HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO

Understanding the Roots of *Koryo-mar*

A Lexical and Orthographic Study

Maristella Spur
Master's Thesis
Linguistic Diversity in the Digital Age
Faculty of Arts
University of Helsinki
May 2021

Tiedekunta – Fakultet – Faculty	Koulutusohjelma – Utbildningsprogram – Degree Programme
Faculty of Arts	Linguistic Diversity in the Digital Age

Opintosuunta – Studieinriktning – Study Track
Diversity Linguistics

Tekijä – Författare – Author
Spur, Maristella

Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title
Understanding the Roots of Koryo-mar: A Lexical and Orthographic Study

Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level	Aika – Datum – Month and year	Sivumäärä– Sidoantal – Number of pages
Master's Degree	May 2021	58 +11 (attachments)

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

This thesis investigates the roots of *Koryo-mar*, an endangered language currently spoken by Korean diaspora communities (also called *Koryo-saram*, lit. *'Koryo*-people') in post-Soviet countries, such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, to which they had been deported in 1937 from the Russian Far East (RFE).
By the end of the 19th century, the language of the first Korean immigrants to the RFE, for the most part peasants from the Northeastern province of Hamgyŏng, had already caught the interest of a few scholars, among which can be distinguished Mikhail P. Pucillo, the author of the first Russian-Korean dictionary. Such volume, the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874) was based on the speech of the Koreans he was in contact with, and represents one of the earliest sources for the study of *Koryo-mar*. On the other hand, the actual research on the *Koryo-saram* begun in earnest only in the second half of the 20th century, and the work of Songmoo Kho, *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987), is often considered one of the most complete surveys on the history and the culture of Central Asian Koreans. It also contains a chapter devoted to *Koryo-mar*, that includes several wordlists of both native items and loanwords from Russian and other local languages.

By comparing the data extracted from the above-mentioned texts, on a lexical and orthographic level, and highlighting their similarities and variations, this research aims at illustrating the genetic ties between the dialects of Northern Hamgyŏng and *Koryo-mar*, as well as the relationship between the spoken and the written language. Additional information has also been drawn from secondary sources in Early Modern Korean, such as Hŏ Kyung's *Hong Kiltong Chŏn* (16th-17th century), Chang Kyehyang's *Ŭmsik Timibang* (1670s), and J. S. Gale's translation of J. Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1895).
The research concludes that the forty elements common to Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987) can be framed into five different relationship scenarios, which describe not only the continuation of lexical and orthographic material between the two texts and their languages, but also assess the latter's connection to Standard Korean and its historical variants. Moreover, the examination of Pucillo's usage of Cyrillic in transcribing Korean provides relevant details concerning the articulatory habits of Northeastern Koreans in the late 1800s, which are contextualised within and in contrast to the writing practices of Early Modern Korean, that are known to be extremely inconsistent.

This study, based on a philological approach, can aid in outlining a literary tradition that encompasses the historical development of *Koryo-mar*, which is still an unrecognised minority language, while the analysis of orthographic peculiarities can shed light on the chronology of the spread of certain phonological changes across the whole Korean peninsula.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Korean Language, Korean History, Philology, Koryo-mar, Language and Writing, Variation, Spelling, Orthography, Russian Far East, Central Asia

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited
Helsinki University Library – Helda / E-thesis: *ethesis.helsinki.fi*

Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information

Table of Contents

1 Introduction 4

1.1 Previous Research 4

1.2 Structure and Aims 6

1.3 On Transliteration and Romanisation 8

2 Background 9

2.1 Historical Origins of the *Koryo-saram* 10

2.1.1 Periodisation of Chosŏn history 10

2.1.2 A Look at the Korean Peninsula 12

2.1.3 Koreans in the Russian Far East 14

2.1.4 Soviet Central Asian Koreans 16

2.2 Linguistic Framework 19

2.2.1 Brief Chronology of Korean 20

2.2.2 Spelling and Standardisation 21

2.2.3 Dialects of North and South Korea 24

2.2.4 *Koryo-mar* and its Current State 28

2.3 Historical and Linguistic Timeline 30

3 Sources 31

3.1 Philology of *Koryo-mar* 31

3.2 *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* 33

3.2.1 Korean and Russian Orthography 34

3.2.2 Adapting the Cyrillic Script 36

3.3 *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* 36

3.3.1 Wordlists and Dialectal Variation 37

3.3.2 Limitations 39

3.4 Secondary Contrastive Sources 39

4 Data Analysis and Discussion 41

4.1 Data Collection 41
4.2 Data Comparison 43
4.3 Defining Cases and Correspondences 45
4.3.1 Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987) 45
4.3.2 Pucillo (1874) and Standard Korean 46
4.3.3 Kho (1987) and Standard Korean 48
4.3.4 Correspondences Between All Three Sets 49
4.3.5 No Correspondences 50
4.4 Spelling and Spoken Language 51
5 Conclusions 52
List of References 55
Appendices 59
Appendix A: Romanisation of Korean 59
Table A.1: Vowels 59
Table A.2: Consonants 60
Appendix B: Cyrillisation of Korean 61
Table B.1: Consonants 61
Table B.2: Vowels 62
Table B.3: Additional Early Modern Korean Vowels 63
Appendix C 64
Table C.1: Animals 64
Table C.2: Body Parts 64
Table C.3: Food Terms 65
Table C.4: Human Terms 66
Table C.5: *Miscellanea* 68
Table C.6: Numerals 69

List of Figures

Fig. 1 Map of the Eight Provinces of Korea. 13
Fig. 2 Major Dialect Areas of Korea 25
Fig. 3 Current Tone Distribution in Korea 27
Fig. 4 Pucillo (1874) - *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* 34

1 Introduction

In the early 1860s, several waves of peasants from the province of Hamgyŏng, situated in the north-east of the Korean peninsula, moved and settled in the Russian Far East, as a response to "famines, hardship, a lack of social mobility, and the desire for arable land" (Chang, 2016:9). Coming from a relatively poor and peripheral region, these people would speak mostly Northeastern dialects typical of their ancestral hometowns, and it was their speech that was taken as the model for some of the earliest examples of Russian-Korean dictionaries, the first of which is M. Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874).

Such language variants remained in use in their newly established communities, which increased in number and population steadily up to the late 1930s, when all Koreans were deported by the Soviet authorities under the suspicion that they might have had ties to the Japanese Empire and could possibly pose a threat to the well-being of the country. Forced to start a new life in countries like Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, Koreans living in Soviet Central Asia began to call themselves *Koryo-saram* (корё-сарам, 고려 사람, meaning '*Koryo* people') and their language became *Koryo-mar* (корё-мар, 고려말, literally '*Koryo* language').

The present research focuses on two of the most relevant sources on *Koryo-mar*, Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874) and Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987). Published over a hundred years apart from each other, their analysis and the comparison between the words contained in them allow for a better understanding of Central Asian Korean and its development. Learning more about *Koryo-mar* and its characteristics from a diachronic perspective, moreover, can also shed light on lexical and phonological variation in Korean. In addition to that, looking at the way such vernacular has been recorded in texts can contribute to the study of the relationship between the spoken and the written language.

1.1 Previous Research

Talking about South and North Korea, Michael J. Seth (2016: 24) introduces a rather interesting question: "How is it possible that such a culturally and ethnically

homogeneous people could have evolved so differently in seven decades?". Such matter has been fascinating many scholars in contemporary Korean Studies, and extensive research on the differences between the two Koreas, on their historical development following the end of WWII and the Korean War, and on North Korean defectors in South Korea, is easily accessible. Moreover, there are other topics in Korean language and dialectology that seem to be more common and more well-researched, such as the description and current state of Cheju language or the difficulties of teaching Standard Korean to North Koreans defectors of different age groups and social class.

On the other hand, it is rather safe to say that there are only a handful of researchers who have written extensively on the *Koryo-saram* communities living in ex-Soviet Central Asian countries (such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan), the most well-known being Songmoo Kho, German Kim, and Ross King.

Songmoo Kho wrote one of the earliest and most complete studies on the history, culture, and language of Soviet Central Koreans, that is *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987). A native of South Korea, his research was one of the first written by non-Soviet scholars, and "the first of such length on the subject" (Genzor, 1991: 277). While not able to visit Central Asia to carry out fieldwork first-hand, his contacts with the Soviet Korean community allowed him to present new and useful information on such little-known minority.

German Kim, himself a *Koryo-saram* from Ushtobe (Kazakhstan), mainly aimed his research at the study of the history of Korean communities in ex-Soviet countries, becoming the main Russian-language expert on the subject. He also collaborated with Ross King on several occasions: both were, for example, the guest editors of the *Korean and Korean American Studies Bulletin* vol. 12, nos. 2/3 2001, which focused on Koreans in the Former USSR; more recently, they also co-authored the chapter *The Northern Region of Korea as Portrayed in Russian Sources, 1860s-1913* in Sunjoo Kim's *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity, and Culture* (2010).

As for Ross King, he began establishing himself as the leading scholar in *Koryo-mar* linguistics in the last quarter of the 20th century, by publishing several relevant articles (1987, 1988, 1991, 1992, 2006b) on the Soviet Korean grammar and North

Korean dialectal materials. The most significant study of his, when it comes to this research in particular, is *An Introduction to Soviet Korean* (1987), which is contemporary to Kho's above-mentioned monograph. In it, he outlined phonetic, phonological, morphological, and lexical features of Soviet Korean as collected by him in Tashkent, further analysing them by making comparisons mainly with Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874), the *Kazan materials* (1904)[1], and Kim T'ae-Kyun's *Hambuk Pang'ŏn Sajŏn* (1986). Eventually, he demonstrated that *Koryo-mar* does not descend from a single variety of the North Hamgyŏng dialects, and highlighted the archaisms no longer found on the Korean peninsula.

Taking such information into consideration, the present dissertation explores the extent to which it is possible to witness any known *Koryo-mar* features in the first Russian-Korean dictionary, mainly through a comparison of the Korean vocabulary available in Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987). Thus, the chronological direction of this study is in contrast with the previous research: the focus is on how much of *Koryo-mar* can be seen already in the end of the 19th century, instead of on which older and distinctive characteristics can be observed in the contemporary Central Asian Korean.

1.2 Structure and Aims

The aim of this research is to examine the roots of *Koryo-mar* according to the principles of traditional philology, understood as the study of the historical development of a language in written sources in connection to its literary and cultural context. In addition to the analysis of the contents of Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874) and the wordlists from Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987), further comparisons are done between the above-mentioned sources and to other Chosŏn-period texts chosen for their linguistic value.

This process seeks to identify what traits typical of *Koryo-mar* were already evident in the earlier stages of the language's formation, and to distinguish the influence that different dialects (which could have had their roots beyond the borders of the North Hamgyŏng province) might have had on it, rather than seeing which archaic features

[1] The term Kazan materials is generally used to talk about two Russian sources on Korean, the *Russko-Korejskie Razgovory* (Russian-Korean Conversations) and the *Opyt Kratkago Russko-Korejskago Slovarja* (Attempt at a Short Russian-Korean Dictionary), that have been respectively published in March and September 1904 by the *Pravoslavnoe Missionerskoe Obscestvo*, or Orthodox Missionary Society (King, 1987: 239).

were preserved in the most recent texts and speech. Moreover, this sort of analysis allows for a better understanding of *Koryo-mar* as a variant with its own cultural and historical identity, which is often overlooked in broad contemporary Korean studies.

Given such premises, the main research questions to be discussed in this dissertation are the following: 1) What features of *Koryo-mar* can be traced back to the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja*? 2) What kind of relationship is there between the North Hamgyŏng dialects, Early Modern Korean as a whole, and *Koryo-mar*? 3) What can be understood about the connection between the spoken and written language by the vernacular Korean orthography and Pucillo's Cyrillisation?

Although it is possible to define the historical circumstances that led to the creation of Korean communities in the Russian Far East and, later, in Central Asia, pinpointing the moment in which *Koryo-mar* started being a thing separate from the Northeastern dialects it is said to descend from is not as easy. With the aim of shedding light on all such issues, Chapter 2 deals with both the historical and linguistic background knowledge that can be gathered by examining the socio-political, cultural, and linguistic changes that the Korean peninsula went through, starting from the Chosŏn period (1392-1897) up to the deportation of the Koreans of the Russian Far East in the late 1930s.

The sources that this work is based on and the methods here employed are thoroughly discussed in Chapter 3. The first subsection deals with the importance of the philological approach towards this study, as well as with what new information it could bring when applied to a language such as *Koryo-mar*. It is followed by the descriptions of the two primary sources, namely Mikhail Pavlovič Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874) and Songmoo Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987), which represent two distinct points in the evolution the Soviet Central Asian Korean: the former, in fact, is a Russian-Korean dictionary based on the speech of informants from the North Hamgyŏng region, the first of its kind; the latter, as mentioned previously, contains valuable knowledge concerning the more contemporary state of *Koryo-saram* communities and their speech. Lastly, other texts from the Late Chosŏn period, such as Chang Kyehyang's *Ŭmsik Timibang* (ca. 1670), and James S. Gale's 1895 translation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, are

introduced as additional elements of comparison chosen to better understand the lexical and orthographical peculiarities of *Koryo-mar*.

Chapter 4 pertains to the collection and the analysis of the data obtained from primary and secondary sources. Furthermore, it contains the discussion of the results of this philological study, as well as subsections dedicated to the different scenarios that can be observed through the comparison of the various sources and to the relationship between spoken and written language. The conclusions, and a summary of the whole thesis, are found in Chapter 5.

While not directly belonging to the structure of this study, the appendices and their contents are an integral part of the arguments here presented. Since both Cyrillic and Han'gŭl are used to write down Korean words in Pucillo (1874), Appendix B includes the correspondences between pre-standardisation Korean and the Cyrillisation systems by Pucillo and Lev Rafailovič Koncevič, the latter being the one in current use. Appendix C, on the other hand, is a table containing all the data from the two primary sources examined and the equivalent Contemporary Standard Korean words.

1.3 On Transliteration and Romanisation

Since this research implies the comparison of data originally recorded in different languages and writing systems, it is important to point out the approaches adopted to render each with the Latin alphabet. For what concerns terms in Russian, both in pre-revolutionary and current orthography, the standards of the Scientific transliteration of Cyrillic are followed, except for <x> being rendered as <kh>. Such words include personal names, titles of books and papers, as well as items from the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874) that are mentioned both within the main body of the text and the appendices.

As for Korean, it must be said that it is not at all unusual, in this field, to use two separate methods of Romanisation even in an individual paper for different reasons. In fact, Lee and Ramsey (2011: 10) state that "[n]o one system of romanization fits every purpose" and, in their joint work, chose to utilise both of the following: the McCune-Reischauer Romanisation for general transliterations, as "usually judged […] to be esthetically pleasing, with a scholarly appearance on the page" and still

considered “the academic standard in the Western world”; and, for linguistic information, Martin’s adaptation of the Yale method (1992), by them called “the most systematic and thoughtfully constructed transcription of earlier Korean”.

Similarly, both the McCune-Reischauer and the Yale systems[2] are employed in this research: the former is made use of throughout the thesis, with possible modifications due to the presence of graphemes such as ㆍ *arae a*, which has been rendered as *ɒ*[3]; on the other hand, the latter is found exclusively in Chapters 4, which concern the analysis of the data and the discussion of the results, as the Yale Romanisation method allows for a bigger transparency of linguistic information by favouring unambiguous transliteration over easier pronunciation. Additionally, personal names within the text and in the list of references are spelt according to individual preferences, based on how they appear in the related sources.

2 Background

It is undeniable that the contexts in which a language is born and used are extremely relevant, if not fundamental, to its own development and spread. Thus, in order to understand *Koryo-saram* and *Koryo-mar* in a more complete and well-rounded way, it is necessary to discuss the historical and linguistic circumstances that led to the rise of Korean diaspora communities in Soviet Central Asia and the differentiation of their language from that of their homeland.

First, the focus is on the description of Chosŏn-period Korea and on the various socio-political issues that contributed to the migration of certain groups of the local population beyond the national borders, and to the Russian Far East (thereafter called RFE) in particular, during the second half of the 19th century. Then, topics such as the Korean language, its chronology and standardisation, as well as its dialects, and *Koryo-mar* and its current state, are examined more in detail.

---

[2] See the Romanisation of Korean tables in Appendix A, pp.59-60.

[3] *Arae a* is a grapheme that started being used with the promulgation of the Korean alphabet in the 15th century, but it disappeared from texts following the standardisation of Korean in the early 20th century. The value of the sound it corresponded to, which disappeared from the speech of Seoul around the 18th century (Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 262), has been a matter of discussion between scholars for decades, although it is generally analysed as either /ɔ/ or /ʌ/. Yet, *arae a* is still present in Cheju language as /ɒ/ (Yang, Yang, & O’Grady, 2019: 18) and, for this reason, the symbol has been adopted in this study to represent a vowel otherwise absent in the McCune-Reischauer Romanisation system.

