

# Syllable Structure in Korean Revisited

**Inkie Chung (정인기)**

Central Connecticut State University  
inkiechung@sogang.ac.kr

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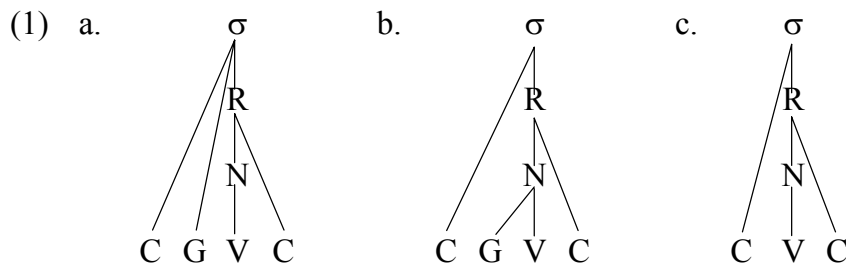
## 1. Introduction: Three Views on the Syllable Structure in Korean

→ Two common views:

(1)a with a complex onset (e.g., Kim and Shibatani 1976, Lee 1982)

(1)b with a complex nucleus (e.g., Gim 1987, cf. Kim 1984: 9ff)

→ Claim of this paper: the maximum syllable structure is (1)c (cf. Ahn 1985: 48)



## 2. Adaptations of Consonant Clusters in Loanwords

→ One way of adapting CGV: [ɰ] insertion → into two syllables: (2)a

(2) Loanwords with a CG onset

*original form*      *borrowed form*

a.	[twɪst]	[t <sup>h</sup> ɰwɪsɰt <sup>h</sup> ɰ]	‘twist’ (dance)
	[swɛtər]	[sɰwɛtɰ]	‘sweat shirt’
	[pwazɔ̃]	[p <sup>h</sup> ɰwajɔ̃ŋ]	‘perfume’ Fr. <i>poison</i>
b.	[pyuwmə]	[p <sup>hy</sup> uma]	‘puma’
	[tyuwnə]	[t <sup>hy</sup> una]	‘tuna’
	[kyuwt]	[k <sup>hy</sup> ut <sup>h</sup> ɰ]	‘cute’
	[kwiyn]	[k <sup>hwy</sup> in]	‘queen’

Aside: The other adaptation is fusing the glide into the preceding consonant as in (2)b.

→ The adaptations show no room for a glide in C\_V, Due to the constraint (3)

(3) Complex Onset Constraint: Complex onsets are not allowed.



➔ Lack of consonant-liquid (CL) sequences in Korean

(4) Loanwords with a CL onset

<i>original form</i>	<i>borrowed form</i>	
[printər]	[p <sup>h</sup> urintʌ]	‘printer’
[plækard]	[p <sup>h</sup> ʉlæk <sup>h</sup> adu]	‘placard’
[kriym]	[k <sup>h</sup> urim]	‘cream’
[klɪnik]	[k <sup>h</sup> ʉlinikʷ]	‘clinic’
[trʌk]	[t <sup>h</sup> ʉrʌkʷ]	‘truck’
[slɪpər]	[sʉlip <sup>h</sup> ʌ]	‘slipper’

➔ Implication: no CG, then no CL, but not vice versa (Calabrese 2002, van der Hulst 2005)

### 3. The High Back Unround Glide [ɰ]

➔ Third glide [ɰ], occurring only with the following [i]

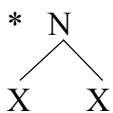
(5) Distribution of the glide [ɰ]

[ɰi]	‘just’
[ɰimu]	‘duty’
[ɰisa]	‘physician’
[ɰigušim]	‘doubt’

➔ Cɰi sequences lacking

No independent glide position especially under the nucleus node  
 Additional glide position not available as part of a complex onset  
 The glide [ɰ] always fills the single onset position.

(6) Branching Nucleus Constraint



#### 4. Palatal Allophones: Laryngeal and Coronal Non-stops

→ Palatal allophone [ç] of /h/ (before [i] as in [çim] < /him/ ‘power’)

Also before back vowels [ʌ, a, u, o]:

(7) The palatal allophone [ç] of /h/ before vowels other than [i]

[çʌ] ‘tongue’      [çʌŋgi] ‘scent’      [ç<sup>w</sup>uʃikʷ] ‘rest’      [ç<sup>w</sup>omo] ‘yeast’

→ Case of opacity: palatalization and then deletion

Lack of the glide [y] in C\_V in a syllable, supporting (1)c

→ Stems ending in Ci, where C is coronal non-stop obstruent (e.g., s, n, l, č)

(8) Absence of a stem-final vowel between a palatal consonant and the infinitive suffix /ʌ/

