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Diaspora Varieties of Korean: Morpho-syntactic Contrasts in Koryo Mar and Vernacular Yanbian Korean¹

1 Introduction

Korean is spoken not just on the Korean peninsula, but by a global diaspora in excess of seven million people (MOFAT 2011). The emergence of linguistic dissimilarity between transplanted and other varieties is a cross-linguistically widely observed phenomenon (e.g. transplanted varieties of English, Hindi, or Chinese in global diaspora). It has been demonstrated that the phenomenon is influenced by a range of linguistic and social conditions, but despite the attention which it has received, the linguistic outcomes of transplantation are far from predictable or deterministic. This paper examines two rare and understudied transplanted varieties of Korean with similar dialectological backgrounds – Central Asian *Koryo Mar* (KM) and Chinese Vernacular Yanbian Korean (VYK) – in order to identify particular points of (dis)similarity in their contemporary morpho-syntax. There had been no attempt at conducting a direct comparison of KM and VYK to date, consequently this paper represents the first systematic comparison of these varieties and is conducted using naturalistic speech data. Such an investigation will not only allow us to evaluate implicit claims made about the synchronic forms of these dialects, for example claims concerning their dialectological relationship to peninsula varieties of Korean and, by extension, each other, but also will also provide insights into the factors underlying the development of languages in transplanted contexts.

Before introducing our data, newly collected for the specific purpose of the direct comparison of these varieties, which uses novel methods informed by documentary and descriptive linguistics and presenting our analysis, we first briefly outline the backgrounds of KM and VYK both in terms of the socio-historical characteristics of their speech communities and their position within Korean language research. In addition, we discuss the methodology by which our data gathering and analysis was informed. Throughout this paper, Contemporary Standard Korean (CSK) is transliterated using the Yale Romanization of Korean. Where we present examples of the transplanted varieties, they are rendered using IPA in a broad phonetic transcription. The presentation of examples taken from secondary sources varies depending on the original orthography: phonetic transcriptions in the IPA or a derivative will be presented as in the original, Hangul transcriptions of KM and VYK will be presented using the Yale Romanization, and Cyrillic

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transcriptions of KM will be presented using a modified form of the Yale Romanization (Author 2015).

1.1 Socio-historical Backgrounds

Both KM and VYK find their origins in the mid-nineteenth century with the movement of people from the north east of the Korean peninsula into the then Russian and Chinese Empires (Belikov 1991; Piao 1990). Given their geographical origins, these seed communities are thought to have been speakers of the Hamgyeong variety (predominantly the North Hamgyeong variety) of Korean and the Yukchin variety (Kwak 2000: 12; Pak 2005a). Following their initial migrations, however, the histories of these communities diverge sharply.

In China, the authorities created an environment which encouraged further migration from the Korean peninsula. By the turn of the nineteenth century the Korean population of north east China had reached some 37,000 people (Piao 1990: 48-49), and it continued to grow with the Japanese annexation of Korea from 1910. In contrast to the nineteenth century migration, though, Koreans arriving in China in the early twentieth century came from all over the Korean peninsula and brought their diverse dialectological backgrounds. Following the Second World War and the founding of the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC), the Korean community in China achieved greater autonomy with the establishment of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP) on the third of September 1952 in an area bordering the Korean peninsula, covering the site of the initial settlement of Koreans in China. Certain additional rights were conferred as a result of this, such as those concerning the implementation of regulations on the basis of cultural heritage, the right to manage regional finances, and the right to independently manage education, science and culture in the region (Cui 1990: 82-83). This was particularly significant for the Korean language, which could now enjoy recognition alongside Chinese as an official language of the YKAP.

The language continues to be recognised as an official minority language of the PRC and its use in the YKAP is legally protected (Zhang and Li 2007). As a result, the language is widely used by Chinese Koreans (*Cosencok*) of all ages and backgrounds in a variety of domains including education up to tertiary level, legislation, and broadcasting.

As mentioned above, the circumstances surrounding the development of KM have been markedly different. Over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Korean population of the Russian Far East grew steadily, but the response to this from the Russian authorities was mixed. Measures promoting autonomy, such as the establishment of the Korean village Blagoslovennoe in 1871 (King 2001), alternated with those which encouraged greater integration into the Russian state, such as the 1891 decree naturalising long-term Korean residents in the Russian Far East (Wada 1987).

Following the Russian revolution in 1917 came a brief period during which heritage languages were actively developed. Under Stalin, however, the loyalty of non-Slavic peoples to the Soviet project was called into question. In this climate, in 1937 between 170,000 and 190,000 Koreans (Yun 2004: 89) were forcibly deported from the Russian Far East to Central Asia. In Central Asia this population was spread over a large area, split between collective farms which were variably organised along ethnic lines. As conditions in the USSR became less authoritarian, the Korean population of Central Asia came to move once again, this time from the collective farms to the cities (Kimura 1987: 96). With members of the Korean community taking on social roles in spheres other than agriculture, including industry, government, and education, the socio-economic profile of the community

changed dramatically. Despite relatively complete integration with Soviet politics and society on the part of Soviet Koreans (*Koryo Saram*), Korean did not enjoy the recognition which it received in the PRC. Infrastructure for maintaining or promoting the language was minimal: scant instruction of heritage languages as a foreign language, a single newspaper *Lenin Kichi* (later *Kolye Ilpo*), and a Korean theatre. As a result, no official standard has been developed (in contrast to the situation in the YKAP), and the situation has been characterised as one of diglossia (Kwon 2013) in which Contemporary Standard Korean (CSK) is used for any Korean writing, and KM is used exclusively in the oral modality, largely in the home domain. While the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States continue to pursue policies which seek to promote their ‘titular’ languages (e.g. Uzbek in Uzbekistan, Kazakh in Kazakhstan, etc.) the maintenance or revitalisation of minority languages such as KM seems increasingly unlikely (cf. Landau and Kellner-Heinkelle 2012).

1.2 Prior Research

Briefly summarised, the vast majority of prior research on KM and VYK has focussed on linguistic description, implicitly within the framework of traditional Korean dialectology. This has manifested in emphasis being placed on their phonological, morpho-phonological, and lexical characteristics of these transplanted varieties, along with a diachronic approach to their dialectological heritage, and a particular, survey-based approach to data gathering. This tendency in the research has been particularly pronounced for KM, and primarily descriptive works include the sketch grammars of King (1987), Co-Author and Author (1992), and Yi et al (2001), which were subsequently supplemented by the more extensive grammars of N.S. Pak (2005a) and Kwon Jae-il (2010). In addition, Kwak Chung-gu’s work on KM is notable for a documentary approach which has led to the dissemination of transcriptions of KM connected speech data (see Kwak 2011b for a representative example), as well as word lists (e.g. Kwak and Kim 2010). In addition to their descriptions of KM, these works have established the affinity between the transplanted variety and those of the north east of the Korean peninsula by identifying points of phonological similarity (Pak 2005a: 74-77), shared verb endings (Co-author and Author 1992: 117-118), and common vocabulary (Yi et al 2000: 57)

General descriptions of VYK as a whole are less numerous. Rather, individual works on the variety with a linguistic focus tend to concentrate on only specific features or systems. These include the phonetic and phonological, such as Jin Wenhua’s examination of the variably realised phoneme /y/ (Jin 2012), as well as the morpho-phonological, for example the analyses of inflectional and conjugational morphology produced by Jeong Hyang-ran (2010) or Jin Shan-ji (2013). Like the KM research, these studies provide not only empirical observations of VYK, but also draw attention to the similarity of the transplanted variety with the geographically contiguous varieties of the north east of the Korean peninsula, occasionally to the point of conflating them (see, for example, Oh 2015). In contrast with KM, though, research pertaining to the standardisation of the Korean language in the YKAP (Tai 2004) and Korean medium education there (Heo 2013) has also been carried out in addition to research which focuses directly on the linguistic characteristics of this variety.

A shared example of the influence of traditional Korean dialectology on the methodology of the extant research concerning VYK and KM is the tendency for generalisations about the characteristics of these varieties to be made on the basis of data provided by very small numbers of consultants with sociological backgrounds which conform to the dialectological ideal, i.e. non-mobile, older residents of rural areas (e.g. Kwon 2010 presents itself as a descriptive grammar of KM, but draws data from a single consultant). Furthermore, prior works relied heavily on direct elicitation, so are likely to have been influenced by the context in and methods by which the data was gathered (see

Labov 1972: 113 on the “observer’s paradox”). Thus, we believe that there is good reason to question the empirical basis upon which earlier findings rest and to seek to confirm them using a greater quantity of more robust data.

