sui-an 遂安 in (J); and the relations among them will be investigated, with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

#### (a) Pronunciation

(i) The sound formerly represented by “.” in the *Ôn-mun* occurs in modern dialects as [a] or [o], sometimes [ɔ] or [ɛ]<sup>1)</sup> On the borderland of this area a few people at Kô-shû were observed to pronounce it [o] as in [mol] (horse), but in other districts it was pronounced [a] as in [mal] (horse), [p'al] (elbow), [p'ak], [p'at] (red bean), [p'a-ri] (fly). No demarcation was observed on either side of the administrative borderline.

(ii) The sound ㅈ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Hei-jô	Chû-wa	Kô-shû	Sui-an
pjɔŋ (disease)	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ	pjɔŋ
pjɔ-ru (ink stone)	pe-ru	—	pjɔ-ru	pjɔ-ru
pjɔŋ-a-ri (chicken)	peŋ-a-ri	—	pjɔŋ-a-ri	pjɔŋ-a-ri
pjɔ-ru (flea)	pe-ru-di	—	pjɔ-ru-dʒi	pe-ru-dʒi
hjo (tongue)	he	he	he	he
hjon-da (to pull)	hen-da	—	hen-da	—

Thus a general rule cannot be found, but there is a tendency of its changing to [ɛ].

(iii) The sound ㅅ in this area is usually pronounced [ɔ] as in [ɔ] (outside), [an-dɔn-da] (impossible), while in Chû-wa district it is sometimes pronounced [ɛ],

1) See p. 20.

[wɛ] as in [ɛn-tʃib-an] (whole household), [an-dɛn-da] (impossible), and [wɛn-tʰoŋ] (whole).

(iv) The sound formerly represented by “Δ” in the *Ōn-mun* occurs in modern dialects as [s], [w], or disappears, losing its consonant quality. The sound on the borderland of this area is as follows.

Kei-jô	Hei-jô	Chû-wa	Kô-shû	Sui-an
ka-ül (autumn)	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül	ka-ül
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-we	ka-u	ka-wi	ka-wi
ku-juŋ (manger)	kwɛŋ-i	—	kwɛŋ-i	kuŋ
mu-u (radish)	mu-u, mu-i	—	mu-u, mu-i	mu-i
nɛŋ-i (shepherd's purse)	nɛŋ-i	nɛŋ-i	nɛŋ-i	jɛŋ-i
ʔtʃo-a (pecking)	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a

The disappearance of [s] is a common occurrence throughout (MN), (J), and (G).

(v) The sound which should be [ni] etymologically is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Hei-jô	Chû-wa	Kô-shû	Sui-an
i (tooth)	ni	ni	ni, i	i
ip-sa-gwi (leaf)	nip-sa-gu	nip-sa-gu	nip-sa-gu, ip-sa-gu	ip-sa-gu

Thus the original [n] sound is preserved in (M) and its influence is found to extend as far as Kô-shû.

(vi) [p] ([b]) occurring at the middle of a word is preserved entire in some dialects, but is changed to [w] in others. The distribution in the dialect words on the borderland of this area is as follows.

Kei-jô	Hei-jô	Chû-wa	Kô-shû	Sui-an
nu-e (silk-worm)	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e
sɛ-u (lobster)	sɛ-u	sɛ-u	sɛ-u	sɛ-u
ta-rɛ (false hair)	ta-rɛ	ta-rɛ	ta-rɛ	ta-rɛ
tɔ-wɔ- (being hot)	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-	tɔ-wɔ-

Thus [p] ([b]) is lost; no difference is observed on either side of the borderline.

(vii) Among the words beginning with the [r] sound, [rja-], [rjɔ-], [rjo-], [rju-] [ri-] are varied as follows.

Kei-jô	Hei-jô	Chû-wa	Kô-shû	Sui-an
jaŋ-ban (the nobility)	naŋ-ban	naŋ-ban	jaŋ-ban	jaŋ-ban
jo-hɛŋ (travel)	no-hɛŋ	no-hɛŋ	jo-hɛŋ	jo-hɛŋ
jo-ri (cooking)	no-ri	no-ri	jo-ri	jo-ri
juk-sip (sixty)	nuk-sip	nuk-sip	juk-sip	juk-sip
i-ga (Ri family)	ni-ga	ni-ga	i-ga	i-ga

It is a peculiarity of (MN) to change [r-] to [n-], which is distinctly observed as far as Chû-wa; but [r-] being lost, only [j-] or [i-] is retained in Kô-shû beyond the borderline.

(viii) [k] in [ki-], [ke-], [kje-], etc., retains its original sound as in [ke-dʒip] (woman), [kil] (road), [ki-duŋ] (pillar), [ki-wa] (tile), not being palatalized as [tʃi-dʒip], [tʃil], [tʃi-duŋ], [tʃi-wa]. It is in accordance with the general rule of pronunciation to retain the [k] sound in (MN), (J) and (G).

(ix) [tʃa-], [tʃɔ-], [tʃo-], [tʃu-], [ti-] are pronounced [ta-], [tɔ-], [to-], [tu-], [ti-] in (M), but are mostly palatalized as [tʃa-], [tʃɔ-], [tʃo-], [tʃu-], [tʃi-] in (J).

Kei-jô	Hei-jô	Chû-wa	Kô-shû	Sui-an
tʃaŋ (long)	taŋ	taŋ, tʃaŋ	tʃaŋ	tʃaŋ
tʃɔl (temple)	tɔl	tɔl	tʃɔl	tʃɔl
hjoŋ-dʒe (brother)	hjoŋ-de	hjoŋ-de	hjoŋ-dʒe	hjoŋ-dʒe
tʃ'ɔn-dʒi (heaven and earth)	t'ɔn-di	t'ɔn-di	tʃ'ɔn-dʒi	tʃ'ɔn-dʒi
tʃo-t'a (good)	to-t'a	to-t'a, tʃo-t'a	tʃo-t'a	tʃo-t'a
tʃip-sin (sandal)	tip-sin	tip-sin	tʃip-sin	tʃip-sin
tʃi-nan-da (to pass)	ti-nan-da	ti-nan-da	tʃi-nan-da	tʃi-nan-da

A general survey of the foregoing phonetic peculiarities shows that (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (vi) and (viii) are common to the districts on either side of the borderline, but (v), (vii) and (ix) are definitely divided by the borderline. It may be said, however, that in the case of (v), the influence of (M) has partly extended to (J), while in the case of (ix), the influence of (J) has somewhat extended to (M).

#### (b) Vocabulary

No marked difference is observed in the vocabulary used on either side of the borderline. Only two instances will be below.

Kei-jô	Hei-jô	Chû-wa	Kô-shû	Sui-an
p'at (red bean)	p'ak	p'ak	p'at	p'at
p'ɛŋ-i (top)	se-ri	se-ri	se-ri	so-ri, p'ɛŋ-i



In the case of "top" the latter, the influence of the (MN) dialect upon the (J) dialect is quite evident.

(c) Grammar

(i) Some auxiliary verbs in humble form end in [-oi-da] or [-ø-da]<sup>1)</sup> when the word-stem ends in a vowel, as [ha-oi-da], [ha-ø-da] (to do), and [-soi-da] or [-sø-da]<sup>2)</sup> when the stem ends in a consonant as [is-soi-da], [-is-sø-da] (to be). In the case of a lesser degree of civility, the final part [-da] is dropped as [hā-oi], [ha-ø]<sup>3)</sup> and [is-soi], [is-sø]<sup>4)</sup>. The distribution on the borderland is as follows.

Kei-jō	Hei-jō	Chū-wa	Kō-shū	Sui-an
ham-ni-da	—	ha-we-da	—	—
is-sūm-ni-ta	is-swe-da	—	is-swe-da, is-si-da	is-si-da
is-so	is-swe	—	is-swe	—

Thus these forms are rather evenly, though not intensively, used on either side of the borderline.

(ii) Some auxiliary verbs in humble form ending in [-m-me]<sup>5)</sup> as [ham-me] (to do) are used in North Korea. This form is quite scarce on the borderland of this area. It is in (J) districts that this one form [ham-me] is observed.

(iii) Some auxiliary verbs in humble form ending in [-m-ne]<sup>6)</sup> as [ham-ne] (to do) are extensively used on the borderland of this area and in (J), but this form is to a certain extent used in (MN) and (K).

Observation of the foregoing grammatical forms fails to show a distinct dialectal demarcation on the borderland of the two provinces.

The foregoing observation of the dialectal peculiarities on the borderland of (M) and (J), with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, shows that,

1) See pp. 63, 141 in the Appendix.

2) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

4) See pp. 65, 141 in the Appendix.

5) See pp. 66, 141 in the Appendix.

6) See S. OGURA: *Chōsen-go ni okeru Kenjōhō Sonkeihō no Jōdōshi (A Study of the Humble and Honorific Forms in the Korean Language)*, op. cit., pp. 28, 47.

so far as vocabulary and grammar are concerned, it is difficult to locate a demarcation along the geographical borderline, but in the matter of pronunciation, the geographical borderline may be regarded as approximately making a demarcation.

#### 8. Demarcation of the Kei-ki-dô 京畿道 Dialect and the Dialects of the Various Neighbouring Provinces

As points of reference, Kei-jô 京城, Kai-jô 開成, Chô-tan 長湍 and Ren-sen 漣川 have been chosen in (G), Kin-sen 金川 and En-an 延安 in (J), Shun-sen 春川 and Gen-shû 原州 in (H), Chû-shû 忠州 and Sei-shû 清州 in (F), and Ten-an 天安 and Kô-jô 洪城 in (E). The relations among them will be investigated, with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

##### (a) Pronunciation

(i) The sound formerly represented by “.” in the *Ōn-mun* is always pronounced in this area [a] as in [mal] (horse), [p'al] (elbow), [p'at] (red bean) and [p'a-ri] (fly).