2.1 Historical Origins of the *Koryo-saram*

For half a millennium, the Korean peninsula was ruled by the Yi dynasty, whose rise to power marked the beginning of what is called the Chosŏn period (1392-1897) and whose demise was brought by the Japanese annexation of the country in 1910, after the establishment of the Korean Empire (1897-1910, Protectorate of Japan 1905-1910). Over these five-hundred years, the "land of Morning Calm" flourished with culture, literacy, self-sufficiency, and technological innovations, but also had to deal with political unrest, wars, internal weakness, and the threat of multiple invasions up to the beginning of the 20th century.

Since the history of the *Koryo-saram* began with the first migrations of Koreans to the RFE in the second half of the 19th century, it is important to discuss the causes of such diaspora and the general circumstances that the Kingdom of Chosŏn was going through at the time. In particular, the first subchapter discusses the phases the Chosŏn period is divided into and the events that influenced the latter's development. Then, as Soviet Koreans mostly descend from peasants coming from the province of Hamgyŏng, a subsection of this chapter is also devoted to an overview of the regional divisions of the peninsula, and to the cultural and social differences between the capital and the periphery. After these mainly introductory segments, attention is paid to the relationships between Korea and the Russian Empire, and to the early Korean settlements in the RFE. Finally, the last subchapter deals with the circumstances that led to the deportation of Koreans to Soviet Central Asia, as well as with the role of *Koryo-saram* in the decades following their displacement.

2.1.1 Periodisation of Chosŏn history

It is generally considered that the Chosŏn period consists of two main phases: Early Chosŏn and Late Chosŏn, which are divided by the Imjin War (1592-1598). In fact, many of the achievements of the first two-hundred years seemed to have been erased by the violence of the Japanese invasions led by Hideyoshi Toyotomi at the end of the 16th century, so much that even vernacular spelling started becoming more irregular after the war. Alternatively, Pratt (2006: 116) talks about three periods: the first would be from 1392 until, again, the Imjin War; then, a "Middle Chosŏn" could be imagined to be spanning from the early 17th century up to the arrival of the

Western powers in the 1800s; finally, the last period would cover the years before 1910, which were characterised by internal conflicts as well as reforms aimed towards the modernisation of the country.

For the sake of this research, the first and most common periodisation is followed, and the Late Chosŏn period is considered to have lasted from the late 16th century to the late 19th century. Such years were extremely important for the formation of the nation-states that occupy the Korean peninsula currently. Moreover, the threat of Western powers, which had been opening ports in the neighbouring China and Japan in the 1800s, further complicated the search for political stability and cultural independence that had been a constant for a long time after the Imjin War (1592-1598) and the Manchu Invasion (1636-1637). The effect of these two historical events extended onto language usage as well, causing an increase in spelling variation as described in Chapter 2.2.2.

It was also in this context that the sobriquet "hermit kingdom", now used frequently to describe North Korea, was first mentioned in response to the strong self-sufficient policies that were being employed to protect the country from possible foreign influence. Such was the policy of Taewŏn'gun (Yi Ha-Ŭng, 1820-1898, r. 1864-1873), whose regency came after two purges, in 1801 and 1839 respectively, and a long power struggle among different clans for influence over the royal family. The only country allowed to trade with Chosŏn was the Qing Empire, but neither Western merchants nor Japan could engage in any commercial relations with the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, any foreigners that attempted to enter the Kingdom would either be forcefully sent away, or outright challenged by the military, as in the case of the French Expedition to Korea (1866), the General Sherman Incident (1866), and the United States Expedition to Korea (1871), up to the Treaty of Kanghwa Island (1876), which marked the opening of ports to the Japanese.

At the same time, discontent was growing stronger among the lower classes and "popular disturbances broke out from time to time" (Seth, 2010: 217), mostly in response to increase in the price of certain produce, such as rice, or to unfair and sudden taxes. Riots occurred in Seoul in 1833, then called Hansŏng (漢城, or 한성, meaning 'Fortress on the Han River'), and several violent uprisings took place in the early 1860s in the south of the peninsula. Meanwhile, in the northern regions,

protests were also caused by local officials claiming to have been discriminated against during state exams and in the appointment of both military and administrative duties, compared to those who lived in the area of the kingdom's capital.

2.1.2 A Look at the Korean Peninsula

Before analysing the historical that led to the birth of the *Koryo-saram* community, some geographic and administrative remarks also need to be made. The position of the Korean peninsula has long been considered crucial in East Asia: sitting between Qing China, Japan, and the Russian Empire, for most of Late Chosŏn, Korea was used as a theatre of war by those external powers.

With the beginning of the Chosŏn period, the kingdom was divided into eight provinces (팔도 or 八道, *p'aldo*): P'yŏngan (평안, 平安) and Hamgyŏng (함경, 咸鏡) in the northernmost part of the peninsula; then, Hwanghae (황해, 黃海), Kangwŏn (강원, 江原) and Ch'ungch'ŏng (충청, 忠淸), surrounding the capital region of Kyŏnggi (경기, 京畿); and Chŏlla (전라, 全羅) and Kyŏngsang (경상, 慶尙) in the south. Despite its central position within the country, the city of Hansŏng and its inhabitants were often far removed from the issues of those who lived in the remote areas of both North and South, which were also the destination of officials and literati who were exiled from the capital itself. The divide between each province, and between the central regions and the frontier ones, was furthermore stressed by the different local customs and dialects, the latter being discussed further in Chapter 2.2.3. Variations in speech and culture still survive to this day and that, at that time, constituted a rift that was hard to fill and surpass.

According to Jang (2010: 62), "[t]he northern region was politically and culturally alienated" and its residents were the target of deeply-rooted "discrimination and social prejudice" in the Kingdom of Chosŏn, albeit the origins of such sentiments have been hard to pinpoint. Oppression of people from the North, regardless of the social class, became prevalent from the mid-dynastic period, "to the point where the northern literati were mere underlings of the southern ministers' families, and the commoners were easy prey for the local clerks" (Jung, 2010: 95). Even Korean intellectuals, the 17th and 18th centuries, questioned and criticised the treatment of

northerners, stating that half of the country was thus being abandoned by the government without any proper reason.

Furthermore, places like Hwanghae and P'yŏngan were famous for the military tradition and their history, to which local officials often referred so as to overcome the alienation they were going through. In particular, it can be noted that the approach of the P'yŏngan towards the central authority was extremely confrontational, causing rebellions and spreading mistrust. While forging their own distinctive identity, "[t]hey wanted not only to secure their superior status within their own home region, but also to earn equal treatment from the center" (Jang, 2010: 87), since they were not allowed to participate in fair bureaucratic advancement.

*Fig. 1 Map of the Eight Provinces of Korea (*조선국팔도통합도, *Chosŏnguk P'aldo T'onghapdo),* early 19th century. Regions are colour-coded. From north to south: P'yŏngan (light green), Hamgyŏng (brown), Hwanghae (white), Kyŏnggi (yellow), Kangwŏn (blue), Ch'ungch'ŏng (orange), Chŏlla (red), Kyŏngsang (pink).

As for Hamgyŏng, the homeland of many Koryo-saram, it can be said that not much is known about the area in pre-Chosŏn times and, even then, it was depicted as a backward region. The members of its élite, moreover, considered themselves as the descendants of southern literati that had previously been exiled, and acknowledged that their province "was a frontier with barren soil, that it was far from the center, and that it could not measure up culturally to the standards represented by the capital" (Jang, 2010: 80), even though it had been the place of origin of the Yi dynasty and, thus, of the Kingdom itself.

2.1.3 Koreans in the Russian Far East

It appears that the earliest contacts between Russian and Koreans might have taken place already during the Koryŏ period (918-1392), but the first attested were established only in the second half of the 17th century, during two Korean expeditions to the Amur region in 1654 and 1658. Yet, it was not until two centuries later, in the early 1860s, that the first wave of Korean immigrants reached the RFE. The cause of this was a change in the political balances of the countries that surrounded the kingdom of Chosŏn following the First Convention of Peking, which was held in 1860. This, in fact, was one of the several unequal treaties that East Asian countries were forced to sign during the 19th century. This agreement, in particular, had been requested by the joined forces of Great Britain, France, and the Russian Empire with the intention of putting an end to the Second Opium War (1856-1860). In October 1860, on behalf of the Qing government, Prince Gōng (1833-1898, r. 1861-1865) was forced to sign three treaties within the Convention, in which he ceded the Kowloon peninsula to the British and some territories in Outer Manchuria to the Russian Empire, which had not even taken part in the war.

Thus, Korea had a new neighbour. Around this period, the first irregular border crossing by Koreans occurred, and it seems that the earliest Korean settlements in the Maritime Region[4] date as far back as 1862, before any official treaty between Korea and Russia had even been signed. Most of these first immigrants were peasants from the province of Hamkyŏng, who hoped to end their hardships and their hunger by

[4] The Maritime Region, or *Primorskij Kraj* (Приморский край), is the southeasternmost region of Russia, and it currently borders with the Chinese provinces of Jilin and Heilongjiang to the West, with the North Korean province of Rasŏn to the South, and with the Sea of Japan to the East. It was founded in 1860, shortly after the Treaty of Peking, and its administrative centre is Vladivostok.

obtaining new, fertile land to work on. Starting from 13 Korean families living by the river Tizinhe in 1863, the number of settlers increased steadily to reach 60 households in 1865 and 100 in 1866 (Kho, 1987: 16). Moreover, living conditions and farming crops had become even poorer in Hamkyŏng by the later 1860s, "entire villages, such as Pegan and Samdonsa along the Russian-Korean border, simply packed up and began new lives in Russia" (Chang, 2016: 12), and, by 1870, the Maritime Region was the home of over 8400 ethnic Koreans.

With the Russia-Korea Treaty of 1884, the two nations formally established diplomatic ties, and the first consul general to Korea was appointed. Thus, immigration to the RFE became regulated and, to some extents, restricted. According to Chang (2016: 15), three categories of Koreans were created so as to specify the different degrees eligibility to become Russian subjects. The first category was made of those who had moved to the RFE before the stipulation of the 1884 agreement, and such communities were considered loyal and productive and eligible to become immediate citizens of the Empire. The other groups of Koreans were generally seen as guest workers that had not acquired the rights to citizenship and were not allowed to settle like their predecessors.

During the first quarter of the 20th century, the number of migrants grew steadily, to the point that their communities exceeded 100,000 members by 1923 and, from that year to 1926, there over 30,000 Koreans reaching what had become the Soviet Union annually. In addition to that, "it was also recorded that the number of Koreans captured on the Korean-Soviet border reached a total of 300 persons each week" (Kho, 1987: 17). Such evident increase in population was also due to the changing political situation within the Korean peninsula. In fact, while the first settlers had moved across the border in search for land of their own and better life conditions after dealing with a long series of poor harvests, a new reason for immigration came up during the first decade of the 1900s.

By the end of the 1890s, Japan had started taking control over Korean domestic politics, despite the desperate attempt to assert the country's independence through the process of turning Korea into an empire, and thus an equal to its neighbours, made by King Kojong (1852-1919, r. 1864-1897 as King of Chosŏn and 1897-1907 as Emperor of Korea). In times of deep political unrest, the King-Emperor turned to

Russia, who seemed to be uninterested in gaining power of the peninsula. Yet, in 1904-1905, the Russo-Japanese was fought, the Japanese military won and, right after the conflict, Korea lost its status as an independent nation thanks to the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty. Eventually, the official annexation of Korea to the Japanese Empire took place in 1910. Both before and after that, the RFE was considered as "an attractive sanctuary for those who fought against Japanese colonialism in Korea and had to avoid the pursuit of the Japanese authorities" (Kho, 1987: 18) and the immigration to the Maritime Region continued to as far as 1936, one year prior to the deportation to Soviet Central Asia.

2.1.4 Soviet Central Asian Koreans

Although the extents of the Korean immigration to the RFE increased consistently over the years, hardships were not left behind. Those who could not obtain the citizenship and had the status of "guest workers", for example, were faced with the strict demands of the landowners and the taxes they had to pay in order not to be expelled from the country. Those who had already become Russian subjects, tried to assimilate as best as they could to the Russian way of life, converting to the Orthodox Church and adopting Russian names in several instances. In cities like Vladivostok, moreover, "Korean schools, churches, printing houses of newspapers and municipal offices" (Kho, 1987: 20) had been established by the local communities. Not long after the foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in December 1922, a process of "sovietisation" took place in the RFE and, by 1925, most of the local Koreans had been given the right to obtain the citizenship.

"In 1926, the Soviet Union listed among its population over 190 nationalities or socio-historical ethnic groups" (Chang, 2016: 1) and all of them were supposedly given cultural and territorial autonomy by the State, as well as self-determination rights and education in their own native language. Yet, unlike many other ethnic groups from Siberia who had a nomadic or seminomadic lifestyle, Koreans were characterised by a sense of agency due to their having voluntarily moved to the RFE, their economic prowess, and strong adaptability skills, all factors which contributed to their being seen as "problematic and, at times, threatening" (Chang, 2016: 16) already from the czarist era.

In the 1930s, collective farms had seen substantial progress on the Russian Far East, but this was not without any opposition. In fact, "in some areas the situation became extremely difficult when Koreans protested against the fact that Russian collective farms got more land and were better provided with agricultural machinery" (Kho, 1987: 23), thus leading to discontent and friction between the two groups. Such unrest, together with the unstable political situation in the East Asia due to the Japanese expansion on the mainland, the promulgation of Stalin's constitution (1936) and the concurrent beginning of the great purges, are relevant circumstances that contributed forced deportation of the Koreans of the RFE to Central Asian countries. In the Autumn of 1937, trains were prepared so as to transport Koreans quietly and quickly to their new home, which was completely different in climate and nature from all they had known before.

While it is hard to highlight one specific reason for the carrying out of this "resettlement process", several factors can be taken into account. First, the aggressive foreign policy of Japan in the early 1930s, with the Mukden Incident (1931)[5] and the establishment of Manchukuo (1932-1945)[6] the following year, reminded Russia of the horrible defeat they had met in the Russo-Japanese War at the beginning of the century. Moreover, what further complicated the relationship between the two powers was that "the Japanese authorities considered Koreans in the Soviet Far East to be Japanese subjects while, conversely, the Soviet authorities considered them to be citizens of the Soviet Union" (Kho, 1987: 26). If the trust in Koreans among the Soviet authorities was already low due to their previous clashes, the insinuation of RFE Koreans being Japanese citizens brought the fear of them being spies with the objective of disrupting the frail balance of Soviet politics.

[5] The Mukden Incident was an event staged by the Japanese military in September 1931 in order to claim rule over Manchuria. Led by Colonel Ishiwara Kanji (1889-1949), the commander of the Kantō (or Kwantung) Army, the Japanese caused an explosion on a portion of the South Manchuria Railway tracks near the city of Shenyang, accusing Chinese communist dissidents of the act (Culver, 2017: 175). Although the damage resulting from the detonation was minor and interested only one side of the rail, the Kantō Army nevertheless used it as a pretext to invade Manchuria shortly after, thus setting in motion "an era of military expansionism that continued until final defeat in the Pacific War (1941–45)" (Buzo, 2002: 34).

[6] Manchukuo (1932-1945) was a short-lived puppet state of the Empire of Japan founded after the Invasion of Manchuria that had started in late 1931. With the aid of local collaborators, the Japanese Army stationing in Northeast China declared the independence of the provinces of Jilin (吉林), Heilongjiang (黑龙江), Rehe (熱河), and Liaoning (辽宁), before proclaiming the founding of Manchukuo on March 1st, 1932. It was formally recognised by Japan that same year, in September (Matsusaka, 2003: 385). In 1934, its official name became Empire of Great Manchuria (大滿洲帝國).

On the other hand, it can also be argued that the displacement took place for economic reasons. Considering how successful Koreans had been in the cultivation of rice in the Soviet Far East, it seems that the Government might have wanted to achieve similar results in the vastly uninhabited Central Asia. In addition to that, collectivisation in the above-mentioned region, which was occupied by traditionally nomadic people, brought to "large-scale migrations and the slaughtering of livestock" (Kho, 1987: 27) and, thus, new settlers were needed. Besides, Koreans would have mixed with the local population and would have been dispersed on a land much bigger than their native Korea, meaning that it would have been more complicated for them to come together, unite, and cause disturbance.

At first, Koreans transported to Central Asia mainly lived in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, between the rivers Syr Darya and Amu Darya and the valleys of the Karatal and Ili rivers, and Almaty, Kyzylorda, Ushtobe, as well as Tashkent, became the centres of the newly-formed *Koryo-saram* communities. Although it is possible to argue that the different professions of these new settlers were taken into consideration by the Soviet authorities during this process of relocation and activities like fishing were also favoured by the presence of two great basins, the Aral Sea and Lake Balkhash, most of the population was employed in the cultivation of rice and cotton in previously untouched lands. Exempted from taxations and supported by the Government with fertilizers, construction materials and farm machinery, "Koreans worked diligently constructing irrigation canals and, within a short span of time, had turned uninhabited lands into agricultural land" (Kho, 1987: 28).

After the Second World War, the political balance in East Asia shifted again and the Korean peninsula, as well as other territories, had regained their independence from Japan in 1945. Both the Soviet Union and the United States were then called to aid in the reconstruction of the infrastructures and economy of Korea, which had been consumed by the war efforts. It is in this context that a first group of Soviet Koreans returned to the peninsula to help with the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. A second and third group arrived in December 1945, and two more reached P'yŏngyang between 1947 and 1948, the members of the latter being mostly schoolteachers (Kho, 1987: 33).