As we emphasise in the section above, the findings of these earlier surveys and the conclusions of prior research have particularly drawn attention to the North Hamgyeong and Yukchin characteristics of VYK and KM, which gives a strong, if implicit, impression of their similarity. The parallels between these varieties found in the separate strands of earlier research devoted to KM and VYK, respectively, are striking, however, there has been no attempt at conducting a direct comparison of their linguistic features to date (although see Kwak 2000 for a paper in which the social settings of these varieties are juxtaposed). It is through direct comparison of the varied forms and functions of a large number of their grammatical features, however, that this paper seeks to approach the question of the morpho-syntactic (dis)similarity of KM and VYK.

2 The Current Study

The foregoing sets the current study in context. We now go on to explain its novel methodology and purpose, before going on to present our findings and results.

In light of the socio-historical and research background presented above, we identify the main purpose of this paper as summarising the synchronic, morpho-syntactic (dis)similarity between VYK and KM. The shared heritage of these transplanted varieties has been established beyond doubt. Their strikingly similar origins, however, should not obscure the fact that, after one hundred and fifty years in very different linguistic and socio-linguistic settings, the contemporary forms of these varieties are not identical, although this is precisely what is implied by their terminological conflation with the contemporary peninsula varieties and each other (e.g. Yukchin dialect in Central Asian (Pak 2005b) and Yukchin dialect in China (Kwak 2011a)).

Thus, the comparison of the synchronic forms of these varieties is to be done by carrying out direct, qualitative comparison of attestations of the transplanted varieties, drawing examples of their particular points of (dis)similarity from newly collected, naturalistic speech data to as great an extent as possible. This should enable us to comment on the degree to which the well-attested and examined shared heritage of these transplanted varieties is reflected in their contemporary form.

2.1 Methods/methodology

To reiterate, as a starting point, this paper acknowledges the shared dialectological heritage of VYK and KM, which may clearly be inferred from the content of earlier descriptions. As well as determining whether features associated with their origins in the North Eastern dialect zone of Korea are present in each variety, an additional focus of this paper is describing the other notable synchronic (dis)similarities between these varieties. To this end we adopt what may be termed a contrastive approach due to its similarity to contemporary Contrastive Analysis, a linguistic sub-discipline best characterised by Gast (2013: 153), who states that “contrastive analysis investigates the differences between pairs (or small sets) of languages against the background of similarities”. The languages to be contrasted need not be genetically related as this sub-discipline was originally developed in the mid-twentieth century for application to cases of natural or instructed bilingualism, although it has since been much more widely applied. This sort of analysis proceeds from the data following a four-step process summarised as follows by Chesterman (1998: 52 (on the basis of James (1980:63)) “(1) assemble the data, (2) formulate the description (3) supplement the data as required, (4) formulate the contrasts”. In the remainder of this sub-section we primarily address the first and

second points of this process, i.e. the collection of the data and the descriptive framework within which we contrast the transplanted varieties. Section 3 represents the formulation of contrasts between VYK and KM. Where relevant in this section we draw the reader’s attention to how our data have been supplemented. It must be noted that where we provide explanation for several of the observed contrasts, we will necessarily touch upon diachrony. Despite this, we reiterate that we consider our starting point, and main focus of this paper, to be the synchronic forms of the transplanted varieties, the historic development of which requires separate, dedicated work.

In order to collect data for the synchronic description of these varieties, in contrast to many earlier descriptions, the data collection for this paper was informed by documentary and descriptive linguistics in an attempt to gather speech data which was as naturalistic as possible. To this end, rather than directly eliciting individual linguistic forms in isolation from the consultants, we conducted semi-structured interviews modelled after socio-linguistic interviews (see Labov 1972; Tagliamonte 2006). The main factor motivating this decision was the pursuit of naturalistic speech data on familiar, every-day topics, rather than data based exclusively on consultants’ meta-linguistic knowledge or specific, culturally-bound topics, which is a possible outcome of more direct elicitation techniques. As has been well observed in documentary and descriptive linguistics publications (e.g. Lüpke 2010), recording maximally naturalistic language in the field is a challenging and irregular undertaking. Conducting the interview according to the schedule touched upon above was to be regarded as an ideal case, and the decision was taken to conduct semi-structured interviews which allowed the researcher discretion to encourage more naturalistic conversation with the consultant, rather than adhering rigidly to perfectly uniform, structured interviews. Again, this represents a considerable methodological departure from traditional elicitation methods. Although the researcher made themselves known to consultants in advance, spent some time with the vast majority prior to making any recordings and, where possible, made multiple recordings with the same consultant, the variable levels of enthusiasm and energy demonstrated by participants confirmed that semi-structured interviews which could be tailored to the individual participant were the correct choice for the purposes of minimising ill-will and maximising higher quality data. For this reason, the length of each was somewhat variable.

The recording conditions were largely uniform. The majority of the interviews were conducted individually by the researcher, using Korean as a working language where possible and, in the case of KM consultants, Russian where necessary. The exceptions to this were as follows:

- VSC and AGH, a married couple of KM speakers who were interviewed together and in the presence of the community member who introduced them to the researcher
- GM and GMB , a married couple of VYK speakers who were interviewed together and in the presence of the community member who introduced them to the researcher
- Of the VYK speakers, KD, HSL, and HPS were also interviewed in the presence of the community member who introduced them to the researcher

We further note that our inclusion criteria were much broader than those used in earlier research (cf. the judgement sampling of Pak 2005a or Oh 2015), since we only required that consultants self-identified as speakers of the varieties under question to be included in our study. Details of the consultants included in this study’s background with regard to major sociological indicators may be found in tabular format below:

Identifier	Gender	D.O.B	Place of Birth	Place of Residence
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KP	F	Question refused. Age over 60.	Tashkent, Uzbekistan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
EC	F	1938	Almaty, Kazakhstan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
EN	F	Question refused. Age over 60.	Langar, Uzbekistan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
GKH	F	1940	Almaty, Kazakhstan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
VC	F	1941	Almaty, Kazakhstan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
VL	M	1940	Almaty, Kazakhstan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
SL	F	1942	Katta-Kurgan, Uzbekistan	Katta-Kurgan, Uzbekistan
NSP	F	1944	Almaty, Kazakhstan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
TL	F	1932	Chabirovsky Kray, Russia	Almaty Oblast', Kazakhstan
VSC	F	1933	Chabirovsky Kray, Russia	Almaty, Kazakhstan
AGH	M	1940	Tashkent, Uzbekistan	Almaty, Kazakhstan
NOS	F	1923	Chabirovsky Kray, Russia	Almaty Oblast', Kazakhstan

Table 1: Overview of KM Consultants

Identifier	Gender	D.O.B.	Place of Origin	Place of Residence
KD	F	1993	Yanji, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
KGL	M	1992	Ryongjeong, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
KOC	M	1991	Yanji, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
KSN	M	Question refused. Age over 60.	Yanji, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian

LWB	M	1992	Ryongjeong, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
MWG	M	1992	Yanji, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
JHW	M	Question refused. Age over 40.	Hwaryong, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
KSJ	F	1961	Hwaryong, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
YH	M	1991	Yanji, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
HSL	F	1934	Yanji, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
GM	F	Question refused. Age over 60.	Ryongjeong, Yanbian	Ryongjeong, Yanbian
GMB	M	1951	Ryongjeong, Yanbian	Ryongjeong, Yanbian
LG	M	1993	Yanji, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian
HPS	F	1981	Andu, Yanbian	Yanji, Yanbian

Table 2: Overview of VYK Consultants

There are several differences between the sociological characteristics of these groups of speakers. Most notably the age range covered by the group of VYK consultants is much larger than that of the KM consultants, and the gender ratios of the sample groups differ in that the majority of KM consultants are female while the majority of VYK consultants are male. This is a result of using snowball sampling to recruit consultants for this study. We nevertheless consider the data gathered from these sample groups comparable since the variation in the sociological characteristics of each groups may be considered in some respects representative of the constitution of the current Korean-identifying populations of Kazakhstan and China (CIA 2018a; CIA 2018b).

The interviews were recorded in audio only using a Zoom H2n recorder before being transcribed using ELAN (see Brugman and Russel 2004). This program keeps track of how many annotations are made for each recording. In this case, each KM or VYK utterance was recorded with a single annotation. Utterances featuring code switching were also annotated, but annotations in Chinese or Russian only were not. To illustrate the size of the corpus, in place of a wordcount, we provide the number of utterances transcribed for each variety: VYK 2813, KM 2521 (where utterances can range from a single word to multiple clauses). Basing our findings on a corpus of this size, consisting of newly-collected, naturalistic (albeit still not entirely natural) spoken language gathered from relatively large and representative groups of speakers allows us a high degree of confidence in the empirical basis of our findings and our description of these varieties relative to earlier, more traditionally dialectological work.

