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An Attempt at a Family Tree for Accent in Some Korean Dialects*

Teruhiro HAYATA

0. To our knowledge there has been no attempt thus far to reconstruct the overall genealogy of accent in Korean dialects, though some references to neighboring dialects and/or to Middle Korean of the 15th century have been made in the descriptions of particular dialects. To reconstruct a family tree a great deal reliable data is required along with a valid methodology. At present we have extremely sparse data on accent in Korean dialects. At most data on accent patterns on about twenty dialects are available to the author. The present attempt follows methods that are characteristic of Tokugawa (1962) on the reconstruction of a family tree for accent in Japanese dialects; he states "one must take the neutralization of accentual distinctions as the analogue of blood typing. The concept of 'geographic distribution' is closest to inferences from family registers." However, data of Korean accent is not abundant enough to exhibit geographic distribution. For the time being we can only try to reconstruct the genealogy almost entirely on the basis of neutralizations.

1.

MATERIALS

The following materials are used in this paper:

Middle Korean : Ho (1963), Hayata (1974), etc.

* I would like to express my thanks to those whose data has enabled me to write this paper. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Mr. Jong Kook Rhee, who not only as an informant of Yeongch'eon offered much useful data, but also introduced me to many native informants and assisted in the field work in spite of his illness. I am also very grateful to Reynold Clark of Kyushu University who read over the first draft of this paper and to Donald Smith of the University of Georgia for his comments on the extended version.

Modern dialects

Seoul : Umeda (1971), etc.

Hamgyeong : Ramsey (1974).

Yeonan (Hwanghae) : Mr. Hyung Kee Park, a native informant.

Ch'unch'eon (Kang-weon) : Mr. Chang Gie Kang, a native informant.

Samch'eok (") : Mr. Jinha Lee, a native informant.

Andong (North Kyeongsang) : Rah (1975).

Ch'ilgok (") : Umeda (1960).

Taegu (") : Moon (1969), Rah (1974).

Yeongch'eon (") : Mr. Jong Kook Rhee, a native informant.

Ch'angnyeong (South Kyeongsang) : Mr. Sam Kyung Sung, a native informant.

Yeongsan (") : Umeda (1969).

Kimhae (") : Ho (1963).

Ch'ang-weon (") : Kim (1970).

Namhae (") : Rah (1975).

Koseong-T'ong-yeong (") : Chong (1974).

Hamyang (") : Rah (1975).

Haman (") : Mr. Sung-cheon Hong, a native informant.

Sach'eon (") : Mr. Jae-Rong Choi, a native informant.

Cheonju (North Cheonra) : Mr. Hong Rock Oh, a native informant.

Kwangju (South Cheonra) : Kim (1969).

Mokp'o (") : Kim (1969).

Haenam-Muan (") : Kim (1969).

Chindo (") : Rah (1975).

Out of these twenty-four dialects eight are grouped as having a common accent pattern (from Andong down through Namhae except Ch'ilgok) and will be called Kyeongsang for convenience.

It might be thought too bold to try to reconstruct a family tree, based on such a small set of dialects. Nonetheless it seems to be well worth while to make clear the mutual relations of the dialects with data presently available.

2. PHONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF ACCENT IN EACH DIALECT

2.1. Middle Korean.

As is shown previously (Hayata 1974) Middle Korean of the 15th century (abbreviated as MK) is a pitch-accent language, where the accent patterns are specified by the location of, at most, one rise-in-pitch-accent per word that can occur on any syllable boundary, i.e., between syllables, or before the initial or after the last syllable of a word. In the following illustrative chart, \check{V} denotes 'high-level' pitch, V (unmarked) 'low-level' pitch, \check{V} 'low-to-high-rising' pitch, and the symbol Γ a rise-in-pitch-accent mark indicating as a rule low pitch on what precedes.

(1)

	form in written documents	phonological representation
'language'	mǎr	/ Γ mar/
'horse'	m Δ r	/ m Δ r Γ /
'measure'	már	/ mar /
'man'	sǎr Δ m ~ sǎr Δ m	/ Γ sar Δ m/
'son'	ad Δ r	/ a Γ d Δ r/
'wind'	b Δ r Δ m	/ b Δ r Δ m Γ /
'mosquito'	mógíy ~ mógíy	/ mogiy/
'beef'	syöygogí ~ syöygógi	/ Γ syoygogi/
'daughter-in-law'	myenári ~ myenári	/ mye Γ nari/
'crow'	gamagóy	/ gama Γ goy/
'finger'	sonsgarag	/ sonsgarag Γ /
'rainbow'	míjigéy ~ míjigey	/ mijigey/

2.2. Hamgyeong.

Based on data taken from Ramsey (1974) the accent patterns of the Pukch'eong dialect in South Hamgyeong can be represented as in (2). In the actual pitch forms only high pitch (') is marked and low pitch unmarked, and in the phonological representation the symbol ' indicates low pitch on what follows. To the right of the symbol + is a nominative particle.

(2)	actual pitch form	phonological representation
'pear'	be + gá	/be/
'measure, language'	már + i	/mar'/
'wind'	barám + í	/baram/
'son'	adír + i	/adir'/
'mosquito'	mógi + ga	/mo'gi/
'finger'	sonGárág + í	/sonGarag/
'crow'	gamágwí + ga	/gamagwi'/
'a kind of fish'	gamúrci + ga	/gamur'ci/
'goblin'	tóGebi + ga	/to'Gebi/

Ramsey (1974) shows no reflexes of Middle Korean patterns like *sárám* ~ *sáram* /^rsaram/ 'man' and *syǒygogi* ~ *syǒygógi* /^rsyoygogi/ 'beef', but from the correspondence of *mǎr* /^rmar/ (MK) : *már* /mar'/ (Hamgyeong) 'language' something like *sárám*/sa'ram/ and *syǒygogi* /syoy'gogi/ can be inferred as corresponding Hamgyeong patterns.