Thus, the first limited contacts between Central Asian and peninsular Korean were initiated in the 1940s and continued throughout the 1950s. While not much is known about their relationship in the two following decades, the 1980s marked a period of opening between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea, which hosted the 1988 Summer Olympics. Since then, many *Koryo-saram* have visited South Korea and even moved there permanently, with around 15,000 Uzbek Koreans being accounted for in 2005 (Kim, 2005-09-15).

Lastly, in order to further explain the diversity within ethnic-Korean communities in Soviet Central Asia, it is important to mention that the RFE Koreans deported in 1937 were not the only *Koryo-saram*, although they made up most of it. There had already been Koreans living in Kazakhstan by 1926, which they had reached probably thanks to the Trans-Siberian railway that had been built just a decade earlier (Kho, 1987: 23). Moreover, after the Second World War, hundreds of fishermen and forest workers arrived from North Korea, followed by intellectuals who had previously studied in the Soviet Union and that moved there in the 1960s or refused to go back to the DPRK for political reasons. In addition to them, Sakhalin Koreans also joined the *Koryo-saram* having become Soviet citizens after the whole island had been acquired by the USSR (Kho, 1987: 34).

2.2 Linguistic Framework

Said to descend for the most part by the speech of the immigrants from the province of Hamgyŏng that had moved to the RFE starting from the 1860s, the precise number of its speakers in Central Asian countries is currently unknown and the language is considered to be endangered, as *Koryo-saram* have adopted Russian as their main means of communication (Kim, 2003-2004: 28) early on after the 1937 diaspora.

As in the case of the historical background, the linguistic context surrounding the evolution of *Koryo-mar* is vast and rich. Thus, this chapter serves as an introduction to the environment in which such vernacular came into being. First, an overview of the periodisation of the Korean language is given, so as to define clearly the different stages of its diachronic development. Then, attention is paid to the standardisation and the various dialects of Korean, these two themes being equally relevant to the

understanding of certain peculiarities that can still be seen today in *Koryo-mar*. Finally, the latter and its current situation in post-Soviet state are discussed.

2.2.1 Brief Chronology of Korean

The traditional periodisation of Korean distinguishes four stages in the development of the Korean language. The first one, Old Korean (고대 한국어, 古代韓國語, *kodae hangugŏ*), is usually reputed to have been in use up to the end of the Unified Silla period in the early 10th century. Middle Korean (중세 한국어, 中世韓國語, *chungse hangugŏ*), on the other hand, can be further divided in two phases: Early Middle Korean would correspond to the Koryŏ period (918-1392), while Late Middle Korean would cover from the beginning of the Chosŏn period to the Imjin War (1592-1598). It is also important to point out that it was in this context that the *Han'gŭl* alphabet was introduced in 1446, and such event transformed the way in which the Korean language could be recorded, making the purely linguistic information that could be gathered from written texts clearer, compared to the previous systems based on Chinese characters. It is for this reason that Lee and Ramsey (2001: 1) state that "The story of Korean begins with the invention of the Korean alphabet".

The third stage, Early Modern Korean (근대 한국어, 近代韓國語, *kŭndae hangugŏ*), was a time of great changes within the spelling and the phonology of Korean and it lasted from the 17th to 19th centuries, corresponding precisely to the Late Chosŏn period. In particular, it is important to mention, among the phonological changes of the period, the following: the loss of tones; the development of reinforcement and aspiration; the spread of palatalization from the southern regions, and spirantization; the loss of *arae a* and monophthongization. The latest and current phase is that of Contemporary Korean (현대 한국어, 現代韓國, *hyŏndae hangugŏ*), which begun in the early 20th century due to the language standardisation and spelling policies of the time, mostly based on the Seoul speech. "These early script reforms revealed changes in the language that had long since taken place" (Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 8), both in lexicon, phonology, and morphology.

2.2.2 Spelling and Standardisation

At the time of the first Korean migrations to the RFE, around the middle of the 19th century, there were four writing systems in use in the Kingdom of Chosŏn: Classical Chinese (referred to as *Hanmun* 漢文 , or 한문) was the most prestigious, being the standard for literary and formal texts among the social élite; then, *Idu* (吏讀, or 이두, 'official's reading') and *Ŏnhanmun* (諺漢文, or 언한문; also known as *Hanja Honyong* 漢字混用, or 한자혼용, 'Chinese character mixed usage') followed, as they were both employed by government workers; the least reputable was *Han'gŭl*, or *Ŏnmun* (諺文, or 언문, 'Vulgar/Vernacular Writing'). While the usage of Classical Chinese and *Idu* had begun in the earlier stages of the formation of the first political entities of the Korean Three Kingdoms period (1st century BCE – 668 CE), Han'gŭl was still relatively new in all aspects of culture and public administration.

The Korean alphabet was commissioned by King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) and promulgated in 1446[7], with the publication of the *Hunmin Chŏngŭm* (訓民正音, or 훈민정음, 'The Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People'), which had been written in Classical Chinese and was divided in two parts: the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* proper, a small handbook for teaching the new writing system; and the *Hunmin Chŏngŭm Haerye* (訓民正音解例, or 훈민정음해례, 'Explanations and Examples of the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People'), a treatise written by the scholars of the *Chiphyŏnjŏn* (集賢殿, or 집현전, 'Hall of Worthies') containing information on the philosophies behind the shapes and use of each letter (Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 102). Innovating from the traditional *fănqiè* (反切, 'turning and cutting') method[8] that had first appeared in Chinese phonological studies, the *Hunmin Chŏngŭm* defined the existence of three elements within a single syllable: an "initial sound" (*ch'osŏng* 初聲, or 초성), a "medial sound" (*chungsŏng* 中聲, or 중성), and a "terminal sound" (*chongsŏng* 終聲, or 종성).

[7] According to the Annals of King Sejong's reign http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kda_12809029_004 .
[8] *Fănqiè* was originally used to indicate spelling of alliterating and riming characters in rime books: if two syllables had a common initial sound, they had the same *zìmŭ* (字母, 'character mother', or *chamo* 자모 in Korean); they would share a *yùnmŭ* (韻母, 'rime mother'; or *unmo* 운모 in Korean) if, otherwise, the rest of the sounds were identical.

The *Hunmin chŏngŭm* mentions seventeen letters for initial sounds, which are considered equivalent to the *zìmǔ* of Chinese rime books. These are: ㄱ (*k*), ㄴ (*n*), ㄷ (*t*), ㅁ (*m*), ㅂ (*p*), ㅅ (*s*), ㅈ (*ch*), ㅇ (*Ø*), ㅎ (*h*), ㄹ (*r/l*), ㅋ (*k'*), ㅌ(*t'*), ㅍ (*p'*), ㅊ (*ch'*), ㆆ (*q*), ㅿ (*z*), and ㆁ(*ŋ*). Six of them could also be used as geminates when doubled (namely ㄸ, ㅃ, ㅉ, ㅆ, ㆅ), but they were most commonly associated with the "wholly muddy" sounds of Chinese and would not appear in native Korean words. Moreover, in the *Hunmin Chŏngŭm Haerye*, it is mentioned that two or three letters might appear side by side as the initial sound, as seen in the cases of ㅅㄱ (*sk*), ㅅㄷ (*st*), ㅅㅂ (*sp*), ㅂㅅ (*pt*), ㅄ (*ps*), ㅄㅈ (*pch*), ㅂㅌ (*pt'*), ㅄㄱ (*psk*), ㅄㄷ (*pst*), and the less common ㅅㄴ (*sn*). In fact, in Late Middle Korean records from the 15th and 16th centuries, it is not at all unusla to find *sta* 짜 'earth' instead of *ttang* 땅, *pskul* 뿔 'honey' instead of *kkul* 꿀, *psʌl* 뿔 'rice' instead of *ssal* 쌀.

As for the new "medial category", eleven letters were created. Framed within neo-Confucian philosophy, the three basic vowel symbols ㆍ(*ʌ*), ㅡ (*ŭ*), and ㅣ(*i*), respectively represented Heaven, Earth, and Man, which were considered the three great powers of the universe, or "Three Germinants" (三才, *sāncái*; pronounced as *samjae* 삼재 in Korean) (Lee, 1983: 5). Their combinations, for a total of eight letters, were classified as either Yang (or "bright") or Yin (or "dark"): the former are those symbols that "rise from Heaven" and present the element ㆍ either above or on the right of ㅡ and ㅣ, meaning ㅗ (*o*), ㅏ (*a*), ㅛ (*yo*), and ㅑ (*ya*); the latter, on the other hand, are seen as "emerging from Earth", and the "Heaven" element ㆍ is found either below or on the left of ㅡ and ㅣ, as in ㅜ (*u*), ㅓ (*ŏ*), ㅠ (*yu*), and ㅕ (*yŏ*). The symbols ㅡ and ㅣ were considered intermediate sounds, together with the composite ㅢ (*ŭi*) which could be modified to create the bright ㅘ (*wa*), ㅙ (*wae*), ㅚ (*oe*) and "the dark ㅝ (*wŏ*), ㅞ (*we*), and ㅟ (*wi*) (Kim, 1983: 11).

"Terminal sounds", on the other hand, were the same as the initials, although only the eight letters ㄱ [k], ㆁ[ŋ], ㄷ [t], ㄴ [n], ㅂ [p], ㅁ [m], ㅅ [s], ㄹ [r/l] could be written in final position within the syllable. In Late Middle Korean texts, it was also

possible to observe the several clusters, namely ㄳ (*ks*), ㄵ (*ns*), ㄺ (*lk*), ㄻ (*lm*), ㄼ (*lp*), ㄾ (*lq*), as terminals (Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 121-122). Moreover, ㅅ could be used also as a substitute for ㅈ (ch) and ㅊ (ch'), according to the principles of phonemic spelling. Such approach implied that words were meant to be written the way they were pronounced, regardless of the morphologically meaningful units that constituted them. This contrasted with the morphophonemic orthography in use today which, according to King Sejong, would have achieved the unity of the spoken and written language (Kim-Renaud, 2000: 29-30), with terms showing consistent shapes and being easier to read and recognise. Such two systems can be easily differentiated based on the treatment of syllable-final position of both single consonants and clusters, as for the following examples:

1. 말씀 (*malssŭm*, 'word, say') + 이 (*i*, subject marker): the morphophonemic spelling is the rather straightforward *malssŭm'i* 말씀이, where the original word-root is preserved and the suffix is attached to it distinctly; the phonemic form, however, is *malssŭmi* 말쓰미, where the final consonant is moved to the marker's syllable, consistently with the pronunciation.

2. 값 (*kaps*, 'value, price') + 을 (*ŭl*, object marker): similarly to the first case, there is no major change in the morphophonemic orthography of *kaps'ŭl* 값을; on the other hand, in *kapsŭl* 갑슬, the phonemic approach causes the second consonant of the ㅄ cluster to join with the object marker.

Between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, Korea went through a series of political unrest caused by the Imjin War (1592-1598) and the Manchu Invasions (1627, 1636). Famine, disease, and poverty, led to a stop in book publication, which resumed only in the second half of the 17th century. Because of such factors, "[e]ven today one sometimes hears it said that Hideyoshi's invasions caused Koreans to forget how to pronounce z's or to distinguish tones" (Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 241). At the same time, initial clusters started being pronounced as reinforced consonants, palatalisation started spreading from the southernmost regions of the peninsula, and the *arae a* also was lost.

In the Late Chosŏn period, the spread of vernacular fiction and other genres supported the foundation of a proper literary tradition in Early Modern Korean. Yet, "the lack of standards for *Han'gŭl* writing had resulted in wildly varying spellings and usages, where even the variety of language or dialect represented depended almost entirely upon the individual writer" (Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 289). This confusion in written practices was further cemented by popular literature and stood out in comparison to the orderly and formal usage of Classical Chinese until the early 20th century. Eventually, the activist Chi Sŏgyŏng asked for the development of "new standards" of spelling and usage (新訂國文 or 신정국문, *sinjŏng kukmun*) and, in 1907, the Institute for the Study of Korean Writing (國文硏究所 or 국문 연구소, *kukmun yŏn'guso*) started working on it.

Finally, the Korean Language Society (조선어 학회, *chosŏnŏ hakhoe*, later 한글학회, *han'gŭl hakhoe*) issued a document called *A Proposition for the Unification of Han'gŭl Orthography* (한글 맞춤법 통일안, *han'gŭl matchumbŏp t'ongiran*) in 1933. The basic orthographic principle expressed in it was: "Write the standard language according to its sounds, but make it fit the language rules" (Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 291), and the new standard would be morphophonemic. Reinforced consonants stopped being written as consonant clusters, ᄭ, ᄯ, ᄲ, ᄡ, ᄶ (*sk*, *st*, *sp*, *ps*, *sch*), and were replaced by double letters: ㄲ, ㄸ, ㅃ, ㅆ, ㅉ. In addition to that, the reformers eliminated the vowel symbol ㆍ(*arae a*), because the sound it represented was not used in the Seoul speech anymore.

2.2.3 Dialects of North and South Korea

In order to talk about in detail about *Koryo-mar* and understand what could have influenced its development, it is necessary to differentiate between six main dialectal areas spreading across the peninsula. First, there are the Northwestern dialects, or dialects of P'yŏngan, and the Northeastern dialects, or dialects of Hamgyŏng. Then, there are the Central dialects, which are spoken in the provinces of Kyŏnggi, Hwanghae, Kangwŏn, and Ch'ungch'ŏng and are the basis for Standard Korean through the prestigious "Seoul middle-class speech". Finally, the last three are: the

Southwestern dialects, or dialects of Chŏlla; the Southeastern dialects, or dialects of Kyŏngsang; and the dialect of Cheju (Lee & Ramsey, 2000: 311).

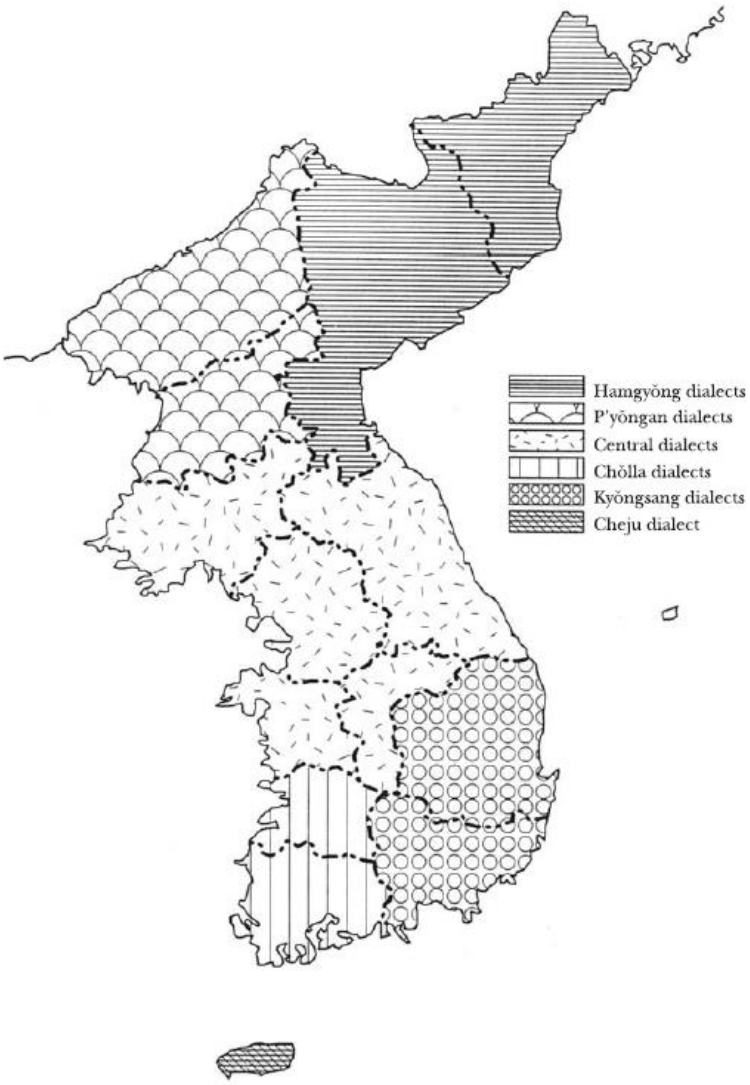


Fig. 2 Major Dialect Areas of Korea (Lee & Ramsey, 2000: 312)

Although the Korean language is thought to be relatively homogenous and speakers from the above-mentioned areas could understand each other rather easily, it is also true that dialects from different regions are often characterised by evident variations in phonology, morphology and, above all, vocabulary. As mentioned by Brown and Yeon (2015: 462), some examples in particular can be the following: in the province of Kangwŏn, one can differentiate between the Yŏngdong and Yŏngsŏ dialects; the speech of the Ch'ungch'ŏng area dialects can be separated from the other central variants through features such the sentence polite ending *-yu*, instead of *–yo*; the

language of the island of Cheju stands out in terms of vowel inventory, verbal morphology, and vocabulary.