In addition to issues surrounding the representative characterisation of the populations under discussion, we also return to the challenges of reconciling the competing aims of collecting data which is both maximally naturalistic and maximally comprehensive. In order to address well-attested points of (dis)similarity between these varieties which either do not appear or appear only

very rarely in the naturalistic data, we draw upon secondary sources, which allows for as full an account of the morpho-syntactic (dis)similarity of these varieties as possible.

While the intended focus of this paper is the (dis)similarity in the morpho-syntax of KM and VYK, in describing and investigating this it also necessarily touches upon contrasts in their morpho-phonology.

On a final methodological note, we address the problem of comparison. We are confident that data based on the consistent application of the methods described above with VYK and KM speakers may form the basis for a systematic comparison of these two transplanted varieties. However, undertaking a direct comparison of two or more linguistic varieties, from idiolects to languages, raises the question of what is to serve as the standard of comparison. This has been particularly relevant in typology, and standards of comparison including supra-linguistic comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010) and canonical forms (Brown and Chumakina 2012) amongst others have been suggested for this purpose. Given the shared heritage of these varieties and their many similarities, though, we take a more language-specific approach and use the grammatical categories of Contemporary Standard Korean as prototypes which will allow us to identify comparable morpho-syntactic features in KM and VYK, as well as providing a framework for the description of their realisations and functions.

3 Results and Findings

The findings presented in this section comprise three parts. Summary tables of the comparative morpho-syntactic features drawn from CSK, along with the forms attested in the transplanted varieties, are presented at the start of each sub-section. These are supplemented by in-depth discussions of selected features, including examples and analysis of not only specific common characteristics which demonstrate the shared dialectological heritage of these transplanted varieties, but also particular points of dissimilarity between them, whether they have come about due to external influence (e.g. from CSK) or language internal change.

3.1 Nominal Inflection

KM and VYK exhibit a high degree of overall similarity and this extends to their nominal inflection. The principal differences between them are morpho-phonological, that is, the often phonologically conditioned realisations of particle forms. There are, however, several points of divergence between the varieties observed in the data which merit special attention. The classification of particles, even in varieties as well understood as CSK is contentious and typologies identifying two, three, and four categories exist (see Lee and Ramsey 2000; Author 2003; Yu Cho and Sells 1995 for examples of these positions). For our current purpose of providing a contrastive overview of these transplanted varieties, though, it is practical to divide our discussion below into two parts examining case particles (*kyekcosa*) and delimiters (*pocosa* or *thukswucosa*), respectively, following the classification of particles found in much traditional Korean grammatical description (see Author and Co-author 2011: 94).

3.1.1 Case Particles

The case particles of CSK along with their equivalent VYK and KM forms, which appeared in the primary data, are presented below in tabular format. In the following, as in all subsequent linguistic

examples, CSK is presented in the Yale Romanisation while VYK and KM are presented in broad IPA transcription.

Particle	CSK	VYK	KM
Subject	<i>-i, -ka,</i>	[i], [ga], [iga]	[i], [j]
	<i>-kkeyse</i>	[k'esə]	N/A
Object	<i>-ul, -lul</i>	[ɪl], [rɪl], [ɪ], [rɪ], [u], [l]	[ɪl], [ɪ], [rɪ], [rɪ], [r], [ɪr], [u], [ur], [ul]
Genitive	<i>-uy</i>	[e], [i]	[e], [i]
Movement and Location	<i>-ey</i>	[e]	[e] <i>-i</i> (Kwon 2010)
	<i>-eyta</i>	[eda] <i>-etaka</i> (Jeong 2010)	[eda]
	<i>-eyse</i>	[esə], [sə]	[esə], [ezə], [sə], [zə] <i>-ise</i> (Kwon 2010)
	<i>-eykey</i>	[ege] <i>-ndey, -indey, -keyda, -bogwu</i> (Jeong 2010)	[ege] <i>-indey</i> (Kwon 2010), <i>-key, -keyse</i> (Yi et al 2000)
	<i>-hanthey</i>	[hant ^h e]	N/A
Instrumental	<i>-lo, -ulo</i>	[ro], [ɪro], [lo], [ɪlo]	[ɪro], [uro], [lo], [ro], [ɪlo]
Comitative	<i>-wa, -kwa</i>	[wa], [kwa], [ga]	[ga]
	<i>-lang, -ilang</i>	[rang], [iran] <i>-iramey, -ramey</i> (Jin 2013)	[rang], [irang]
	<i>-hako</i>	[hago]	[hago] <i>-ko, -iko</i> (Kwon 2010)

Table 3: Summary of Attested VYK and KM Case Particles

We now go on to comment on particular forms and usages drawn from these categories of particles which shed light on the synchronic (dis)similarity between these transplanted varieties.

3.1.1.1 The Subject Particle

The subject particle is one of the more noticeable points of dissimilarity between VYK and KM, both in terms of form and function. The VYK speakers sampled almost universally realise the subject particle using two phonologically conditioned allomorphs as in CSK, although the allomorph /-ka/ is prototypically not considered to be part of this variety. They also exhibit pragmatically conditioned variation and use an honorific form of the subject particle.

- (1)-VYK [uri-ga irə-kʰe ton tʃogim-ʃ'ire mo-a-gadʒi-go]
 we-SUBJ thus-ADV money a little-each gather-CONN-have-DM
 'That's how we saved up our money little by little'
- (2)-VYK [tʃosənəmun-e hunʃʰi-ga tʃom də mana-simnida]
 Korean language and interest-SUBJ a little more more-DC.POL
 literature-DAT
 'I am a little more interested in studying Korean language and literature'
- (3)-VYK [ki harabədʒi harabədʒi -kesə ama
 that grandfather grandfather-SUBJ.HON perhaps
 isa wa-s'ɪmnikane]
 move come-PST.DM
 'My grandfather's grandfather probably moved (here to China from Korea)'

Neither of these forms, i.e. the variants of the subject particle which follow consonants or are used for honorific referents, /-ka/ and /-keyse/, respectively, were attested in the KM recordings. This conforms with the characterisation of KM as possessing only a single form of the subject particle /-i/. While the development of this allomorphy has not been a focus of research in itself, it is likely to have developed due to the influence of non-Hamgyeong varieties of Korean, including standard varieties of Korean, which have been in contact with VYK over the twentieth century while KM remained in isolation.

While KM does not appear to exhibit the phonologically conditioned allomorphy found in VYK, the invariant subject particle does cause regular phonological processes found in KM to take place, for example vowel raising and nasal deletion. These processes are exemplified in the words [sondʒɛj], [sonje], [doŋsɛ̃] below:

- (4)-KM [ʃidʒaŋ tʃændʒa sondʒɛj-dɪr sonje
 now in total grandson.SUBJ-PL granddaughter.SUBJ
 jəsɪʃ i-o]
 six CPL-DC.POL
 'I have six grandchildren in total now'

(5)-KM [nɛ are iltʃəŋgubɛksafipo-jən-do-e na-in
my beneath one thousand nine hundred be born-M.PST
and forty five-year-degree-LOC
‘My younger sibling, who was born after me in 1945,
doŋsɛ sibəŋ vondo-esə sa-o]
younger sibling.SUBJ now far East-LOC live-DC.POL
is now living in the (Russian) Far East’

There are cases in the recordings of both KM and VYK where the subject particle co-occurs with another particle in way which would be ungrammatical in CSK:

(6)-KM [adur-i-nɪ lʲeningrad-sə isa-dejhak pʰirha-go
son-SUBJ-TOP Leningrad-LOC medicine-university complete-CONN
tʰar-i-nu sənsej-dejhak pirhe-sʰo]
daughter-SUBJ-TOP teacher-university complete-PST.DC
‘My son graduated Leningrad medical school and my daughter teacher’s college’

(7)-VYK [se ʃidʒəŋ-iga-do ikʰo]
new market-SUBJ-also be present-DM
‘There is a new market, too’

This appears to be a case of reanalysis of the subject particle as part of the root of the word in the idiolects of the consultants, however in the case of the VYK form [iga] attested above, it has been suggested that this is in fact a form of the subject particle specific to VYK rather than a reanalysis of a noun (Jin 2013). Its attestation elsewhere on the part of at least some VYK speakers, appearing separated from a lexical word by another particle in a position typically reserved for case particles suggests that this analysis is correct.

