

CHAPTER 25. JEJUEO: KOREA'S OTHER LANGUAGE*

William O'Grady

University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Changyong Yang

Jeju National University

Sejung Yang

Jeju National University

1 Introduction

For well over 500 years, visitors to Jeju Island have been remarking on the uniqueness of the island's traditional form of speech.¹ A particularly intriguing early report came from Kim Jeong, the author of *Jeju Pungtolok* 'The Topography of Jeju Island,' who spent 14 months on the island, beginning in 1520. He observed that the island's speech was so difficult to understand that he had to learn it "like a child learning a barbarian language." Kim Sangheon, an emissary of the Seoul government who spent six months on Jeju Island in 1601, was so puzzled by the language that he described it in his travelogue *Namsalok* as being like the "sound of a bird." The same comparison was made a century later by Lee Hyeongsang, the author of *Namhwanbagmul* 'The Encyclopedia of Jeju,' who went on to add that he needed the assistance of a translator during his stay on the island. Observations of this sort continue to this day.

Reports such as these point to an obvious conclusion: the traditional language of Jeju Island is not Korean. Indeed, there has been growing acceptance of this possibility on Jeju Island itself, where the provincial government chose to use the name *Jejueo* (literally 'Jeju language' [ISO 639-3 *jje*]) in its 2007 Language Act, pushing to the side more traditional appellations such as *Jeju satuli* 'Jeju dialect' and *Jeju bangeon* 'Jeju regional speech.'²

In general, however, the suggestion that Jejueo might be a language in its own right rather than a dialect of Korean has been resisted at the national level, reflecting Korea's long-standing ideology of language. Both North and South Korea have long maintained, independently of each other, that Korean national identity has its roots in a shared single indigenous language. "The ideology of one nation, one race and one language," writes S. Lee (2013, 233) "has gradually emerged over the course of Korean history." Indeed, as King observes (2007, 229), language has now become "central to modern concepts of national identity." A similar sentiment was expressed in 1984 by Kim Il-Sung, the founder of the North Korean State:

Language is one of the most important common features defining a nation. No matter whether people have the same blood and live on the same territory, if their languages are different, they cannot be said to be one people. (cited by King 2007, 224)

Many linguists in Korea, including Jejueo specialists, have accepted the nationalist rationale, ignoring the widely accepted practice outside Korea of using mutual intelligibility as the criterion for distinguishing between dialect and language (Hockett 1958, Casad 1974, Gooskens 2013). It is therefore commonplace to see the speech of Jeju Island classified as a dialect of Korean in linguistic work (King, 2006: 276; Yeon, 2012: 11; Sohn, 1999: 74; J.-h. Kim, 2016: 110), reflecting the official position of the National Institute of the Korean Language (NIKL).

In this chapter, we will reconsider and challenge this conclusion in two ways. First, we will report on an experimental study that was designed to assess the intelligibility of Jejueo to people who speak only Korean. The key finding of the study was that Jejueo is essentially unintelligible to people who did not grow up on Jeju Island. In addition to its obvious implications for the classification of Jejueo, this finding raises the question of how the two languages differ. We deal with this matter in sections 3 through 7, which focus on the phonology, morphophonology and morphosyntax of Jejueo. We conclude with a brief discussion of the language's future.

* This work was supported by the Core University Program for Korean Studies through the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the Korean Studies Promotion Service of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2015-OLU-2250005). We also thank Mi-Soon Byeon, Seongsu Hur and Miho Choo for their valuable assistance and feedback.

¹ *Jeju Pungtolok*, published in 1552, is currently housed in the National Library of Korea; *Namsalok*, published in 1669, is held in the library of Seoul National University; *Namhwanbagmul*, published in 1704, is in private hands.

² Although we use Yale Romanization for linguistic examples, Revised Romanization is employed for proper names, including the name *Jeju*.

2 Assessing the Intelligibility of Jejueo

There are a variety of ways to measure intelligibility. Some techniques employ written texts, and some make use of oral materials. Some methods assess the comprehension of words, while others focus on sentences and even stories. Gooskens (2013) offers a general review of the literature on this topic.

The strictest intelligibility tests assess the ability to comprehend what is called “connected speech”—conversations or stories that consist of multiple utterances. Yang et al. (2018) used this type of task to assess the ability of Koreans to understand a simple story that was told in Jejueo. We will report in detail on this experiment here, as it provides the foundation for determining the status of Jejueo. The experiment itself can be accessed at <https://sites.google.com/a/hawaii.edu/jejueo/stuff/jejueo-listening-test>.

2.1 The Jejueo Experiment

2.1.1 Participants

A total of 56 participants took part in the study: 10 native speakers of Jejueo, whose results on the comprehension test serve as a baseline against which to measure the performance of other participants, and 46 monolingual speakers of Korean who had no significant previous exposure to Jejueo—23 from Seoul, 11 from the city of Yeosu in South Jeolla, and 12 from the city of Busan in South Gyeongsang province. (Both Yeosu and Busan have distinctive speech varieties of their own that depart from the Seoul standard.) Because most fluent speakers of Jejueo are middle-aged or older, all participants in our study were between the ages of 52 and 68.

2.1.2 Method

The centerpiece of the experiment was a silent video depicting a series of events that began with a man on a ladder picking pears (the “pear story,” created by Chafe, 1980). Several fluent native speakers of Jejueo watched the video and described the events in Jejueo as they unfolded. The two most fluent narratives were then merged into a single script that eliminated false starts, incomplete sentences, and other performance errors. Finally, the script was then read aloud by a highly fluent female speaker, creating a recording that was a minute and nine seconds in length.