(ii) The sound ㅈ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Kai-jô	Chô-tan	Ren-sen	Kin-sen	En-an	Shun-sen
pjɔl (star)	pjɔl	pjɔl	pjɔl	pjɔl	pjɔl	pjɔl, pi:l
pjɔ (rice plant)	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe
pjɔ-ru (ink stone)	pjɔ-ru	pjɔ-ru	pjɔ-ru	pjɔ-ru	pjɔ-ru	pe-ru
pjɔ-ruk (flea)	pe-ru-gi	pe-ru-gi	pe-ru-gi	pe-ri-gi	pe-ru-gi	pe-ru-gi
Kei-jô	Gen-shû	Chû-shû	Sei-shû	Ten-an	Kô-jô	
pjɔl (star)	pjɔl, pi:l	pi:l	pi:l	pjɔl, pi:l	pi:l, pi-ul	
pjɔ (rice plant)	pe	pe	na-rak	pe	pe	
pjɔ-ru (ink stone)	pe-ru	pe-ri	pe-ru	pe-ru	pe-ru	
pjɔ-ruk (flea)	pe-ru-gi	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	pe-ruk	

According to the above table, the sound in the area to the north of Kei-jô and Ren-sen and in (J) retains [jɔ-] and is pronounced as [pjɔl] (star), [pjɔ-ru] (ink stone); but in (EF) to the south of Shun-sen, it is varied to [i] or [e] as in [pi:l], [pe-ru] etc.

(iii) The sound ㅊ is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Kai-jô	Chô-tan	Ren-sen	Kin-sen	En-an	Shun-sen
ø (melon)	o-i	o-i	o-i	o-i, ø	o-i	ø
ø (outside)	we	we	ø	ø, e	e	ø
kø-rop-ta (difficult)	kwe-rop-ta	kwe-rop-ta	kø-rop-ta	{kø-rop-ta ke-rop-ta	ke-rop-ta	kø-rop-ta
sø (iron)	swe	sø	sø	sø	se	sø
tønd-da (to grow, to become)	twen-da	{tønd-da twen-da	tønd-da	{tønd-da ten-da	ten-da	tønd-da

Kei-jô	Gen-shû	Chû-shû	Sei-shû	Ten-an	Kô-jô
ø (melon)	ø	o-i, we	o-i	o-i	o-i
ø (outside)	ø	we	e	ø	e
kø-rop-ta (difficult)	kø-rop-ta	kwe-rop-ta	?	kø-rop-ta	?
sø (iron)	sø	?	sø	sø	sø
tønd-da (to grow, to become)	tønd-da	?	?	tønd-da	?

Thus the sound is [ø] in Kei-jô district, but it is pronounced [we] or [e] in various districts.

(iv) ㅈ, ㅊ, and ㅌ are generally pronounced [wɔ], [wa], and [jo], respectively. However, [pkwɔŋ] (pheasant) is sometimes pronounced [pkɔŋ] in Ren-sen and Chû-shû; [tʃ'a-p'jo] (ticket), [tʃ'a-p'ø] in Kin-sen and Shun-sen, [tʃ'a-p'e] in Ten-an.

(v) The sound formerly represented by “Δ” in the *Ön-mun*, in modern dialects, occurs as [s] or [w], or occurs with its consonant quality lost. In this area, the sound is pronounced as follows.

Kei-jô	Kai-jô	Chô-tan	Ren-sen	Kin-sen	En-an	Shun-sen
jo-ho (fox)	jo-u	jo-u	jo-wi	jo-wi	jo-wi	jo-u
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-u	ka-wi, ka-se	ka-wi, ka-se	ka-wi	ka-u	ka-se
ku-ju (manger)	tʃuk-t'ɔŋ	kwi-juŋ	kwi-iŋ	kwi-joŋ	kweŋ	kwi-juŋ
kim-mən-da (to weed)	kim-mən-da	kim-mən-da	kim-mən-da	kim-mən-da	kim-mən-da	tʃim-mən-da
mu-u (radish)	mu-ju	mu-ju	mu-u	mu-i	mu-i	mu-u
ʔtʃo-a (pecking)	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a

Kei-jô	Gen-shû	Chû-shû	Sei-shû	Ten-an	Kô-jô
jo-ho (fox)	jo-u	jo-u, jo-su	jo-su	jo-ho, jo-su	jo-su
ka-wi (scissors)	ka-se	ka-se	ka-se	ka-wi, ka-se	ka-se
ku-ju (manger)	kwi-juŋ	ku-juŋ	ku-su	ku-su	ku-su
kim-mən-da (to weed)	tʃim-mən-da	tʃim-mən-da	pat-mən-da	tʃim-mən-da	tʃim-mən-da
mu-u (radish)	mu-u, mu-su	mu-su	mu-su	mu-u, mu-su	mu-u, mu-su
ʔtʃo-a (pecking)	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃo-a	ʔtʃi-go	ʔtʃi-go	ʔtʃi-go

According to the above table, the [s] sound chiefly occurs in (EF), but never in (GH) or (J). [s] occurring in the word for scissors in a part of (G) and (H) is probably due to a casual influence of the (EF) dialect, while the loss of the [s] sound in the words for scissors, manger, radish in a part of (EF) is probably an influence of the (G) and (H) dialects.

(vi) [p] ([b]) occurring at the middle of a word is, in some dialects, preserved entire, and in some others varied to [w]. In this area, [b] occurs very seldom as the following table shows.

Kei-jô	Kai-jô	Chô-tan	Ren-sen	Kin-sen	En-an	Shun-sen
բոյ-ճ-րի (dumb person)	բոյ-ճ-րի	բոյ-ճ-րի	բոյ-ճ-րի	{ բոյ-ճ-րի բո-ճ-րի	բոյ-ճ-րի	{ բոյ-ճ-րի բոյ-տ՛ի
nol (sunset glow)	nol	nol	nol	—	—	—
nu-e (silk-worm)	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e	nu-we	nu-e
սե-ւ (lobster)	սե-ւ	սե-ւ	սե-ւ	սե-ւ	սե-ւ	սե-ւ
ta-re (false hair)	tal-le	ta-re	ta-ri	ta-re	ta-re	ta-ri
ku-ճ- (roasting)	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-

Kei-jô	Gen-shû	Chû-shû	Sei-shû	Ten-an	Kô-jô
բոյ-ճ-րի (dumb person)	բոյ-ճ-րի	բոյ-ճ-րի	բոյ-ճ-րի	բոյ-ճ-րի	բոյ-ճ-րի
nol (sunset glow)	—	nol	—	—	—
nu-e (silk-worm)	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e	nu-e
սե-ւ (lobster)	սեյ-ւ	սե-ւ	սե-ւ	սե-ւ	սե-ւ
ta-re (false hair)	ta-ri	ta-ri	tal-bi	tal-bi, ta-ri	ta-ri
ku-ճ- (roasting)	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-	ku-ճ-

(vii) [k] in [ki-], [ke-], [kjo-] occurs as follows;

Kei-jô	Kai-jô	Chô-tan	Ren-sen	Kin-sen	En-an	Shun-sen
ke-dzip (woman)	ke-dzip	ki-dzip	tji-dzip	ki-dzip	ki-dzip	tji-dzip
kjo (rice bran)	kjo	kjo	ke	ke	ke	tje
kjo-ul (winter)	kjo-ul	kjo-ul	kjo-ul	kjo-ul	kjo-ul	tjo-dul
kil (road)	kil	kil	kil	kil	kil	tjil
ki-duյ (pillar)	ki-duյ	ki-duյ	{ ki-duյ tji-duյ	ki-duյ	ki-duյ	tji-duյ

Kei-jô	Gen-shû	Chû-shû	Sei-shû	Ten-an	Kô-jô
ke-dzip (woman)	tji-dzip	tji-dzip	tji-dzip	ke-dzip, tji-dzip	tji-dzip
kjo (rice bran)	ke, tje	tjo	ke	tjo	tjo
kjo-ul (winter)	kjo-ul, tjo-ul	—	tju:l	kjo-ul, tjo-ul	tju:k
kil (road)	tjil	tjil	tjil	tjil	tjil
ki-duյ (pillar)	tji-duյ	tji-duյ	tji-duյ	ki-doյ, tji-doյ	tji-duյ

Thus the original [k] sound is retained in (G) and (J), while in the whole of (EF) and in a part of (H) south of Shun-sen, [k] in [ki-], [ke-] and [kjo-] is mostly palatalized and pronounced [tʃi-], [tʃo-]. The peculiar parallel occurrence of [k] and [tʃ] in Ten-an district shows the meeting of the (G) dialect and the (EF) dialect.

(viii) [rja-], [rjo-], [rju-], [ri-] and [tja-], [tjo-], [tju-], [ti-], in (MN), are pronounced [na-], [no-], [nu-], [ni-] and [ta-], [to-], [tu-], [ti-], respectively, but in this area they are all pronounced [ja-], [jo-], [ju-], [i-] and [tʃa-], [tʃo-], [tʃu-], [tʃi-], respectively.

A general survey of the foregoing phonetic peculiarities shows that while there is hardly any difference among the provinces as to (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (vi) and (viii), there stand in rivalry two camps—the (GJ) dialect and the (EF) dialect as to (v) and (vii).

#### (b) Vocabulary

Kei-jô	Kai-jô	Chô-tan	Ren-sen	Kin-sen	En-an	Shun-sen
ko-tʃ'o (cayenne-pepper)	taŋ-tʃ'u	ko-tʃ'u	ko-tʃ'u	taŋ-tʃ'u	{taŋ-tʃ'u ko-tʃ'u	—
mo-re (sand)	mol-gɛ	mo-re	mo-re	mo-re	mo-re	—
ok-su-su (Indian corn)	kaŋ-nɛŋ-i	ok-su-su	ok-su-su	kaŋ-nɛm-i	kaŋ-nɛm-i	—

Kei-jô	Gen-shû	Chû-shû	Sei-shû	Ten-an	Kô-jô
ko-tʃ'o (cayenne-pepper)	—	ʔko-tʃ'u	ʔko-tʃ'u	ʔkô-tʃ'u	ʔko-tʃ'u
mo-re (sand)	—	mô-se	mo-se	mo-re, mo-se	mô-re, mô-se
ok-su-su (Indian corn)	—	ok-si-gi	ok-suk-ku	ok-suk-ku	ok-su-su

As the above table shows, a demarcation may be drawn, as regards the distribution of some dialect words, between the northern and the southern side of Shun-sen and Gen-shû; but it seems that throughout this area about the same vocabulary is used.