(8)-VYK [kiredo tebubun saram-dɪr-iga pe pul-i
however majority person-PL-SUBJ stomach full-ADV
məg-ɪl su ikʰo]
eat-M.FUT case be present-DM

‘However most people can eat as much as they need’

Thus, we may conclude that reanalysis of the subject particle form /-i/ has taken place for some speakers in both KM and VYK, but with different outcomes. In KM the subject particle is variably reanalysed as part of the noun stem, whereas in VYK it has been variably reanalysed as an epenthetic vowel which appears as the initial vowel of the subject particle when it follows a consonant. A possible motivation for the reanalysis of the particle as the final vowel of the root noun in KM is that variety’s tendency to create open syllables either through a process termed *polnoglasie* or ‘full-vocalisation’ in analogy with a term common in Slavonic linguistics (see Pak 2005a: 176) or through epenthesis (compare CSK *kiphkey* and KM *kiphukey* ‘deeply’ (see, for example, Author and Co-author 1992:113)). The possible motivation for the reanalysis in VYK is less clear. While we may speculate that this form developed in analogy with other two-form particles, such as the instrumental particle *-(u)lo*, the allomorphs of which differ only in the presence or absence of an initial vowel, we must regard this as an *ad hoc* hypothesis in the absence of conclusive research into this topic.

3.1.1.2 The Object Particle

In both VYK and KM, as CSK, the main function of this particle is marking the direct object of transitive verbs. The forms of this particle exhibit phonologically conditioned allomorphy in both of these varieties, while the variable realisation of the liquid phoneme as a tap, continuant, or trill leads to an even greater number of possible realisations of this particle in KM. As with the subject particle, this particle may be dropped in the transplanted varieties where it is contextually redundant. We note that the phonologically reduced form of the object particle (that is, a form without a final liquid) has a long-standing association with Hamgyeong varieties of Korean (Lee and Lee 2009 [Ogura 1940]). It is attested in both KM and VYK data, although it appears to be far more frequently occurring in the former than the latter.

(9)-KM	[gir-i	mo	iry-əs’ə]	
	writing-ACC	NEG	read-DC.PST	
	‘I	could	not read’	
(10)-VYK	[uri	paŋsoŋ-i	tʃadʒu	po-go]
	we	broadcast-ACC	often	see-DM
	‘They	often	watch	our programmes’

In these varieties, as in CSK, an additional function of the object particle is marking the goals of verbs of motion. Again, this function is attested in both KM and VYK, however we observe that not only does it appear more frequently in KM, to the near complete exclusion of constructions which mark goals using a particle corresponding to CSK *-ey*. We further note that the Language of Wider Communication (LWC) with which KM is in most intensive contact, Russian, marks goals of verbs of motion using the same morphological resources as the direct objects of transitive verbs. This fact is suggestive of contact influence on the relative frequency of particular constructions in the transplanted varieties, albeit not, at least in this case, replication of LWC constructions with their own linguistic resources.

(11)-KM	[vit̪ʰa	t̪ʰib-ul-do	ka-ge-ninde]	
	Vicha (personal name)	house-ACC-too	go-MOD-DM	
	'I	should go to Vicha's house,	too'	
(12)-KM	[i-wəl	tar-butʰə	inge-r	tangi-mje]
	two-month	month-ABL	here-ACC	frequent-CONN
	'I	have been coming here since	February and...'	

Despite these minor differences, though, these shared forms and functions of the object particle recorded in the primary data demonstrate KM and VYK's shared points of dissimilarity from CSK.

3.1.1.3 The Genitive Particle

The functional characteristics of this particle in VYK and KM do not appear to differ greatly. It exhibited similar forms, although it appeared only rarely in the primary data, so it is not possible to speculate about the linguistic or social factors which condition the use of the two variants observed in both KM and VYK. In common with other case particles, the genitive particle could be dropped where contextually appropriate. This conforms with earlier observations about the rarity of this particle in naturalistic KM speech (Kwon 2010: 34). Before concluding this brief examination of the genitive particle, we note that prior descriptions of KM and VYK have found additional variants of the genitive particle pronounced [u] or [i] (see Jeong 2010: 38 or Pak 2005a: 181). While this did not appear in the primary data collected for this paper, the non-standard forms of this particle in the transplanted varieties have a high degree of similarity.

3.1.1.4 Particles of Movement and Location

Elsewhere considered together as dative particles (e.g. Sohn 1999: 213), we follow Author and Co-author (2011: 102-112) in considering these particles in terms of particles of movement and location. Often, both movement and location may be expressed by the same form of a given particle with its meaning only discernible from context. Due to this, we deal with particles in turn on the basis of the form of the CSK particle which forms the basis for their comparisons, namely *-ey*, *-eyta*, *-eyse*, *-eykey*, and *-hanthey*.²

The VYK and KM particles corresponding to *-ey*, *-eyta*, and *-eyse* are very similar in both their forms and functions in VYK and KM in that they mark static locations and goals, placement, and dynamic locations, respectively. It is rather the marking of recipients where these varieties appear to differ. While particles formally and functionally similar to CSK *-eykey* and *-hanthey* are attested in the VYK data:

(13)-VYK	[ki	jəŋhjaŋ-i	t̪ʰə-ege
	That	influence-SUBJ	I-DAT

² We omit the particles *-eykeyse*, *-hantheyse* and *-kkey* from our discussion since they do not appear in the primary data for VYK or CSK.

ad̄z̄u	d̄z̄o-t ^h ago	sɛŋgak-ha-mda]
very	good-IS	think-do-DC.POL

'I think that that influence is very good for me'

(14)-VYK [sunzə-bun-dil-hant^he t̄jesa duri-l nal]
 ancestor-person.HON-PL-DAT offeratory food give.HON-M.FUT cay
 '(That is) the day when we perform *chesa* for our ancestors'

A particle with a form similar to CSK *-hanthey* does not appear in the KM data. Furthermore, where a particle that is formally similar to CSK *-eykey* does appear in the KM data, it does not appear to mark a recipient:

(15)-KM	[i	sarim	t'ar-ege	s'a-wə]
	this	person	daughter-DAT [?]	fight-DC

'They are fighting with their daughter'

Examining the KM marking of animate indirect objects, for example those appearing as an argument of the verb *cwuta* 'to give', we see that they are more often marked using a particle corresponding in form to the object particle or may be left unmarked as in the examples below:

(16)-KM	[əmej-r	ton-do	t̄jak'uma	d̄z̄u-o]
	mother-ACC	money-too	constantly	give-DC.POL

'I constantly give money to my mother'

(17)-KM	[t̄jib-i	han-kan-ʃ'i	t̄ju-ikadi]
	house-ACC	one-CL-each	give-DM

'They would give each household one handful each'

(18)-KM	[zenja	d̄z̄u-go	i	nat̄ ^h an
	Zhenya	give-CONN	this	face

aj	d̄z̄u-n-da]
----	-------------

NEG give-PRES-DC
 'I give (some) to Zhenya, but I do not give (any) to that person'

(19)-KM [tʃir-i ne aj dʒu-o]
 work-ACC I NEG give-DC.POL
 'They do not give me any work'

This pattern of case marking for animate indirect objects is considered a characteristic of the varieties of the north east of the Korean peninsula (Kwak 2001: 104). Despite the diachronic affinity which these peninsula dialects share with both VYK and KM, no similar marking of animate indirect objects appears in the VYK primary data, nor has such case marking been recorded in prior descriptions.

3.1.1.5 The Comitative Particle

The comitative particle exhibits some minor formal differences in VYK and KM as outlined in the summary table at the beginning of this section, specifically its phonologically conditioned allomorphy in VYK. A characteristic of this particle which has been considered a characteristic feature of KM, though, is its appearance with verbs of asking. As well as the set of verbs governing the comitative case common to CSK (e.g. *kyelhon hata* 'to marry', *ssawuta* 'to quarrel' etc.), verbs of asking also govern this case. In the KM data, though, no examples of verbs of asking combined with the comitative case are to be found. While this has not previously been advanced as a characteristic feature of VYK, two examples of this structure may be found in the VYK recordings.

(20)-VYK [jetʃən gɨ halməni-ga murəba-nde]
 previously that grandmother-COM ask.DM
 'I asked my grandmother about this a long time ago'

(21)-VYK [i sanaj-ga murəba-s'o]
 that man-COM ask-DC.PST.POL
 'I asked this man'

Despite not appearing in this project's primary data, this use of the comitative particle in KM is well attested and considered a feature of the variety by native speakers (cf. King 1992: 208; Pak 2005a). Therefore, we tentatively suggest that this is a relic feature of the antecedent Hamgyeong varieties of both transplanted varieties.