Participants first listened to the narrative without interruption. The recording was then replayed in five segments, varying in length from one to three sentences. After each segment, the participants were asked to respond in writing to one or more questions designed to test their comprehension of what they had just heard. Both the questions (nine in all) and the responses were given in Korean.

Participants received one point for each correct piece of information in their responses. Some questions could be answered by providing a single piece of information, but other questions required up to three pieces of information. A perfect set of responses yielded a score of nineteen.

2.1.3 Results

Table 25.1 summarizes the results of the experiment.

Table 25.1. Responses to the comprehension questions (percentage correct)

Jeju Island	Seoul	Yeosu	Busan
89.21%	9.92%	6.00%	6.14%

There was a sharp contrast between the Jejueo speakers and everyone else. Whereas the Jeju Islanders responded to the comprehension questions correctly about 90% of the time, the three groups from the mainland did very poorly, with an average success rate of between 6.00% and 9.92%.³ Evidently, Jejueo was not intelligible to the participants who spoke only Korean, confirming the anecdotal reports that have been repeatedly made over the last 500 years.

³ A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of region on the MI test scores. An analysis of variance showed that the effect of region on the test scores is significant, $F(3,500) = 132.3$, $p < .001$. However, post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni adjustment indicated that the mean rates of success for Yeosu, Busan and Seoul did not differ significantly from

2.3.2 Method

The Norwegian test materials, which were prepared and used by Nanna Haug Hilton, consisted of a native speaker's retelling of the Pear Story, not a direct translation of the Korean narrative. As was the case in the Jejueo experiment, the Dutch participants first listened to the entire narrative without interruption. The recording was then replayed in segments, each of which was followed by one or more written questions in Dutch, to which the participants responded in writing (in Dutch). There were eleven questions in all.

2.3.3 Results and Discussion

The average success rate for the Dutch speakers on the comprehension questions for Norwegian was 9.89%, which is comparable to the success rate of the monolingual Korean speakers in the Jejueo study. A self-assessment survey also yielded results very similar to those reported for the participants in the Jejueo study. Before the study began, the Dutch speakers estimated their ability to comprehend Norwegian at 2.3 on average on our 11-point scale; they revised their mean self-assessment downward to 1.18 after hearing the narrative, and lowered it still further to 1.05 after attempting to answer the comprehension questions.

2.4 Jejueo as a Language

Although Korean is uncontestedly the national language of modern Korea, the evidence from our intelligibility study shows that it is not the only language in the country. A second indigenous language, Jejueo, has been spoken on Jeju Island for centuries and deserves to have its place in the linguistic mosaic of Korea recognized. The next several sections of this chapter will summarize various features of the phonology, morphophonology and morphosyntax of Jejueo, drawing heavily on the much more detailed discussion in Yang, Yang and O'Grady (2020).

Jejueo and Korean are quite closely related, and there are many very evident similarities in their vocabulary and grammar. The words *o-ta* 'come,' *ka-ta* 'go,' *mek-ta* 'eat,' *pam* 'night' and *pi* 'rain' are identical in the two languages, as are the case markers *-i* and *-ul*, among numerous other items. But there are many major differences too: *nang* versus *namwu* for 'tree,' *sangkoci* versus *mwucikay* for 'rainbow,' *kop-ta* versus *swum-ta* for 'hide,' *-eoms* versus *ko-iss-ta* to indicate progressive aspect, *-eukh* versus *-keyss* to express intention and conjecture, and so on. A mixture of similarities and differences also characterizes French and Picard, Spanish and Catalan, Dutch and Frisian, and countless other pairs of related languages around the world. Yet none of these languages is a dialect of the other. Mutual intelligibility, not the number of related words or morphemes, is the decisive factor, which should be borne in mind as we proceed.

3 Phonology and Morphophonology

The phonological inventory of Jejueo is very similar to that of Modern Korean, with the same set of consonants, but a unique low back vowel, which we transcribe as /ɒ/ in Figure 25.2.⁴ Called *alae a* (literally 'lower a'), it is written (as it was in Middle Korean) as a single dot: ㅏ (*kaw*) 'of course.' It is typically heard only in the speech of older speakers.

Figure 25.2. The 'vowel quadrangle' for Jejueo (older fluent speakers)

/i/	/i/	/u/
/e/	/ə/	/o/
/æ/	/a/	/ɒ/

⁴ Cho et al. (2001) treat 'alae a' as /ʌ/ rather than /ɒ/, an ongoing dispute in work on Jejueo that can be set to the side for the purposes of this chapter.

The contrast between /e/ and /æ/ is unstable in Jejuo, although it has apparently been maintained by some older speakers (W.-B. Kim, 2005; D.-H. Ko, 2008). Based on a study of 60 native speakers born prior to 1950, S.-D. Moon et al. (2015) conclude that the distinction is made primarily in word-initial syllables: *seyumi* ‘water spring’ versus *saemi* ‘rice cake.’

A number of phonological and morphophonological processes help define the sound pattern of Jejuo, to which we now turn.

3.1 Aspiration within Compounds and Phrases

In compounds and phrases whose first component ends in a sonorant and whose second component begins with a lax consonant, the consonant can be aspirated or (as in Korean) tensed (J.-h. Kim, 2014: 103-105; J.-W. Ko, 2011: 33). In the examples below, the aspiration can even be represented in the spelling.