2.3. Kyeongsang.

The following eight dialects: Andong, Taegu, Ch'angnyeong, Yeongch'eon, Yeongsan, Kimhae, Ch'ang-weon, and Namhae, each having as a rule one and the same underlying accent system.¹ These are grouped together as having what will be called the Kyeongsang accent pattern or simply Kyeongsang. The main, almost only, difference between these dialects lies in some of the rules of actual-

1 Ch'angnyeong reflex of the Middle Korean ^r000 is 000' rather than '000.

ization, i.e., Pitch Assignment and Vowel Elongation. The actual pitch forms of Taegu and Namhae (both by Rah 1975) in (3) will be illustrative of the common Kyeongsang underlying patterns (phonological representation). The symbol ' denotes a fall-in-pitch accent with, as a rule, low pitch on what follows. In the actual pitch forms, \acute{V} denotes 'high', \hat{V} 'mid', \grave{V} 'high-to-mid-(or high-to-low-?) falling', \bar{V} : an elongated vowel, and an unmarked vowel 'low'.

(3)	actual pitch form		phonological representation
	Taegu	Namhae	
'language'	mâ:ŕ	ma:ŕ	/!mar/
' " + NOM.'	má:ŕ + ì	mar + î	/!mar + i/
'horse'	mà:ŕ	mà:ŕ	/ mar!/
' " + NOM.'	má:ŕ + i	má:ŕ + î	/ mar! + i/
'measure'	má:ŕ	mà:ŕ	/ mar/
' " + NOM.'	má:ŕ + ì	má:ŕ + î	/ mar + i/
'man'	sá:ŕà:m	sarâm	/!saram/
' " + NOM.'	sá:ŕám + i	sarâm + î	/!saram + i/
'the young animal'	séGi	séGî	/ se!Gi/
' " + NOM.'	séGi + ga	séGî + gâ	/ se!Gi + ga/
'leg'	dari	dâ:ri	/ dari!/
' " + NOM.'	darí + ga	dâ:rí + gâ	/ dari! + ga/
'wife'	má:ŕnú:ra	manû:râ	/!manura/
'straw bag'	gá:mani	gámânî	/ ga!mani/
'broad bellflower'	dorá:ji	dô:râ:ji	/ dora!ji/
'fishing'	ná:gsi:ŕ	ná:gsi:ŕ	/ nagsi:ŕ/

As is shown in (3) the initial syllable preceded by an underlying accent ('¹) is actualized as elongated in Taegu and as low-pitched in Namhae.

2.4. Koseong-T'ong-yeong (abbreviated as KT).

Chong (1974) shows the following pitch patterns of KT in South Kyeongsang where \acute{V} denotes 'high-level', \bar{V} (unmarked) 'low-level'

and \check{V} 'elongated low-to-high-rising' ('a low-high compound tone' in Chong's terminology).

(4)

jíb + i	'house + NOM.'	ádir	'son'	méniri	'daughter-in-law'
mur + i	'water + NOM.'	baram	'wind'	abúji	'father'
măr + i	'language + NOM.'	săram	'man'	sămagu	'wart'

Words of this dialect exhibit only a three-way accentual opposition regardless of length. This means that KT is a word-tone language ('word-pitch system' in Chong's terminology) where each word carries one of three tonemes: 'falling', 'level', and 'long-rising'. These tonemes can be represented as $\check{\quad}$, $\bar{\quad}$ and $:\quad$ respectively and placed word-initially for convenience. The above cited examples will then be rewritten as follows:

(5)

/ $\check{\quad}$ jib + i/	/ $\check{\quad}$ adir/	/ $\check{\quad}$ meniri/
/-mur + i/	/-baram/	/-abuji/
/:mar + i/	/:saram/	/:samagu/

2.5. Ch'ilgok.

According to Umeda (1960) the Ch'ilgok dialect of North Kyeongsang has two distinct "prosodemes" (in this case, virtually "word-tone" in the author's term): 'level' and 'falling'. See the following examples:

(6)

	actual pitch form	Umeda's "phonemic" representation
'body + NOM.'	mom + î	/-momi/
'horse + NOM.'	mâr + i	/ $\check{\quad}$ mari/
'language + NOM.'	mâ $\hat{?}$ r + i	/-maari/
'cloud'	gurûm	/-gurum/
'son'	ádir	/ $\check{\quad}$ adir/
'man'	sâ $\hat{?}$ ram	/-saaram/
'is visible'	bí:nda	/ $\check{\quad}$ biinda/
'rainbow'	mujûrge	/-muzurge/
'daughter-in-law'	míniri	/ $\check{\quad}$ miniri/
'mole'	sâ $\hat{?}$ mâgu	/-saamagu/

As is shown in other papers (Hayata 1974, 1975a, 1975b), the author maintains that surface long vowels in the Kyeongsang dialects are of two kinds: long due to accent and long due to vowel contraction. For the Ch'ilgok dialect also long vowels containing no high pitch are found to be accountable for in terms of accent (word-tone) and those containing a high pitch in terms of vowel contraction. This leads to the postulation of three distinct word-tones rather than two in Ch'ilgok. Using the symbol : for this third (elongating) word-tone, the words [sâ:ram] and [bi:nda] can be phonologically represented as /:saram/ and /`biinda/ respectively. Thus the above cited examples can be rewritten in the author's phonological notation as follows:

(7)

/-mom+i/	/-gurum/	/-mujurge/	
/^mar+i/	/^adir/	/^miniri/	/`biinda/
/:mar+i/	/:saram/	/:samagu/	

The accent patterns of Ch'ilgok and Koseong-T'ong-yeong are identical and the rules of pitch assignment are rather different.