The origins of such distinctions have been attributed to the topography of the peninsula and, in fact, dialects seem to be consistent with natural boundaries such as mountains and rivers. At the same time, it could also be argued that these divisions also coincide with ancient historical boundaries, like in the case of the Southwestern and Southeastern Korean and the extension of the kingdoms of Paekche and Silla respectively. In addition to that, subzones can be identified by looking at certain isoglosses, be them phonological, lexical, morphological, or grammatical level.

As previously mentioned, tone was a distinctive feature in Middle Korean. In contemporary standard Korean, it has been lost, and vowel length differences have sometimes remained as their trace. Yet, tone is still working in certain regions of the peninsula, and it can be taken as a criterion to further distinguish between dialectal areas (fig. 3). Thus, Korea can be divided into two parts: an eastern half, which preserves tone, and a western half, where vowel length is common.

Palatalisation, which took place right after the 17th century for most Korean dialects, can be used as another parameter for classification. Based on it, it is possible to identify three scenarios: in the first case, no change occurred, and such unpalatalised forms are the most noticeable feature of the northwestern dialects; in the second, dental consonants *t* ㄷ, *t'* ㅌ, *tt* ㄸ, are palatalised, but velar consonants *k* ㄱ, *k'* ㅋ, *kk* ㄲ, and *h* ㅎ, are not; on the hand, in the third, both dental and velar consonants underwent such process. It is known that the *t*-palatalisation spread from the southern regions to the rest of the country, but it did not affect the speakers living in the provinces of P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng. As for the *k*-palatalisation (before *–i* or *–y*), it can be said that the areas it occurred in include Kyŏngsang, Chŏlla, Ch'ungch'ŏng, Cheju, the eastern part of Kangwŏn (Yŏngdong) in the south, and Hamgyŏng in the north. Moreover, in this latter context, the velar fricative *h* ㅎ can also palatalize and become *s* ㅅ (Brown & Yeon, 2015: 463).

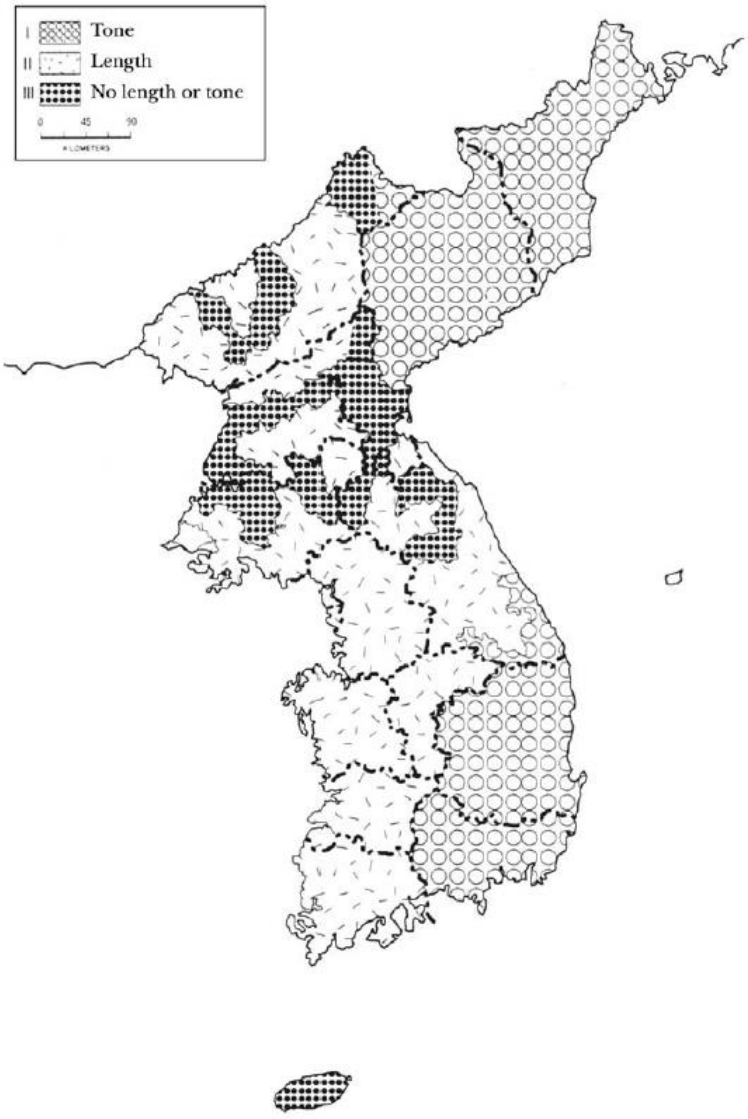


Fig. 3 Current Tone Distribution in Korea (Lee & Ramsey, 2000: 316)

Outside of the peninsula and of post-Soviet countries, including the island of Sakhalin, Korean speaking communities in Asia are found in Japan, and in the Yanbian autonomous prefecture of China. The latter, due to the proximity to the Northern Hamgyŏng region and its dialects, is reputed to have been influenced by them through continuous linguistic contact. North Korean and South Korean also show a considerable linguistic divergence developed following the Korean War (1950-1953) (Yeon, 2012: 168), which can be attributed to the pre-existing variation in lexicon, syntax, and pronunciation, as well as to the loanwords that entered their vocabularies from Russian and English respectively.

2.2.4 *Koryo-mar* and its Current State

According to Ross King (1992: 201), Soviet Korean can be distinguished in two major varieties: the first and most widespread, called "Tashkent standard" or "Tashkent koine" by King, is spoken by around 90% of ethnic Koreans and can be traced back to the speech of the neighbouring counties of Myŏngch'ŏn and Kilju; the second, on the other hand, is common to only 10% of the population and it is an extremely conservative set of dialects, named Yukjin (육진, 六鎭) after the six garrison towns of Hoeryŏng, Chongsŏng, Onsŏng, Kyŏngwŏn, Kyŏnghŭng, and Puryŏng, found south of a bend of the Tumen River.

Nowadays it has been understood to have undergone dialect contacts, dialect levelling and koinéisation and, thus, it should be treated as a separate dialect from the Hamgyŏng varieties (Brown & Yeon, 2015: 464). Some of the distinctive and archaic features of *Koryo-mar*, are the following: ㄹ is pronounced as a rolled r in all positions, except for when it is geminate; /s/ is rendered as [z] between voiced sounds; velar weakening cause /ŋ/ and /n/ to drop before *–i*, leaving remnants of the nasalization on the preceding vowel (*ttangi* 땅이, 'the ground' > *ttài* 따이; *nuni* 눈이, 'the eye' > *nùi* 누이); pitch accent is meaningful in minimal pairs such as *marí* 'horse' and *mári* 'words/speech'; p-irregular verbs and s-irregular verbs conjugate like regular verbs, which means that intervocalic /-p-/ and /-s-/ are retained as the result of this speech variety never having undergone lenition (Yeon 2012, 180).

The assimilation of Koreans to the Russian way of life started right after the first immigrations to the RFE, and became more and more apparent as they converted to the Orthodox Church, took up Russian names, and used Russian words daily. The influence of Russian on Korean increased especially with the inclusion of terms from the field of political and social terminology in the 1920s (Kho, 1987: 113). It is also known that, in the city of Vladivostok, there was a neighbourhood called Sinhanch'on (신한촌; or *Novaja Korejskaja Slobodka* Новая Корейская Слободка in Russian) where there were churches, and several printing houses of newspapers, the largest of which was the *Vanguard* (Pohl, 1999: 10), and even Korean primary schools. From 1923, the education of Koreans in the RFE had been carried out according to a new socialist system, which implied the usage of the pupils' own

language and alphabet. For this reason, a new Soviet orthography of Korean was also created in the 1930s (Kho, 1987: 124), similarly that what was being done in the Korean peninsula at that time.

After the deportation in the late 1937, however, the descendants of RFE Koreans ended up being further absorbed into the Soviet culture. In addition to Slavic loanwords from the times of the RFE and more recent ones, *Koryo-mar* seems to have also borrowed also from the Central Asian languages of the peoples that became neighbours to the Korean communities: in particular, it is possible to witness the usage of terms coming from Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Tajik, and even Karakalpak (Kho, 1987: 121). On the other hand, since the mid-1960s, for Koreans "[i]n Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the process of losing the native language had acquired an irreversible character […] not only in the sphere of education but also in everyday and family life" (Kim, 2009: 115). By the late 1980s, the use of Korean in the USSR was limited outside areas densely populated by *Koryo-saram*, with Russian being the main literary and professional language of the younger generations.

Already over thirty years ago, Kho (1987: 129) expressed his concerns regarding the future of *Koryo-mar*, wondering "[w]hether Korean will fade away in the future or not", and, more recently, Kim (2009: 120) wrote that "its present state is very close to demise. *Koryo mar* in Kazakhstan and in other countries of the post-Soviet space is doomed to disappearance and it is not possible to reanimate it today". In fact, it can be said that, while the fall of the USSR brought a new fascination with local languages, Central Asian Koreans decided to distantiate themselves from the dialect of their ancestors, while moving their attention towards more popular and widespread varieties of North and South Korean. Such interest is dangerously speeding up the decay of *Koryo-mar* as a community language, Standard Korean being preferred both for pop-culture, prestige, work, and migrations [9].

[9] Kim, Hyeon-kyeong. *Uzbekistan: Stalin's victims, now seduced by Samsung*. Joong Ang Daily. September 15th, 2005
https://web.archive.org/web/20051127093846/http://joongangdaily.joins.com/200509/14/2005091421294049799000910091 01.html

2.3 Historical and Linguistic Timeline

Here are presented two brief outlines of the main events that have been mentioned in the previous background sections:

Periodisation of Korean History	
1392	Beginning of the Chosŏn Period
1592-1598	Imjin War
1635-1637	Qing Invasion of Korea
1654	First Korean Expedition to the Amur Region
1658	Second Korean Expedition to the Amur Region
1839-1842	First Opium War
1856-1860	Second Opium War
1860	First Convention of Peking
1860	Establishment of the Maritime Region
1860	Foundation of Vladivostok
1862	First Attested Migration of Koreans to the RFE
1884	Russia-Korea Treaty
1897	Establishment of the Korean Empire
1904-1905	Russo-Japanese War
1905-1910	Korea falls under the Protectorate of Japan
1910	Annexation of Korea to Japan
1931	Mukden Incident
1932	Foundation of Manchukuo
1937	Deportation of Koreans to Soviet Central Asia
1945	End of the Japanese Rule over the Korean Peninsula

Periodisation of the Korean Language	
?-10th Century	Old Korean
10th-14th Century	Early Middle Korean
14th-16th Century	Late Middle Korean
1446	Promulgation of the Korean Alphabet
17th-20th Century	Early Modern Korean
1874	Publication of the *Opyt Russko-korejskogo Slovarja*
1933	Publication of *A Proposition for the Unification of Han'gŭl Orthography*
20th Century - Today	Contemporary Korean

3 Sources

The collection and the study of the data is the basis for this research. Since the aim of the thesis is to better comprehend the origins of *Koryo-mar*, the focus will be on analysis of the different spellings and forms used in a set of texts relevant to the research topic. Looking at such written clues, more information can be gathered on the language's relationship with the Northeastern dialects it descends from, as well as with other varieties of Korean. Since the adopted approach finds it roots in traditional philology, the selection and the understanding of the sources is of vital importance to achieve good and concrete results. Thus, it is also needed to introduce each of the materials and explain why they were chosen.

For this reason, first there is an explanation of what the role of philology is in the context of *Koryo-mar*. Then, attention is paid to the main features of both Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874) and Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987). In addition to that, the final subchapter is dedicated to the description of other Chosŏn-period sources that can help to better highlight similarities in spelling between *Koryo-mar* and pre-standardisation Korean.

3.1 Philology of *Koryo-mar*

As mentioned in Chapter 1.2, this thesis is based on the study of the historical development of a language in written sources in connection to its literary and cultural context. Such approach, once at the roots of language studies and historical-comparative linguistics, is called philology[10]. While this subject thrived especially during the 19th century thanks to scholars of the likes of Jacob Grimm (1785-1863), Rasmus Rask (1787-1832), Franz Bopp (1791-1867), and the Neogrammarians, its popularity seemingly decreased in the Anglophone world starting from the early 20th century, with the publication of Saussure's *Course de Linguistique Générale* (1916).

[10] A beautiful description of what this discipline means and involves is given by the English philologist John Peile (1838-1910), who wrote: "[i]t is the science which teaches us what language is. The philologist deals with the words which make up a language, not merely to learn their meaning, but to find out their history. He pulls them to pieces, just as a botanist dissects flowers, in order that he may discover the parts of which each word is composed and the relation of those parts to each other: then he takes another and yet another language and deals with each in the same way: then by comparing the results he ascertains what is common to these different languages and what is peculiar to one or more: lastly, he tries to find out what the causes are which operate on all these languages, in order that he may understand that unceasing change and development which we may call, figuratively, the life of language". (Peile, 1880: 5)

The birth of contemporary linguistics through the acceptance of the spoken word as the primary object of research marked one of “the most decisive theoretical and practical turning points in the history of language-science” (Ehlich, 1981: 154). Consequently, the new methodology, that was then designed, addressed new needs and tasks that were relevant for matters of synchrony in linguistics, rather than diachrony.

Yet, the traditional philological approach can still provide scholars with interesting insights into the development of language, its usage in a certain context, and its variation in written sources. In addition to that, there are historical, literary, and social factors which are contemporary to and that can be observed to have contributed to the composition of any written work. Indeed, the orthographic and lexical differences in several texts, as well as within an individual manuscript, can reflect very well the evolution of the spoken language in contrast with its previous stages which are usually found in a written form, due to the fact that writing adopts changes more slowly than speech.

In a way, it could be said that the work of the philologist is not much different from that of the field linguist, although the setting of their investigation is indeed contrasting: instead of interacting with native speakers of any language and eliciting data from them, the philologist examines the “relics of the native speaker's linguistic activities” (Ehlich, 1981: 158), which sometimes concern dialectal varieties to some extent unknown. By looking at those remnants of written speech, a researcher can describe them, compare them, and connect them, to other previously studied entities in order to establish genetic relationships between them or ascertain contacts.

Koryo-mar, too, would benefit from being analysed through the philological lens, as it is done in the present thesis. By studying what few written sources exist in *Koryo-mar*, be them wordlists, dictionaries, or private correspondence, it would be possible to understand more of the development of such language, its usage, and its own dialectal variation in diachrony. Moreover, defining literacy and written tradition in *Koryo-mar* would contribute to preserving the latter and it could possibly aid in its recognition as a minority language.

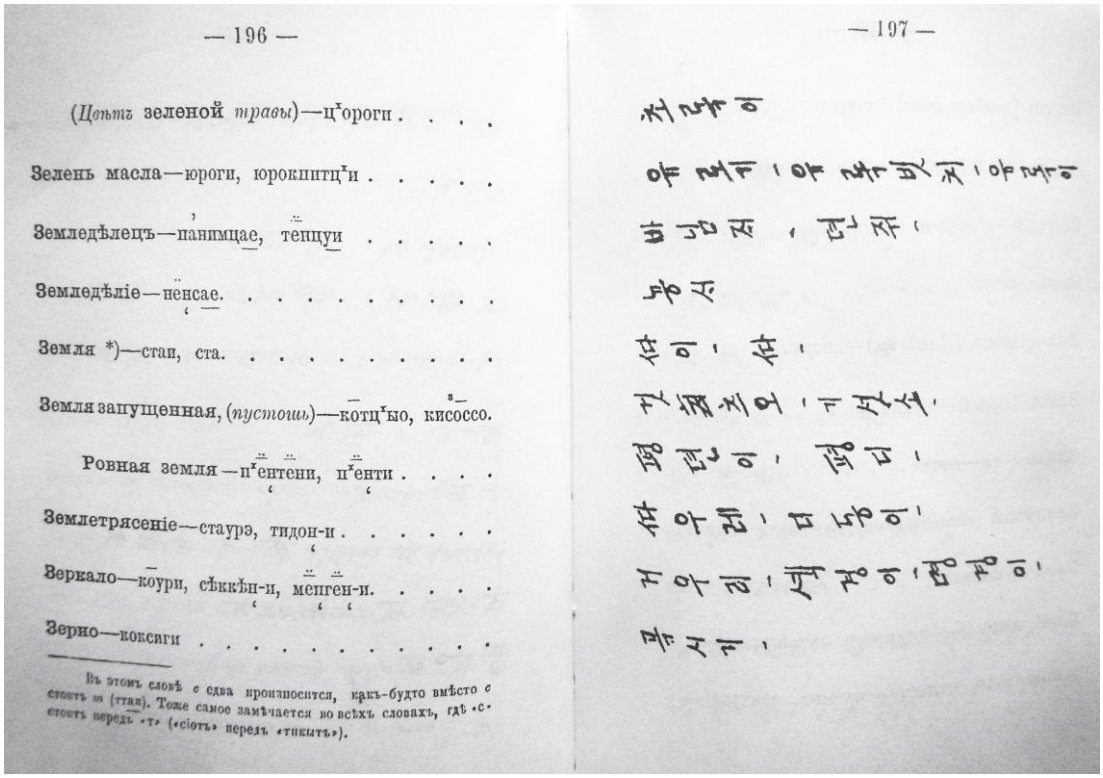
3.2 *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja*

Pucillo's *Opyt russko-korejskogo slovarja* was first published in 1874. Its author, Mikhail Pavlovič Pucillo (1845-1889), was a Russian official and historian who was working for the resettlement of Korean immigrants in the RFE. Since there were no other dictionaries that covered any European language and Korean, his work is considered the first of its kind and it is said that, in remembrance of his efforts in documenting the local language and aiding immigrants to settle in the Maritime Territory, the village of Pucilovka (Пуциловка) was named after him.