Table 25.3. Aspiration in compounds

Item	With aspiration	
mawm-kwuk (몹국) ‘gulfweed soup’	mawm-khwuk (몹국)	[mɔ̃mkʰuk]
swul-peyng (술뽕) ‘alcohol bottle’	swul-pheyng (술뽕)	[sulpʰeŋ]
aph-tuley (앞드레) ‘to the front’	aph-thuley (앞드레)	[apʰtʰire]
kawsul-cangma (갯슬창마) ‘fall rainy season’	kawsul-changma (갯슬창마)	[kɔ̃silʰtʰaŋma]
kweyntag-cip (꿨당집) ‘relative’s house’	kweyntag-chip (꿨당집)	[kwendaŋʰtʰip]
halmang-cip (할망집) ‘grandmother’s house’	halmang-chip (할망집)	[halmaŋʰtʰip]

3.2 Consonant Doubling

Under a variety of circumstances, consonants can be doubled at a morpheme boundary. In the following examples, an *n* or *l* is doubled. (The first two examples below are from J.-W. Ko et al., 2014: 17.)

- (1) Consonant doubling
 - a. **an-ney** (안네) ‘inside’: from *an* ‘inside’ + locative *-ey*
 - b. **cil-ley** (질레) ‘at the street’: from *cil* ‘street’ + locative *-ey*
 - c. **il-wel** (일월), pronounced [illwəl] ‘January’: from *il* ‘first’ and *wel* ‘month’

Sonorant doubling also occurs within words such as the following, in which it is accompanied by *h* deletion. (K.-W. Kim, 2001: 115-116; S. Oh et al., 2015: 35).

- (2) Sonorant doubling accompanied by *h* deletion.
 - a. **manhwa** (만화) ‘comic book’ [mannwa]
 - b. **cenhwa** (전화) ‘telephone’ [tʃənnwa]
 - c. **ilhun** (일흔) ‘seventy’ [illin]

3.3 Vowel Harmony

As in Korean, various verbal suffixes in Jejuo manifest an alternation between *e* and *a* that is sensitive to the final vowel of their stem. The following examples focus on the continuative suffix *-ems* and the perfective aspect marker *-es*, both followed by the sentence ender *-e*.

Table 25.4. Vowel harmony in Jejueo

<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>
El- es -e. (얼엿어) 'It is cold.'	Ac- ams -e. (앗앓어) 'S/he is sitting down.'
Cil- es -e. (질엿어) 'S/he drew water.'	Tol- as -e. (돌앗어) 'S/he turned.'
Kwuc- es -e. (긱엿어) 'It was/is bad.'	Kop- as -e. (곱앗어) 'S/he hid.'
Kus- es -e. (긱엿어) 'S/he drew (a line).'	

However, the two languages differ in an interesting way: whereas in Korean, *a* is used only if the final vowel of the base is *a* or *o*, in Jejueo *a* is also found in various other contexts, including those exemplified below. (As John Whitman has noted (pers. comm.), at least some of those contexts can be traced to vowel harmony patterns in Middle Korean.)

- If the stem ends with the vowel *aw* followed by a consonant.

- (3) a. Yawk-**as**-e. (옥앗어) 'S/he is/was mature.'
 b. Tawl-**as**-e. (돌앗어) 'S/he ran.'

- (In the case of certain verbs) if the stem ends with the vowel *u* or *wu* followed by the consonant *l*.

- (4) a. Meyngkul-**as**-e. (맹글앗어) 'S/he made (it).'
 b. Cawmwul-**as**-e. (주물앗어) 'It got dark.'

But not:

- (5) a. Tul-**es**-e. (들엿어) 'I asked.'
 b. Pemwul-**es**-e. (벼물엿어) 'It got dirty.'

- (In some cases and for some people) if the final syllable of the stem contains *i*, with or without a following consonant. (The vowel harmony in (6a) is manifested in the linking vowel that occurs after the first verb.)

- (6) a. Ic-**a**-pwul-**es**-ce. (잇아불엇저) 'I forgot.'
 b. Mawl-ly-**as**-ce. (몰랏저) [*ly = li*] 'I dried it.' (J.-W. Ko 2011, 97)

But not:

- (7) a. Cil-**es**-e. (질엿어) 'It was long.'
 b. Kop-**cy**-**es**-e. (곱겼어) [*cy = ci*] 'S/he became pretty.'

3.4 Epenthetic Vowels

Like Korean, Jejueo has a variety of verbal suffixes that require an epenthetic vowel when the verbal stem ends in a consonant. In the following examples, with the suffixes *-min* 'if' and *-meng* 'while,' the epenthetic vowel is *u*.

Table 25.5. The epenthetic vowel *u*

After a vowel (no epenthesis)	After a consonant (epenthetic <i>u</i>)
kha- min (카민) 'burn + if'	an- umin (안으민) 'hug + if'
swumpi- min (숨비민) 'dive + if'	mit- umin (믿으민) 'believe + if'
o- meng (오멍) 'come + while'	yawk- umin (옥으민) 'mature + if'
pellu- meng (벌르멍) 'break + while'	

However, there are two additional options not found in Korean: *i* is used when the stem-final consonant is *s*, *c* or *ch*, and *wu* is used after a stem-final labial consonant (S. Oh et al., 2015: 31-32).