#### (c) Grammar

Some auxiliary verbs in humble form end in [-oi-da] or [-ø-da]<sup>1)</sup> when the word-stem ends in a vowel as [ha-oi-da], [ha-ø-da] (to do) or end in [-soi-da] or

1) See pp. 63, 141 in the Appendix.

[-sø-da]<sup>1)</sup> when the stem ends in a consonant as [is-soi-da], [is-sø-da] (to be). In the case of a lesser degree of civility, the final part [-da] is dropped as [ha-oi], [ha-ø]<sup>2)</sup> and [is-soi], [is-sø]<sup>3)</sup>. The distribution of these forms is as follows.

Kei-jô	Kai-jô	Chô-tan	Ren-sen	Kin-sen	En-an	Shun-sen
ham-ni-da	—	—	ha-oi-da	—	—	—
is-sùm-ni-da	is-si-da	is-swi-da	is-soi-da	is-si-da	is-si-da	—

Kei-jô	Gen-shû	Chû-shû	Sei-shû	Ten-an	Kô-jô
ham-ni-da	—	—	—	ha-we-da	—
is-sùm-ni-ta	—	—	—	—	is-soi-da

This peculiarity is thus practised rather intensively in the northern districts and seldom in the southern.

The foregoing study of the distribution of the dialects in (G) and the various adjoining provinces, with reference to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, shows a demarcation drawn between the north and the south as to certain peculiarities, but broadly speaking, the dialects of these districts may be regarded as belonging to one and the same dialect.

## 9. Conclusion

In the foregoing the writer has presented the relations between the borderlines of various provinces and the demarcations of the dialects and stated that the two not always coincide. How should the Korean dialects be divided more properly, then? Should they be divided by means of standards based on minor peculiarities, naturally they could be divided into very many dialects. For convenience' sake, the present writer has adopted the following geographical terms for dividing the dialects—the Kei-shô-dô 慶尙道 (CD) dialect, the Zen-ra-dô 全羅道 (AB) dialect, the Kan-kyô-dô 咸鏡道 (KL) dialect, the Hei-an-dô 平安道 (MN) dialect, the Kei-ki-dô 京畿道 (G) dialect, and the Quelpart Island dialect. Since the

1) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

2) See pp. 64, 141 in the Appendix.

3) See pp. 65, 141 in the Appendix.

characteristics of these dialects have been made clear in the foregoing exposition, explanations of the contents will not be given here. Only the boundaries of the six dialects will be explained, and a result of the writer's studies of these dialects will be presented. Also see Map No. 10 in the Appendix.

1. The Kei-shô-dô (CD) dialect. This includes the whole of (CD), Uru-chin 蔚珍 and Hei-kai 平海 districts in (H). Its influence extends as far as the eastern part of (AB). Its demarcation with the (F) dialect, as a whole, coincides with the borderline of the two provinces, but some extremely complicated relations are observed between the two dialects.

2. The Zen-ra-dô (AB) dialect. This includes almost the whole of (A) and (B), excepting Quelpart Island (see the section under No. 6) and Mo-shu 茂朱 and Kin-zan 錦山 (see the section under No. 5). Further, the (AB) dialect has given a considerable influence upon the dialect in the (E) dialect included in the Kei-ki-dô (G) dialect.

3. The Kan-kyô-dô (KL) dialect. This includes the whole of (L) and the districts of (K) to the north of Tei-hei 定平. The districts to the south of Ei-kô 永興 belong to the Kei-ki-dô (G) dialect.

4. The Hei-an-dô (MN) dialect. This includes the whole of (M) and (N). However, Kô-shô 厚昌 district has been influenced by the Kan-kyô-dô (KL) dialect to a considerable degree.

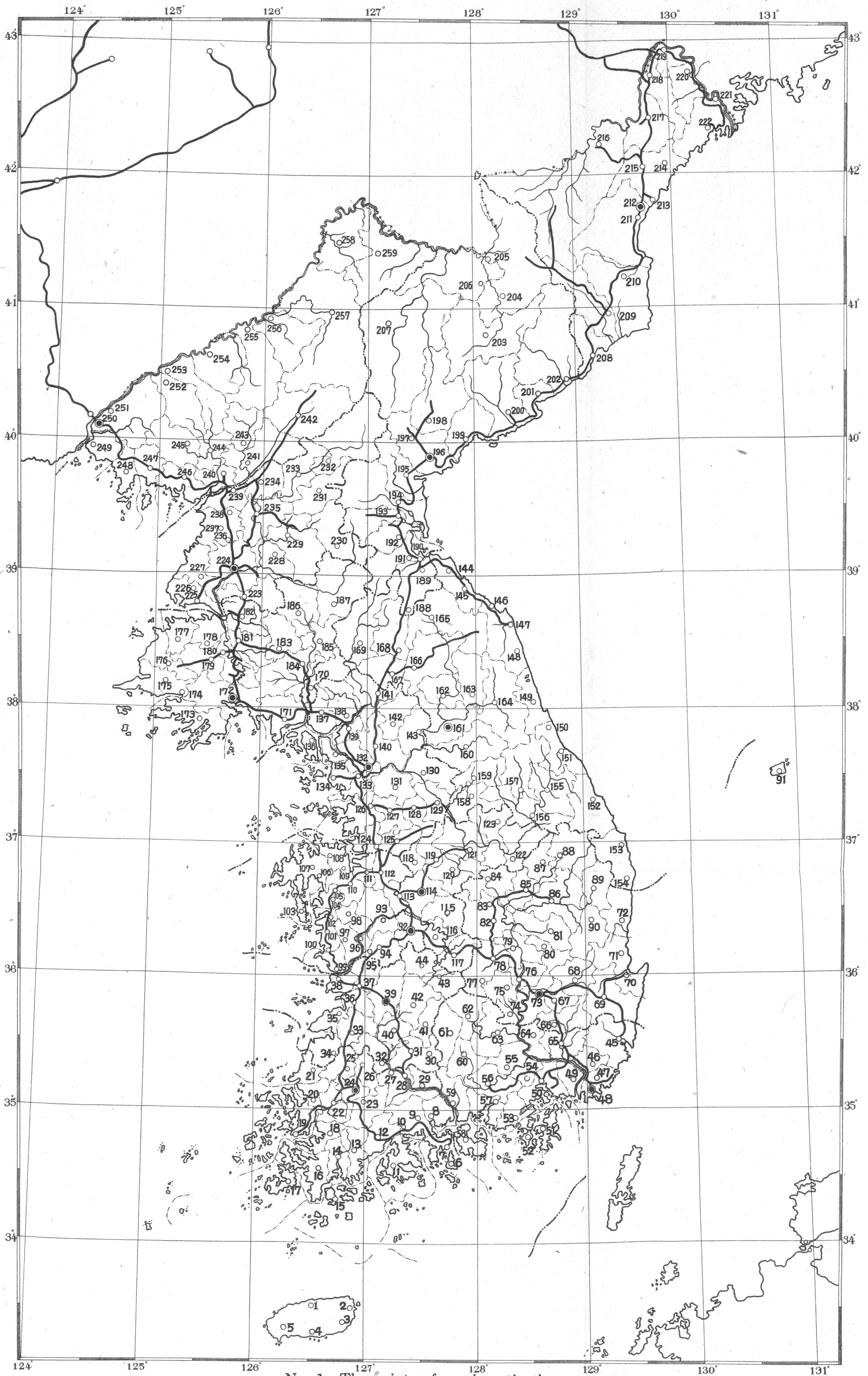
5. The Kei-ki-dô (G) dialect. Under this name the writer places the greater part of (G), (EF), (H) and (J). Of all this area, Uru-chin 蔚珍 and Hei-kai 平海 districts in the south-eastern corner of (H) have been encroached upon by the Kei-shô-dô (CD) dialect. On the other hand, this dialect has under its influence the districts of (K) to the south of Ei-kô 永興, and Mo-shu 茂朱 and Kin-zan 錦山 districts in (B).

6. The Quelpart Island dialect. Though it seems to be rather closely related to the Zen-ra-dô (AB) dialect, this is a dialect one worth treatment as an independent one, when viewed in the light of its peculiarities in various aspects.

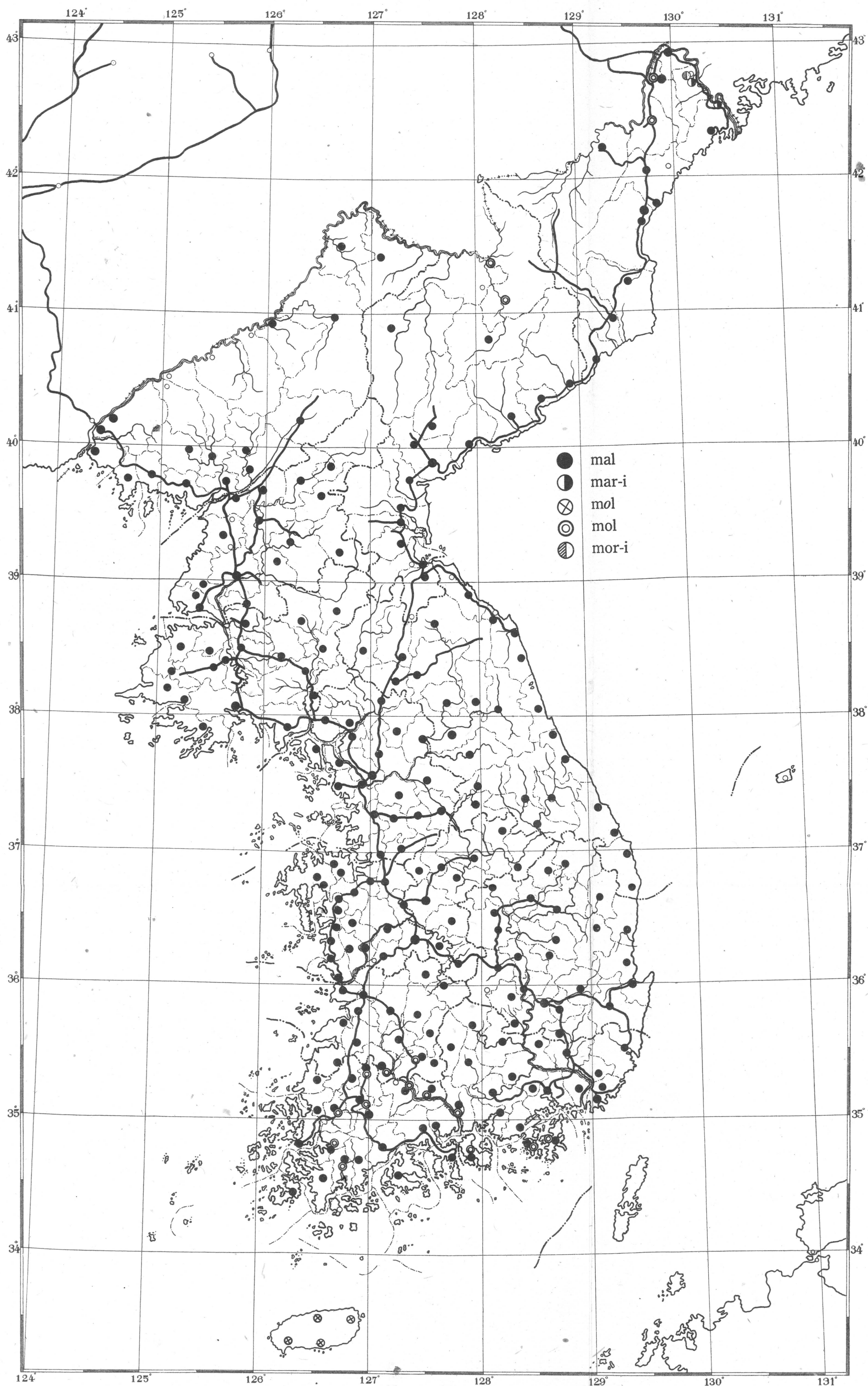
(Translated from the Japanese by Kazue Sugimura).