2.6. Samch'eok.

Based on data taken from Mr. Jinha Lee, a native informant, the Samch'eok dialect in Kang-weon is found to be a word-tone language where each word carries one of three tonemes: 'falling' /-/ , 'rising' /^/ and 'elongating' /:/ . The following chart will be illustrative where, in actual pitch forms, \hat{V} denotes 'high', V (unmarked) 'low', \hat{V} 'high-to-low-falling' and V : an elongated vowel.

(8)

	actual pitch form	phonological representation
'horse'	mâr	/^mar/
' " + NOM.'	már+i	/^mar+i/
'measure'	mâr	/^mar/
' " + NOM.'	mar+i	/^mar+i/
'language'	ma:r	/:mar/
' " + NOM.'	ma:r+i	/:mar+i/

'son'	ádir	/`adir/
' // + NOM.'	ádir + i	/`adir + i/
'wind'	baràm	/`baram/
' // + NOM.'	barám + i	/`baram + i/
'man'	sá:ràm	/:saram/
' // + NOM.'	sá:rám + i	/:saram + i/
'daughter-in-law'	ménuri	/`menuri/
'crow'	Gamágu	/`Gamagu/
'beef'	só:gógi	/:sogogi/

The three dialects, KT, Ch'ilgok and Samch'eok, have one and the same underlying accent patterns and only some of the rules of actualization and correspondingly the tone symbols are different. This group of dialects will be called KT-C-S.

2.7. Hamyang.

The accent patterns of the Hamyang dialect of South Kyeongsang (Rah 1975) are given in (9) where Rah's [+accent] is represented by the symbol ` and [-accent] by the symbol - placed word-initially.

(9)	actual pitch form	phonological representation
'horse'	màr	/`mar/
' // + NOM.'	már + i	/`mar + i/
'measure, language'	màr	/-mar/
' // + NOM.'	már + í	/-mar + i/
'the young animal'	séGi	/`seGi/
' // + NOM.'	séGi + ga	/`seGi + ga/
'man'	sáràm	/-saram/
' // + NOM.'	sárám + i	/-saram + i/
'straw bag'	gámani	/`gamani/
'broad bellflower'	dóráji	/-doraji/

This dialect is like KT-C-S a word-tone language, where each word carries one of the two tonemes, 'falling' (`) or 'level' (-).

2.8. Haman and Sach'eon.

The data of Haman in South Kyeongsang comes from a native informant, Mr. Sung-cheon Hong. Haman is a word-tone language exhibiting a three-way tonal opposition but the accent patterns do not correspond to those of KT-C-S. Compare the following chart where the tone marks / ` , - , ´ / denote 'falling', 'level' and 'rising' respectively.

(10)	actual pitch form	phonological representation
'horse'	màr	/ `mar/
' " + NOM.'	már + i	/ `mar + i/
'measure'	má´r	/ -mar/
' " + NOM.'	már + í	/ -mar + i/
'language'	ma`r	/ ´mar/
' " + NOM.'	mar + ì	/ ´mar + i/
'son'	ádir	/ `adir/
' " + NOM.'	ádir + i	/ `adir + i/
'wind'	baràm	/ ´baram/
' " + NOM.'	barám + i	/ ´baram + i/
'mosquito'	mógí	/ -mogi/
' " + NOM.'	mógí + ga	/ -mogi + ga/
'man'	saràm	/ ´saram/
' " + NOM.'	sarám + i	/ ´saram + i/
'daughter-in-law'	myóniri	/ `myəniri/
'crow'	Gamágu	/ ´Gamagu/
'rainbow'	míjige	/ -mijige/
'wart'	samágu	/ ´samagu/

The accent patterns of Sach'eon in South Kyeongsang of Mr. Jae-Rong Choi are very similar to those of Haman.

2.9. Haenam-Muan (abbreviated as HM).

The actual pitch forms of HM in South Cheonra, based on data from Kim (1969), are given in the middle column of (11), with only high pitch (´) being marked. This dialect should be considered a

word-tone language with three distinct tonemes: 'rising' (´), 'falling' (˘), and 'level' (-). Using the three tone marks, the accent patterns of HM can be represented as in the right hand column of (11).

(11)

	actual pitch form	phonological representation
'language'	már	/˘mar/
'measure'	mar	/-mar/
' " + NOM.	mar + i	/-mar + i/
'horse'	mar	/´mar/
' " + NOM.	mar + í	/´mar + i/
'kick'	ca + da	/-ca + da/
'man'	sáram	/˘saram/
'son'	adír	/´adir/
'daughter-in-law'	meníri	/´meniri/
'grandmother'	hánási	/-hanasi/

2.10. Kwangju.

According to Kim (1969) the Kwangju dialect of South Cheonra exhibits pitch patterns such as $\acute{0}0(0\dots\dots)$, $0\acute{0}(0\dots\dots)$, $\acute{0}\acute{0}(0\dots\dots)$ and 00 . Kim states that, if not $\acute{0}0(0\dots\dots)$, words beginning with either checked or aspirated consonants including *s* and *h* take $\acute{0}\acute{0}(0\dots\dots)$ or 00 patterns and words beginning with other sounds take $0\acute{0}(0\dots\dots)$ patterns. This means that Kwangju is a word-tone language with two distinct tonemes: 'falling' [$\acute{0}0(0\dots\dots)$] represented as /˘/ and 'non-falling' [$0\acute{0}(0\dots\dots)$, $\acute{0}\acute{0}(0\dots\dots)$] represented as /-/. Examples are :

(12)

	actual pitch form	phonological representation
'mind'	maím	/-maim/
'cayenne pepper'	Góci	/-Goci/
'man'	sáram	/˘saram/

It seems that 'falling' in HM corresponds to 'falling' in Kwangju.