Table 25.6. The epenthetic vowels *i* and *wu*

<i>i</i> after <i>s</i> , <i>c</i> or <i>ch</i>	<i>wu</i> after a labial consonant
ac- imin (앗이민) 'have + if'	cawm- wumin (줍우민) 'put [into soup] + if'
kwuc- imin (꿇이민) 'bad + if'	sim- wumeng (심우멍) 'grab + while'
taws- imeng (똥이멍) 'hot + while'	kop- wumeng (곱우멍) 'hide + while'
coch- imeng (쫓이멍) 'chase +while'	

4 Nominal Morphology

The nominal morphology of Jejuo is strikingly similar in key respects to the system of Middle Korean, much of which has also been retained by Modern Korean as well.

4.1 Plural Marking

Jejuo has two plural markers: *-tel* and *-ney*. (A list of abbreviations can be found at the end of the chapter.)

- (8) a. Asi-**tel** w-as-ce. (아시텔 왔저)
 younger.sibling-PL come-PFV-SE
 'My younger siblings arrived.'
- b. Halmang-**ney** w-as-ce. (할망네 왔저)
 grandmother-PL come-PFV-SE
 'The grandmothers arrived.'

On occasion, it is possible to add *-tel* to a noun or pronoun that already carries the plural marker *-ney*.

- (9) a. sawnai-**ney-tel** (스나이네텔) b. sensuing-**ney-tel** (선싱네텔)
 young.man-PL-PL teacher-PL-PL
 'young men' 'teachers'
- c. kai-**ney-tel** (가이네텔) d. ne-**ney-tel** (너네텔)
 3-PL-PL 2-PL-PL
 'they' 'you (PL)'

A special feature of *-ney* is that it can create an 'and others' interpretation.

- (10) Halmang-**ney** w-as-ce. (할망네 왔저)
 grandmother-PL come-PFV-SE
 'The grandmother and others arrived.'

In patterns such as the following, *-ney* is sometimes analyzed (wrongly, we believe) as a possessive marker.

- (11) a. Kai nu-**ney** cip-i kop-ams-in-ya? (가이 느네 집이 곱얏인야?)
 3.SG 2-PL house-LOC hide-CONT-NPST-SE
 'Is s/he hiding in your (and your family's) house?'

- b. Sunja-**ney** acimang-i manawngci kawcy-eng w-as-ce. (순자네 아지망이 마놓지 구경 왔저)
 Sunja-PL sister.in.law-NOM pickled.garlic have-CON come-PFV-SE
 ‘Sunja (and her family)’s sister-in-law has brought (us) pickled garlic.’

In fact, the function of *-ney* here is simply to implement the usual practice of pluralizing possessors related to a home, a family member, and one’s country or language. For this reason, *-ney* is not allowed on the possessor in patterns such as *Sunja twukci* (순자 독지) ‘Sunja’s shoulder,’ since body parts cannot be jointly possessed.

4.2 Subject Marking

In addition to the Koreanic nominative particle *-i/ka*, Jejueo makes at least occasional use of a number of other markers to indicate a subject.

- (12) *-ise: -se* after a vowel
 Note: for subjects denoting a group or community (based on S. Oh et al., 2015: 107; U.-T. Jung, 1983: 11)
- a. Etteng hawkke-**se** al-as-in-go? (어떻 혹게서 알앗인고?)
 how school-NOM know-PFV-NPST-SE
 ‘How have the school found out (about it)?’
- b. Wuli mawsul-**ise** hey-sa-cwu. (우리 몄슬이서 헤사주)
 1.PL village-NOM do-OBLG-SE
 ‘Our village must do (it).’
- (13) *-la*
 Note: reported by C.-H. Kang (1983: 24-25, 40) to be in use by elderly speakers in rural areas as late as the 1980s
- Nwukey-**la** kyeng kawl-up-tey-ka? (누게라 경 곁옵테가?)
 who-NOM like.that say-AH-EVI-SE
 ‘Who said (anything) like that?’
- (14) *-ley* (Y.-b. Kang, 2007: 54)
- Asi-**le** nang twu-i kop-ams-ce. (아시레 낭 두이 곱앗저)
 younger.sibling-NOM tree back-LOC hide-CONT-SE
 ‘My younger sibling is hiding behind the tree.’

4.3 Dative Marking

Jejueo has at least four dative markers.

- (15) *-kawla*
 Note: derived by grammaticalization from the verb *kawl-ta* ‘to speak’; its use as a dative marker is almost always restricted to nouns with human referents (M.-S. Kwon, 2011: 21) and is possible only with verbs of speaking.
- Kai-**kawla** sawtap-haw-leyn haw-p-se. (가이구라 수답하렌 흡서)
 3.SG-DAT laundry-do-REP do-AH-SE
 ‘Please, tell him/her to do the laundry.’
- (16) *-sinti/sintuy*
 Note: derived from the verbal root *si-* ‘be,’ the non-past adnominal suffix *-n* and the noun *ti/tuy* (디/딤) ‘place.’
- Asi-**sinti** kawl-up-ti-ka? (아시신디 곁옵디가?)
 younger.sibling-DAT speak-AH-EVI-SE
 ‘Did you speak to (your) younger sibling?’

- (17) *-anthi/anthuy*
 I-ke nu-**anthi** cwu-ma. (이거 느안티 주마)
 this-thing 2.SG-DAT give-SE
 'I will give this to you.'

- (18) *-aphi/aphuy*
 Note: literally 'in front'-
 Nwukey-**aphi** cwu-p-ti-ka? (누게아피 줘디가?)
 who-DAT give-AH-EVI-SE
 'To whom did you give (it)?'