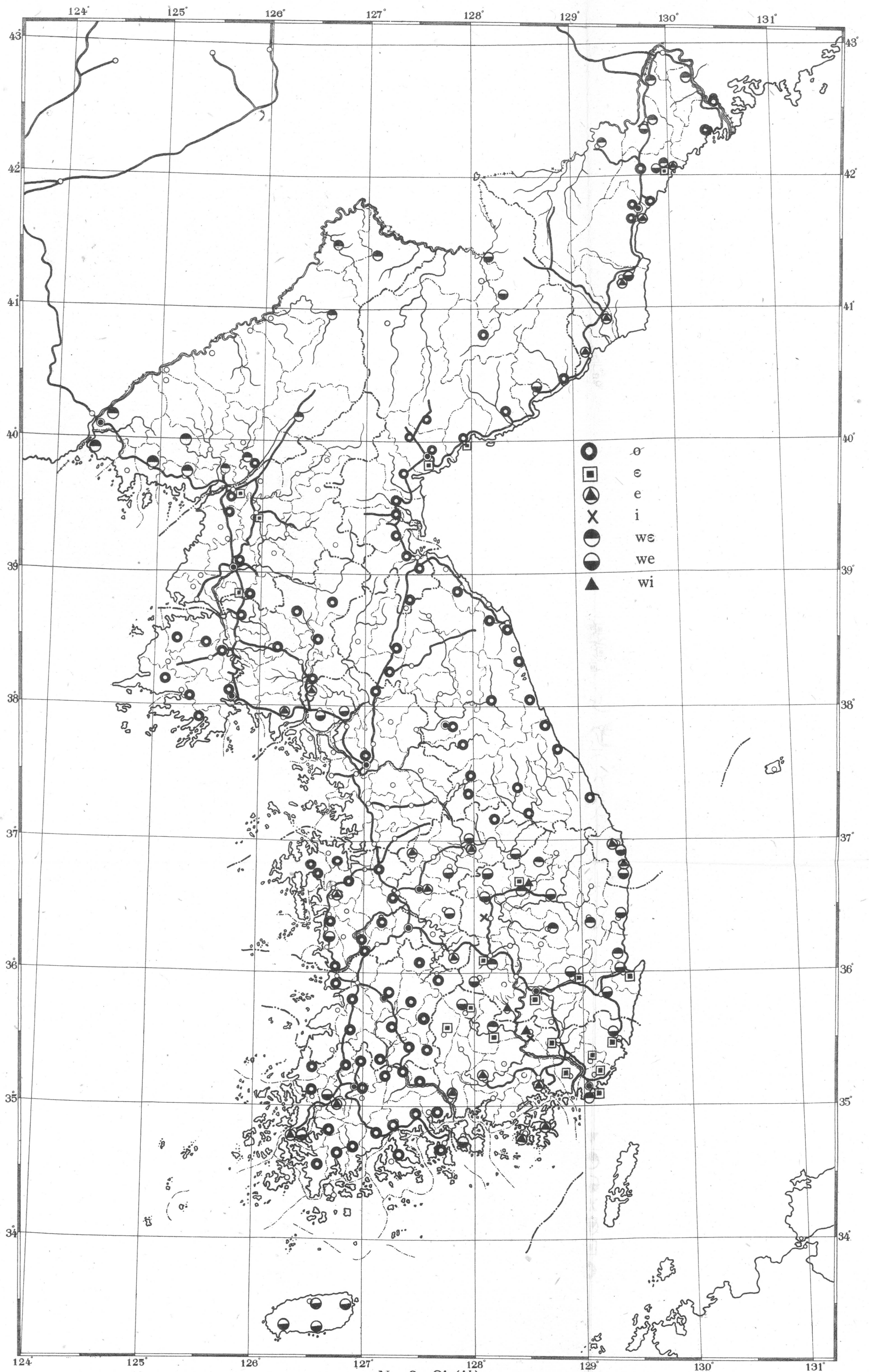




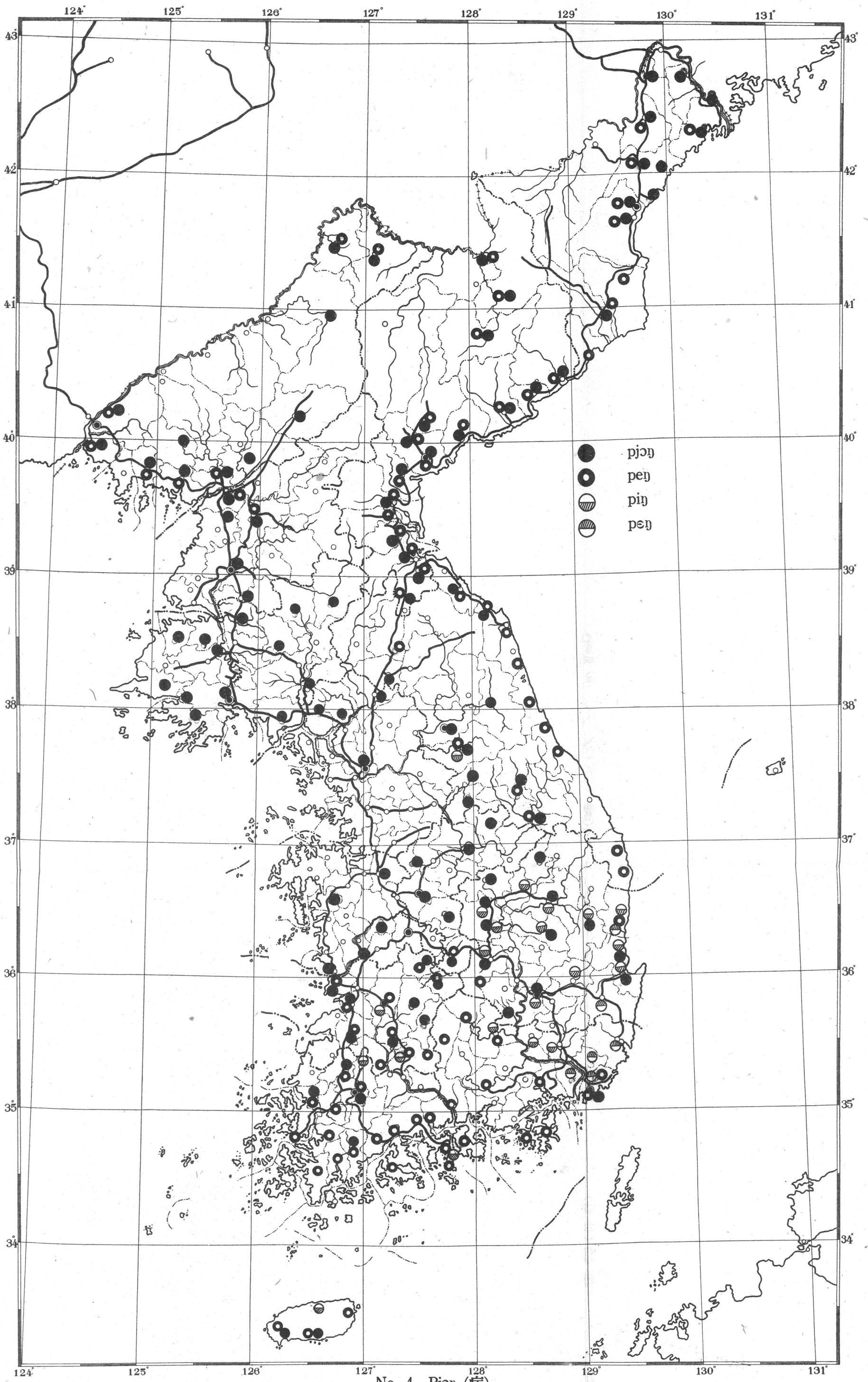
No: 1 The points of my investigation



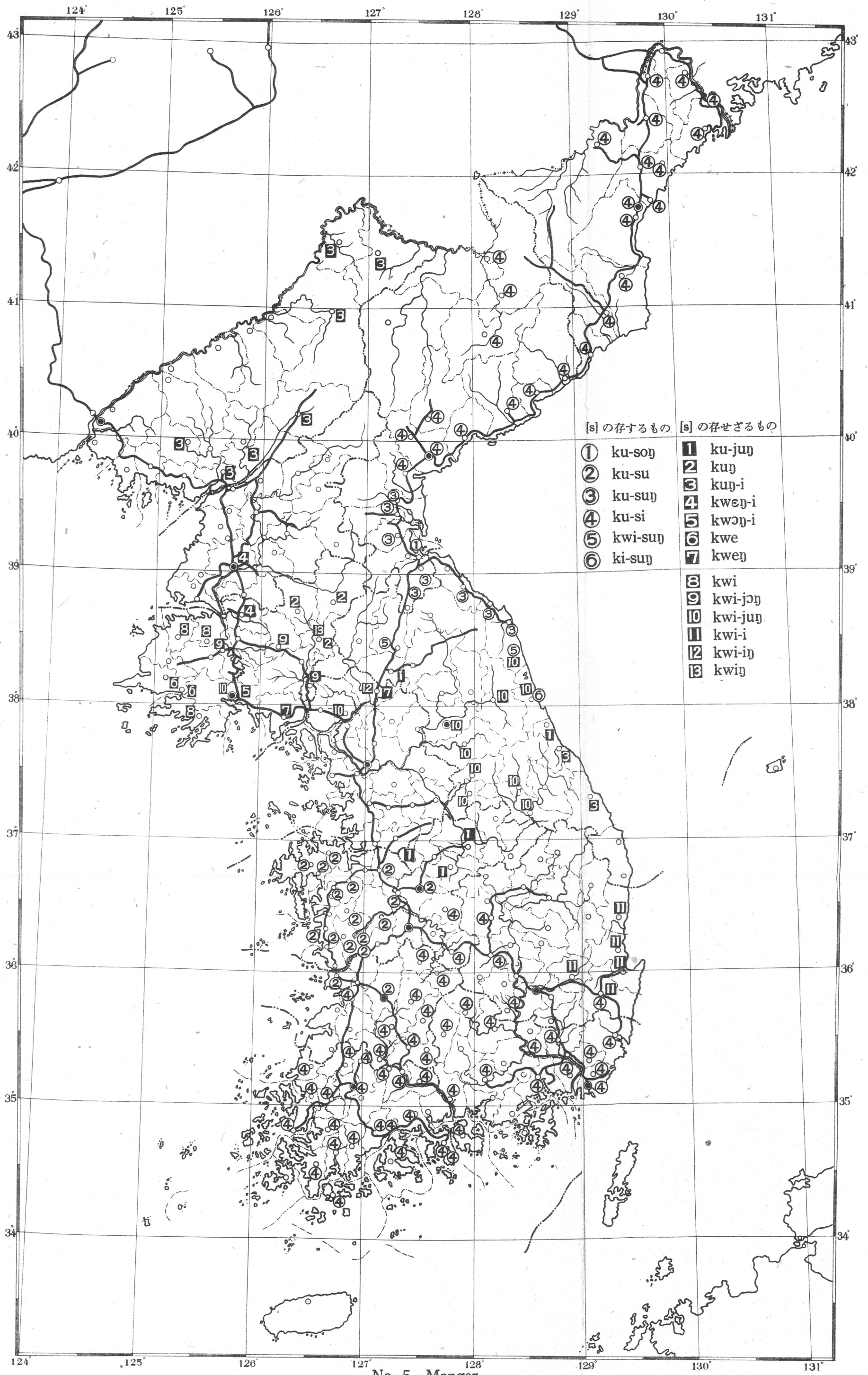
No. 2 Horse



No. 3 Oi (外)

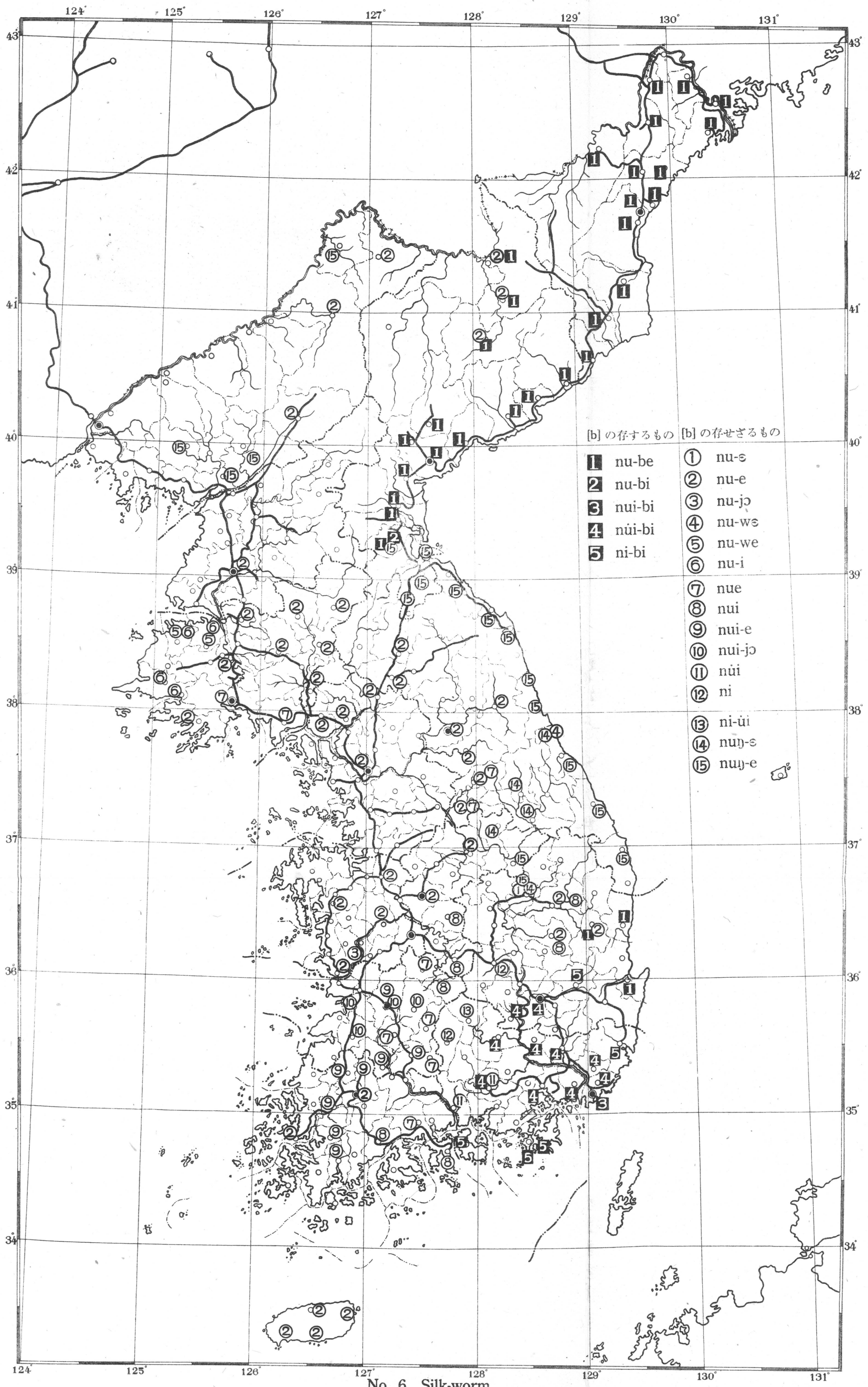