3.1.2 Delimiters

We now turn to delimiters. These are often characterised as particles which indicate a range of semantic functions in the Korean sentence, rather than grammatical relations. They can be

combined with noun phrases, with or without an accompanying case particle, and with adverbs or inflected forms of predicates (Lee and Ramsey 2000: 139; Author 2003: 25). In the following table we present a select inventory of the delimiters of Korean and a catalogue of the realisations of their corresponding particles in VYK and KM:

Particle	CSK	VYK	KM
Topic	/-un/, /-nun/	[in], [nin], [i], [n], [ni], [ni]	[in], [nin], [i], [ni], [ni], [n], [i]
Plural	/-tul/	[di], [dir]	[dur], [di], [dir]
Particles of Extent	/-man/	[man], [mã]	[man], [mã]
	/-to/	[do]	[do]
	/-puthe/	[put ^h ə]	[put ^h ə]
	/-k'aci/	[k'ad̥zi]	[k'ad̥zi]
	/-pakk ey/	[pak'e]	[pak'e]
Particles of Frequency	/-mata/	[mada]	[mada]
	/-ssik/	[ʃik], [ʃi]	[ʃi]
Particles of Comparison	/-cherem/	[tʃ ^h ərəm]	[tʃ ^h ərəm]
	/-taylo/	[dɛro]	[dɛro]
	/-mankhum/	[mank ^h im]	N/A
	/-pota/	[poda]	[ma]
	/-kathi/	N/A	[gatʃ ^h i]
Particles of Approximation of Optionality	/-ina/, /na/	[na], [ina]	[na], [ina]
	/-ccum/	[tʃ ^h im]	N/A

Table 4: Summary of Attested VYK and KM Delimiters

While it must be conceded that this is not an exhaustive³ list of the delimiters of Korean, it is representative of those which appear in the primary data upon which this analysis is largely based.

Rather than discuss each delimiter in turn, due to the global similarity in terms of both form and function we rather restrict our discussion to particular dissimilarities between the transplanted varieties and points of difference with prior descriptions.

³ To put this selection of delimiters in context through comparison with other treatments of similar subjects in CSK, the “fairly exhaustive” list of delimiters presented by Lee and Ramsey (2001 p. 161) only amounts to twelve items. Of the twenty three delimiters identified by Author and Co-Author (2011 pp. 121-149), whose taxonomy is followed for expository convenience in the structure of this section and the categorisation of particles in this paper, the majority are included in our selection and those which are not, for example – *(i)yamallo* and *-khenyang* appear only very infrequently in Korean of all varieties.

3.1.2.1 Particles of Extent

While it is plain from the summary table above that the primary data revealed a very high degree of similarity between VYK and KM in terms of the forms and functions of these particles, Co-author and Author (1992:116) report a particle form *-twula* in KM corresponding to the CSK particle *-kkaci*, particularly in temporal constructions (e.g. *cukkumtwula* – until now). This form did not appear in either the KM or VYK primary data. Rather a particle with the form [k'ad̥zi] appeared to be in common usage with this function in both transplanted varieties:

(22)-VYK	[i	t'ε-k'ad̥zi	kjesok̚	irə-k ^h e]		
	DET	time-up to	continuous	be thus-ADV		
	'Until	now	I	have kept on	doing it like that'	
(23)-KM	[kəŋgɛ-sə-n	t̥ʰil-haŋ-njən- k'ad̥zi	ilg-əs'-o]			
	there-LOC-TOP	seven-study-year-up to	read-PST.DC-POL			
	'I	studied	there	until	seventh	grade'

Despite this, we note that a formally similar clausal connective with a similar usage is attested in one of the secondary KM sources consulted for this paper with Pak reporting the following sentence: *hay ti-dwura ani onda* – (s)he will not come until the sun sets (2005a: 113), however this source does not mention the use of *-twula* in its description of KM delimiters, only *-kkeci* (Pak 2005a: 134). Further discussion of the formally similar clausal connective corresponding to CSK *-tolok* may be found in section 3.2.2.1 below.

There is no attestation of a particle with this form being used as a delimiter of extent in the VYK secondary data. The divergence from the primary data is the attestation of particles with the form *kkeci* (Jeong 2010: 73) *kketi* (Kwak et al 2008: 404). Thus, the specific particle form *-twula* may be a point of dissimilarity between the transplanted varieties in that it has been attested for KM, but not VYK.

3.1.2.2 Particles of Comparison

Perhaps the most striking difference between the delimiters attested in the primary data is the forms of the particle corresponding to CSK *-pota*. A formally and functionally similar particle appears in the VYK data:

(24)-VYK	[kidɛ-poda-nin	t̥ʰemi-əps-ɪmda]					
	expectation-than-TOP	fun-be absent-DC.POL					
	'It	was	less	fun	than	I	expected'

A particle with this form and this function is widely attested in prior descriptions of VYK (e.g. Kwak et al 2008: 70). However, no formally similar particle appeared in the KM primary data, only a particle with a markedly different form, as follows:

(25)-KM	[jenal-ma	t̥ʰogim	ta-d̥zi]									
	the old days-than	a little	be different-DC									
	'It	is	a little	different	from	how	it	was	in	the	old	days'

While this delimiter is reported in prior descriptions of KM (e.g. Co-author and Author 1992: 116), earlier sources also record the forms *-poda* (Pak 2005a: 139) and *-pogo* (Yi et al 2000: 37) and it is even absent from some descriptions (e.g. Kwon 2010). The particle form [ma] is less well attested in VYK. Unique among extant descriptions of VYK is Jeong’s (2010: 50) example of a formally similar delimiter being glossed with CSK *-pota* as below:

VYK: *ku cipi wulima mos santa*
 CSK: *ku cipi wulipota cal salci mos hanta*
 English: ‘that household could not live better than us’

Despite this gloss, Jeong draws an equivalence between this particle form and the comparative function of CSK *-man*⁴ and glosses it as such in other examples:

VYK: *amay amuli kopkey caylaywato cay esima moshao*
 CSK: *halmenika amuli yeppukey khiwe cwutelato pwumoman moshao*
 English: ‘no matter how well my grandmother raised me she is not my parents’

The reasons for this dissimilarity between the transplanted varieties is not clear, but it has been suggested that this is part of KM’s Yukchin heritage (Pak 2005b: 251). Conversely, not all descriptions of the Yukchin variety consider this form of the comparative particle a characteristic feature (cf. Kwak 2001: 283).

3.2 Verbal Inflection

As in the case of nominal inflection, the similarities between VYK and KM far outnumber their differences. We divide our discussion into two parts following the traditional CSK classification of pre-final and final verbal endings, with the section on final verbal endings being further sub-divided to discuss sentence-final and non-sentence-final endings.

3.2.1 Pre-final Verbal Endings

These endings have a diverse array of functions and mark tense, modality, evidentiality, and subject honorification.

Pre-final Ending	CSK	VYK	KM
Simple Past Tense	<i>-ass-</i> , <i>-ess-</i>	[as’], [əs’], [es’] <i>-as</i> , <i>-es</i> (Kim 2014)	[as’], [əs’], [es’] <i>-as</i> , <i>-es</i> , <i>-eys</i> (Kwak et al 2008)
Past-Past Tense	<i>-assess-</i> , <i>-essess-</i>	[as’əs’]	[as’əs’]
Observed Past Tense	<i>-te-</i>	[də], [sɪpdi]	[də], [dəra], [ɪpdi]

⁴ For a formal, prescriptive account of this usage see Lee and Lee 2008: 309

Future/Modal	- <i>keyss-</i>	[ges'] - <i>kes</i> (Kim 2014)	[ges'] - <i>kes</i> (Kwak et al 2008)
Subject Honorific	-(<i>u</i>) <i>si-</i>	[ji]	N/A

Table 5: Summary of Attested VYK and KM Pre-final Verbal Endings

Due to the wide range of phonological environments in which these endings may find themselves, there are diverse realisations of each morpheme in the transplanted varieties. Despite this, we note that the forms and functions of the VYK and KM pre-final verbal endings which appear in the primary data are near identical. Secondary data reinforces this similarity. An especially notable dissimilarity between these varieties, though, is the lack of morphological subject honorification in KM. We discuss and exemplify this below.

3.2.1.1 Subject Honorific Ending *-(u)si-*

The usage of this ending in VYK is analogous to that of CSK in that the ending *-(u)si-* is added to the verb base, then followed by other endings marking speech style or mood. Examples of its use in VYK may be seen below:

(26)-VYK	[tari-n	toŋŋe-esə	sa-ji-n	tʃək̃	is'-imik'a]
	different- M.PRS	neighbourhood- LOC	live-HON- M.PST	experience	be present- INT.POL
	'Have	you	ever	lived	in a different neighbourhood?'