In order to proceed with the collection of words for his dictionary and with the compilation of the latter, he used as a primary reference a Chinese-Korean-Japanese comparative dictionary that had been published in Batavia in 1835 by an English missionary. Yet, he also employed a few informants from the local Korean communities, who were speakers of the Hamgyŏng dialect and among which he mentioned a certain Nikolaj Mikhailovič Ljan (Pucillo, 1874: XII) who helped in the editing of the text. Consequently, their influence on the language recorded within the dictionary itself is evident.

The *Opyt russko-korejskogo slovarja* contains a chart of the Korean alphabet, which includes simple consonants (but no tense consonants or clusters), simple syllabic blocks, and a small section dedicated to the arrangement of consonants when followed by *wa* 과 and *wo* 궈. In addition to that, all consonants are mentioned with their own Korean name, and the pronunciation of every other item is written down in pre-revolutionary Russian Cyrillic.

Being a one-way dictionary, it is organised according to the order of letters in the Russian alphabet. Entries are displayed on two pages: on the left one, there are the Russian words, followed by their equivalent in Cyrillised Korean; on the other hand, on the right, the writing in *Han'gŭl* is found. Sometimes, more than one Korean word, or more than one spelling of a certain term, can be found under each entry. Moreover, when additional remarks are needed to explain the pronunciation or the orthography of a specific item, Pucillo makes use of footnotes to express his comments on the different cases.



— 196 —

(*Цвѣтъ* зеленой *травы*)—ц^{x}ороги . . . .

Зелень масла—юроги, юрокпитц^{x}и . . . . .

Земледѣлецъ—панимцае, тенцуи . . . . .

Земледѣліе—ненсае. . . . . .

Земля *)—стаи, ста. . . . . .

Земля запущенная, (*пустошь*)—котц^{x}ыо, кисоссо.

Ровная земля—п^{x}ентени, п^{x}енти . . . .

Землетрясеніе—стаурэ, тидон-и . . . . .

Зеркало—коури, сѣккѣн-и, менген-и. . . . .

Зерно—коксиги . . . . . .

*) Въ этомъ словѣ с сдва произносится, какъ-будто вмѣсто с стоитъ тт (ттая). Тоже самое замѣчается во всѣхъ словахъ, гдѣ «с» стоитъ передъ «т» («сіоть» передъ «тикытъ»).

— 197 —

Fig. 4 Pucillo (1874) - Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja, pp. 196-197

3.2.1 Korean and Russian Orthography

One of the main peculiarities Pucillo's dictionary is that, having been published in the late 19th century, it employs both pre-standardisation Korean and pre-revolutionary Russian Cyrillic spelling. This implies that the usage of certain symbols might have been discontinued since then and current transliteration methods do not account for all of them. At the same time, compared to such latter systems, it allows for an even more detailed understanding of the pronunciation of the many words contained in the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja*.

While the interest in Russian orthography is limited to the way the Cyrillic alphabet is used to represent Korean phonology, it is not the same for *Han'gŭl*. Consistently with the writing practices of the Late Chosŏn period, the variation in Korean spelling is quite remarkable. First of all, it is important to mention that, in the dictionary, there does not seem to be a stark preference of either the morphophonemic or

phonemic approach. On the contrary, they seem to be used interchangeably, as if they were both equally acceptable and the words written in each were just to be considered variants, as in the following examples:

1. The Standard Korean word 입쌀 (*ipssal*, 'unglutinous rice') appears both as *nipssɒri* 닙ᄊᆞ리 and *nipssal* 닙쌀. In the former seems to be the phonemic spelling, due to the addition of the subject marker *-i* 이 in the final syllable. The first attested form of this term is *nipsɒl* 니ᄲᆞᆯ, a spelling in use from the 15th to the 18th century[11]. Another interesting feature of is the shift of the /p/ from the ㅄ cluster to the previous syllable and the reinforcement of the /s/.

2. The Standard Korean word 달 (*tal*, 'moon, month') is recorded together with the subject marker *-i* 이 in both cases, and is written as *tar'i* 달이 and *tari* 다리 according to the morphophonemic and phonemic spelling respectively.

3. Similarly to 'moon, month', also the word for 'horse' includes the subject marker, and is found as *mar'i* 말이 and *mari* 마리. As mentioned in Section 2.2.4, *Koryo-mar* currently distinguishes such term and the one for 'language', also *mar* 말, through pitch accent.

Moreover, in the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja*, it is also possible to observe now-obsolete initial consonant clusters that, according to Putsillo himself, are used to represent geminate, or at least this is the case with the initial ㅉ. In fact, the author of dictionary wrote the following comment about the word *zemlja* 'earth' and its Korean equivalents, *stai* 짜이 and *sta* 짜: "in this word the *s* is hardly pronounced, as if instead of *s* the was a *t* (*ttai*). The same is seen in all words where <s> comes before <t> (*siot* before *tigŭt*)"[12] (Pucillo, 1874: 196)

[11] According to *Uri Malsaem* (Open Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language).
[12] "В этомъ словѣ *с* едва произносится, какъ-будто вмѣсто *с* стоитъ *т* (ттаи). Тоже самое замѣчается во всѣхъ словахъ, гдѣ «с» стоитъ передъ «т» («сіотъ» передъ «тикытъ»)."

3.2.2 Adapting the Cyrillic Script

Reading this first dictionary can allow us to compare two different ways of transliterating Korean into Cyrillic, and to understand the strengths and weaknesses of each system. In Appendix B, it is thus possible to see the contrast between Pucillo's method and the one devised by L.R. Koncevič in the 1950s, which is commonly employed today. While most symbols are used in a rather similar way, at least when it comes to most of the consonants, there are still a few cases in which the two systems differ, as with the following vowels:

1. The first difference concerns the representation of *o*, *ŏ*, *yo* and *yŏ*. In Korean, *o* ㅗ and *ŏ* ㅓ can be found in minimal pairs, such as the words *kot* 곳 ('place') and *kŏt* 것('thing'), and the same goes for the diphthongs *yo* ㅛ and *yŏ* ㅕ, as in *yok* 욕 ('swear word, insult, profanity') and *yŏk* 역 ('train station, railway stop'). In Pucillo, *o* and *yo* are written in Cyrillic as <*o*> and <*ë*>, while *ŏ* and *yŏ* appear as <*o̲*> and <*ë̲*>. Koncevič, on the other hand, does not distinguish between *yo* and *yŏ*, and transliterates *o* and *ŏ* as <*ó*> and <*o*> respectively.

2. Diphthongs such as *wa* 과, *wŏ* 궈, and *ŭi* 긔, are transliterated by Pucillo as <ya>, <yo> and <уи/ыи>, while Koncevič seemingly bypasses the labiovelar representation and goes for the labiodental <ва>, <во>, and <вй>.

In addition to that, the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* stands out for the consistent usage of diacritics to highlight the openness of some vowels, the elements of diphthongs, velar nasals, or aspiration. Moreover, it has been observed by Eo and Hong (2013: 176-178) that Pucillo also employs different symbol combinations to render more complex sounds, such as *ch* ㅊ, which can be found as <ч> (*č*), <ц> (*c*), <ц^{з}> (c^{z}), <цз> (*cz*), <ц^{цз}> (c^{cz}), < ц^{ч}> ($c^{č}$), or <цч> (*cč*).

3.3 *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia*

Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia*, published in 1987, is one of the most important studies on Central Asian Koreans and their language. It was written by Kho at a time when little to nothing was known about such topic outside the borders of the Soviet Union; as said by the author, "the aim of this volume lies in establishing

a framework for future study by trying to describe, on the basis of written materials, the background of the transfer of Koreans from the Soviet Far East to Central Asia, their daily life, rice cultivation, language and communication" (1987, p.15).

Based on a few pre-existing materials and on information obtained through correspondence with ethnic Koreans from the USSR, it provides valuable insight into the history of Soviet Korean communities, from their formation to their living conditions in the late 1980s, into their efforts to bring rice cultivations in the barren lands of Central Asia, and into their culture, focussing on both literature and theatre. In general, it can be said that it is a very thorough description of the factors that contributed to, and that still influenced, the development of the identities of RFE Koreans, first, and of *Koryo-saram* more recently.

In addition to that, one chapter is dedicated specifically to language and communication among *Koryo-mar* speakers. It starts with a discussion on the differences between Korean dialects and the peculiarities of the Northeastern varieties of the province of Hamgyŏng. Then, attention is paid to the influence of the Russian language on *Koryo-mar*, and to the Russian and Turkic loanwords and expression that have been adopted by the *Koryo-saram* in their daily speech. Furthermore, Kho also covers the then-contemporary usage of Soviet Korean, both in newspapers and broadcasting, before expressing some consideration about the language's possible future.

3.3.1 Wordlists and Dialectal Variation

Several wordlists can be found in *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia*. These can be divided into two groups: the first focusses on purely *Koryo-mar* vocabulary; the second, on the other hand, allows for an overview of the loanwords that entered the language after long contact with Russian and Turkic people, before and after the deportation of 1937. While all such items are not directly coming from any fieldwork done by Kho, they all stem from the personal experience with and the common usage of vernacular speech in Soviet Korean communities.

As mentioned by King (2006: 41), when it comes to *Koryo-mar*, "one almost has to take each and every informant on a case-by-case basis". In fact, defining what RFE or Central Asian Korean are, and whether something is a borrowing or not, depends

exclusively on the speaker's perspective. It must be said, moreover, that dialectal variation in the speech of *Koryo-saram* can be unexpectedly major, mostly due to the different locations of the Korean communities in the former USSR countries and the extent of the influence from local languages. At the same time, the contextualisation of the data provided by Kho allows for the analysis of two main kind of *Koryo-mar*, which can be distinguished based on the cities where they are spoken: Almaty, in Kazakhstan, and Tashkent, in Uzbekistan.

The Almaty Korean wordlist recorded by Kho contains over 130 items and is divided into five categories: 1) kinship terms and professions; 2) food; 3) house and household goods; 4) body parts and diseases; 5) verbs and adverbs. In addition to those, there are also a few examples of conversations that can shed light on the actual usage of the language. As mentioned before, such data were collected through correspondence with local Soviet Koreans, without a direct fieldwork period. The Tashkent Korean vocabulary, on the other hand, comes from the work of Ross King and his interviews with a middle-aged lady called Mrs Cen (Kho, 1987: 109). Out of around 180 items, only the most strikingly North Hamgyŏng dialectal forms are available in Kho's study. Among these, it is possible to differentiate between pure-Korean numbers, kinship terms, food, and some everyday expressions.

As for loanwords, the focus is first on Russian. Kho identifies two stages of borrowing into Korean depending on whether they had entered the language before or after the transfer to Central Asia. According to him, "Russian loanwords consist chiefly of terms concerning politics, society, technology, agriculture and culture" and, by the late 1980s, their number was "estimated to be at least 300" (Kho, 1987: 115). Each borrowing is displayed in its original Russian Cyrillic form and in romanised *Koryo-mar*. Furthermore, notable is also the interaction between the Russian and Korean in daily speech, as it appears that words from each language can be used seemingly in the same sentences without any clear alteration of the syntax.

On the other hand, the amount of Turkic items in Korean seems to be of a much smaller entity, and it is not clear whether speakers of Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, and related neighbouring languages, might have been influenced at all by the contact with Korean settlers over the last ninety years. Most Turkic expressions seem to have been borrowed due to the lack of any suitable equivalents with respects of local

customs and lifestyles previously unknown to Koreans, as in the following cases (Kho, 1987: 122): *aksakkal*, original meaning 'white beard', then 'white-haired old man', 'village elder'; *mahattya* 'dwelling quarter', an Arabic word introduced into Central Asiatic Korean through Turkic, possibly Uzbek; *tuttara* 'two-stringed guitar', from the Kazakh *dudar*.

3.3.2 Limitations

While Kho's work is certainly a useful framework for the study of all that concerns Central Asian Koreans, the amount of linguistic information that can be gathered from it is limited. This constraint can be attributed to two reasons in particular: the extent of the *Koryo-mar* wordlists, and the spelling.

As it was mentioned in the previous subsection, *Koryo-mar* can show different features according not only to the location where data is collected, but also to the individual preferences and habits of the informants. Given that the Korean population spread far and wide across the former Soviet countries, not all vocabulary is accounted for. In particular, within *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia*, it is possible to witness only two major variants from Almaty and Tashkent. While they both could provide very indicative and relevant evidence, the items obtained by both Kho and King are too few to provide a broad understanding of the native *Koryo-mar* lexicon.

In addition to that, it must be taken into account that all such Central Asian Korean words are written only in transliteration and, thus, make it harder to understand what kind of orthographic approach would be preferred in using *Han'gŭl*. Even though it does not make the data any less valid, having each form in the Korean alphabet would have allowed for a more thorough analysis of the writing practices among *Koryo-saram* compared to Late Chosŏn pre-standardisation spelling.

3.4 Secondary Contrastive Sources

Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987) are both relevant texts in which either Northeastern dialects and/or *Koryo-mar* are used, and that is why they are the starting point in this research. At the same time, though, when items from the two above-mentioned books are compared, there might be instances where more context is needed. Thus, it is helpful to take into account other sources from the late Chosŏn period that can

illustrate other vocabularies in use, or other spellings which might be closer to forms found in either Pucillo (1874) or Kho (1987).

The first is the *Ŭmsik Timibang* (ca. 1670). Reputed by some to be the oldest cookbook written by a woman (namely Chang Kyehyang, 1598-1680) in the Korean alphabet, it is probably one of the most complete examples of non-literary Korean from the 17th century, and it is considered a valuable document for researching not only Korean traditional cuisine but also women writing. Moreover, due to the book being from 1600s and its author having lived through very crucial times for both historical and linguistic development, in the text it is possible to witness the effects of transition period between Late Middle Korean and Early Modern Korean: in fact, one of the most striking features of the text are the prevalence of the phonemic spelling (in opposition to the morphophonemic spelling that had been postulated at the time of King Sejong the Great and is the current standard), which had become increasingly popular at that time and which still survives in some dialects. Remnants of such phonemic spelling are found in *Koryo-mar* as well.

Two more sources that could also provide the research with some interesting insights are Kyun Hŏ's *Hong Kiltong Chŏn* (16th-17th century) and James S. Gale's 1895 translation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678). These were chosen because of their importance in Korean literature and language: the former is the first real novel to be published in Korean and many editions of it have been printed over the years, it being the primary example of vernacular prose, to the point that the protagonist of the story has become one of the most well-known characters in Korean popular culture; the latter, on the other hand, is an example of the translation works of Western missionaries, which are considered to have influenced how Korean was standardised at the beginning of the 20th century. Since *Koryo-saram* started living in the RFE well before any spelling reform was passed, and the speakers of the Northeastern dialects had traditionally been not exposed to (or consciously rejected) certain language changes that had been otherwise common around the rest of the peninsula, the extent of the spread of the efforts to standardise Korean is not quite obvious and the comparison between these additional sources to Kho (1987) and Pucillo (1874) is an effective way of analysing the differences and similarities between vernacular lexicon and spelling.

4 Data Analysis and Discussion

This chapter covers all the phases of the analysis of the data from its extraction to the obtained results. In particular, out of the two main sources that have been examined, this study focuses on forty elements common to both. Such items are found in Appendix C, grouped into six different tables: 1) animals, 2) body parts, 3) food terms, 4) human terms, 5) *miscellanea*, and 6) numerals. Examples from each of them are found throughout the next pages.

These first two subchapters, 4.1 and 4.2, make up the "Data Analysis" segment. The former focusses on the data collection process and described the how the forty items have been selected. Meanwhile, the latter contains the explanation of the comparison process and the data interpretation guidelines. Similarly, the "Discussion" section comprises two parts: in 4.3, it is possible to read about five different correspondence scenarios that can be distinguished after the comparison; on the other hand, 4.4 tackles the relationship between the spoken and the written language, as observed mainly from the usage of both Korean and Cyrillic orthography in the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874).

4.1 Data Collection

The first step in the data collection has been to look for the same elements in both Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987). This means that the starting point was to make sure that data relevant for the comparison was available in each text and, although the two sources have a vastly different number of entries, only the Almaty and Tashkent *Koryo-mar* lists in Kho (1987) have been taken into consideration, as loanwords are not part of this study, and their equivalent has been found in Pucillo (1874).

Subsequently, the extracted data have then been organised in the comparison tables that can be found in the Appendix C. These are made of four columns, containing respectively: 1) the Russian entry in the dictionary, 2) the Cyrillic transliteration(s) of the Korean word(s) and the original form in *Han'gŭl*, 3) the same item as it appears in Kho's wordlist, and 4) its current Standard Korean equivalent.