No. 4 Pjou (病)



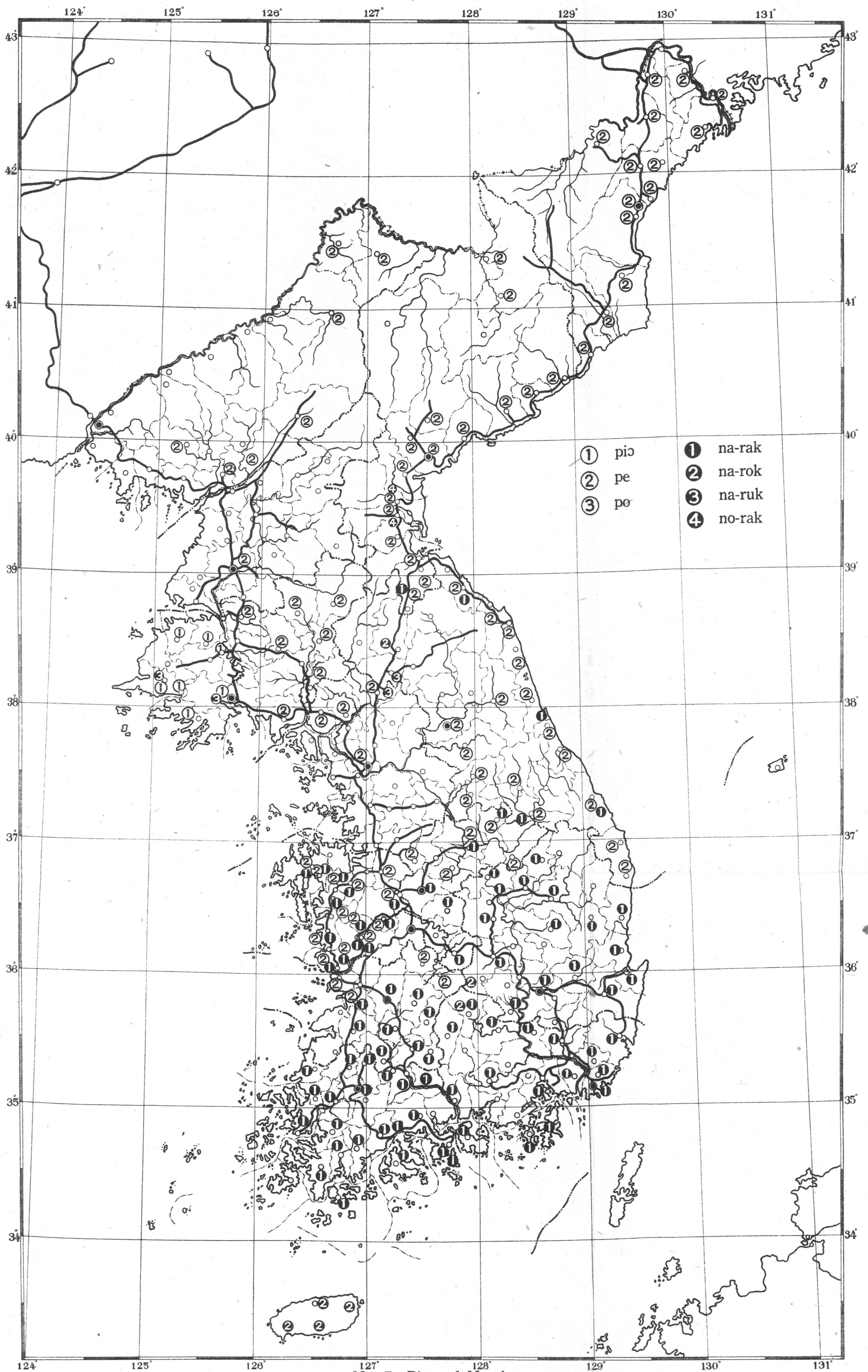
[s] の存するもの		[s] の存せざるもの	
①	ku-soŋ	❶	ku-juŋ
②	ku-su	❷	kuŋ
③	ku-suŋ	❸	kuŋ-i
④	ku-si	❹	kwɛŋ-i
⑤	kwi-suŋ	❺	kwɔŋ-i
⑥	ki-suŋ	❻	kwe
		❼	kwɛŋ
		❽	kwi
		❾	kwi-juŋ
		❿	kwi-juŋ
		⓫	kwi-i
		⓬	kwi-iŋ
		⓭	kwij