4.4 Topic Marking

In addition to the Koreanic topic particle *-nun*, Jejeuo sometimes makes use of *-ilang* in cases of contrastive topicalization.

- (19) *-ilang*: *-ilang* after a stem ending in a vowel or *l*
- a. Halupang-**ilang** ac-ip-se. (하르방이랑 앉입서)
 grandfather-TOP sit-AH-SE
 'Grandfather (not others), please sit down.'
 - b. Na-**lang** mawnche awmawng-haw-kh-ye. (나랑 먼저 오뎡호켜)
 1.SG-TOP first move-do-PROSP-SE
 'I will move first (before others).'

4.5 Genitive Marking

The Jejeuo genitive marker is *-i/uy* (both pronounced /i/), with the allomorph *-ey* after a stem ending in *-i*. A homophonous particle is used to mark locations, a practice that dates back to Middle Korean (I. Lee & Ramsey, 2000: 291; K.-M. Lee & Ramsey, 2011: 189). We will spell both the genitive and the locative as *-i*. (Yang et al. 2020 spell the locative as *-ui*.)

- (20) Use of *-i* as a genitive
 Nawm-**i** cengecy-se mwusike haw-yems-in-i? (눔이 정제서 무시겨 호엿인이?)
 stranger-GEN kitchen-LOC what do-CONT-NPST-SE
 'What are you doing in stranger's kitchen?'
- (21) Use of *-i* as a locative
- a. Emeng patang-**i** sy-e? (어멍 바당이 셔?)
 mother sea-LOC be-SE
 'Is mother at the sea?'
 - b. Sangpang-**i** ac-ila. (상방이 앞이라)
 living.room-LOC sit-SE
 'Sit in the living room.'

4.6 Direction Marking

Jejueo makes widespread use of the particle *-ley* to mark direction. The particle has several variants, including (among others) *-tuley/teley* after a stem ending in a consonant (S. Oh et al., 2015: 110) and *-luley/leley* after a stem ending in *l* and, sometimes, after a stem that ends in a vowel (J.-h. Kim, 2014: 51).

- (22) a. Sili-**ley** kawlul tam-wula. (시리레 ㄱ를 담우라)
 steamer-DIR flour put-SE
 'Put the flour into the steamer.' (Y.-b. Kang, 2007: 59)
- b. I-chak-**tuley** piw-a-pwul-la. (이착드레 비와볼라)
 this-side-DIR pour-LV-COMPL-SE
 'Pour (it) to this side.'
- c. Yai cil-**leley** tawly-e-ka-la. (야이 질러레 두려가라)
 3.SG road-DIR take-LV-go-SE
 'Take her/him to the road.' (based on J.-h. Kim, 2014: 51)

5 Negation

In the simplest and most basic pattern of negation, the negator (*an*, *ani*, *ai*) directly precedes the verb.

- (23) Na-n patang-teley **an/ani/ai** tawl-ukh-ye. (난 바당더레 안 /아니 /아이 들으켜)
 1.SG-TOP sea-DIR not run-PROSP-SE
 'I will not go to the sea.'

In other respects, however, Jejueo is quite different from Korean. For example, when the verbal expression consists of a noun and the light verb *haw-da*, the negative may precede or follow the noun (S.-D. Moon, 2000: 17).

- (24) **Ani** koptak haw-ta. (아니 곱닥ㅎ다) Koptak **ani** haw-ta. (곱닥 아니ㅎ다)
 not pretty do-SE pretty not do-SE
 'S/he is not beautiful.' 'S/he is not beautiful.'

Moreover, the negative is able to occur alone in final position in copular patterns.

- (25) Ke-n mwulkkwulek **ani/ai**. (건 물꾸릭 아니/아이)
 thing-TOP octopus not.be
 'That thing isn't an octopus.' / 'Is that not an octopus?'

Finally, the inherently negative verbs *mal-ta* ('not do, stop') and *es-ta/us-ta* ('not be, not have') can be used to say 'no' in response to a question. (*Mal-ta* can be used in this way only for action verbs.)

- (26)a. Kweyki mek-kh-a? (꺀기 먹카?) Ma-wu-ta. (마우다)
 meat eat-PROSP-SE not.do-AH-SE
 'Shall we eat meat?' 'No.'
- b. Nu cisul kkap chwuly-en? (느 지슬 깎 추런?) Es-ta (엇다)
 2.SG potato price pay-PST not.do-SE
 'Did you pay for the potatoes?' 'No.'

6 Verbal Morphology

The internal structure of the Jejuo verb can be described in terms of a template consisting of a root, followed by a series of dedicated slots. The first slot after the root is reserved for the expression of voice or causation, which is not discussed here. The next four slots are devoted to the expression of aspect, tense and modality, in that order, consistent with the familiar typological generalization (Van Valin & Polla, 1997: 40ff). Closure is achieved by a connective in the case of a dependent clause and by a sentence ender otherwise.

(27) V – Pass/Caus – **Aspect** – **Aspect** – **Modality** – **Tense** (– Connective/Sentence Ender)

Although rare, there are patterns in which all four of the focused slots are simultaneously filled.

(28) Sawtap haw-**yems-es-ik-un**-key. (스답ㅎ엿엇이큰게)
 laundry do-CONT-PFV-PROSP-NPST-SE
 '(When you went to see that place), (s/he) must have been doing the laundry.'

We turn now to a brief survey of the contrasts associated with each slot.

6.1 Aspect

The two aspectual slots in the Jejuo verbal template are reserved for the continuative marker *-ems* and the perfective marker *-es*.

