

Appendix F

Description of the excluded forms in the harmonic set in Section 5.5

(a) Twenty-five forms were labeled as mistakes of harmonic or disharmonic forms in the dictionary. All of their correct correspondents were found in the dataset.

(b) Fifteen forms were not found in the dictionary. In fact, there were a total of 17 forms whose meanings were missing in the dictionary. But of those, two forms occurred in natural data with cross-modal meanings, as shown in (1), and so they were kept (*nicək-nicək* was found in three contexts, while *t'umpəŋ-t'umpəŋ* was found in one context).

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------------|
| (1) | <i>nicək-nicək</i> | ‘slowly’ |
| | <i>t'umpəŋ-t'umpəŋ</i> | ‘sluggish’ |

(c) One form had a meaning that was not sound-symbolic (2).

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------------|
| (2) | <i>mutək-mutək</i> | ‘each pile or all piles’ |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------------|

(d) Three forms had harmony patterns that could change depending on dialect, as shown in (3).

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| (3) | <i>t^haol-t^haol</i> (NK) | ‘making a great effort’ |
| | <i>t^haul-t^haul</i> (SK) | |
| | <i>oŋki-oŋki</i> | ‘in a huddle’ |

oŋkɛ-oŋkɛ (NK or South *cənla* province in South Korea)

oŋkɛ-coŋkɛ (NK)

oŋki-coŋki (SK) 'in a huddle'

(e) Thirty-eight forms instantiated partial reduplication. There were 470 forms containing sequences that appeared to show partial reduplication of monosyllabic bases (i.e., #*ɛ_ɛ*, #*ə_ə*, and #*o_o*) and of disyllabic bases (#*a_o_o*, #*e_ə_ə*, #*ə_ə_ə*, #*i_ə_ə*, #*ɪ_ə_ə*, #*o_o_ɛ*, #*o_o_o*, #*u_ə_ə*). Partial reduplication of monosyllabic bases in Korean ideophones often involves reduplicants to which fortition or aspiration of the onsets in base forms is not copied, as exemplified in (4) (the examples in [4] are adapted from Jun, 1994, p. 70).

(4) Partial reduplication of monosyllabic bases

Base		Partial reduplication	
<i>p^haŋ</i>	'bombing sound'	<i>p^ha-pa-ŋ</i>	(lengthened)
<i>c^haŋ</i>	'clanging'	<i>c^ha-ca-ŋ</i>	(lengthened)
<i>t^huŋ</i>	'with a boom'	<i>t^hu-tu-ŋ</i>	(lengthened)
<i>t^hak</i>	'with a slap'	<i>t^ha-ta-k</i>	(lengthened)

From 325 forms that contained the sequences #*ɛ_ɛ*, #*ə_ə*, or #*o_o*, 15 forms, shown in (5), actually displayed partial reduplication of their monosyllabic root bases and so were eliminated.

(5)

Base		Partial reduplication	
<i>k'ɛŋ(-k'ɛŋ)</i>	‘yelping’	<i>k'ɛ-kɛ-ŋ(-k'ɛkɛŋ)</i>	(lengthened)
<i>*k'əŋ(-k'əŋ)</i>	N/A	<i>k'ə-kə-ŋ(-k'əkəŋ)</i> (NK)	‘sound of a pheasant’
<i>*tək(-tək)</i>	N/A	<i>tə-tə-k(-tətək)</i>	‘being covered with’
<i>*təl(-təl)</i>	N/A	<i>tə-tə-l(-tətəl)</i>	‘stuttering in an unclear voice’
<i>*tʰək(-tʰək)</i>	N/A	<i>tʰə-tə-k(-tʰətək)</i>	‘trudging’
<i>*tʰəl(-tʰəl)</i>	N/A	<i>tʰə-tə-l(-tʰətəl)</i>	‘trudging’
<i>*səŋ(-səŋ)</i>	N/A	<i>sə-sə-ŋ(-səsəŋ)</i>	‘pacing back and forth uncertainly’
<i>*tok(-tok)</i>	N/A	<i>to-to-k(-totok)</i>	‘full of knobs’
<i>*tol(-tol)</i>	N/A	<i>to-to-l(-total)</i>	‘an uneven surface with little lumps’
<i>*tʰol(-tʰol)</i>	N/A	<i>to-tʰo-l(-totʰol)</i>	‘lumpy’
<i>*tʰom(-tʰom)</i>	N/A	<i>to-tʰo-m(-totʰom)</i> (NK)	‘thick and reasonably small’
<i>*tʰol(-tʰol)</i>	N/A	<i>tʰo-to-l(-tʰotol)</i> (NK)	‘an uneven surface with little lumps’
<i>*cʰom(-cʰom)</i>	N/A	<i>co-cʰom(-cocʰom)</i>	‘hesitant steps or behavior’

Also, there were 23 forms that instantiated partial reduplication of disyllabic root bases and whose unreduplicated root bases were found in the dataset, as exemplified in (6). They were eliminated because the root bases show the same insight into vowel harmony with the corresponding partially reduplicated forms.

(6)

Base		Partial reduplication	
<i>pəsək-pəsək</i>	‘with a rustle’	<i>pəsəsək-pəsəsək</i>	(lengthened)
<i>p’əsək-p’əsək</i>	‘with a hard rustle’	<i>p’əsəsək-p’əsəsək</i>	(lengthened)
<i>p^həsək-p^həsək</i>	‘with a wild rustle’	<i>p^həsəsək-p^həsəsək</i>	(lengthened)
<i>əsək-əsək</i>	‘sound of biting into a fresh fruit’	<i>əsəsək-əsəsək</i>	(lengthened)
<i>əcək-əcək</i>	‘with a munching sound’	<i>əcəcək-əcəcək</i>	(lengthened)
<i>koloŋ-koloŋ</i>	‘suffering with infirmities of age or a lingering disease’	<i>kololoŋ-kololoŋ</i>	(lengthened)
<i>otok-otok</i>	‘sound of biting a small and hard object’	<i>ototok-ototok</i>	(lengthened)
<i>holok-holok</i>	‘said of a bird lightly flapping its wings or a person eating noodles or the sound thereof’	<i>hololok-hololok</i>	(lengthened)

Reference

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