No. 5 Manger



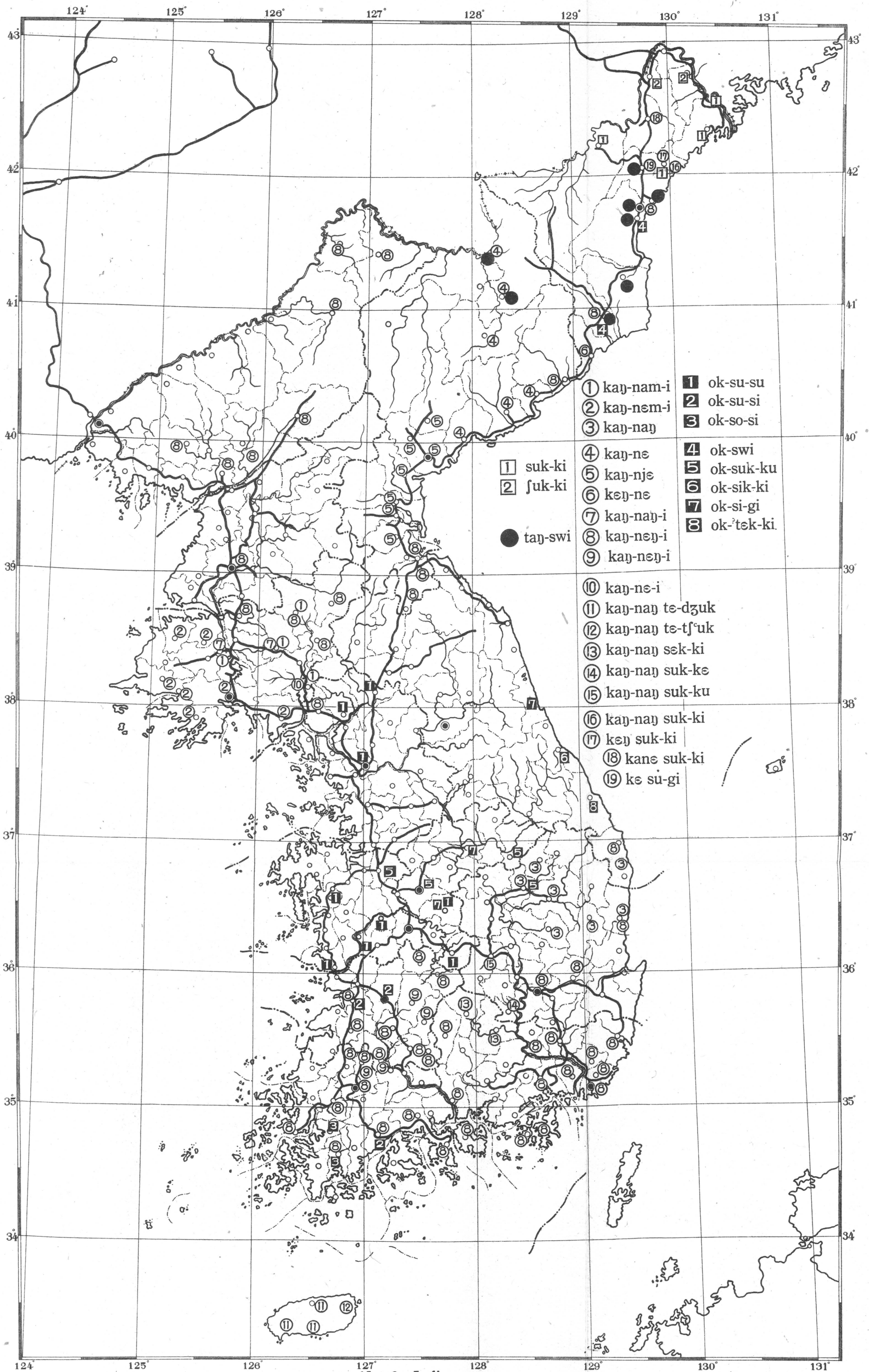
[b] の存するもの		[b] の存せざるもの	
1	nu-be	1	nu-e
2	nu-bi	2	nu-e
3	nui-bi	3	nu-jo
4	nui-bi	4	nu-we
5	ni-bi	5	nu-we
		6	nu-i
		7	nue
		8	nui
		9	nui-e
		10	nui-jo
		11	nui
		12	ni
		13	ni-üi
		14	nuj-e
		15	nuj-e

No. 6 Silk-worm



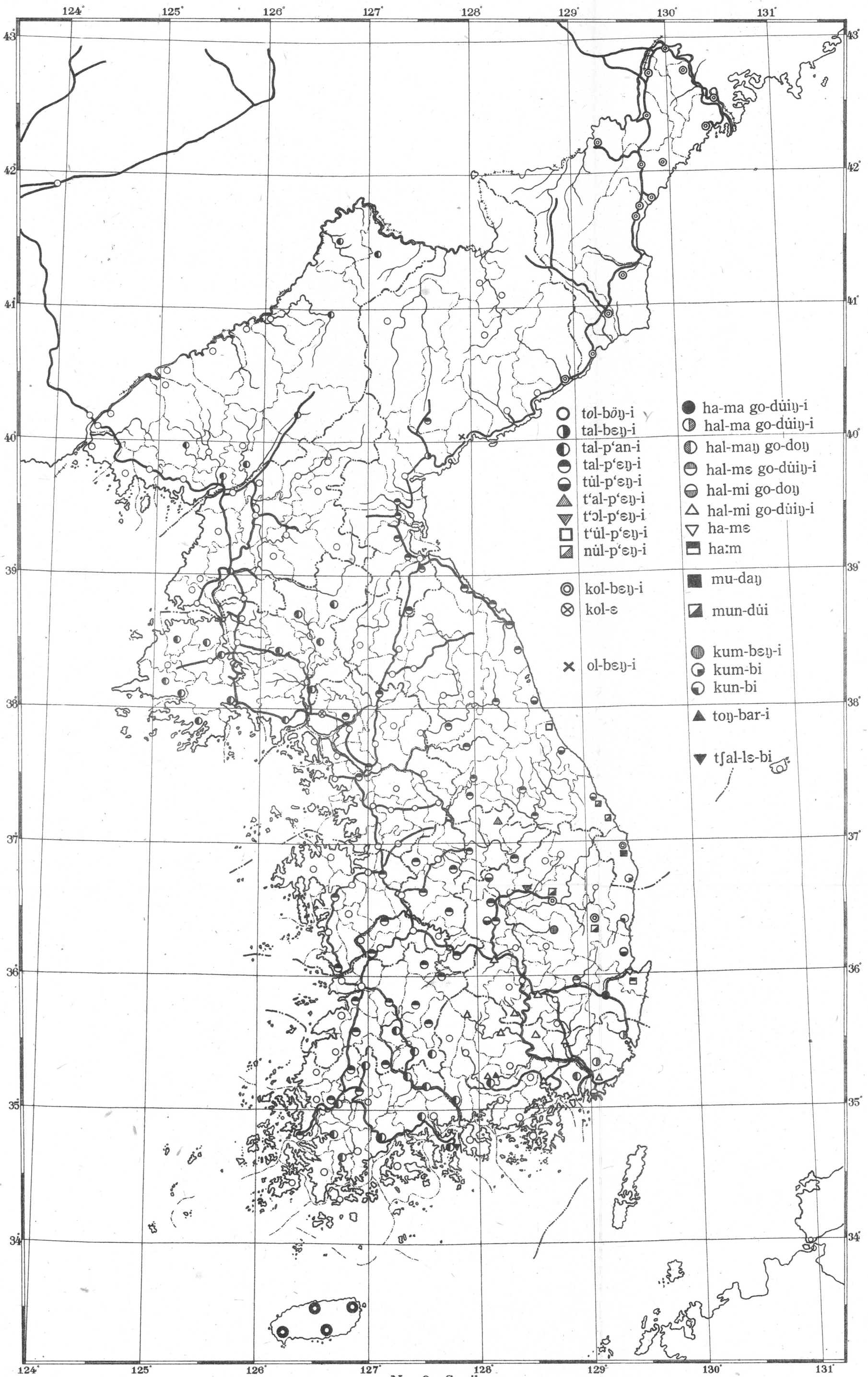
- |   |     |   |        |
|---|-----|---|--------|
| ① | pio | ① | na-rak |
| ② | pe  | ② | na-rok |
| ③ | po  | ③ | na-ruk |
|   |     | ④ | no-rak |

No. 7 Pjo and Narak



No. 8 Indian corn







## VOCABULARY

N. B.

- 1) The symbols (A), (B), (C), etc. represent the various provinces of Korea. See p. 19 of the Text.
- 2) The figures represent the points of reference. See p. 9 of the Text.

## Horse (馬)

The points at which it is pronounced [mal] are omitted.

[mar-i] (L) 220, 221.