2.11. Yeonan, Ch'unch'eon and Seoul.

The data of Yeonan in Hwanghae comes from Mr. Hyung Kee Park, a native informant, and that for Ch'unch'eon in Kang-weon from Mr. Chang Gie Kang, a native informant. From the accentual point of view these two dialects and Seoul are quite similar in that pitch is irrelevant and that, at least in polysyllabic words, the difference in vowel quantity between long and short is distinctive on initial syllables. In addition Seoul generally distinguishes vowel quantity on the initial syllables of monosyllabic words. In three syllable words, Yeonan, Ch'unch'eon and Seoul reflexes of the MK pattern ʔ00 appear to begin usually with short syllables as in *segogi*, *sogogi* 'beef', *samagi*, *samagwi* 'wart', *gumbeyi* 'white grub', *sadari* 'ladder', etc. though length is distinctive in three-syllable words, e.g., [sa:turi] 'dialect'. In these three dialects, words with a long vowel on the initial syllable correspond generally to those of the MK pattern ʔ0(0.....). The following two words, whose MK patterns are 00 and 00ʔ, however, also begin with a long syllable: [mo:gi] (Yeonan, Ch'unch'eon, Seoul)/ *mogiy* (MK) 'mosquito', and [ga:ji] (Yeonan, Ch'unch'eon)/ *gaji* ʔ (MK) 'eggplant'. It is impossible to tell at present whether these forms have been inherited from parent dialects or acquired from neighboring dialects.

The following chart will be illustrative, where the symbol : denotes 'elongating' :

(13)	Middle Korean	Seoul	Yeonan Ch'unch'eon
'horse'	maɾ	0ʔ	{ 0 }
'measure'	maɾ	0	{ 0 }
'language'	maɾ	ʔ0	: 0 }
'son'	adaɾ	0ʔ0	{ 00 }
'wind'	baɾam	{ 0 0ʔ }	{ 00 }
'eggplant'	gaji	{ 0 0ʔ }	{ 00? }
'branch'	gaji	{ 0 0 }	{ 00 }
'mosquito'	mogiy	{ 0 0 }	{ (:00) }
'man'	saram	ʔ0 0	:00 }

'daughter-in-law'	myenari	0 ^o 0 0	$\left. \begin{array}{c} 000 \\ 000 \\ 000 \\ 000 \\ 000 \\ (:000)? \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 000 \\ 000 \\ 000 \\ 000 \\ 000 \\ (:000)? \end{array} \right\}$
'crow'	gamagoy	0 0 ^o 0	
'finger'	sonsgarag	0 0 0 ^o	
'rainbow'	mijigey	0 0 0	
'wart'	samagu	^o 0 0 0	

2.12. Cheonju and Chindo.

The data on Cheonju in North Cheonra comes from a native informant, Mr. Hong Rock Oh, and that on Chindo from Rah (1975). Cheonju and Chindo are "accentless" dialects, where accentual distinctions have been lost completely. In Cheonju all the words in isolation are pronounced with falling pitch and those with a particle with rising pitch, e.g., [m^ori~m^ori + gá] 'head(+NOM.)', [abúji~abuji + gá] 'father(+NOM.)', etc. There seems to be no distinctive difference in vowel quantity between long and short. In Chindo (Rah 1975) all MK patterns appear to take $\acute{O}(\acute{O}0\dots\dots)$ with short vowels except one word [mar:] 'language' which contains a long vowel.

3. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A FAMILY TREE

3.1. There is no established inductive method for determining which system will be the parent of any particular accent system. We cannot help but resort to negative argumentation or the process of elimination whereby we argue, for example, that system A cannot be the mother of system B, or system B cannot be the daughter of system A. It is considered to be most suitable for our purpose to make reference to the neutralization of accentual distinctions as in Tokugawa (1962).

The underlying accent patterns of Middle Korean contain the necessary and probably sufficient³ information for deriving the

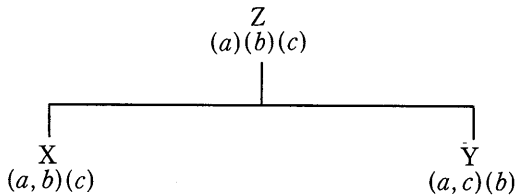
2 Usual dictionaries give citations like [swe:gogi] and [gu:mbeŋi] rather than [sogogi ~ segogi] and [gumbeŋi].

3 But, see 2.11.

accent patterns of all the dialects under consideration. Accent patterns differing from those of MK might be required as common accent patterns for deriving the accent patterns of *all* the existing Korean dialects, but there is no way to tell if this is the case with the present data.

3.2. When accent system A has the distinction between patterns *a* and *b*, while system B has lost the distinction, then B cannot be a parent of A. If in accent system X two patterns *a* and *b* at some time merged into one pattern that is distinct from *c*, and, on the other hand, in accent system Y two patterns *a* and *c* merged into one pattern which is distinct from *b*, then X cannot be a parent or an offspring of Y. In this case X and Y are sister dialects and their common mother will be, say, Z which has three distinct patterns *a*, *b* and *c*. In this case the following partial tree is reconstructed :

(14)



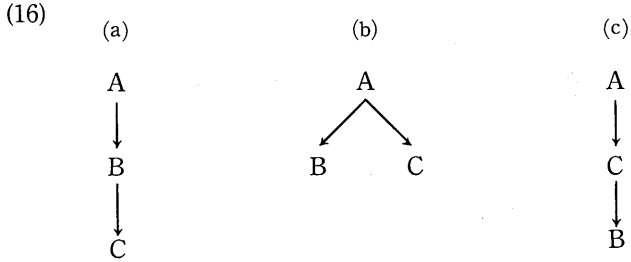
When accent system A can be the parent of accent system B, and B can be the parent of accent system C, the family tree represented in (15) is reconstructed, where it is acknowledged that C may have developed directly from A.