	<i>infinitive</i> /ʌ/	<i>gerund</i> /ko/		<i>infinitive</i> /ʌ/	<i>gerund</i> /ko/
/tasi-/ ‘smack’	[taʃʌ]	[taʃigo]	/či-/ ‘lose’	[čʌ]	[čigo]
/tani-/ ‘travel’	[taŋʌ]	[taŋigo]	/č <sup>h</sup> i-/ ‘hit’	[č <sup>h</sup> ʌ]	[č <sup>h</sup> igo]
/talli-/ ‘run’	[taʎʌ]	[taʎigo]	/č <sup>ʷ</sup> i-/ ‘steam’	[č <sup>ʷ</sup> ʌ]	[č <sup>ʷ</sup> igo]

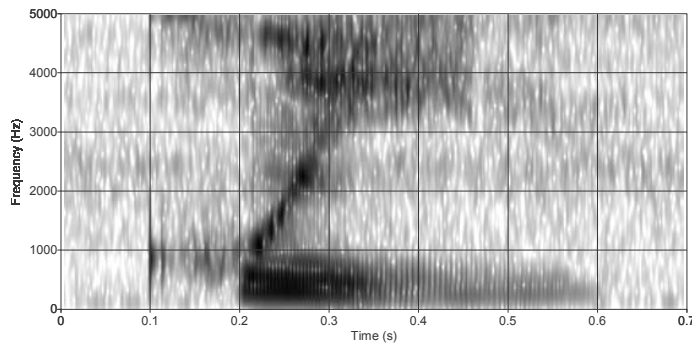
Hiatus due to the following infinitive suffix [ʌ]

No stem vowel due to hiatus constraint; no derived glide due to (3) and (6).

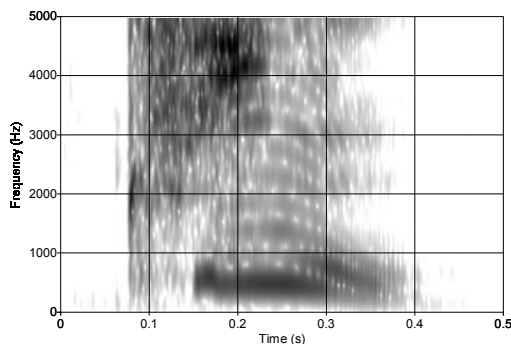
(1)a or (1)b cannot explain the absence of the glide (derived from the vowel due to hiatus).

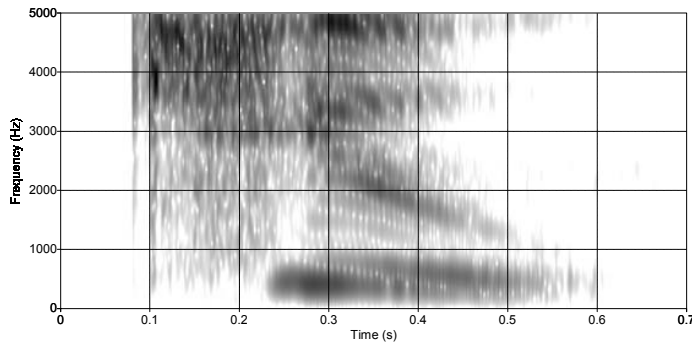
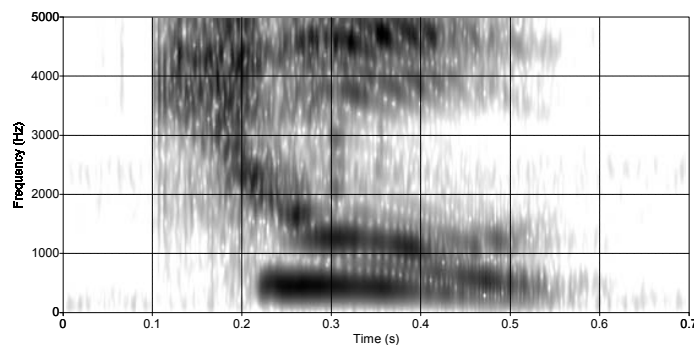
#### 5. Spectrograms showing no independent glides in the Korean forms

(9) Spectrogram of the English word *queen* [k<sup>h</sup>wiyn]



(10) Spectrogram of the Korean word *khwin* [k<sup>hw</sup>in] (< *queen*)



(11) Spectrogram of the English word *cue* [k<sup>h</sup>yuw](12) Spectrogram of the Korean word *khywu* [k<sup>hy</sup>u] (< *cue*)

➔ The maximum syllable structure in Korean is (1)c: CVC.

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Thank you! – 감사합니다.