[mɔl] (A) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[mol] (A) 14, 18, 22, 24<sup>(1)</sup>, 26, 28, 29. (B) 31, 32. (C) 51, 52<sup>(2)</sup>, 59<sup>(3)</sup>. (K) 204, 205. (L) 217, 218.

[mor-i] (L) 220.

- (1) Pronounced [mal] also in (A), (B), and all other areas.
- (2) At Tō-ei 統營 and Kyo-sai 巨濟, pronounced [mol] by women in town and generally in the rural districts.
- (3) At Ka-tō 河東 and Nan-kai 南海, pronounced [mol] by illiterate people even in town.

## Elbow (臂)

The points at which it is pronounced [p'al] are omitted.

[p'ol] (A) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[p'ol] (A) 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 24, 27, 28, 29. (B) 31, 32. (C) 45, 47, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 61. (K) 203, 204, 205<sup>(1)</sup>. (L) 217, 218<sup>(2)</sup>.

[p'or-i] (L) 220.

[p'ol-gɛ] (A) 12.

[p'ol ku-ma-ri] (A) 6. (C) 46.

[p'ol tuk] (A) 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26. (B) 31, 32, 33, 36, 40.

- (1), (2) Often pronounced [p'ol] by old folks and women.

## Red Bean (小豆)

The points at which it is pronounced [p'at], [p'ɛk-ki], [p'ɛt-tj'i], etc. are omitted.

[p'ot] (A) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[p'ot] (A) 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. (B) 31, 32, 33. (C) 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 61.

[p'ot-tj'i] (L) 217, 218, 220.

## Fly (蠅)

The points at which it is pronounced [p'a-i], [p'a-rɛŋ-i], etc. are omitted.

[p'o-ri] (A) 11. (B) 36. (E) 96, 97, 100.

[p'ò-ri] (A) 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. (B) 31, 32, 33, 36, 40. (C) 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 61. (K) 203, 204, 205, 207. (L) 217, 218, 220.

[p'ò:-ɛŋ-i] (C) 46.

### Outside (外)

[ø] (A) 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. (B) 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44. (E) 93, 95, 96, 99, 102, 106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113. (F) 123. (G) 132, 141. (H) 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 164, 167, 168. (J) 170<sup>(11)</sup>, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187. (K) 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199<sup>(2)</sup>, 200, 202, 203. (L) 211<sup>(3)</sup>, 212, 213, 215, 221<sup>(4)</sup>, 222. (M) 223<sup>(5)</sup>, 224, 238, 239. (N) 241<sup>(6)</sup>.

[ɛ] (C) 45<sup>(7)</sup>, 46, 47, 48<sup>(8)</sup>, 49, 61, 62, 63, 65. (D) 68, 70<sup>(9)</sup>, 73, 78<sup>(10)</sup>, 85<sup>(11)</sup>. (K) 196<sup>(12)</sup>, 199. (L) 214<sup>(13)</sup>. (M) 223<sup>(14)</sup>, 235, 239.

[e] (A) 19<sup>(15)</sup>, 22. (C) 50, 51, 52, 56, 59. (E) 105. (F) 114<sup>(16)</sup>, 117<sup>(17)</sup>, 118, 121. (H) 153<sup>(18)</sup>, 154. (J) 170<sup>(19)</sup>, 171<sup>(20)</sup>. (L) 208, 209, 210<sup>(21)</sup>, 211<sup>(22)</sup>, 214<sup>(23)</sup>.

[i] (C) 64<sup>(24)</sup>. (D) 82<sup>(25)</sup>.

[wɛ] (C) 48<sup>(26)</sup>, 63. (D) 71, 78<sup>(27)</sup>, 81, 85<sup>(28)</sup>, 87, 90<sup>(29)</sup>. (L) 214<sup>(30)</sup>, 216<sup>(31)</sup>, 217<sup>(32)</sup>, 218, 220. (N) 240, 241<sup>(33)</sup>, 242, 245<sup>(34)</sup>, 246, 247, 249, 251, 257, 258, 259.

[we] (A) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 19<sup>(35)</sup>, 22. (C) 45, 58, 62<sup>(36)</sup>. (D) 68, 69, 70<sup>(37)</sup>, 72, 77, 83, 84, 86. (E) 100. (F) 115, 120<sup>(38)</sup>, 121, 122<sup>(39)</sup>. (G) 137, 138. (H) 153<sup>(40)</sup>, 154. (K) 201, 204, 205<sup>(41)</sup>. (L) 210<sup>(42)</sup>, 214<sup>(43)</sup>, 217<sup>(44)</sup>.

[wi] (C) 64<sup>(45)</sup>. (D) 74<sup>(46)</sup>, 85<sup>(47)</sup>.

(1) At Kin-sen 金川, pronounced [e] also.

(2) At Sei-jò-ri 西上里 ten ri 里 west of Kô-gen 洪原 Village, pronounced [ɛ], it is reported.

(3) At Kyô-jô 鏡城, pronounced [e] also.

(4) In some mountain districts in Kei-kô 慶興 County, pronounced [wɛ].

(5) At Chû-wa 中和 and An-shû 安州, pronounced [ɛ] also.

(6) At Nei-hen 寧邊, pronounced [wɛ].

(7) At Uru-san 蔚山 and Kyo-shô 居昌, pronounced [we] also. For instance, 菰亭里 in Kyô-shô 居昌 County is pronounced [e-mak-kô].

(8) At Fu-san 釜山, Kin-kai 金海, Kyô-sen 陝川 districts, pronounced [wɛ] also. For instance, 外洞里 [ø-doŋ-ni] and 會峴 [hø-hjɔŋ] in Kin-kai County are generally pronounced [ɛ-doŋ-ni], and [hø-in], but 外洞里 is sometimes pronounced [wɛ-doŋ-ni].

(9) At Ho-kô 浦項 and Ei-sen 永川, pronounced [we] also.

(10) At Kin-sen 金泉, [an-døn-da] (impossible) is pronounced [an-dɛn-da], [tʃ'am-ø] (melon) [tʃ'am-ɛ], it being usually changed to [ɛ], but sometimes to [wɛ].

(11) At Rei-sen 醴泉, pronounced [wɛ] or [wi].

(12) At Kan-kô 咸興, pronounced [ø] also. And at Kô-gen 洪原 Village, it is usually [ø], but at 西上里 ten ri 里 west of it, this is reported to be pronounced [ɛ].

(13) At Fu-kyo 富居, pronounced [wɛ], [we], [e].

(14) At Chû-wa 中和 and An-shû 安州, pronounced [ø] also.

- (15) At Mop-po 木浦, pronounced [we] also.
- (16) At Sei-shû 清州, Chû-shû 忠州 and Kai-zan 槐山, and in their vicinity, 槐山 [kø-san] is generally pronounced [ke-san]. And 江外面 [kaŋ-ø-mjɔn] in Sei-shû 清州 County is pronounced [kaŋ-e-mjɔn].
- (17) 槐木里 [kø-moŋ-ni] in Yô-kô-men 陽江面, Ei-dô 永同 County, is pronounced [ke-moŋ-ni]. As [kø] in this vicinity, thus becomes [ke], [kø-san] (槐山 County) and [ke-san] (稽山 Village) in Ei-dô 永同 County are both pronounced [ke-san], no difference being made.
- (18) At Uru-chin 蔚珍 and Hei-kai 平海, pronounced [we] also.
- (19) At Kin-sen 金川, [ø] is more usual.
- (20) At En-an 延安, [sø ko-gi] (beef), [sø] (iron), and [kø-rop-ta] (to be embarrassed) are pronounced [se ko-gi], [se] and [ke-rop-ta].
- (21) At Mei-sen 明川, pronounced [we] also.
- (22) At Kyô-jô 鏡城, pronounced [ø] also.
- (23) At Fu-kyo 富居, pronounced [we], [we] or [e] also.
- (24) At Shô-nei 昌寧 [kø-rop-ta] (to be embarrassed) and [ø-rop-ta] (to be solitary) are pronounced [ki-rop-ta] and [i-rop-ta]. And [ø] is sometimes pronounced [wi].
- (25) At Shô-shû 尙州, [kø-i] (怪異 wonderful) and [hø-dap] (reply) are pronounced [ki-i] and [hi-dap].
- (26) At Fu-san 釜山 and Kyô-sen 陝川, pronounced [e] also.
- (27) At Kin-sen 金泉, pronounced [e] also.
- (28) At Rei-sen 醴泉, pronounced [e] or [wi] also.
- (29) 月外里 [wɔl-ø-ri] in Sei-shô 青松 County is pronounced [wɔl-ws-ri].
- (30) At Fu-kyo 富居, pronounced [e], [e] or [we] also.
- (31) At Mo-zan 茂山 Village, pronounced [ø], and near Mei-shin-dô 明臣洞 [we].
- (32) At Kai-nei 會寧, pronounced [we] also.
- (33) At Nei-hen 寧邊, pronounced [ø] also.
- (34) 龍退洞 [joŋ-t'ø-doŋ] in Ki-jô 龜城 County is pronounced [noŋ-t'ws-doŋ].
- (35) At Mop-po 木浦, pronounced [e] also.
- (36) At Kyo-shô 居昌, pronounced [e] also.
- (37) 南外里 [nam-ø-ri] in Uru-san 蔚山 County is pronounced [nam-we-ri]. And at Ho-kô 浦項, Uru-san 蔚山, and Ei-sen 永川, [ø] is pronounced [e] also.
- (38) In Kai-zan 槐山, County and Chû-shû 忠州 County, 槐山郡 [kø-san-gun] is pronounced [kwe-san-gun].
- (39) In Tan-yô 丹陽 County, 外中坊里 [ø-tjuŋ-baŋ-ni], 槐坪里 [kø-p'joŋ-ni], and 檜山里 [hø-san-ri] in the county are pronounced [we-tjuŋ-baŋ-ni], [kwe-p'joŋ-ni] and [hwe-san-ri].
- (40) At Uru-chin 蔚珍 and Hei-kai 平海, pronounced [e] also.
- (41) At Kei-zan 惠山, [an-døŋ-da] (impossible) and [ø-rop-ta] (to be solitary) are pronounced [an-dweŋ-da] and [we-rop-ta].
- (42) At Mei-sen 明川, pronounced [e] also.
- (43) At Fu-kyo 富居, 橫兵洞 [høŋ-bjoŋ-doŋ] 最賢洞 [t'ø-hjoŋ-doŋ] in the same county are pronounced [hweŋ-bjoŋ-doŋ] and [t'we-hjoŋ-doŋ]. And [ø] is pronounced [e], [e] or [we] also at the same points.