Since this thesis is a philological study of *Koryo-mar*, it is clear that the results are exclusively based on can be gathered from the texts and their contexts alone. By no

means can this work account for all the words used in Central Asian Korean and in the Northeastern dialects, as there is a considerable lack of a substantial written corpus in either of them which restricts the extents of this research. As mentioned in Chapter 3.3.2, for example, the data extracted from Kho (1987) is also rather limited compared to that technically available in Pucillo (1874) and does not allow for a full analysis of *Koryo-mar* in some of its most recent developmental stages. For this reason, the six tables found in Appendix C should be seen as a presentation of a short qualitative survey of evidence rarely put side by side, which can broaden the current perspectives on the origins of and influences on *Koryo-mar*.

Whereas Kho records on average one *Koryo-mar* word for each entry in his lists, the same cannot be said for Pucillo. As previously mentioned, common items found in both sources have been the basis for the selection of data, yet this value does not fully cover the number of the possible lexical and orthographical variants contained in the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* and in *Korean in Soviet Central Asia*. In fact, as it is possible to see in the tables, a single term is written down in both sources for each of the forty entries only in the following nine cases across five categories:

1. Animals:
    - pig ~ *svin'ja* (свинья)
2. Body parts:
    - face ~ *lico* (лицо)
    - mouth ~ *rotъ* (ротъ)
3. Food terms:
    - chilli pepper ~ *perecъ stručkovyj* (перецъ стручковый)
    - dumplings ~ *pel'meni* (пельмени)
4. Human terms:
    - grandmother ~ *babuška* (бабушка)
    - maid ~ *ženščina* (женщина)
5. *Miscellanea*:
    - sunflower ~ *podsolnečnikъ* (подсолнечникъ)
    - urine ~ *moča* (моча)

The Standard Korean equivalents that can be seen in the tables, and which are also mentioned in the upcoming sections, are taken from two open-access dictionaries published by the National Institute of Korean Language (국립국어원 or 國立國語院, *kungnip kugŏwŏn*), namely *Uri Malsaem* (우리말샘) and the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (표준국어대사전, *p'yojun kugŏ tae sajŏn*). The additional data

extracted from the secondary source texts are not directly included in the tables, yet they are referred to during the explanation of the comparison scenarios as needed, as in scenarios where there is no similarity between Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987).

4.2 Data Comparison

Once the data has been extracted from the main sources and put into tables, it is possible to proceed with the comparison of the Korean and *Koryo-mar* terms recorded by Pucillo and Kho respectively. Such process works on two separate levels: the first concerns vocabulary items as they appear in Appendix C, as well as the lexical similarities and discrepancies between the various sources; meanwhile, the other is more strictly related to the orthographic and phonological evidence that can be gained from the writing systems employed.

Additionally, it could also be relevant to see whether words are spelt in the phonemic or morphophonemic way. While it has already been mentioned that such detail cannot always be easily deduced from the transliterations of Kho's *Koryo-mar* wordlists and, thus, the analysis is limited in that regard, the data from Pucillo can be certainly of greater interest.

Keeping in mind such premises, it is possible to interpret the data according to the following guideline questions:

1. Are the two entries, in Pucillo (1874) and in Kho (1987), identical?

2. Are they two individual words, or two different forms of the same word?

    a. If they are two different words, is one closer to Standard Korean? If this is the case, which is the closest and what could be the reasons of this? If not, where is each word commonly found, geographically?

    b. If the two entries vary only in spelling, which features does each form show? Is Pucillo's data consistent with what is known about *Koryo-mar*? Is any of the two items closer to Standard Korean?

Taking the word 'meat' as an example, it is possible to see that there are two items recorded for it in Pucillo, that is *kogi* 고기 (also *kogi* коги) and *yuksigi* 육시기 (also

juksigi юксиги), with the former being the only one in Kho as well as a term commonly used in Standard Korean nowadays. The latter, on the other hand, is a phonemic spelling of the Sino-Korean 肉食 (or 육식, *yuksik*) followed by the subject marker *-i* 이. Therefore, it can be assumed that there is consistency between Pucillo, Kho, and Standard Korean, when it comes to the usage and to the shape of the word *kogi*, and there are no Hamgyŏng or *Koryo-mar* features that stand out.

The same cannot be said for 'grandmother', since Pucillo and Kho write such term down as *k'unamɒi* 크나믜 (also *k^{kh}ynamae* кхынамае) and *amae* 아매 (or *amai*, in Kho's chosen Romanisation) respectively, and the equivalent Standard Korean is *halmŏni* 할머니. In this situation, there is an evident difference between the main sources and contemporary Korean. The word *khunamoy*, as recorded by Pucillo, is the phonemic spelling of *khun.amoy* 큰아믜, where *khun* 큰 is 'big' and *amoy* 아믜 'mother'[13]. Both *k'ŭnamae* 큰아매 and *amae* 아매 are still in use with the meaning of 'grandmother' in the dialects of the province of Hamgyŏng alone, within the Korean peninsula. This is consistent with what is known about *Koryo-mar* and the origins of its vocabulary.

The two instances here presented, 'meat' and 'mother', can be useful to introduce not only how the comparisons are made, but also what kind of conclusions can be put forward by looking at the other forty common elements chosen for this study. Moreover, as better explained in the next chapter, it appears from the data that the relationship between *Koryo-mar* and the Hamgyŏng dialects is likely, but not obvious, at least when it comes to lexicon and orthography. Thus, when similarities cannot be found between the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874), the lists in *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987), and Standard Korean, it is important to contextualise any possible peculiarity or situation, while always considering that the items available for comparison are limited in number.

[13] The usage of *amae* 아매 as 'mother' is recorded both in Pucillo (1874) and in Kho's Tashkent wordlist (1987), see Appendix C, p.66.

4.3 Defining Cases and Correspondences

The comparison of the items contained in the tables of the Appendix C allows for the establishment of certain correspondences between the data. Such correlations are mainly based on the shape of the words involved and their definition in both Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987). For this reason, this approach takes into account the usage of each term at the time of the publication of the above-mentioned sources.

The results of each comparison can ultimately be ascribed to one of out of five scenarios, which are individually discussed in the next subsections. The first four can be distinguished based on the similarities between: 1) Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987); 2) Pucillo's dictionary and Standard Korean; 3) Kho's wordlists and Standard Korean; or 4) all three sets. The last one, on the other hand, is limited to those words that bear no resemblance and are not related to each other.

Such varied outcomes can be due to differences both on a lexical and orthographic level, and they can make interesting cases to the composition of *Koryo-mar*. At the same time, it is important to consider that the "pure" *Koryo-mar* wordlists contained in Kho consist of a much smaller number of items, compared to the entries in Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja*, and they cannot account for the whole vocabulary employed by the *Koryo-saram*.

4.3.1 Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987)

In this first scenario, it is possible to observe a direct connection between the two main sources, meaning that two (or more) words might be identical in shape, or they might exhibit similar patterns. Such is the case with the following items: 'cat', 'fox', and 'pig' (animal terms); 'maize', and 'soup' (food terms); 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'maid', and 'mother' (human terms). Here are presented three of such instances, all belonging to the latter category.

When it comes to grandfather ~ *dědъ* (дѣдъ), the words *khunaboy* 크나븨 and *khuaboy* 크아븨 recorded by Pucillo seem to be preserved in Kho's *khul.abay* 클아배, all three of them being slight variants of the same compound consisting of the nominalisation of the descriptive verb 'to be big' (*khuda* 크다, here appearing as

khun 큰, *khu* 크, and *khul* 클) and the noun ‘father’ (in this case *aboy* 아ᄇᆡ and its regular development *abay* 아배).

As for maid ~ *ženščina* (женщина), the terms *eminey* 어미네 and *eymina* 에미나, found in Pucillo and Kho respectively, seem not to be an unusual occurrence in Northern Korean. Outside of the Hamgyŏng dialect, in fact, the form *eyminai* 에미나이 is used for ‘girl’ in the P’yŏngyang area, while *eymini* 에미니 is ‘wife’ in the speech of South P’yŏngan. It has been argued that they might be remnants of Tungusic substrata[14], yet it could also be said that *eminey* might share a common origin with *emi* 어미, meaning ‘mother’, therefore being Pure-Korean.

On the same topic, moreover, by looking at mother ~ *matъ, matuška* (мать, матушка), it appears that the noun *amay* 아매, used in Tashkent according to *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987), is a direct continuation of Pucillo’s *amoy* 아ᄆᆡ. As mentioned before, it is also interesting to keep in mind that the same *amae* 아매 was used in the 1980s by *Koryo-saram* in Almaty to mean ‘grandmother’.

4.3.2 Pucillo (1874) and Standard Korean

While the *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* is a relevant source for the study of the Northeastern dialects spoken by the early immigrants to the RFE, it cannot be expected of each word recorded by Pucillo to be equally a piece of evidence of exclusively local lexicon. This scenario contains the most out of the forty elements chosen for this study, including: ‘fox’ (animal terms); ‘mouth’ (body parts); ‘dumplings’, ‘noodles’, ‘soup’, and ‘soy sauce’ (food terms); ‘beggar’, ‘husband’, ‘mother’, and ‘younger brother’ (human terms); ‘collar’, ‘kitchen’, and ‘smoke’ (*miscellanea*); ‘sixty’, ‘seventy’, and ‘eighty’ (numerals). Of these, the following four terms are examined more in detail.

Mouth ~ *rotъ* (ротъ) is found as *i.pi* 이ᄇᆡ and *ip* 입 in Pucillo’s dictionary and in Standard Korean respectively. The former is the phonemic spelling of the latter,

[14] Kho (1987: 108) writes that “from the historical point of view there can be found substrata of the Jurchen and Manchu languages” and that “the word *emina* might have developed from the Tungus form **əmni*”.

caused by the merge of the syllable-final /p/ and the subject marker -i in the second syllable. In Kho's wordlists, the *Koryo-mar* term recorded for it is *agari* 아가리 which, while existing in Standard Korean as, is considered to be vulgar in usage[15].

Moving on to food terms, soy sauce ~ *soja* (соя) is found in Pucillo as *kamcang.i* 감장이 and *kangcang.i* 강장이, which are relatively consistent with the Standard Korean *kancang* 간장 (first attested as *koncang* 고醬, literally meaning 'salty sauce'). The *Koryo-mar ciryŏng* 지령, on the other hand, seems to be deriving from a term used in a few different regions of the Korean peninsula, namely Hamgyŏng, Kyŏnggi, and Kangwŏn[16]. Interestingly, it also appears several times in Chang Kyehyang's *Ŭmsik Timibang* (1670s), where it is the only word used for 'soy sauce'. It is also considered to be a proper synonym of *kanjang* 간장 in the *Yi Jo-ŏ Sajŏn* (Yu, 1964: 682), which states that "淸醬曰 지령" ('soy sauce is said *chiryŏng'*).

When it comes to husband ~ *mužъ* (мужъ), which is currently said *namp'yŏn* 남편 in Standard Korean, Pucillo records it as *namphyeni* 남펴니. The only difference between the two is the preference for the phonemic spelling in the latter and, with it, the merge of the syllable-final */n/* with the subject marker *-i*. Meanwhile, according to Kho, the word for it is *namceng* 남정. Such form derives from the Sino-Korean 男丁, of which the reading *namtyeng.i* 남뎡이, which is morphophonemic and includes the subject marker in the last syllable, is found in Pucillo (1874: 310-311) under the entry for *mužčina* (мужчина, 'man').

In addition to what has already been mentioned in the previous section, mother ~ *matъ, matuška* (мать, матушка) provides also a correspondence between Pucillo's *ŏmonim* 어모님 and the Standard Korean *ŏmŏni* 어머니. Both are formal variants of the word for mother (originally *emi* 어미, as first attested in the 15th century) followed by the honorific marker *nim* 님 > *ni* 니.

[15] According to the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary.*
[16] According to *Uri Malsaem* (Open Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language).

4.3.3 Kho (1987) and Standard Korean

The third group is made up of those items recorded in Kho, such as ‘father’ and ‘firewood’, that bear a bigger resemblance to Standard Korean than to Pucillo’s dictionary entries. Despite the small number of examples of this kind due to the limited size of the data available, it can be said that the similarities observed in the cases here explained can be generally attributed to a couple of different factors, namely 1) informants using formal speech, or 2) *Koryo-mar* having been influenced by other dialectal variants.

Concerning the word father ~ *otecъ* (отецъ), Kho records the noun *abŏji* 아버지 which, at least in Standard Korean, is commonly used to express formality and respect, as opposed to the more confidential *appa* 아빠. However, based on the data, it is unclear, whether something similar to *abae* 아배, an element which had appeared in the discussion on the entries for ‘grandfather, would otherwise be used in casual settings. Pucillo, in fact, states that ‘father’ can be said in several ways, among which are *aboy* 아뷔[17] the respectful form *abwunim* 아부님 (*abŏnim* 아버님 in Standard Korean), and the Sino-Korean *puch’ini* 부친이 (from 父親 + the subject marker -*i*). Thus, it is highly likely that other words ‘father’ might still be in use among *Koryo-saram*, which have not been accounted for in *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987).

As for firewood ~ *drova* (дрова), a dialectal variant of the Standard Korean *changjak* 장작 (from the Sino-Korean 長斫) is found in Kho as *changjaegi* 장재기. A similar form, which is found in North Kyŏngsang and also features [ɛ] instead of [a] in the second syllable, is *chanjae’i* 장재이. On the other hand, Pucillo refers to the terms *p’ʊingnanggi* 핑낭기 and *skʊingnamu* 씽나무, with *nanggi*[18] and *namu* both meaning ‘wood’, and to the phonemic spelling of the Sino-Korean *sŭimogi* 싀모기 (today *simok* 시목, or 柴木).

---

[17] The spelling *aboy* 아뷔 can probably be derived from *abi* 아비, an archaic shortening of *abeci* 아버지 which was common in written works dating from the 15th to the 17th century, like Hŏ Kyun’s *Hong Kiltong Chŏn*, where it is frequently used.

[18] *Nanggi* 낭기, in particular, seems to be used in several provinces according to *Uri Malsaem*, such as Kangwŏn, South Chŏlla, South Ch’ungch’ŏng, P’yŏngan, Hamgyŏng, and Hwanghae, as well as in Korean-speaking communities in Jilin and Heilongjiang, China.

4.3.4 Correspondences Between All Three Sets

By comparing the data in the tables, it is also possible to see situations in which the data from Pucillo and Kho is rather similar and consistent in the spelling, but also very close to Standard Korean, if not identical to it. Such words that show no particular dialectal features, at least when it comes to the lexical variation, include: 'forehead' (body terms); 'chilli pepper', 'cucumber', 'meat', and 'noodles' (food terms); 'land', and 'urine' (*miscellanea*); 'twenty', 'thirty', 'forty', 'fifty', and 'sixty' (numerals). Four of these instances are here looked into.

The first word to examine for this scenario is chilli pepper ~ *perecъ stručkovyj* (перецъ стручковый). Such term, *koch'u* 고추 in Standard Korean, was first attested in the 15th-century texts as *kwochyo* 고쵸, probably with the meaning of 'black pepper', as spicy chilli peppers are reputed to have been introduced to Korea in the 17th century (Pettid, 2008: 45). The orthographic variant *kwos,chi* 곳치 and *kwochi* 고치, found in Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987) respectively, are dialectal forms common in several regions of the Korean peninsula, such as Kangwŏn, Kyŏngsan, Chŏllam Cheju, and Hamgyŏng, and, therefore, do not represent a strict example of *Koryo-mar* vocabulary.

The same can be said about the terms used for noodles ~ *lapša* (лапша). In fact, Pucillo's *khalkwuksyui* 칼국슈, Kho's *kwuksi* 국시, and the Standard Korean *(khal)kwukswu* (칼)국수, all are variants of the word first recorded as *kwuksyu* 국슈 in the 16th century. Other than in the region of Hamgyŏng, the form 국시 is found in the dialects of Kangwŏn, Kyŏngsang, and Chŏlla. Moreover, the elements *khal* 칼, which is found in Pucillo's data as well as in Standard Korean, means 'knife cut' and, thus, describes with more detail the kind of noodles.

The Pure-Korean numeral thirty ~ *tridcat'* (тридцать) shows similar patterns to the previous case. Currently written *serun* 서른 and recorded as such also by Kho in the Tashkent *Koryo-mar* list, the word 'thirty' was first attested in the 15th century as *syel.hun* 셜흔 and appears both as *syel.un* 셜은 and *syeruni* 셔르니 in Pucillo's dictionary, the latter being a phonemic variant of the former.

Lastly, about the item urine ~ *moča* (моча), it can be said that the forms *wocwomi* 오조미, *wocom* 오좀, and *wocwum* 오줌, found in Pucillo's dictionary, Kho's wordlist, and Standard Korean respectively, all derive from two alternative spellings of the same word, both of which were attested already around the middle of the 15th century. Moreover, it is evident that *wocwomi* 오조미 follows the principles of phonemic orthography, as the syllable-final /m/ moved to the last syllable due to the presence of the subject marker *-i*.

