

Appendix C

Description of the excluded neutral forms containing non-initial /i/ or /ɨ/ in Section 5.2

(a) Fourteen forms were listed in the dictionary as mistakes of forms that are already in the data (see the examples in Section 4.2). All of these were discarded and only their correct correspondents were considered in the analysis.

(b) Seventy-four South Korean reduplicatives appeared in the sequence of # ε _i or # ε _i. When the synchronic South Korean / ε /~/e/ merger is taken into account, it is not clear whether they should be considered neutral or harmonic and so, they were excluded from the analysis.

(c) Eleven South Korean stems appeared in the sequences of # ε _i_a and # ε _i_a. If the / ε /~/e/ merger is taken into account, they are considered disharmonic, due to the non-initial /a/. Reflecting this, the 11 forms were moved to the list of disharmonic forms containing non-initial /a/ for semantic coding.

(d) Eight forms had no meanings shown in the dictionary. Of those, only one form, *kɛcin-kɛcin* (South Korean), occurred in natural data in one context, with a cross-modal meaning ‘moist and sticky eyes.’ This could have remained in the dataset, but it had been eliminated earlier because its membership to ‘neutral form containing non-initial /i/’ is ambiguous, due to the / ε /~/e/ merger.

(e) Twenty-five forms instantiated partial reduplication rather than vowel harmony. In Korean ideophones, partial reduplication is active particularly for those with onomatopoeic meanings. It often accompanies connotational changes, such as temporal extension, to unreduplicated base forms, as shown in (1) (examples in [1] are adapted from Jun, 1994, p. 69-71).

(1) Partial reduplication in Korean ideophones

Base		Partial reduplication	
<i>cu.luk</i>	‘sound of rain dropping’	<i>cu.lu-luk</i>	(lengthened)
<i>t’a.liŋ</i>	‘sound of a bike bell’	<i>t’a.li-liŋ</i>	(lengthened)
<i>o.tok</i>	‘with a clatter’	<i>o.to-tok</i>	(lengthened)

Forms that instantiate partial reduplication provide duplicated information about vowel harmony with their corresponding base forms. In the current data, six out of the seven forms found in the sequences of #a_a_i, #a_i_i, and #o_i_i had their unreduplicated base counterparts in the sequences of #a_i and #o_i, as shown in (2).

(2) Reduplicatives augmented by partial reduplication in the current dataset

Base		Partial reduplication	
<i>taŋsil-taŋsil</i>	‘said of dancing excitedly with legs and arms moving around’	<i>tataŋsil-tataŋsil</i> (NK)	(lengthened)
<i>pacik-pacik</i>	‘with a hiss’	<i>pacicik-pacicik</i>	(lengthened)
<i>p’acik-p’acik</i>	‘with a loud hiss’	<i>p’acicik-p’acicik</i>	(lengthened)
<i>*acik-acik</i>	N/A	<i>acicik-acicik</i>	‘with a crack’
<i>pocik-pocik</i> (NK)	‘with a hiss’	<i>pocicik-pocicik</i> (NK)	(lengthened)
<i>p’ocik-p’ocik</i> (NK)	‘with a loud hiss’	<i>p’ocicik-p’ocicik</i> (NK)	(lengthened)

ocik-ocik

‘with a crack’

ocicik-ocicik

(lengthened)

Therefore, these six forms were eliminated from the dataset for the main semantic analysis. The remaining forms of potential partial reduplication, found in the sequences of #a_a_i, #a_i_i, #ε_ε_i, #ε_i_i,¹ and #o_i_i, amounted to 61. Of those, 19 forms were excluded from the semantic analysis because the data contained their unreduplicated counterparts, which provided the same information about the relevant vowel harmony patterns as the partially reduplicated form.

¹ The sequences of #ε_ε_i and #ε_i_i occurred in one and six forms, respectively. Of those, *tektekil(-tektekil)* ‘sound or manner of rolling’ had been previously eliminated from the dataset because it was listed as a mistake form of *tektekul-tektekul*. For the six forms in the sequence of #ε_i_i, none were South Korean forms that could be affected by the /ε/~ /e/ merger, and so none had been eliminated previously.

Reference

Jun, J. (1994). Metrical weight consistency in Korean partial reduplication. *Phonology*, 11(1), 69-88.