(15)



The last interpretation differs from that of Tokugawa, who assumes "that there is a progression to these changes and that there

are no jumps” such as from A to C in (15). Since “jumps” are not disallowed, the family tree in this paper is not one in the usual sense of the term. The tree in (15), for example, can reflect historical developments (a) and (b) though not (c) in (16).



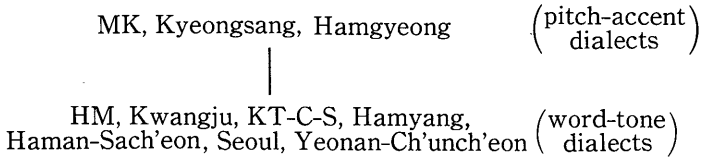
3.3. Consider the correspondences of the accent patterns between the ten types of dialects in the accompanying table on pp. 16,17 (patterns which do not exist in the source materials and have been set up by the author’s inference are marked with an asterisk). There are of course several exceptions, which will have to be explicated in subsequent research.

There seem to be no problems in regarding MK type of accent as the prototype at least for the types of dialects under consideration. In all the dialects other than MK some patterns merged, and there is no evidence indicating that some patterns of MK should be considered to be the result of splits from single patterns. It is assumed as in Tokugawa that “once neutralizations have occurred [in underlying forms], the earlier distinctions have never reappeared”. Some people would say that some distinctions may have been acquired from neighboring dialects. However, as Jakobson (1938) states, “the suppression of a phonological distinction is more likely to be imposed on speakers who already possess it, than a supplementary distinction can be introduced where it is lacking.”

Out of the ten types of dialects the three, i.e., MK, Kyeongsang and Hamgyeong, are “pitch-accent” dialects where the location of accent is significant, and the other seven, i.e., Haenam-Muan, Kwangju, KT-C-S, Hamyang, Haman-Sach’eon, Seoul and Yeonan-Ch’unch’eon, are “word-tone” dialects where each word itself car-

ries a distinctive tone. As the word-tone dialects under consideration distinguish at most three patterns of tones irrespective of the number of syllables in a word, the pitch-accent dialects distinguishing at least four patterns for three syllable words cannot have developed from any of the word-tone dialects, but the opposite is possible. Thus the following tentative tree can be reconstructed :

(17)



In the pitch-accent dialects the distinction between 0 and '0 of Kyeongsang is neutralized as 0' in Hamgyeong. Hence, the accent patterns of Kyeongsang type cannot have developed from those of Hamgyeong type. The distinction between 000' and 000 of Hamgyeong is neutralized as 00'0 in Kyeongsang. Hence, the accent patterns of Hamgyeong type cannot have developed from those of Kyeongsang type.⁴ It follows that the two types of dialects have developed from a dialect with distinctions between the 0 and '0 of Kyeongsang and between the 000' and 000 of Hamgyeong. The common parent will be one having the MK type of accent patterning. The 00'0 and 000' of MK may be seen to have merged into 00'0 in Kyeongsang and the 0 and '0 of MK into 0' in Hamgyeong. The relations of these three types of dialects are reconstructed as in (18).

4 In a previous paper (Hayata 1974 : 114) the author made the mistake of overlooking this point.

5 In Samch'eok the tone marks ` , - and : should be read as ` , ´ and : respectively.

6 'branch' is /:00/. See 2.11.

7 'mosquito' is /:00/. See 2.11.

8 In Samch'eok 'mosquito' is exceptionally /`00/ and 'harp' /-000/.

9 In Ch'angnyeong the pattern here is 000' rather than '000, and 'beef' is exceptionally /000/.

Representative Words in Middle Korean form		Middle Korean	Hamgyeong	Kyeongsang
maɾ baɻ	'horse' 'pear'	0ɾ	0	0'
maɾ baɻ	'measure' 'stomach'	0	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 0' \\ 0' \end{array} \right\}$	0
maɾ nun	'language' 'snow'	ɾ0		ɾ0
adaɾ meɾi	'son' 'head'	0ɾ0	0 0'	0'0
baɾaɾaɾ gaɻi	'wind' 'eggplant'	0 0ɾ	0 0	0 0'
moɻaɻ gaɻi	'mosquito' 'branch'	0 0	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 0'0 \\ *0'0 \end{array} \right\}$	0 0
saɾaɾaɾ angaɻ	'man' 'fog'	ɾ0 0		ɾ0 0
geɻiŋo myeɻnaɾi	'harp' 'daughter-in-law'	0ɾ0 0	0 0'0	0'0 0
gaɻaɻoɻ eɻeɻi	'crow' 'father'	0 0ɾ0	0 0 0'	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 0 0'0 \\ 0 0'0 \end{array} \right\}$
soɻsaɻaɻ doɾicaɻ	'finger' 'flail'	0 0 0ɾ	0 0 0	
miɻiɻeɻ haɻabi	'rainbow' 'grandmother'	0 0 0	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 0'0 0 \\ *0'0 0 \end{array} \right\}$	0 0 0
soɻoɻgoɻi saɻaɻaɻu	'beef' 'wart'	ɾ0 0 0		ɾ0 0 0 ^③

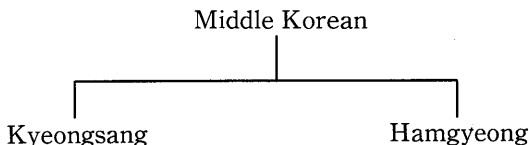
TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES

An Attempt at a Family Tree for Accent
in Some Korean Dialects (HAYATA)