4.3.5 No Correspondences

As with section 4.3.3, which examined the similarities between Kho and Standard Korean, the number of words contained in this group is rather limited. Again, this might be due to the size of the available dataset, but it is also fair to assume that it could be unlikely to find a word in *Koryo-mal* that resembles neither Standard Korean nor what is found in Pucillo's dictionary. Thus, only the nouns 'face' and 'wife' are here discussed.

In the case of face ~ *lico* (лицо), the terms *natch'i* 낫치 and *sangt'ong* 상통, recorded in Pucillo (1874) and in Kho (1987) respectively, do not share any similarity either with each other or the Standard Korean *ŏlgul* 얼굴. Such stark difference between these three words could be due to the fact that, despite all of them being supposedly used to express the concept of 'face', the meanings of each of these nouns is not exactly similar. In fact, it can be said that *nas.chi* 낫치, which derives from older orthographic variants of the less common Standard Korean word *nach* 낯, concerns more specifically someone's facial features from the eyes to the chin. As for *ŏlgul* 얼굴, it describes the front of the head with eyes, nose, and mouth[19]. On the other hand, the *Koryo-mar sangt'ong* 상통 listed by Kho is generally used in a figurative and pejorative way in Standard Korean (as *sangt'ong* 상통, or 相통, where the Sino-Korean element 相 literally means 'appearance').

[19] *Standard Korean Language Dictionary*, "얼굴: 1. 눈, 코, 입이 있는 머리의 앞면".

As for wife ~ *žena* (жена), which is the last word examined in this study, there are no similar features in the data taken from Pucillo and Kho. In fact, the former records the usage of the unusual terms *chyey* 쳬[20]and *toyngney* 딩네. Kho, on the other hand, mentions the noun *ankkan* 안깐, which is employed exclusively in Hamgyŏng and in *Koryo-saram* communities and which could possibly share a common origin with the Standard Korean *anay* 아내, first attested as *anhay* 안해 in the 16th century.

4.4 Spelling and Spoken Language

Following the interpretation of the data according to the comparison of the different sources, additional information on the relationship between the spoken and the written language can be gathered by examining the way in which vernacular Korean words are transliterated in pre-revolutionary Cyrillic by Pucillo. This analysis can, in fact, shed light on the pronunciation habits of native speakers from Northern Korea in the late 19th century, which in some instances might show a resistance to phonological changes that had already spread around the rest of the peninsula.

As mentioned before, the writing practices of the Late Chosŏn period were characterised by a high frequency of variation, to the point that certain words would be recorded by the same author in different forms within an individual text. Such is the case, for example, with the Chang Kyehyang's *Ŭmsik Timibang* (1670s) where, in the same page, the verb *ccih.ta* 찧다 ('to pound, hit, crush') appears as *tihol* 디홀, *cihodoy* 지ᄒᆞ듸, and *cihe* 지허. These three examples, in particular, show the effects of the spread of the t-palatalisation already in the late 17th century, as evident from the alternation between ㄷ and ㅈ, which disappeared from publications only with the standardisation of Korean.

In Pucillo's dictionary, it is possible to witness this same issue. Taking the word pig ~ *svin'ja* (свинья) as an example, it is easy to compare *twos.thii* 돗티 with the Standard Korean *twayci* 돼지 and see the effects of the palatalisation in the more recent spelling. On the other hand, though, the Cyrillisation to то'тт^{x}и (*to'tt^{kh}i*) highlights the aspiration of /t^{h}/,

[20] It is otherwise possible that such term might derive from the Sino-Korean *che* 妻, used several times in Gale's translation of The Pilgrim's Progress (1895) in the compound *checa* 妻子, which literally means 'mother and son'.

rather than its shift to /tɕ^{h}/. Moreover, the transliterations of *kwos.chi* 곶치 and *kangcang.i* 강장이 to котц^{х}и (*kotc^{kh}i*) and каӈцаӈ-и (*kaŋcaŋi*) respectively, confirm that voiceless alveolar affricates were still being pronounced as such.

Finally, according to Pucillo's dictionary, *arae a* is always rendered as <a> and the diphthong *oy* as <ae>, and the author himself mentions that consonant clusters such as ㅺ, ㅼ, ㅽ, ㅄ, ㅾ (*sk*, *st*, *sp*, *ps*, *sch*) were to be pronounced as if the ㅅ was not there and, thus, as geminates, consistently with the phonological changes that were taking place at the time and that, later, were the bases for the standardisation of Korean that was ultimately achieved in the 1930s.

5 Conclusions

In the early 1860s, several waves of peasants from the Northeastern province of Hamgyŏng, moved from the Korean peninsula and settled in the newly-established domains of the Russian Empire in the Far East. Coming from a relatively poor and peripheral region, these people would speak mostly the dialects typical of their ancestral hometowns. Their language, which was first recorded in M. Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874), later became the starting point from which *Koryo-mar*, or Central Asian Korean, developed after the forced diaspora of Korean communities to countries such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In turn, the speech of the *Koryo-saram* was documented in Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987). This study aimed at analysing with a philological approach these two main sources, which attest different stages in the "life" of *Koryo-mar*, in order to highlight any variation in lexicon and orthography between the two and provide each instance with its own context and history. In addition to that, attention has been paid to the relationship between the spoken and the written language, as represented by Pucillo's attempts to define a Cyrillisation system of Korean in his dictionary.

After the introductory chapter, which covered the previous research as well as the questions that motivated this dissertation, both the historical and linguistic backgrounds relevant to the development and the study of *Koryo-mar* have been thoroughly discussed. First of all, the Chosŏn period (1392-1897) and the reasons that led to the migration from Korea to the RFE have been described, while touching

upon the various events that changed the power balance in East Asia during the 19th century. Then, the formation of the *Koryo-saram* communities, as well as their living conditions before and after the deportation of 1937, have been outlined.

Similarly, a brief chronology of the history of the Korean language has been given in order to better put into context the phonological changes that characterise the Early Modern period, the dialectal differences around the peninsula, and the peculiarities of *Koryo-mar*. The latter is currently an endangered language, and the number of its speakers are unknown due to their assimilation to the Russian culture and way of living, which limited the usage of Korean outside of families and tightly-knit communities. The lack of a substantial written corpus in *Koryo-mar*, moreover, could be seen as a factor that prevented its recognition as a minority language.

Yet, investigating philologically the few sources in *Koryo-mar*, and in the Hamgyŏng dialect it derives from, can certainly provide interesting insights into the literacy, the culture, and the identity of their users. For this reason, chapter 3 focussed on the introduction of the literary works used to gather data in this research: namely Pucillo's *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874), Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987), and additional secondary sources, like Hŏ Kyun's *Hong Kiltong Chŏn* (16th-17th century), Chang Kyehyang's *Ŭmsik Timibang* (1670s), the Gale's 1895 translation of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Chapter 4, on the other hand, dealt with how the collection and comparison processes were carried out, and their results. After having found forty elements common to both Pucillo (1874) and Kho (1987), the data needed for the analysis has been put into six different categories based on their meaning. Consequently, five scenarios have been distinguished in order to illustrate the similarities and discrepancies between Pucillo's and Kho's works, and Standard Korean.

Such analysis highlighted that there are only nine items which show a unique relationship between the Hamgyŏng dialects and *Koryo-mar*, and that the entries in Pucillo's dictionary seem to share more with Standard Korean, even if they are often characterised by the phonemic approach to spelling. Moreover, it is interesting to underline that few are the connections between *Koryo-mar* and Standard Korean, and it is also rather rare for no similarity to be there across those two and Pucillo's data.

These varied outcomes are to be attributed to differences on both a lexical and orthographic level, although it must be said that they represent only a survey of the composition of *Koryo-mar* based on a rather limited dataset, which cannot account for its whole vocabulary.

In addition to that, a brief description of the relationship between the spoken and the written language has been given, based on the peculiarities of the transliteration of some of the Korean terms used in the comparison, from which it has been possible to mostly witness the extent of the t-palatalisation, the lack of which is considered one of the main features of the Northeastern dialects of Korean. Furthermore, the consistent Cyrillisation of *o* and *oy* to <a> and <ae>, and the author's remarks on the contrast between the articulation and the spelling of geminates, constitute insightful information concerning writing practices in the latter stage of Early Modern Korean.

The way in which Pucillo uses the Cyrillic writing system to record the pronunciation of the words recorded in his dictionary is undoubtedly detailed. In fact, it shows that he was extremely aware of his surroundings, and that he paid close attention to the speech habits of the Korean immigrants he worked with for their resettlement in the RFE. For this reason, while this study was limited to the words that appeared both in his *Opyt Russko-Korejskogo Slovarja* (1874) and in Kho's *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia* (1987), it would be valuable to analyse the whole dataset from the first to the last page, so as to better describe the peculiarities of Northern Korean in the 1800s and deepen the current knowledge of Korean dialects under a diachronic lens.

Finally, it is important to stress once more that learning about *Koryo-mar* and its characteristics from a philological perspective can not only contribute to the analysis of both lexical and phonological variation in Korean, but also allow for a better understanding of the evolution of such diaspora language, its usage, and the dialects that developed from it, while aiding in the establishment of a *Koryo-mar* written tradition and in the recognition that it deserves a minority language.

List of References

Primary References

Kho, Songmoo. 1987. *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia*. Helsinki. Studia Orientalia, Vol. 61

Pucillo, M. P. 1874. *Opyt russko-korejskogo slovarja*. [Пуцилло, М.П. 1874. *Опыт Русско-корейского Словаря*] Reprinted by Nestor-Istorija, Saint Petersburg, 2014

Secondary References

Brown, L. & Yeon, Jaehoon. 2015. *Varieties of Contemporary Korean*, in Brown, L. & Yeon, Jaehoon (Eds.) *The Handbook of Korean Linguistics*, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 459-476

Buzo, A. 2002. *The Making of Modern Korea*. London. Routledge

Chang, Jon K. 2016. *Burnt by the Sun: The Koreans of the Russian Far East*. Honolulu. University of Hawai'i Press

Culver, Annika A. 2017. *Constructing a Rural Utopia: Propaganda Images of Japanese Settlers in Northern Manchuria, 1936–43*, in Smith, N. (ed.), *Empire and Environment in the Making of Manchuria*. Vancouver. UBC Press. pp. 152-178

Dollinger, S. 2016. *On the regrettable dichotomy between philology and linguistics: Historical lexicography and historical linguistics as test cases*, in Chapman, D., Moore, C., & Wilcox, M. (Eds.), *Studies in the History of the English Language VII*, pp. 61-89

Ehlich, K. 1981. *Native Speaker's Heritage. On Philology of "Dead" Languages*, in Coulmas, F., *A Festschrift for Native Speaker*. De Gruyter Mouton. pp. 153-165

Eo, Keon-Joo & Hong Ki-Soon. 2013. *A Study on the Transcription System of Korean into Russian in Putsillo's Dictionary* (푸칠로 사전에 나타난 한국어 표기 연구 *P'uch'illo Sajŏn-e Nat'anan Han'guk'ŏ P'yogi Yŏn'gu*). Language and Linguistics (언어와 언어학), Vol. 59, pp. 165-183

Genzor, J. 1991. *Kho Songmoo, Koreans in Soviet Central Asia (compte-rendu).* Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Vol. 6. Numéro spécial Chamanisme coréen - Special Issue on Korean Shamanism, pp. 277-278

Jang, Yoo-Seung. 2010. *Regional Identities of Northern Literati: A Comparative Study of P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng Provinces*, in Kim, Sun Joo (ed.)

The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity and Culture. Center for Korean Studies, University of Washington. pp. 62-92

Jung, Min. 2010. *The Shadow of Anonymity: The Depiction of Northerners in Eighteenth-Century "Hearsay Accounts" (kimun)*, in Kim, Sun Joo (ed.) *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity and Culture*. Center for Korean Studies, University of Washington. pp. 93-115

Kim, G. 2003-2004. *Koryo Saram, or Koreans of the Former Soviet Union: In the Past and Present*. Amerasia Journal, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp.23-29

Kim, G. 2009. *Education and Diasporic Language: The Case of Koreans in Kazakhstan*. Acta Slavica Iaponica, Vol. 27, pp. 103-123

Kim, G. & King, R. 2010. *The Northern Region of Korea as Portrayed in Russian Sources, 1860s–1913*, in Kim, Sun Joo (ed.) *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity and Culture*. Center for Korean Studies, University of Washington. pp. 254-294

Kim, Jin-Pyong. 1983. *The Letterforms of Han'gŭl: Its Origin and Process of Transformation*. Korea Journal, Vol. 23, No. 6, pp. 9-22

Kim, T'ae-Kyun. 1986. *Hambuk Pang'ŏn Sajŏn* (함북 방언 사전). Seoul, Kyŏnggi Daehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu (경기대학교 출판부)

Kim-Renaud, Young-Key. 2000. *Sejong's Theory of Literacy and Writing*. Studies in the Linguistic Sciences, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 13-45

King, R. 1987. *An Introduction to Soviet Korean*. Language Research, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 233-274

King, R. 1988. *The Korean dialect materials in Matveev's Reference book to the city of Vladivostok*. Language research, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 281-329.

King, R. 1991. *A Soviet Korean grammar from 1930*. Korean language education 3, pp. 153-178

King, R. 1992. *Archaisms and Innovations in Soviet Korean Dialects*. Language Research, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 201-223

King, R. 2005. *Western missionaries and the origins of Korean language modernization*. Journal of international and area studies, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 7-38

King, R. 2006a. *Dialectal Variation in Korean*, in Sohn, Ho-min (ed.) *Korean Language in Culture and Society*. University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 265-280

King, R. 2006b. *Korean dialects in the former USSR: Reflections on the current state of research*. Pangenhak, Vol.3, pp. 127-153

King, R. 2010. *Dialect, Orthography, and Regional Identity: P'yŏngan Christians, Korean Spelling Reform, and Orthographic Fundamentalism*, in Kim, Sun Joo (ed.) *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity and Culture*. Center for Korean Studies, University of Washington. pp. 139-180

Lee, Iksop & Ramsey, S. Robert. 2000. *The Korean Language*. Albany. State University of New York Press

Lee, Ki-Moon. 1983. *Foundations of Hunmin Chŏngŭm*. Korea Journal, Vol. 23, No. 6, pp. 4-8

Lee, Ki-Moon & Ramsey, S. Robert. 2011. *A History of the Korean Language*. Cambridge University Press

Lee, Pyong-geun. 1994. *A Brief History of Korean Lexicography*, Seoul Journal of Korean Studies, Vol. 7, pp. 129-145

Martin, Samuel E. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean: A Complete Guide to the Grammar and History of the Korean Language*. Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan. Charles E. Tuttle Company

Matsusaka, Y. Tak. 2001. *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932*. Harvard University Asia Center

Narangoa, Li & Cribb, R. 2014. *Historical Atlas of Northeast Asia 1590-2010: Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Eastern Siberia*. New York. Columbia University Press

Paek, Doo-hyeon. 2010. *P'yŏngan Dialect and Regional Identity in Chosŏn Korea*, in Kim, Sun Joo (ed.) *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity and Culture*. Center for Korean Studies, University of Washington. pp. 116-138

Peile, J. 1880. *Philology*. London, MacMillan and Co.

Pettid, Michael J. 2008. *Korean Cuisine: An Illustrated History*. London. Reaktion Books

Pohl, J. Otto. 1999. *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937-1949*. Westport, Connecticut. Greenwood Publishing Group

Pratt, K. 2006. *Everlasting Flower: A History of Korea*. London, Reaktion Books

Seth, Michael J. 2010. *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present*. Lanham. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Seth, Michael J. 2016. *A Concise History of Modern Korea: From the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present. Volume 2.* Second Edition. Lanham. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Wells, Kenneth M. 2015. *Korea: Outline of a Civilisation*. Leiden. Brill

Yeon, Jaehoon. 2012. *Korean Dialects: A General Survey*. in Tranter, N. (ed.) *The Languages of Japan and Korea*. Routledge. pp. 168-185

1904. *Opyt Kratkago Russko-Koreijskago Slovarja*. Izdanie Pravoslavnago Missionerskago Obshchestva, Kazan.

1904. *Russko-Koreiskie Razgovory*. Izdanie Pravoslavnago Missionerskago Obshchestva, Kazan.

Online Resources:

Annals of King Sejong, 1446, 세종 28 년 9 월 29 일 (available on http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kda_12809029_004)

Chang, Kye-Hyang. 1670s. *Ŭmsik Timibang* 음식디미방 (also called *Kyugon Siŭibang* 규곤시의방, 閨壺是議方; available on the Digital Hangeul Museum http://archives.hangeul.go.kr/archives/external/organization/11211/biblo)

Gale, J.S. 1895. *Ch'ŏllo Yŏkjŏng* 천로역정. Korean translation of J. Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Vol. 1 (available on the Digital Hangeul Museum http://archives.hangeul.go.kr/archives/external/organization/11512/biblo)

Hŏ, Kyun. 16th-17th century (reprinted in 1917). *Hong Kiltong Chŏn* 홍길동전 (洪吉童傳; available on the Digital Hangeul Museum http://archives.hangeul.go.kr/archives/external/organization/11510/biblo)

Kim, Hyeon-kyeong. *Uzbekistan: Stalin's victims, now seduced by Samsung*. Joong Ang Daily. September 15th, 2005 (available on https://web.archive.org/web/20051127093846/http://joongangdaily.joins.com/200509/14/200509142129404979900091009101.html)

Dictionaries:

Yu, Ch'ang-Don. 1964 (reprinted in 2010). *Yi Jo-ŏ Sajŏn* 이조어사전 (李朝語辭典), Yonsei University Press.