(29) *-ems*: *-ams* under vowel harmony; *-yems* after *i* or *aw*; *-ms* after any other vowel
 Note: thought to be derived from the merger of the Middle Korean nominalizer *-em* and the existential verb *si-* (e.g., J.-h. Kim, 2014; S. Oh et al., 2016)

- a. Yeongsu tawkseyki mek-**ems**-e. (영수 독세기 먹엇어)
 Yeongsu egg eat-CONT-SE
 'Yeongsu is eating an egg.'
- b. Asi nang twu-i kop-ams-ce. (아시 낭 두이 곱얏저)
 younger.sibling tree back-at hide-CONT-SE
 '(Your) younger sibling is hiding behind the tree.'

(30) *-es*: *-as* under vowel harmony; *-yes* after *i* or *aw*; *-s* after any other vowel

- a. Mansu-ka malchwuk sim-**es**-ce. (만수가 말축 심엇저)
 Mansu-NOM grasshopper catch-PFV-SE
 'Mansu caught the grasshopper.'
- b. Kingi sim-ems-**es**-cwu-key. (강이 심엿엇주게)
 crab catch-CONT-PFV-SE-EMPH
 '(I'm sure) s/he was (in the middle of) catching crabs.'

6.2 Modality

There are two modality markers in Jejuo, *-ukh* and *-(u)nu*. As the examples below help illustrate, *-ukh* typically expresses intention with a first-person subject and indicates conjecture otherwise.⁵

⁵ The etymology of *-ukh* is uncertain. One hypothesis traces it to the Mongolian future-marking morpheme *-qu*; see J.-r. Hong (1993: 17).

- (31) *-ukh*: *-ikh* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wukh* after a labial consonant; *-kh* after a vowel or *l*
- a. Cisul teykk_y-e-pwul-**kh**-ye. (지슬 데껴불켜)
potato throw.away-LV-COMPL-PROSP-SE
'(I) will throw away the potatoes.'
 - b. Pi o-**kh**-wu-ta. (비 오쿠다)
rain come-PROSP-AH-SE
'It will rain, I think.'
 - c. Kingi kwey-w-ams-**ikh**-yeo. (강이 꿩끓이켜)
crab boil-CAUS-CONT-PROSP-SE
'I will be boiling crabs.'
 - d. Kawse chawc-as-**ikh**-ye. (구세 찾앗이켜)
scissors find-PFV-PROSP-SE
'(I) will have found the scissors.'/'S/he should have found the scissors (by now).'

In contrast, *-(u)nu*, which can be traced to Middle Korean *-naw* (ㄴ) (Martin 1992, 716; K.-M. Lee & Ramsey 2011, 210), has a realis (indicative) function and is therefore used to express actual situations rather than intention or conjecture. As illustrated in the examples that follow, it is always accompanied by the non-past tense marker *-un* (see section 6.3), whose allomorph here is *-n*: *-(u)nu + -un > (u)nu-n*.

- (32) *-(u)nu*: *-(i)nu* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-(wu)nu* after a labial consonant; *-nu* after a vowel or *l* (which is then deleted)
- a. Ku nongpani toseyki cillwu-**nu**-n-yey. (그 농바니 도세기 질루는예)
that farmer pig raise-INDC-NPST-SE
'That farmer raises pigs.'
 - b. Meynal patang-tuley tawt-**nu**-n-ya? (메날 바당드레 톤는야?)
everyday sea-DIR run-INDC-NPST-SE
'Does s/he run to the sea every day?'
 - c. Ku kwutul mak taws-**(i)nu**-n-yey. (그 구들 막 돛(이)는예)
that room very warm-INDC-NPST-SE
'That room is very warm.'

6.3 Tense

The tense system of Jejueo is based on a three-way contrast involving past, non-past, and future. Past tense is marked by the suffix *-en*.

- (33) *-en*: *-an* under vowel harmony; *-yen* after *i* or *aw*; *-n* after any other vowel
- a. Kawlkaypi sim-**en**. (골개비 심언)
frog catch-PST
'(I) caught a frog.'
 - b. Ku cip-i yengcang na-**n**. (그 집이 영장난)
that house-LOC mourning come.out-PST
'Someone died in that family.' (Lit. 'There is mourning in that house.')

- c. Kai-ney toleyki twungkul-ly-ems-**en**-key. (가이네 도레기 둥글렀언게)
 3-PL top roll-CAUS-CONT-PST-SE
 '(I saw that) they were (in the middle of) rolling the top.'
- d. Cisul mawn kha-pwul-es-**en**-key. (지슬 문 카불엇언게)
 potato all burn-COMPL-PFV-PST-SE
 '(I noticed that) all the potatoes were burnt.'

The suffix *-un* expresses non-past events and states.

- (34) *-un*: *-in* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wun* after a labial consonant; *-n* after a vowel or *l* (which is then deleted)
- a. Mansu meynal mom kawm-**wun**-ta. (만수 메날 몸 굽운다)
 Mansu everyday body wash-NPST-SE
 'Mansu bathes every day.'
- b. Chawley cal meyngkul-kh-**un**-key. (출레 잘 멩글큰게)
 side.dishes well make-PROSP-NPST-SE
 '(It appears that s/he) may make side dishes well.'
- c. Ku kwutul-un mak etwuk-**un**-ta. (그 구들은 막 어둡은다)
 that room-TOP very dark-NPST-SE
 'That room is very dark.'
- d. Hayeng taw-n-key. (하영 든게) [root = *tawl*-]
 a.lot sweet-NPST-SE
 'It is very sweet.'