Koseong- T'ong-yeong, Ch'ilgok, Samch'eok ^⑤	Hamyang	Haman- Sach'eon	Haenam- Muan	Kwangju	Seoul	Yeonan, Ch'unch'eon
˘0	˘0	˘0	˘0	$\left. \begin{matrix} * \text{—} 0 \\ \text{—} 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$
-0	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 \\ \text{—} 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	-0	-0	$\left. \begin{matrix} * \text{—} 0 \\ \text{—} 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$
:0	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 \\ \text{—} 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	˘0	˘0	* ˘0	:0	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$
˘0 0	˘0 0	˘0 0	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 \\ 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 \\ 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 \\ 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$
$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{—} 0 0} \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 \\ 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 \text{⑥} \\ 0 0 \text{⑦} \end{matrix} \right\}$
:0 0	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{—} 0 0} \\ \text{—} 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	˘0 0	˘0 0	:0 0	:0 0
˘0 0 0 ^⑧	˘0 0 0	˘0 0 0	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$
$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{—} 0 0 0} \\ \boxed{\text{—} 0 0 0} \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \\ 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$
:0 0 0	$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{—} 0 0 0 \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{—} 0 0 0} \\ \text{—} 0 0 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$	˘0 0 0	˘0 0 0	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ (:0 0 0) \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 0 0 0 \\ (:0 0 0) \end{matrix} \right\}$

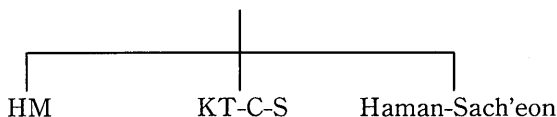
BETWEEN ACCENT PATTERNS

(18)



Consider now the word-tone dialects with three distinct tones: Haenam-Muan (henceforth HM), KT-C-S and Haman-Sach'eon. The HM distinction between $\bar{0}0$ words and some $\acute{0}0$ words and the Haman-Sach'eon distinction between $\bar{0}0$ words and some $\acute{0}0$ words is neutralized as $\bar{0}0$ in KT-C-S. The $\grave{0}0$ words and some $\bar{0}0$ words of KT-C-S and the $\grave{0}0$ words and some $\acute{0}0$ words of Haman-Sach'eon fall together as $\acute{0}0$ in HM. Some $\bar{0}0$ words and the $\bar{0}0$ words of KT-C-S and some $\acute{0}0$ words and the $\grave{0}0$ words of HM merge into $\acute{0}0$ in Haman-Sach'eon. The three types of dialects, HM, KT-C-S and Haman-Sach'eon, therefore cannot have developed from each other, so the following family tree is reconstructed:

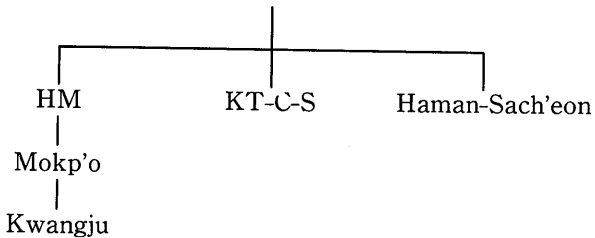
(19)



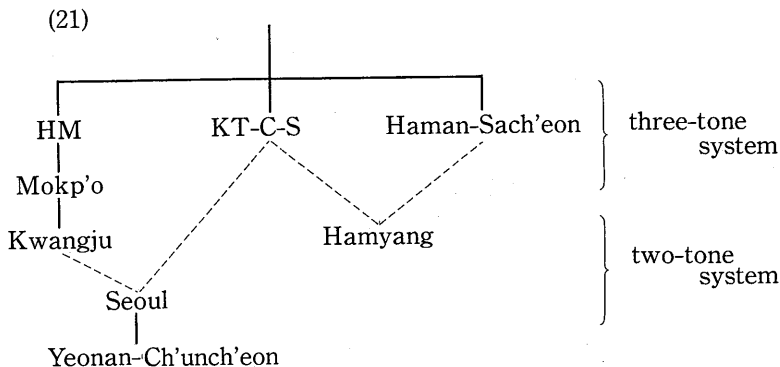
As word-tone dialects with *three* tone patterns like HM, KT-C-S and Haman-Sach'eon cannot have developed from those with *two* tone patterns like Kwangju, Hamyang, Seoul and Yeonan-Ch'un-ch'eon on our assumption that the earlier distinctions never reappear, the latter dialects with two tone patterns must branch from the HM or KT-C-S, or Haman-Sach'eon dialects. Kwangju and Hamyang cannot be derived from each other, because the $\grave{0}0(0)$ words and some $\bar{0}0(0)$ words of Hamyang merge into $\bar{0}0(0)$ in Kwangju, and some $\bar{0}0(0)$ words and the $\grave{0}0(0)$ words of Kwangju merge into $\bar{0}0(0)$ in Hamyang. Kwangju can be a descendant of HM because $\acute{0}0$ and $\bar{0}0$ of HM fall together as $\bar{0}0$ in Kwangju. However, Kwangju can be derived also from KT-C-S by the merger of $\bar{0}(0.....)$ and $\bar{0}0(.....)$ of KT-C-S, but not from Haman-Sach'eon

where the Kwangju distinction between the ˘00(.....) words and some -00(.....) words is neutralized as ˘00(.....). In consideration of geographic distribution (see the accompanying map on p.23) and the existence of an intermediate dialect, the Kwangju dialect is considered to have developed from HM. According to Kim (1969) the Mokp'o dialect in the HM area is an intermediate dialect between HM and Kwangju. Including Kwangju and Mokp'o, the tree in (19) can be extended as in (20) :

(20)