(27)-VYK	[əməni-nin	jori-ril	tʃal	ha-ji-mnida]
	mother-TOP	cookery-ACC	well	do-HON-DC.POL
	'(My)	mother	is good	at cooking'

In contrast, such morphological subject honorification is absent from the KM data, even in cases where honorific vocabulary items, with which it would regularly co-occur in other varieties of Korean, were used:

(28)-KM	[uri	namp ^h jən	toraga-tʃ'i]
	we	husband	die.HON-PST.DC
	'My	husband	passed away'
(29)-KM	[mama	nɛ	toraga-gosəri]
	mother	my	die.HON-DM
	'My	mother	died'
(30)-VYK	[op'a-ga	toraga-ji-go]	
	elder brother-SUBJ	die.HON-HON-DM	

‘My elder brother has passed away’

3.2.2 Non-sentence-final Endings

This class of endings covers the vast number of connective endings (over thirty in Lee and Ramsey 2000: 186-191 and over sixty in Author and Co-Author 2011: 259-326) as well as the small closed classes of adnominalizing and nominalizing endings. In common with the rest of this comparison, we present a summary table and accompanying discussion immediately below, then go on to provide more detail only for selected endings.

Non-sentence Final Ending	CSK	VYK	KM
Addition/Sequence	<i>-ko</i>	[gɔ], [ko], [k'o]	[gɔ], [ko], [k'o]
	<i>-myense</i>	[mjənsə], [mesə]	[mjənsə], [mesə], [mesəri]
	<i>-ca(maca)</i>	[d̄ʒa mad̄ʒa]	[zamesa]
	<i>-nuntey</i>	[nɪnde], [ɪnde], [nde]	[nɪnde], [ɪnde], [nde]
	<i>-(a/e)se</i>	[sə], [asə]	[sə]
Cause	<i>-(u)nikka</i>	[nik'a]	[nik'a], [aik'a], [naik'a], [kadi]
	<i>-killay</i>	[gilɛ]	[gilɛ]
Contrast	<i>-ciman</i>	[d̄ʒiman]	[d̄ʒiman]
	<i>-(e)to</i>	[do]	[do]
	<i>-kena</i>	[gəna], [k'əna]	[igəna]
Option	<i>-tunci</i>	[d̄ɪnd̄ʒi]	[d̄ɪnd̄ʒi]
	<i>-(u)n/nunci</i>	[nɪnd̄ʒi]	[ɪnd̄ʒi], [nd̄ʒi], [nɪnga]
Condition	<i>-(u)myen</i>	[mjən], [mu], [mə], [m]	[mjən], [mu], [mje], [m]
	<i>-tolok</i>	[dorok̚]	[torok̚]
Intention	<i>-le</i>	[rə]	[la]
	<i>-lyeko</i>	[rjəgo]	N/A
Adnominalizers	<i>-(u)n</i>	[ɪn], [n]	[ɪn], [n]
	<i>-ten</i>	[t'ən]	[dən]
	<i>-nun</i>	[nɪn]	[nɪn]

	-(u)l	[ɨ], [l]	[ɨ], [l]
Nominalizers	-(u)m	[im], [m]	[im], [m]
	-ki	[gi], [k'i]	[gi]

Table 6: Summary of Attested VYK and KM Non-sentence-final Verbal Endings

Once more we see a relatively high degree of variation in the realisations of particular endings, often as a result either of phonological processes common to all varieties of Korean (e.g. pronouncing /k/ voiced where it appears between vowels or with a reinforced articulation where it appears after a stop – the VYK and KM endings corresponding to CSK *-ko* are representative examples of this) or those which are particular to these varieties of (e.g. the deletion of final /n/ in endings corresponding to CSK *-myen*).

Despite the varied realisations of several of these endings, the similarities between these varieties once again vastly outnumber their differences. It is neither practical nor necessary to deal with each non-sentence-final ending separately due to this high degree of similarity. Rather, we draw attention to the dissimilarities between selected non-sentence final endings of these varieties attested in the primary data, and also discuss notable points of difference with prior research.

3.2.2.1 Conditional connective *-tolok*

While the formally similar endings appeared in both the VYK and KM primary data, its functions were very dissimilar. In the VYK data its function was very similar to the corresponding CSK conditional connective:

(31)-VYK	[tʃal]		[tʃiptʃun]	ha-dorok ²
	well		attention	do-CONN
	kjojuk ²	he		[dʒu-ʃi-go]
	education	do.CONN		give-HON-DM
	'(My parents) taught me to pay attention well'			

Conversely in the KM primary data, the function of a formally similar ending appears to be more similar to CSK *-taylo* 'in accordance with':

(32)-KM	[abudʒi]	skaza-l	torok]
	father	say.PRF-PST.M	just as
	'(I did) just as my father said'		

This function has not been attested for this ending previously, therefore the possibility that this represents only the speaker's idiolect cannot be ruled out. We note, though, that attestations of a formally similar ending in earlier descriptions of KM have been particularly variable. Kwon (2010: 101) draws specific attention to its absence from KM. In contrast to this, not only is the function attested in the primary data reported by Yi et al (2000: 132), but its use in a construction similar to

the CSK *-(u)l swu lok* construction is reported: *paywu-twula paywuki ilepta* – ‘the more you learn the easier’. No such variable usage has been attested for this ending in VYK.

3.2.2.2 Conditional Connective *-(e/a)ya*

In both the VYK and KM primary data, this ending appeared largely in modal expressions of obligation (as below) rather than as a clausal connective:

(33)-KM	[ki	$\widehat{t}jip$	papa	ga-ya	$t\varepsilon\text{-}\widehat{t}j'i$
	DET	house	father	go-CONN	become-PST.DC
	‘My father had to go to that house’				

(34)-VYK	[jægi-sə	wənle	$\widehat{t}josən$	mal	hɛ-ya	$d\varepsilon\text{-}\widehat{t}j'i$
	here-LOC	originally	Korea	language	do-CONN	become-PST.DC
	‘Originally, you had to speak Korean here’					

Nevertheless, a clausal connective does appear in prior attestation of KM with the form [kuja] (Co-author and Author 1992: 116). While it is not mentioned in all descriptions of KM, it is entirely absent from descriptions of VYK (see especially Jeong 2010: 130-135 for a full discussion of VYK conditional connectives), therefore it cannot be ruled out as a point of dissimilarity between VYK and KM.

3.2.2.3 Nominalizer *-ki*

The nominalizer *-ki* is used in a wide range of constructions in all varieties of Korean. It has been attested (King 1987; Co-author and Author 1992) as having uses in KM which are not shared with CSK, though. Specifically, it replaces CSK *-ko* in the construction corresponding to *hako siphta* ‘to want to do something’ and it replaces CSK *-key* in the construction corresponding to *hakey toyta* ‘to end up doing something/to come to do something’. Examples of this may be found below:

(35)-KM	[fergana	tɛhak	ka-gi	dɛ-s-ink'a]
	army-ACC	university	go-NMN	become-PST-DM
	‘Because I came to go to Fergana University’			

(36)-KM	$\widehat{t}japsi\text{-}gi$	$jip^h\text{-}\widehat{a}i$
	eat.HON-NMN	want-DM
	‘It is because he wants to eat’	

These uses of this ending are not found in the VYK data, where these constructions appear to have a closer correspondence with CSK:

(37)-VYK	[i	kim-e	o-ge	dɛs'-imda]
	This	in course of	come-ADV	become.PST-DC.POL
	‘In the course of (doing that) I came to arrive’			

(38)-VYK	[han	pən	ka	po-go	ʃip-simda]
	One	time	go	see-CONN	want-DC.POL
	‘I	want	to	try going	(there) one time’

While it has been proposed that this use of /-ki/ specifically in constructions corresponding to CSK – *hago siphta* is the result of sound change common to the North Eastern dialect zone (King 1992 p. 214), its absence from Yanbian Korean suggests that if ever it was common to that variety it is retained only in Central Asian Korean. Furthermore, if this is the result of sound change, it would be a highly unusual and constrained sound change, since the conjunctive ending /-ko/ and the adverbial ending /-key/ both appear in the KM data with forms more similar to those of VYK and CSK. Rather, we tentatively suggest that this could be an example of contact induced grammatical replication, following the cross-linguistically observed phenomenon in which constructions of socially dominant languages (for example LWCs) formed using infinitives are replicated using nominalised verbs (see Heine and Kuteva 2005).

Supporting this line of reasoning is the KM form *-keypta*, which also expresses volition. While it does not appear in the primary data collected for this paper, it is widely attested in prior research (Co-author and Author 1992: 114; Yi et al 2000: 41). Such phonological reduction would be an expected outcome of language change progressing along a grammaticalization cline (Hopper and Traugot 2003). Like the usage of the nominalizing ending in volitional constructions discussed above, this phonologically reduced form appears in neither the primary nor secondary VYK data consulted for this paper.