Uri Malsaem (Open Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language, https://opendict.korean.go.kr/main)

Standard Korean Language Dictionary (P'yojun Kugŏ Tae Sajŏn, https://stdict.korean.go.kr/main/main.do)

Appendices

Appendix A: Romanisation of Korean

Table A.1: Vowels

	McCune-Reischauer	Yale Romanisation
ㅏ	*a*	*a*
ㅐ	*ae*	*ay*
ㅑ	*ya*	*ya*
ㅒ	*yae*	*yay*
ㅔ	*e*	*ey*
ㅓ	*ŏ*	*e*
ㅕ	*yŏ*	*ye*
ㅖ	*ye*	*yey*
ㅗ	*o*	*(w)o*
ㅘ	*wa*	*wa*
ㅙ	*wae*	*way*
ㅚ	*oe*	*(w)oy*
ㅛ	*yo*	*yo*
ㅜ	*u*	*(w)u*
ㅝ	*wŏ*	*we*
ㅞ	*we*	*wey*
ㅟ	*wi*	*wi*
ㅠ	*yu*	*yu*
ㅡ	*ŭ*	*u*
ㅢ	*ŭi*	*uy*
ㅣ	*i*	*i*
.	*(ɒ)*	*o*
.ㅣ	*(ɒi)*	*oy*

Table A.2: Consonants

	McCune-Reischauer		Yale Romanisation
	Initial	**Final**	
ㄱ	*k*	*k*	*k*
ㄲ	*kk*	*k*	*kk*
ㄴ	*n*	*n*	*n*
ㄷ	*t*	*t*	*t*
ㄸ	*tt*	-	*tt*
ㄹ	*r*	*l*	*l*
ㅁ	*m*	*m*	*m*
ㅂ	*p*	*p*	*p*
ㅃ	*pp*	-	*pp*
ㅅ	*s*	*t*	*s*
ㅆ	*ss*	*t*	*ss*
ㅇ	-	*ng*	*ng*
ㅈ	*ch*	*t*	*c*
ㅉ	*tch*	-	*cc*
ㅊ	*ch'*	*t*	*ch*
ㅋ	*k'*	*k*	*kh*
ㅌ	*t'*	*t*	*th*
ㅍ	*p'*	*p*	*ph*
ㅎ	*h*	-	*h*

Appendix B: Cyrillisation of Korean

In B.1 and B.2, it is possible to see the correspondences between Pucillo's Korean Cyrillic, the Koncevič Cyrillisation system and *Han'gŭl*. A peculiarity of Pucillo's transliteration is that geminates are rare, consistently with the writing practices of Early Modern Korean. As mentioned in section 2.2.2, before the standardisation of Korean in the early 20th century, these double consonants were often written as clusters. For this reason, they are marked in B.1 with a single asterisk (*). Two examples of such orthographic convention, as found in Pucillo, are the spelling of the words 딸 (*ttal*, 'daughter') and 잠깐 (*chamkkan*, 'short time'), as 짜리 (*stari*, or стари, *stari; 1874: 152-153*), and 잠쏸 (*camskwuan*, or цамскуан, *camskuan; 1874: 72-73)* respectively. In B.3, on the other hand, the focus is on a few symbols for vowel sounds that have not been in use since the standardisation, and that are marked with double asterisk (**) in table B.2.

Table B.1: Consonants

Consonants		**Pucillo**	**Koncevič**
ㄱ	*k*	к, г	к
ㄲ	*kk*	*	кк
ㄴ	*n*	н	н
ㄷ	*t*	т, д	т
ㄸ	*tt*	*	тт
ㄹ	*r, l*	р, ль	р
ㅁ	*m*	м	м
ㅂ	*p*	п, б	п
ㅃ	*pp*	*	пп
ㅅ	*s*	с	с
ㅆ	*ss*	сс, с	сс
ㅇ	*Ø, ng*	Ø, ң	Ø, нъ
ㅈ	*ch*	ц	ч
ㅉ	*tch*	*	чч
ㅊ	*ch'*	ц^{x}	чх
ㅋ	*k'*	к^{x}	кх
ㅌ	*t'*	т^{x}	тх
ㅍ	*p'*	п^{x}	пх
ㅎ	*h*	х	х

Table B.2: Vowels

Vowels		**Pucillo**	**Koncevič**
ㅏ	*a*	a	a
ㅐ	*ae*	**	э
ㅑ	*ya*	я	я
ㅒ	*yae*	**	йя
ㅓ	*ŏ*	o̲	о
ㅔ	*e*	э	é
ㅕ	*yŏ*	ë̲	ë
ㅖ	*ye*	Ѣ	йе, е
ㅗ	*o*	о	ó
ㅘ	*wa*	уа	ва
ㅙ	*wae*	**	вэ
ㅚ	*oe*	**	ве
ㅛ	*yo*	ё	ё
ㅜ	*u*	у	у
ㅝ	*wŏ*	уо	во
ㅞ	*we*	**	ве
ㅟ	*wi*	**	ви
ㅠ	*yu*	ю	ю
ㅡ	*ŭ*	ы	ы
ㅢ	*ŭi*	уи, ыи	вй

Table B.3: Additional Early Modern Korean Vowels

Vowels		Pucillo	Philological Remarks
ㆍ	*ᄋᆞ*	a	Such grapheme, called *arae a*, was in use from the 15th century up to the early 20th century. The sound value it corresponds to is generally analysed as either /ɔ/ or /ʌ/. Around the 16th century, this vowel was lost in non-initial syllables and usually merged with /u/. In the middle of the 18th century, on the other hand, it changed to /a/ in initial syllables after ceasing to be distinctive.
ㆎ	*ᄋᆞi*	ae	Due to the loss of *arae a* in the 18th century, the first-syllable diphthong *oy* ㆎ changed to *ay*. This caused ay ㅐ and *ey* ㅔ, which were pronounced [ay] and [əy] at the time, to monophthongise to [ɛ] and [e]. With the standardisation, ㆎ was substituted by ㅐ, with which it had merged before the monophthongisation to [ɛ]. An example of this is the word 동생 (*tongsaeng*, 'younger sibling'), recorded by Pucillo as 동싱 (*twongsoyng*).
ㅛㅣ	*yoi*	ёи	Appearing in terms such as 쇠 (*syoi*, 'beef') and 국슈 (*kuksyui*, 'noodles'), they represent a mix of dialectal pronunciation/spelling and former orthographic rules. Currently written 소 (*so*) and 국수 (*kuksu*), they were first attested in the 15th and 16th century respectively as 쇼 (*syo*) and 국슈 (*kuksyu*). Moreover, in these two cases at least, it is possible to see very clearly a correspondence with the dialectal terms 쇠 (*soe*) and 국시 (*kuksi*).
ㅠㅣ	*yui*	юи	

Appendix C

Table C.1: Animals

	Pucillo's RFE Korean (1874)	Kho's *Koryo-mar* (1987)[21]	Standard Korean
Cat (Кошка)	коняи 고냬 *konye*	고얘 *koye* (Tashkent)	고양이 *koyang'i*
	коняи-и 고냬이 *konyaei*		
	кое 괴 *koe*		
Fox (Лисица)	ёкки 역기 *yŏkki*	역기 *yŏkki* (Tashkent)	여우 *yŏu*
	ёхо 여호 *yŏho*		
Pig (Свинья)	то'тт^{x}и 돗티 *tott'i*	도투 *tothu*	돼지 *twaeji*

Table C.2: Body Parts

	Pucillo's RFE Korean (1874)	Kho's *Koryo-mar* (1987)	Standard Korean
Face (Лицо)	нац^{x}и 낫치 *natch'i*	상통 *sangthong*	얼굴 *ŏlgul*
Forehead (Лобъ)	нимае 니믜 *nimɒi*	이매 *imai*	이마 *ima*
		이맨대기 *imaindaigi*	
Mouth (Ротъ)	иби 이비 ibi	아가리 *agari*	입 *ip*

[21] In the wordlists contained in the book, it is possible to observe a different way of romanising the letter ㅐ, here written alternatively as *ai* or *ae*. The sound value, either way, is always /ɛ/. Since the romanisation itself is not relevant, I have decided to keep everything as it is reported in Kho (1987).

Table C.3: Food Terms

	Pucillo's RFE Korean (1874)	Kho's *Koryo-mar* (1987)		Standard Korean	
Chilli Pepper (Перецъ стручковый)	котц^{x}и 곳치 *kotch'i*	고치 *kochi*		고추 *koch'u*	
Cucumber (Огурецъ)	ое 외 *oe*	외 *ve* (Tashkent)		오이 *oi*	
	мур-ое 물외 *muroe*				
Dumplings (Пельмени)	мант^{x}уи 만튀 *mant'wi*	밴세 *painse*		만두 *mandu*	
Maize (Кукуруза)	оксюкки 옥슈이 *oksyuki*	옥수끼 *oksukki* (Tashkent)		욱수수 *uksusu*	
	оксюсу 옥슈수 *oksyusu*				
	каңнаң-и 강낭이 *kangnang'i*	강냉이 *kangnaing'i*			
Meat (Мясо)	коги 고기 *kogi*	고기 *kogi*		고기 *kogi*	
	юксиги 육시기 *yuksigi*				
Noodles (Лапша)	к^{x}алькуги 칼구기 *k'algugi*	국시 *kuksi*		(칼)국수 *(k'al)kuksu*	면 *myŏn* (Sino-Korean)
	к^{x}алькуксюи 칼국슈 *k'alguksyui*				
	к^{x}альмёни 칼면이 *k'almyŏni*				
Soup (Супъ, бульонъ)	цяңмури 쟝무리 *chyangmuri*	장물 *cangmul* (Almaty)	장무리 *cangmuri* (Tashkent)	국 *kuk*	국물 *kukmul*
	куги 구기 *kugi*				
	куги 국이 *kug'i*				
Soy Sauce (Соя)	камцаң-и 감장이 *kamjang'i*	지령 *ciryŏng*		간장 *kanjang*	
	каңцаң-и 강장이 *kangjang'i*				
	тхоцаң-и 토장이 *t'ojang'i*				

Table C.4: Human Terms

	Pucillo's RFE Korean (1874)	Kho's *Koryo-mar* (1987)	Standard Korean	
Beggar (Нищій)	пиромокнынсарами [빌어먹는사람이] *pir'ŏmŏgnŭnsaram'i*	비렁배 *pirŏngbai*	걸인 *korin*	
	коронъ-и 거렁이 *kŏrŏng'i*	거렁배 *kŏrŏngbai*		
	корини 걸인이 *kŏr'in'i*			
Father (Отецъ)	абуним 아부님 *abunim*	아버지 *abŏji*	아버지 *abŏji* (form.)	아빠 *appa* (inf.)
	абае 아ᄇᆡ *abɒi*			
	пучˣини 부친이 *puch'ini*			
	цае-аби 지아비 *chɒiabi*			
	таецˣини 딗천이 *tɒich'ŏni*			
Grandfather (Дѣдъ)	кˣынабае 크나ᄇᆡ *k'ŭnabɒi*	클 아배 *khŭl abai*	할아버지 *harabŏji*	
	кˣыабае 크아ᄇᆡ *k'ŭabɒi*			
	цобуи 조뷔 *chobwi*			
Grandmother (Бабушка)	кˣынамае 크나ᄆᆡ *k'unamɒi*	아매 *amai*	할머니 *halmŏni*	
Husband (Мужъ)	нампˣёни 남펴니 *namp'yŏni*	남정 *namjŏng*	남편 *namp'yŏn*	
	санауи 샂나의 *sɒnaŭi*			
Maid (Женщина)	ominэ 어미네 *ŏmine*	에미나 *emina*	처녀 *ch'ŏnyŏ*	
Mother (Мать, матушка)	амае 아ᄆᆡ *amɒe*	아매 *amae* (Tashkent)	어머니 *ŏmŏni* (form.)	엄마 *ŏmma* (inf.)
	омоним 어모님 *ŏmonim*			
	цэоми 제어미 *cheŏmi*			
	моцˣини 모친이 *moch'ini*			
	мо ними 모님이 *monim*			

	Pucillo's RFE Korean (1874)	Kho's *Koryo-mar* (1987)	Standard Korean	
Uncle (Дядя)	ацыбаним 아즈바님 *ajŭbanim*	아재비 *ajaibi*	삼촌 *samch'on*	아재비 *ajaebi*
	ацаби 아자비 *ajabi*			
	ацыбани 아즈바니 *ajŭbani*			
Wife (Жена)	ц^{x}ѣ 쳬 *ch'ye*	안깐 *ankkan*	아내 *anae*	
	таеӈнэ 팅네 *tʊingne*			
Younger Brother (Брат младшій)	ау 아우 *au*	오래비 *oraibi*	남동생 *namdongsaeng*	
	тоӈсаеӈ-и 동싱이 *tongsʊing'i*			
	тоӈсаеӈ 동싱 *tongsʊing*			

Table C.5: *Miscellanea*

	Pucillo's RFE Korean (1874)	Kho's *Koryo-mar* (1987)	Standard Korean
Collar (Воротникъ)	откиси 옷기시 *otkisi*	영재 *yŏngjai*	(옷)깃 *(ot)kit*
	утт^{x}ыикици 웃틔기지 *utt'ŭigiji*		
Firewood (Дрова)	п^{x}аеӈнаӈги 핑낭기 *p'ɒingnanggi*	장재기 *cangjaigi*	장작 *changjak*
	скаеннаму 씽나무 *skɒingnamu*		
	сыимоги 싀모기 *sŭimogi*		
Kitchen (Кухня)	пуоги 부억이 *puŏki*	부수깨 *pusukkai*	부엌 *puŏk*
		바당 *padang*	
		정지 *cŏngji*	
Land (Земля)	стаи 짜이 *stai*	때 *ttae* (Tashkent)	땅 *ttang*
	ста 짜 *sta*		
Long (Длинный, долгій)	кида 기다 *kida*	질다 *cilda*	길다 *kilda*
	кио 기오 *kio*		
	ныо 느오 *nŭo*		
	ныда 느다 *nŭda*		
Sand (Песокъ)	моргае 몰기 *molgɒi*	모새 *mosae* (Tashkent)	모래 *morae*
	морае 모릐 *morɒi*		
Smoke (Дымъ)	нае 닊 *nɒi*	내굴 *naigul*	연기 *yŏn'gi*
	ёнгыи 연긔 *yŏn'gŭi*		
Sunflower (Подсолнечникъ)	хаегяипури 힌걔부리 *hɒikyaeburi*	해자부리 *haijaburi*	해바라기 *haebaragi*
Urine (Моча)	оцоми 오조미 *ojomi*	오좀 *ocom*	오줌 *ojum*

Table C.6: Numerals

	Pucillo's RFE Korean (1874)	Kho's *Koryo-mar* (1987)		Standard Korean	
Twenty (Двадцать)	сымур 스물 *sŭmul*	스믈 *sŭmŭr* (Tashkent)	두던 *tudŏn* (Tashkent)	스물 *sŭmul*	이십 *isip*
	сымури 스물이 *sŭmuri*				
Thirty (Тридцать)	сёрын 셜은 *syŏrŭn*	서던 *sŏdŏn* (Tashkent)	서른 *sŏrŭn* (Tashkent)	서른 *sŏrŭn*	삼십 *samsip*
	сёрыни 셔르니 *syŏrŭni*				
	самсам 삼삼 *samsam*				
Forty (Сорокъ)	маын 마은 *maŭn*	너던 *nŏdŏn* (Tashkent)	마흔 *mahŭn* (Tashkent)	마흔 *mahŭn*	사십 *sasip*
	маыни 마으니 *maŭni*				
	сасип ᄉ십 *cɒsip*				
Fifty (Пятьдесять)	суин 쉰 *swin*	닷돈 *tatton* (Tashkent)	신 *sin* (Tashkent)	쉰 *swin*	오십 *osip*
	суини 쉬니 *swini*				
	осиби 오십이 *osibi*				
Sixty (Шестьдесятъ)	ѣсюн 예슌 *yesyun*	여돈 *yŏdon* (Tashkent)	육십 *yuksip* (Tashkent)	예순 *yesun*	육십 *yuksip*
	ѣсюни 예슈니 *yesyuni*				
	нюксиби 뉵시비 *nyuksibi*				
	нюксиби 뉵십이 *nyuksibi*				
Seventy (Семьдесятъ)	нирын 닐은 *nirŭn*	일굽돈 *irgupton* (Tashkent)		일흔 *irhŭn*	칠십 *ch'ilsip*
	нирыни 닐으니 *nirŭni*				
	ц^{x}ильсиби 칠십이 *ch'ilsibi*				
Eighty (Восемьдесять)	ятын 야든 *yadŭn*	야듭돈 *yadŭpton* (Tashkent)		여든 *yŏdŭn*	팔십 *p'alsip*
	ятыни 야드니 *yadŭni*				
	п^{x}альсиби 팔십이 *p'alsibi*				