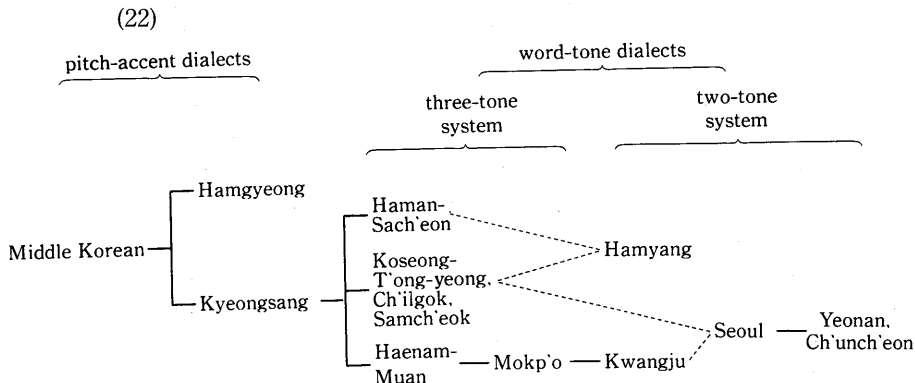


The Hamyang distinction between ˘00 words and some -00 words is neutralized as ˘00 in HM, that is, Hamyang cannot be a descendant of HM. Hamyang can be derived either from KT-C-S or Haman-Sach'eon, because all the distinctions in Hamyang are preserved in both KT-C-S and Haman-Sach'eon. The incomplete geographic distribution cannot tell us whether Hamyang has developed from KT-C-S or Haman-Sach'eon. Seoul and Yeonan-Ch'unch'eon types can be derived from any type of dialect except Hamgyeong, Hamyang and Haman-Sach'eon (if exceptional patterns like /:mogi/ 'mosquito', /:gaji/ 'eggplant' are not taken into consideration— see 2.11), because the Seoul-Yeonan-Ch'unch'eon distinction between 0 and :0 is neutralized in Hamgyeong, and the Seoul-Yeonan-Ch'unch'eon distinction between 00 and :00 is neutralized in Hamyang and Haman-Sach'eon. Of course Hamyang cannot have developed from Seoul-Yeonan-Ch'unch'eon, because Hamyang distinction between ˘00 and -00 is neutralized in them. Yeonan and Ch'unch'eon are considered to have developed from Seoul. Thus the following tentative tree of the word-tone types may be reconstructed :



Now, how should the partial trees (18) and (21) be connected? Neither HM, KT-C-S nor Haman-Sach'eon can have developed from Hamgyeong because the former three preserve all the three patterns inherited from MK in monosyllabic words, while Hamgyeong monosyllabic words show only two distinctive patterns. It is possible to derive HM, KT-C-S and Haman-Sach'eon from Kyeongsang if we consider that the Kyeongsang patterns 0'0(0) and 00'(0) have merged into ˊ00(0) in HM, the Kyeongsang patterns 00'(0) and 00(0) into -00(0) in KT-C-S, and the Kyeongsang patterns 00'(0) and '00(0) into ˊ00(0) in Haman-Sach'eon.

Thus the following family tree can be reconstructed including all the types of dialects under consideration :



Since "jumps" may have occurred in actual historical developments, the mathematically possible number of trees amounts to a very large number (see (16)). It is difficult to tell at present which one of the possible trees would reflect the actual history.

The geographical location of each dialect will be shown in the accompanying map on p.23. In view of geographic distribution, Koseong-T'ong-yeong, Ch'ilgok and Samch'eok are considered to have probably developed from Kyeongsang directly. These three dialects, KT, Ch'ilgok and Samch'eok, appear to be separated by some Kyeongsang dialects. Hamyang would seem to have developed directly from Kyeongsang but not directly from Middle Korean in view of the respective pitch shapes and geographic distribution. Compare the following pitch shapes of two syllable words :

(23)	Middle Korean	Kyeongsang (Taegu)	Hamyang
	$0\acute{0}(+\acute{0}\sim+0)$	$\acute{0}0(+0)$	$\acute{0}0(+0)$
	$00(+\acute{0})$	$0\acute{0}(+0)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{0}\acute{0}(+0) \\ \acute{0}\acute{0}(+0) \end{array} \right\}$
	$\acute{0}0(+\acute{0})\sim\acute{0}\acute{0}(+0)$	$\acute{0}\acute{0}(+0)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{0}\acute{0}(+0) \\ \acute{0}\acute{0}(+0) \end{array} \right\}$
	$\check{0}0(+\acute{0})\sim\check{0}\acute{0}(+0)$	$\acute{0}:\acute{0}(+0)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{0}\acute{0}(+0) \end{array} \right\}$

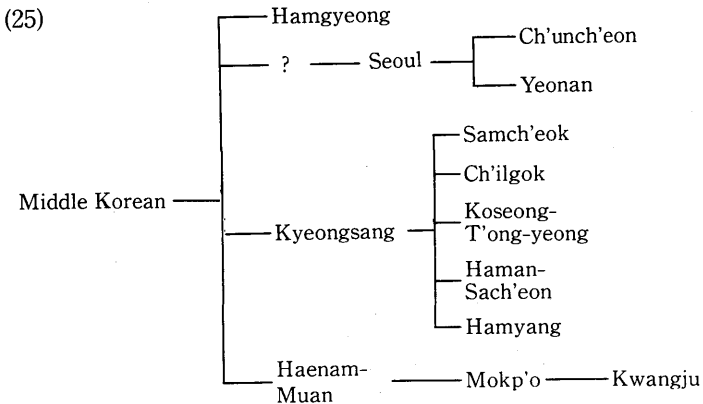
Koseong-T'ong-yeong, Ch'ilgok and Samch'eok are considered to have developed from Kyeongsang and not directly from Middle Korean in view of their actual pitch shapes and/or geographic distribution. The developments from Kyeongsang to Hamyang, KT, Ch'ilgok, and Samch'eok are considered to be the result of "simplification" in Kiparsky's term (1968). He states "those [isoglosses] formed by simplification should be characteristically discontinuous because of independent development of the same change in several speech communities".