3.2.3 Sentence Final Endings

These endings mark not only the end of a grammatical sentence, but also the mood and level of politeness (directed toward the interlocutor) of the utterance. The moods distinguished in the sentence final endings of CSK are declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive moods, each of which is traditionally divided into six distinct levels of formality (Author and Co-author 2011: 171). In practice, though, not all of these are in regular use in any variety of Korean. The situation is well summarised by Lee Ju-haeng’s observation that “the Korean system of speech styles show variable characteristics depending on the region, speaker age, social class, gender, and other factors” (2011: 300). Turning to VYK and KM, prior research has identified a variable number of speech levels with a broad consensus of three: informal, neutral and formal registers. Despite this discrepancy, we continue to turn to CSK for illustrative comparative concepts but, informed by earlier work on VYK and KM, select only endings corresponding to three rather than all six levels of politeness as the basis for comparison.

Below we present an inventory of the sentence final endings attested in the KM and VYK primary data over these three speech levels for the declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive moods. We then go on to present examples drawn from the primary data and compare the endings of KM and VYK⁵ directly according to their corresponding CSK endings. At this point it is once again

⁵ We again note that the endings presented in the tables here are drawn from our primary data to as great an extent as possible. Given its naturalistic character and the format of the sociolinguistic interview, though, imperative and propositive forms were particularly rarely attested. Thus, we have supplemented our data

necessary to address the limitations of naturalistic data. While a large number of indicative and interrogative utterances in all speech levels were recorded in the primary data, imperative and propositive utterances were much rarer in general and generally restricted to more polite registers for pragmatic reasons. Thus, our discussion of those endings relies more heavily on attestations in secondary data than other sections of this paper.

Register	CSK	KM	VYK
Informal	-e/a	[nda], [ninda], [ə], [ta]	[nda], [ə], [ɛ], [ta]
Neutral	-a/eyo	[ajo], [əjo], [o], [so]	[ajo], [əjo], [o], [so]
Polite	-(su)pnita	[kuma], [sik'uma], [mnida], [simnida]	[mda], [simda], [mnida], [simnida], [m], [im], [sim]

Table 7: Summary of VYK and KM Final Declarative Endings

In the informal and neutral registers, the sentence final declarative endings of VYK and KM attested in the primary data are near identical. Furthermore, these endings broadly conform with the findings of earlier research.

While the informal and neutral sentence final endings of VYK and KM demonstrate a high degree of similarity, the same cannot be said for the polite endings. While VYK-speaking consultants demonstrated meta-linguistic knowledge of the so-called ‘Yukchin’ formal endings (e.g. *-kkwuma*), they did not appear in their naturalistic speech. We do note, however, that ‘Yukchin’ endings are widely attested elsewhere in VYK (e.g. Jin 2013: 85-86; Jeong 2010: 78-80). Endings formally similar to CSK *hapnita* style were attested for both transplanted varieties, while phonologically reduced forms of these endings were attested only in the VYK data.

This apparent phonological reduction is of particular note, in that it may also be interpreted as a change in the templatic structure of these endings (see Sohn 1999: 234). Specifically, a morpheme corresponding to one which Sohn identifies as a marker of the indicative does not appear in the forms [mda] and [simda]. A similar phenomenon is observable in the ‘Yukchin’ forms of KM. Furthermore, neither this indicative morpheme nor one which Sohn identifies as marking the declarative mood appears in the endings [m], [im], or [sim]. We shall see that changes to the templatic structure of endings, especially the polite endings, may be frequently observed in both transplanted varieties.

A point of departure from prior descriptions is the inclusion of endings which are formally similar to the CSK *hayyo* style, i.e. [ajo] and [əjo] here. It is unknown how long these endings have been present in KM or VYK since there is a slight tendency in the literature not to report on features which are not associated with non-standard varieties (see Jin 2013: 83 for an explicit statement of this position). While we concede that these endings may only have entered the transplanted varieties recently due to contact with standardised varieties of Korean, we nevertheless consider their usage by self-identifying speakers of VYK and KM sufficient for their inclusion here, i.e. these endings are to be considered as much a part of contemporary KM and VYK as the more ‘archaic’ features which are preserved in these varieties and prototypically associated with them. Similarly, the *hamnita* style

with attestation taken from prior research which appears in Yale or modified Yale transliteration alongside its source.

endings included in the table above tend not to be considered part of the KM verbal system (cf. the verbal paradigms presented in Yi et al 2000: 48), despite their use by self-identifying KM speakers. Although we do acknowledge the use of this ending by KM speakers, we also observe that its frequency of use is a good deal lower than other formal declarative endings (see Kwon 2010: 60).

Register	CSK	KM	VYK
Informal	<i>-ni, -nya</i>	[nga], [niŋga], [nja]	[nga], [niŋga], [nja], [ni]
Neutral	<i>-a/eyo</i>	-(s)o (Kwon 2010) -(s)o, -wu (Pak 2005a)	-o, -so (Jeong 2010)
Polite	<i>-(su)pnikka</i>	[mdu], [simdu]	[mk'a], [simk'a], [mnik'a], [simnik'a]

Table 8: Summary of VYK and KM Final Interrogative Endings

The dissimilarity between the forms of the KM and VYK formal interrogative endings attested in the primary data reinforces the impression that KM has retained Yukchin endings in relatively wide use, but VYK has not. Again, this contrasts with prior work in which these endings were considered to be characteristic of VYK (cf. Jeong 2010: 91-92; Jin 2013: 89-90). It is striking that no neutral interrogative endings appear in the primary data. While near identical forms have been reported for this register in secondary sources, this gap in the primary data suggests that there is tendency for speakers of both transplanted varieties to prefer more marked interrogative forms, since both higher and lower register interrogative forms are attested. The attested forms of informal interrogative endings also enjoy a very high degree of similarity, however we draw attention to the fact that an ending formally similar to CSK *-ni* does not appear in the KM primary data, nor is such an ending attested in other descriptions of KM interrogative endings (Yi et al 2000: 48; Kwon 2010: 77). This may point to the fact that VYK has enjoyed greater contact with standardised peninsula varieties of Korean than KM, especially in more recent times.

A more minor point of interest for the interrogative endings is the contrast between the informal register KM endings reported here and those documented elsewhere. Specifically, the fact that informal endings analogous to CSK *-nunka* are only attested in one other source (Pak 2005a: 191).

Finally, with regard to the interrogative endings, we once more see a non-standard templatic structure of the polite endings. In this case both KM and VYK attest forms which appear to have deleted the indicative morpheme.

Register	CSK	KM	VYK
Informal	<i>-a/ela</i>	[ra]	<i>-a/ela</i> (Jeong 2010)
Neutral	<i>-a/eyo</i>	-(s)o (Kwon 2010) -(s)o, -wu (Pak 2005a)	-(s)o (Jeong 2010)
Polite	<i>-sipsio</i>	[pʃio]	[ʃio]

Table 9: Summary of VYK and KM Final Imperative Endings

Despite their relatively sparse attestation in the primary data, prior descriptions reveal minimal differences between the imperative endings of VYK and KM.

Register	CSK	KM	VYK
Informal	<i>-ca</i>	[d̥ʒa]	<i>-ca</i> (Jeong 2010)
Neutral	<i>-a/eyo</i>	<i>-gio</i> (Co-author and Author 1992; Pak 2005a) <i>-geyo</i> (Kwon 2010) <i>-kio</i> (Yi et al 2000)	<i>-(s)ukkwey, -kio</i> (Jeong 2010)
Polite	<i>-psida</i>	<i>-kipso</i> (Kwon 2010) <i>-gipsho</i> (Pak 2005a) <i>-geypso</i> (Co-author and Author 1992)	[pʃida]

Table 10: Summary of VYK and KM Final Propositive Endings

Turning to the propositive endings, we see extensive differences between KM and VYK. This conforms to the general pattern of differences observed throughout the system of sentence final endings in that the more formal KM endings bear a stronger resemblance to the Yukchin variety while the polite VYK endings appear more formally similar to CSK.

Also, we see another example of divergent templatic structure in the polite endings. Whereas the attested VYK form is similar to that of CSK, that of KM exhibits a morpheme of uncertain origin and function preceding what Sohn (1999:237) glosses as the addressee honorification morpheme.

3.2.4 Negation

Although not expressed exclusively through verbal inflection, the unusual patterns of verbal negation that have long been identified with KM (cf. Co-author and Author 1992) must be addressed. Perhaps most characteristic is the unusual form of the negative particle corresponding to CSK *an* brought about by nasal deletion, as well as negation in constructions which feature auxiliary verbs. In such constructions negating particles may be inserted between main and auxiliary verbs in verb phrases, in contrast to CSK where the negating particle must be positioned before both verbs. This has been identified as a feature of the dialects of the north east of the Korean peninsula (Kwak 2001: 104), the original sources of the transplanted varieties. While prior research has emphasised this feature as especially distinctive of KM, it was attested in both the VYK and KM primary data.

