Appendix D

Description of the excluded neutral forms containing non-initial /u/ in Section 5.3

(a) Two forms were listed as mistakes of harmonic forms in the dictionary, as shown in (1).

(1) *talkuŋ-talkuŋ*   a mistake of *talkaŋ-talkaŋ* 'with a clang'

   malt'uŋ-malt'uŋ   a mistake of *malt'oŋ-malt'oŋ* 'with a wide-fixed eyes'

(b) Thirty-nine forms could have been affected by the ε//~/e/ merger. In fact, there were six sequences including /ɛ/ (i.e., #ɛ_a_u, #ɛ_ɛ_u, #ɛ_o_u, #ɛ_u, #ɛ_u_a, and #ɛ_u_u) and they produced 72 forms in total. However, of those, only 39 appeared to be South Korean forms whose meanings were found in the dictionary.

(c) Three forms were not listed in the dictionary. Upon a search of their natural use in Kaist Concordance Program, it was found that none of them occurred in natural data.

(d) Six forms changed harmony patterns, depending on dialect, as shown in (2) (SK denotes a South Korean form).

(2)

k'aok-k'aok (SK)   'kaw-kaw' (sound of a crow, raven)

k'auk-k'auk (NK)

tapak-tapak (SK)   'ploddingly'

tabuk-tabuk (NK)

c'allok-c'allok (SK)   'pinched in'

c'alluk-c'alluk (NK)

pols'ok-pols'ok (SK)   'sticking something out abruptly'

pols'uk-pols'uk (NK)

sobok-sobok (SK)   'being heaped up'

sobuk-sobuk (NK)

timun-timun (SK)   'sparsely'

t'amun-t'amun (South *kjəŋsaŋ* province in South Korea)

For partial reduplication, none of the 18 stems containing sequences that seem to be augmented by partial reduplication (i.e., #a_a_u, #a_u_u, #ɛ_ɛ_u, #ɛ_u_u, and #o_u_u) instantiated the morphological process of interest. Instead, some of them augmented disyllabic base forms through suffixation. In Korean, three types of dummy syllable (/tVK/, /lVK/, and /cVK/) can be suffixed to ideophonic roots after root-final codas are deleted (or merged into one with the first consonant of the suffix) to generate the same semantic effect as partial reduplication, as shown in (3) (Ahn, 2002; Jun, 1994; J.-A. Kim, 2004; Shin, 1998).[1] V represents a vowel that is underspecified by distinctive features and K represents a velar consonant, /k/ or /ŋ/.

(3)

Base   Suffixation

cal.pʰak   'squelching'   *cal.pʰa-tak*   (lengthened)

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[1] M.-K. Lee (1996) considered that there are two types of processes underlying the partial extension of ideophones: (a) Morphological suffixation with /-tVK/, /-lVK/, and /-cVK/; and (b) phonological infixation with /-tV-/ and /-lV-/. Under this view, the first four examples in (3) instantiate infixation, whereas the latter four instantiate suffixation.

cil.pək	'with squishing noises'	*cil.pə-tək*	(lengthened)
cʰal.kʰaŋ	'with a snap, click'	*cʰal.kʰa-taŋ*	(lengthened)
cʰəl.pəŋ	'with a plop'	*cʰəl.pə-təŋ*	(lengthened)
t'al.kɨl	'rattling'	*t'al.kɨ-laŋ*	(lengthened)
t'əl.kɨl	'rattling'	*t'əl.kɨ-lək*	(lengthened)
mə.mus	'hesitating'	*mə.mu-cək*	(lengthened)
moŋ.kɨc	'dawdling'	*moŋ.kɨ-cak*	(lengthened)

(Adapted from Jun, 1994, p. 72)

The phonologically unspecified vowel slots of the suffixes are subject to vowel harmony indicating that, unlike in partial reduplication, suffixation *does* provide insight into vowel harmony. From the 18 stems that display the sequence #a_a_u, #a_u_u, #ɛ_ɛ_u, #ɛ_u_u, or #o_u_u, nine forms appeared to possess the dummy suffixes (4a), while two forms contained a 'pure' trisyllabic ideophonic stem (pure in the sense that it underwent neither partial reduplication nor suffixation) (4b). Those were retained for the semantic coding. The remaining seven forms had been eliminated previously—six forms were pertinent to the /ɛ/~/e/ merger, and the remaining one form was not found in the dictionary.

(4)

a. *p'attuluk-p'attuluk* (NK)   'a stiffly starched state of an object'

   calt'uluk-calt'uluk (NK)   'limping'

   c'alt'uluk-c'alt'uluk (NK)   'limping'

   hapuluk-hapuluk (NK)   'with fuzz'

   p'ɛt'uluk-p'ɛt'uluk (NK)   'a small object being tilted'

cɛlt'uluk-cɛlt'uluk (NK)	'limping'
totuluk-totuluk (NK)	'bulging'
tɛluŋkuŋ-tɛluŋkuŋ (NK)	'a small object swaying greatly'
allak'uŋ-tallak'uŋ	'mottled'

b. *tals'akkʰuŋ-tals'akkʰuŋ* (NK) | 'chatting away with excitement'

kɛut'uŋ-kɛut'uŋ (NK) | 'a small object tilting back and forth'

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