- (44) At Kai-nei 會寧, 會寧 [hø-njɔŋ] is pronounced [hwe-rjɔŋ]. And in this district [ø] is pronounced [we] also.
- (45) At Shô-nei 昌寧, pronounced [i] also.
- (46) At Kô-rei 高靈, [kø-rop-ta] (to be embarrassed) and [ø-rop-ta] (to be solitary) are pronounced [kwi-rop-ta] and [wi-rop-ta].
- (47) At Rei-sen 醴泉, pronounced [ɛ] or [we] also.

## Disease (病)

- [pjɔŋ] (A) 4, 5<sup>(1)</sup>, 13, 20, 24, 25. (B) 33, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44. (C) 48. (D) 70, 71, 73, 74, 78<sup>(2)</sup>, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 90. (E) 93, 95, 99, 105<sup>(3)</sup>, 112. (F) 114, 115, 117, 118, 121<sup>(4)</sup>, 123. (G) 132, 137, 138, 141. (H) 145, 146, 156, 157<sup>(5)</sup>, 158, 159, 160<sup>(6)</sup>, 161, 164, 167. (J) 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177<sup>(7)</sup>, 178, 180, 182, 183, 186, 187. (K) 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200<sup>(8)</sup>, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205. (L) 209, 211, 212, 213, 214<sup>(9)</sup>, 215, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222. (M) 223, 224, 235, 238, 239<sup>(10)</sup>. (N) 240, 241, 242, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251, 257, 258<sup>(11)</sup>, 259.
- [peŋ] (A) 2, 4<sup>(12)</sup>, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25. (B) 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39<sup>(13)</sup>, 40, 43, 44. (C) 47<sup>(14)</sup>, 48<sup>(15)</sup>, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63. (D) 72<sup>(16)</sup>, 77. (F) 117. (H) 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 160<sup>(17)</sup>, 168<sup>(18)</sup>. (K) 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200<sup>(19)</sup>, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205. (L) 208, 209, 210<sup>(20)</sup>, 211, 212, 215, 217, 222. (M) 235, 239<sup>(21)</sup>. (N) 240, 246, 247, 249, 251, 258<sup>(22)</sup>, 259.
- [piŋ] (A) 1, 7<sup>(23)</sup>, 26<sup>(24)</sup>. (B) 31, 39<sup>(25)</sup>. (C) 63, 64, 65<sup>(26)</sup>. (D) 68, 71, 72<sup>(27)</sup>, 73, 78<sup>(28)</sup>, 81, 82, 83, 85<sup>(29)</sup>, 86, 90. (H) 160.<sup>(30)</sup>
- [peŋ] (C) 45, 46, 47<sup>(31)</sup>, 49<sup>(32)</sup>. (D) 69<sup>(33)</sup>, 72<sup>(34)</sup>, 70.
- (1) At every point throughout (A) (B) and (C), pronounced [peŋ].
  - (2) At the points between Kin-sen 金泉 and Kô-kai 興海, pronounced [piŋ] also.
  - (3) At Kô-jô 洪城 and Jo-sen 舒川, pronounced somewhat like pi-ŋ.
  - (4) At Chû-shû 忠州, Chin-sen 鎮川, Tei-sen 堤川, pronounced [piŋ] also.
  - (5) At the points between Hei-shô 平昌 and Chô-sen 長箭, pronounced [peŋ] also.
  - (6) At Kô-sen 洪川, pronounced [peŋ] or [piŋ] also.
  - (7) At In-ritsu 殷栗, pronounced [peŋ] also.
  - (8) At all the points in (K), pronounced [peŋ] also. For instance, 鎮坪面 [tʃin-p'jɔŋ-mjɔŋ] and 大坪里 [te-p'jɔŋ-ni] in Ei-kô 永興 County are pronounced like [tʃin-p'eŋ-mjɔŋ] and [te-p'eŋ-ni].
  - (9) At the points between Fu-kyo 富居 and Kyô-jô 鏡城, pronounced [peŋ] also.
  - (10) At An-shû 安州 and Jun-sen 順川, pronounced [peŋ] also. Therefore for instance, 面長 [mjɔŋ-dʒaŋ] is pronounced [men-daŋ].
  - (11) At the points between Ji-jô 慈城 and Tei-shû 定州, pronounced [peŋ] also. Therefore, 江西 [kaŋ-sɔ] and 石油 [sɔg-ju] are pronounced like [kaŋ-se] and [seg-ju].
  - (12) At the points between Sei-ki 西歸 and Chô-jô 長城, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also. So 新坪里 [sin-p'jɔŋ-ni] and 廣坪里 [kwaŋ-p'jɔŋ-ni] in Tai-sei 大靜 are pronounced [sin-p'eŋ-ni] and [kwaŋ-p'eŋ-ni]; 虎鳴里 [ho-mjɔŋ-ni] in Rei-sui 麗水 County is pronounced [hø-meŋ-ni]; 鳴鳳里 [mjɔŋ-boŋ-ni] in Hô-jô 寶城 County is pronounced [meŋ-boŋ-ni]; 文坪面

- [mun-p'ɔŋ-mjɔn] in Ra-shû 羅州 County is pronounced [mun-p'ɛŋ-mjɔn]; and 玄慶面 [hɔn-gjɔŋ mjɔn] in Mu-an 務安 County is pronounced [hen-gjɔŋ-mjɔn].
- (13) At the points between Zen-shû 全州 and Gun-san 群山, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also.
- (14) At Tô-rai 東萊, pronounced [peŋ] also.
- (15) At Fu-san 釜山, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also.
- (16) At Ei-toku 盈德 and Chi-rei 知禮, pronounced [peŋ] or [piŋ] also.
- (17) At Kô-sen 洪川, pronounced [pjɔŋ] or [piŋ] also.
- (18) At the points between Hei-kô 平康 and Kô-jô 高城, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also.
- (19) 別東面 [pjɔl-dɔŋ-mjɔn] in Kei-zan 惠山 County is pronounced [pel-dɔŋ-mjɔn]. In (K) pronounced [peŋ] also everywhere.
- (20) 坪岐洞 [p'ɔŋ-gi-dɔŋ], 地境洞 [ti-gjɔŋ-dɔŋ], and 明澗江 [mjɔŋ-gan-gan] in Mei-sen 明川 County are pronounced respectively [p'ɛŋ-gi-dɔŋ], [ti-gɛŋ-dɔŋ], and [meŋ-gan-gan]. At the points between Ra-nan 羅南 and Kis-shû 吉州, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also.
- (21) At An-shû 安州, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also.
- (22) In (N), pronounced [pjɔŋ] also everywhere.
- (23) At Rei-sui 麗水, pronounced [peŋ] also.
- (24) 川邊里 [tʃ'ɔn-bjɔn-ri] in Tan-yô 潭陽 County is pronounced [tʃ'in-bin-ri].
- (25) At Zen-shû 全州 and Nan-gen 南原, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also.
- (26) 龍坪里 [jɔŋ-p'ɔŋ-ni] and 平村里 [p'ɔŋ-tʃ'on-ri] in Mitsu-yô 密陽 County are pronounced [jɔŋ-p'ɛŋ-ni] and [p'ɛŋ-tʃ'on-ri]; 大井面 [tɛ-bjɔŋ-mjɔn] and 平邱里 [p'ɔŋ-gu-ri] in Kyô-sen 陝川 County are pronounced [tɛ-bin-mjɔn] and [p'ɛŋ-gu-ri]; and in these parts 京畿 [kjɔŋ-gi] and 慶尙 [kjɔŋ-saŋ] are generally pronounced like [kiŋ-gi] and [kiŋ-saŋ].
- (27) At Ei-toku 盈德, pronounced [peŋ] or [piŋ] also.
- (28) At the points between Kin-sen 金泉 and Ho-kô 浦項, pronounced [pjɔŋ] also.
- (29) At Rei-sen 醴泉, [tʃ'ɔŋ-gjɔl] (cleanliness) and [ju-mjɔŋ] (fame) are pronounced [tʃ'ɛŋ-gjɔl] and [ju-min].
- (30) At Kô-sen 洪川, pronounced [pjɔŋ] or [peŋ] also.
- (31) At Tô-rai 東萊, pronounced [peŋ] also.
- (32) At Kin-kai 金海, (慶尙) [kjɔŋ-saŋ] is pronounced [kɛŋ-saŋ]; at Ryô-zan 梁山, 明谷里 [mjɔŋ-gɔŋ-ni], is pronounced [meŋ-gok-ni].
- (33) At Kei-shû 慶州, 夕陽 [sjɔŋ-jaŋ] (sunset) is pronounced [seg-jaŋ].
- (34) At Ei-toku 盈德, pronounced [piŋ] or [peŋ] also.

## Star (星)

- [pjɔl] (A) 9, 19, 21, 24<sup>(1)</sup>, 25. (B) 32, 33, 36, 39<sup>(2)</sup>, 43, 44. (C) 45<sup>(3)</sup>. (D) 68, 86, 87<sup>(4)</sup>, 90. (E) 93, 112<sup>(5)</sup>. (F) 117<sup>(6)</sup>. (G) 132, 137, 138, 141. (H) 151, 154<sup>(7)</sup>, 167. (J) 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187. (K) 188, 189<sup>(8)</sup>, 191<sup>(9)</sup>, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197<sup>(10)</sup>, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205<sup>(11)</sup>. (M) 224<sup>(12)</sup>. (N) 240, 241, 242<sup>(13)</sup>, 245, 259.
- [pel] (A) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 27, 28, 29. (B) 31, 40. (C) 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62<sup>(14)</sup>. (D) 77. (H) 152, 154<sup>(15)</sup>. (K) 191<sup>(16)</sup>, 193, 195, 196, 205<sup>(17)</sup>. (L) 210<sup>(18)</sup>. (M) 224<sup>(19)</sup>. (N) 240, 241, 242<sup>(20)</sup>, 245, 257, 258.











