The function of *-un* and *-(u)nu-n* (section 6.2) appear to overlap to some degree since both are used for current states and events. However, a contrast is evident in patterns such as the following, where *-nu-n* is associated with states and events that involve more typical occurrences.

- (35) a. Kwutul taws-**in**-yey. (구들 돏인예) [*-in* = allomorph of *-un* after *s*]
 room warm-NPST-SE
 'The room is warm (right now).'
- b. Kwutul taws-(**i**)**nu-n**-yey. (구들 돏이눈예) [*-inu* = allomorph of *-unu* after *s*]
 room warm-INDC-NPST-SE
 'The room is (generally) warm.'
- (36) a. Apang cheyk ik-ems-**in**-yey. (아방 책 익엿인예)
 father book read-CONT-NPST-SE
 'Father is reading the book (right now).'
- b. Apang cheyk ik-ems-**inu-n**-yey. (아방 책 익엿이눈예)
 father book read-CONT-INDC-NPST-SE
 'Father is (usually in the middle of) reading a book (when his children get home).'

Finally, a future meaning can be expressed by the suffix *-ul*. Unlike the homophonous suffix in Korean, it can occur in sentence-final position (at least in the speech of younger speakers), in addition to being able to appear with a sentence ender or with the grammaticalized noun *ke*.

- (37) *-ul*: *-il* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wul* after a labial consonant; *-l* after a vowel
- a. Na-ka sawtap haw-kh-**ul**. (나가 수답호클)
1.SG-NOM laundry do-PROSP-FUT
'I will do the laundry.'
 - b. Nu-ka kawl-**ul**-la? (누가 골을라?)
2.SG-NOM speak-FUT-SE
'Will you talk?'
 - c. Mansu Sewel ka-kh-**ul**-ala. (만수 서월 가클아라)
Mansu Seoul go-PROSP-FUT-SE
'(I sensed that) Mansu would go to Seoul.'
 - d. Mansu-ka pwullumssi haw-**lke**-wu-ta. (만수가 부름씨 홀거우다)
Mansu-NOM errand do-FUT-AH-SE
'Mansu will do the errands.'

6.4 Summary

The essentials of the Jejueo system of verbal inflection can be summarized as follows.

- (38) V – Aspect – Aspect – Modality – Tense
- | | | | |
|-------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>-ems</i> | <i>-es</i> | <i>-(u)nu</i> | <i>-en</i> |
| | | <i>-ukh</i> | <i>-un</i> |
| | | | <i>-ul</i> |

In general, each suffix in the template can co-occur with any suffix to its right. For example, *-ems* can occur with *-es*; with *-(u)nu* or *-ukh*; or with *-en*, *-un*, or *-ul*; and so on. (One restriction here is that *-(u)nu* must be followed by the *-n* allomorph of the nonpast suffix *-un*, as previously noted.) This creates the opportunity for a wide variety of suffixal combinations, resulting in verbal forms such as the following.

- (39)a. *-ems* with *-es*:
Tam taw-**ams-es**-cwu-key. (담 다왔엇주게)
wall build-CONT-PFV-SE-EMPH
'(I'm sure) s/he was building a wall.'
- b. *-ems* with *-ukh*:
Na cisul mek-**ems-ikh**-ye. (나 지슬 먹엿이켜) [*-ikh* = allomorph of *-ukh* after *s*]
1.SG potato eat-CONT-PROSP-SE
'I will be eating potatoes.'
- c. *-ems* with *-un*:
Kawca sawtap haw-**yems-in**-ya? (ㄱ자 수답 호엿인야?) [*-in* = allomorph of *-un* after *s*]
still laundry do-CONT-NPST-SE
'Are you still doing the laundry?'

7 Sentence Enders and Connectives

The end of a Jejuo clause is typically marked by a sentence ender or a connective in the final slot of the verbal template. Sentence enders carry information about sentence type (statement, question, request, proposal), evidentiality, formality and deference, whereas connectives provide a way for a dependent clause to be incorporated into a larger sentence. We will focus here on sentence enders.

There are two major classes of sentence enders (and connectives). A first class, which we will call Type 1, can occur with an uninflected verb stem, as well as with the continuative suffix *-ems*, the perfective suffix *-es*, or (sometimes) the prospective marker *-ukh*. A second and much smaller group of sentence enders, which we will label Type 2, requires a verb stem whose final suffix is *-en*, *-un*, or *-ul*.⁶

Table 25.7. Two major classes of sentence enders, based on stem type

Stem type 1	Stem type 2
Occurs with a bare stem, or a stem ending in <i>-ems</i> , <i>-es</i> , or (sometimes) <i>-ukh</i> .	Requires a stem ending in <i>-en</i> , <i>-un</i> , <i>-ul</i>

7.1 Some Common Sentence Enders

Here are some examples of sentence enders that are commonly used in informal speech, along with a very brief characterization of the function of each. In the examples below, (40) - (44) are instances of Type 1 sentence enders while (45) illustrates Type 2.