It seems safe to say that Kwangju has developed from Haenam-Muan, through the stage of being a Mokp'o type. It is an open question whether Haenam-Muan has developed directly from Middle Korean or has gone through the stage of being a Kyeongsang type of accent. Haenam-Muan is very similar to Middle Korean in pitch shape. Compare the following pitch shapes of two syllable words :

(24)	Middle Korean	Haenam-Muan	
	/ 0 ʔ0/	[0Ŏ]	{ / ʔ00/ [0Ŏ] }
	/ 00 ʔ/	[00(+Ŏ)]	{ / ʔ00/ [0Ŏ] }
	/ 00/	[ŎŎ~Ŏ0]	/-00/ [00]
	/ʔ00 /	[ŎŎ~Ŏ0]	/ ʔ00/ [ŎŎ]

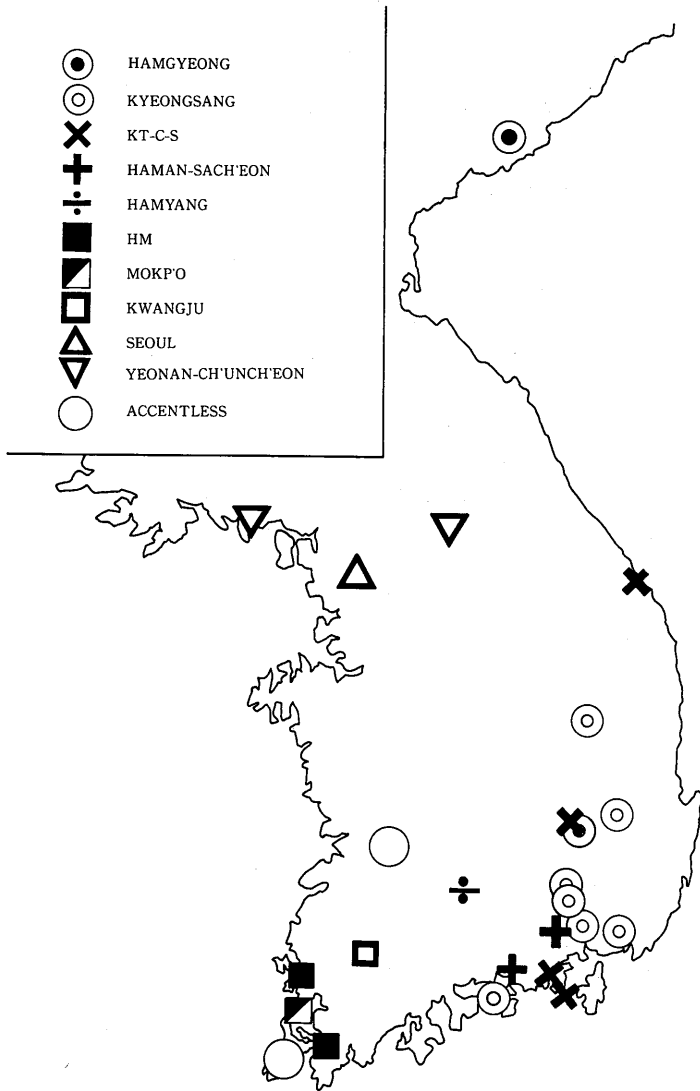
A quite simple process would explain the development directly from MK down to HM, that is, "all MK patterns with a non-initial rising pitch (ʔ) take a rising tone (ˊ) in HM".

From the geographic point of view Seoul is considered to have developed directly from Middle Korean or Kyeongsang rather than from Kwangju or KT-C-S. If HM has actually developed directly from MK, and Hamyang-Sach'eon directly from Kyeongsang, the family tree represented in (25) would seem better to reflect the history.¹⁰



10 The situation of HM is quite similar to that of the Western Kyūshū dialects of Japanese, exhibiting a two-way accentual opposition. One such dialect, Kagoshima, has pitch patterns similar to those of Old Kyōto of the 11th century. Most Japanese dialectologists consider that Western Kyūshū has gone through the stage of being an Eastern Kyūshū type (e.g., Ōita), but Jim McCawley (translator's notes in Tokugawa 1972) states that "I am fairly sure that.....the stage 4 accent [a stage with two distinct word-tones] of Western Kyūshū arose directly from stage 2 [a stage former than that of Eastern Kyūshū] or even stage 1 [the stage of Old Kyōto] through a sound shift".

An Attempt at a Family Tree for Accent
in Some Korean Dialects (HAYATA)



MAP OF ACCENT TYPES

3.4. Data available at present is so restricted in quantity and variety that it is difficult to establish the geographic distribution of accentual types and to infer the historical development of each dialect. The family tree obtained in (25) may be premature. What we need is extensive research on the accentual systems throughout the country including the areas of "accentless" dialects. Attention must be paid to dialects with differences in vowel quantity like the Seoul dialect. This is of importance because the differences in vowel quantity between long and short vowels can be one type of actualization relating to prosodic phenomena. The area between Seoul and Kyeongsang is blank in the accompanying map. What type of dialect is spoken in the blank area? Lee (1967 : 369, Fig.9) shows that this area belongs to the "tone dialect zone". When this blank area is filled up, we may thus be able to speak of the genealogy of Yeonan, Seoul and Ch'unch'eon. At the same time the genealogy of accentless dialects can only be treated after the complete establishment of geographic distribution of all the types of dialects. It may be undeniable that this attempt has been influenced by "Middle Korean preconceptions". Until detailed, exact and extensive researches are conducted on the modern dialects, however, this model may be the best we can obtain. Hopefully this preliminary study will serve as a good stepping stone and a stimulus for farther studies into the history and distribution of accentual patterns in Korean.

A Supplementary Note.

After having written this paper the author got an opportunity of investigating the Namhae dialect (marked with the southernmost double circle on the accompanying map) of Mr. Hyen Yeal Lee. His idiolect exhibits just the same accent patterns as those of Haman-Sa ch'eon (marked with Greek crosses on the map), rather than the Kyeongsang patterns.

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