(39)-KM [ne t̥ʃar ar-a-mo-t̥il-in kə-n ar-t̥ʃi]

I well know-CONN-NEG-hear-M.PST thing-TOP know-INT
 ‘That’s not something that I understand well, you know?’

(40)-VYK [ar-a-mo-tɪl-in pubun-do is'ək'o]
 know-CONN-NEG-hear-M.PST portion-too be present-PST.DM
 ‘There were also parts that I could not understand’

That this feature should be maintained in both transplanted varieties rather than only in the more geographically removed ‘dialect island’ of Central Asia, which in contrast to VYK, came into very little contact with other varieties of Korean throughout most of the twentieth century, raises interesting questions about the relationship between varieties of Korean used by the earliest members of these transplanted communities and the characteristics of the contemporary varieties, which we address in more depth in the conclusion.

Furthermore, non-separable patterns of negation in such constructions were attested for KM, as below, but not for VYK:

(41)-KM [ət'an mar mo aradɪr-in]
 certain language NEG understand-M.PST
 ‘There were certain words, incomprehensible (words)...’

A less expected distinguishing feature between the transplanted varieties is the relative paucity of long form negation after the CKS pattern *-ci anhta* in KM, which is attested only once for KM, but appears frequently in the VYK primary data.

(42)-KM [ki gə murəbo-dʒi an-indɛ]
 DET thing ask-CONN NEG-DM
 ‘Anyway, I do not ask that (sort of) thing’

(43)-VYK [konbu ha-dʒi an-il t'ɛ]
 study do-CONN NEG-M.FUT time
 ‘(You mean) when I am not studying?’

(44)-VYK [nəmu pap'i-dʒi-n an-ɛsimda]
 too busy-CONN-TOP NEG-DC.POL
 ‘I am not too busy’

(45)-VYK [kirə-dʒi an-im mo peju-wəjo]

to be thus-CONN NEG-if NEG learn-DC.POL
 ‘You will not be able to learn if you do not do it like this’

(46)-VYK [tsal kiæg-i na- d̥ʒi an-ɪnde]
 well memory-TOP occur-CONN NEG-DM
 ‘I do not remember all that well’

Phonologically reduced variants of this long form negation have been documented for both translated varieties. While consultants demonstrated a high degree of awareness of this form, it does not, in fact, appear in the naturalistic primary data. Examples of its prior attestation include the long form negatives presented in Co-author and Author (1992:118): [ʃiŋd̥ʒeyu?] (glossed as CSK *simci anhso* – ‘didn’t you plant it?’ and [hadaeniyu?] (glossed as CSK *haci anhso* – ‘didn’t you do it?’). The corresponding VYK form is presented by Choi Myeong Ok (2002: 43) as follows *aphi cal paywuceyo* (glossed as CSK *aphi cal poici anhso* – ‘they do not see what is in front of them well’).

Contrary to expectations, speakers of both KM and VYK appear to have access to all the same patterns of negation. Rather, it is notable that their usage in the naturalistic speech occurred with rather different frequencies across the transplanted varieties.

4 Conclusion

In the foregoing we have reviewed nominal and verbal inflection in KM and VYK speech. While this does not represent an exhaustive description of these varieties, it addresses the over-looked question pertaining to the synchronic (dis)similarity between these transplanted varieties, by highlighting their many similarities, especially with regard to their divergence from CSK, as well as elaborating upon several points of difference between them. It has done so on a strong empirical basis, drawing on a large corpus of recorded speech, gathered in such a way as to ensure that it was maximally, although not entirely, naturalistic. In this final section, we consider the factors underlying the relationship between these varieties and identify areas which would benefit from further investigation.

Turning first to the similarities between KM and VYK, we attribute this largely to the common dialectological origins of these communities. Particular particle forms and verb endings which are strongly associated with the North Hamgyeong or Yukchin varieties, such as the phonologically reduced forms of the object particle or characteristic formal declarative endings, have been retained in each transplanted variety. The retention of these features is not a trivial characteristic of these varieties, especially given their very different histories of contact with speakers of other varieties of Korean. Rather, this may be taken as evidence in support of a particular type of ‘founder effect’⁶. More specifically, we refer to the phenomenon by which ‘original’ features, that is, features of the variety spoken by the first groups of Koreans to form communities in China and Russia in the 1860s, respectively, have a selection advantage over other variants. Strong proponent and originator of this theory (albeit with regard exclusively for creole languages), Salikoko S. Mufwene argues that the

⁶ We acknowledge the potential for terminological confusion with the founder effect defined as the loss of variation that occurs when a new population is established by a small number of individuals from an original, larger population. We emphasise here that the term is used here exclusively as defined in the text and refers to a separate phenomenon to which the same nomenclature has been applied.

role of what may be termed ‘Mufwene’s founder effect’ in transplanted languages is “to show that several, if not most, of the elements that are central to the [transplanted languages’] systems are most likely to have come from the founder populations” (1996: 114). In his monograph (2001: 27-29) Mufwene re-iterates the belief that “structural features of creoles have been predetermined to a large extent (though not exclusively!) by characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies in which they developed” and further cites Zelinsky’s ‘Doctrine of First Effective Settlement’ (1973), which advances the general case from a social geography perspective that the social and cultural practices of even very small groups of initial settlers are most likely to be perpetuated in a given transplanted community, even if they should subsequently be confronted by large populations with different practices

Although, as implied by the above quotation, such views have been largely restricted to the development of creole languages, here, we observe that the seemingly disproportionate influence of an atypical, minority variety of Korean on both VYK and KM suggests that Mufwene’s founder effects apply to the development of varieties in all transplanted contexts (cf. Kerswill 2004).

While these varieties’ morpho-syntactic features are globally very similar and little influenced by contact with their respective regional LWCs, the same cannot be said for their phonologies and vocabularies. This follows cross-linguistic tendencies, however, it nevertheless requires explicit acknowledgement since this is not simply the inevitable result of language contact, merely the most frequently observed outcome (see Thomason 2010: 35-45 for a discussion of the social and linguistic factors underlying the variable outcomes of language contact).

Dialectological heritage is also implicated in the differences between these varieties. The findings of this paper confirm that, as the results of prior research on each variety respectively have suggested, the KM speech of most consultants exhibits more Yukchin features than VYK.

In addition to the sociolinguistic constitution of the groups from which KM and VYK originated, the sociolinguistic circumstances in which they found themselves in their respective transplanted contexts are also implicated in their development; in this case their dissimilarity. This extends beyond straightforward examples, such as the borrowing of vocabulary from different main contact languages, and potentially includes the differing degrees of morpho-syntactic complexity and internal heterogeneity exhibited by these transplanted varieties. Examination of these phenomena in terms the sociological factors identified as relevant within the framework of Sociolinguistic Typology (Trudgill 2011) would contribute to establishing the cross-linguistic validity of this theory. In addition to work focussing on such global comparison of KM and VYK, there are also several linguistic features and phenomena which appear to be promising subjects for further investigation, such as the possible contact-induced grammaticalization of volitional constructions (section 3.2.2.3) and negation (section 3.2.4).

A final more general issue which this paper brings to light is the variation in the extant descriptions of KM and VYK. Examples of features reported in prior research not being attested in the primary data upon which much of this paper was based may be found throughout this paper. Any attempt to account for this fact raises both questions pertaining to the definition of these transplanted varieties (e.g. is any variety of Korean spoken by *Koryo Saram* necessarily to be considered *Koryo Mar* regardless of its speaker’s dialectological heritage?) and intra-varietal variation. Particularly the comparisons made with secondary sources and earlier attestations of these varieties, most especially in the case of KM, revealed idiosyncrasies in form and usage. That is, either forms or structures were attested in the primary data which have not been previously reported, or more widely reported forms were lacking in the primary data. Rather than conceiving of each point of

divergence from prior descriptions a challenge to the accuracy of earlier work, we rather think of it as evidence of the internal heterogeneity of these varieties, the underlying motivations of which are still poorly understood. Thus, while the transplanted varieties may be considered very similar on the basis of the categorical presence or absence of Yukchin or North Hamgyeong features for at least a proportion of their speakers, the question of whether the social and linguistic contexts in which these forms are used are similar in VYK and KM remains open.

We end this paper by observing that, in order to enable comparative work on these varieties to continue in the sadly increasingly likely event of the shift from KM to Russian reaching completion, we re-iterate a point of view shared by many of our colleagues working on this variety (Pak 2005a; King 2006), that the most urgent task before us is the creation of a comprehensive and enduring archive of KM materials.

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