- (40) *-cwu*
 Common usage: with a bare stem and a first-person subject, *-cwu* indicates a strong assertion or intention; in other types of patterns, it expresses the speaker's belief.
- a. Na-ka teykki-**cwu**. (나가 데끼주)
 1.SG-NOM throw.away-SE
 'I will throw (it) away.'
- b. Mansu-n patang-teley tawl-ams-**cwu**. (만순 바당테레 돌았주)
 Mansu-TOP sea-DIR run-CONT-SE
 'Mansu is heading to the sea (certainly).'
- c. Mansu tawkseyki mek-es-**cwu**. (만수 독세기 먹엇주)
 Mansu egg eat-PFV-SE
 'Mansu has eaten eggs (certainly).'
- (41) *-e*: *-a* under vowel harmony; \emptyset or *ye* after *ey* or *ay*; \emptyset after *a*; *ye* after *i* or *aw*.
 Common usage: informal statements or questions; in statements, *-e* creates a somewhat softer impression than *-cwu*.
- a. Kai tam taw-ams-**e**. (가이 담 다왔어)
 3.SG wall build-CONT-SE
 'S/he is building a wall.'

⁶ A Type 2 sentence ender can also occur with a stem ending in *-em*, a variant of the continuative marker *-ems* not discussed here; see Yang et al. (2020: 164-65).

- b. Nu chawley cal meyngkul-**a**? (누 출레 잘 멩글아?)
 2.SG side.dish well make-SE
 'Do you make side dishes well?'
- c. Mansu meynal kansey-haw-**ye**. (만수 메날 간세 하여)
 Mansu everyday laziness-do-SE
 'Mansu slacks off every day.'
- (42) **-na**
 Common usage: statements and questions; has an assured tone when used for a statement, but can sound authoritative and unfriendly when used for a question.
- a. I ayki-n mal cal kawt-**na**. (이 애긴 말 잘 곧나)
 this child-TOP speech well speak-SE
 'This child can speak well.'
- b. Nu mwulkkwulek mek-**na**? (누 물꾸릭 먹나?)
 2.SG octopus eat-SE
 'Do you eat octopus?'
- (43) **-umey**: *-imey* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wumey* after a labial consonant; *-mey* after a vowel or *l*
 Common usage: statements based on current or past personal experience or expectation; has a friendly or familiar tone.
- a. Sunja meynal sawtap haw-**mey**. (순자 메날 수답 하메)
 Sunja everyday laundry do-SE
 'Sunja does the laundry every day.'/'Sunja will probably do the laundry every day.'
- b. Tawkseyki kkap-un Mansu-ka chwuly-es-**imey**. (독세기 깎은 만수가 추렛이메)
 egg price-TOP Mansu-NOM pay-PFV-SE
 'Mansu may have paid for the eggs.'
- (44) **-(u)key**: *-(i)key* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-(wu)key* after a labial consonant; *-key* after a vowel or *l*
 Common usage: proposals
- a. Phocang ccawl-a-pwul-**key**. (포장 쫄라불게)
 curtain cut-LV-COMPL-SE
 'Let's cut the curtain away.'
- b. Ka-ms-**iskey**. (값이게)
 go-CONT-SE
 'Let's get going.'
- (45) **-yey**
 Common usage: statements about situations that the speaker knows about (through observation or inference) and wishes the addressee to confirm.
- a. Na copan mek-en-**yey**. (나 조반 먹언예)
 1.SG breakfast eat-PST-SE
 '(You saw) me eat breakfast. (Right?)'
- b. Sunja copan mek-ems-in-**yey**. (순자 조반 먹엌인예)
 Sunja breakfast eat-CONT-NPST-SE
 'Sunja is eating breakfast. (Right?)'

7.2 Sentence Enders for Questions

It has been suggested that Jejuo is like Middle Korean and the modern Gyeongsang dialect of Korean in having different sentence enders for *wh* questions and *yes-no* questions. This is not quite correct. Our data suggests that Jejuo has sentence enders such as *-ko*, *-ka* and *-tia* that can occur with either *yes-no* or *wh* questions, as illustrated below.⁷

- (46) *-ka*
Common usage: *yes-no* or *wh* questions
- a. Nu tawkseki kop-cy-en-**ka**? (누 독세기 곱전가?)
2.SG egg hide-CAUS-PST-SE
'Did you hide the egg?'
- b. Nu mwusike kop-cy-en-**ka**? (누 무시거 곱전가?)
2.SG what hide-CAUS-PST-SE
'What did you hide?'
- (47) *-tia*: *-thia* or *-ttia* after the suffix *-ul*
Common usage: *yes-no* questions or *wh* questions directed toward a person with relevant personal experience
- a. Nu kingi kwey-w-an-**tia**? (누 강이 궤완디아?)
2.SG crab boil-CAUS-PST-SE
'Have you boiled the crabs?'
- b. Nuy1-lang etuley taw1-ul-**thia**? (닐랑 어드레 돌을티아?)
tomorrow-TOP where run-FUT-SE
'Tomorrow, where do you want to run to?'
- (48) *-ko*
Common usage: *yes-no* or *wh* questions involving an action verb
- a. Cikum peykk-i-s-ti pi w-ams-**ko**? (지금 뻬잇디 비 왔고?)
now outside-LOC-SS-place rain come-CONT-SE
'Is it raining outside? (I don't think so.)'
- b. Mansu patang-ise mwusike sim-es-in-**ko**? (만수 바당이서 무시거 심엇인고?)
Mansu sea-LOC what catch-PFV-NPST-SE
'What has Mansu caught in the sea?'

Jejuo also has at least one sentence ender, namely *-i*, that can occur only with *wh* questions.

- (49) *-i*: occurs only with *wh* questions
- a. Emeng patang-ise mwusinke sim-ems-in-**i**? (어멍 바당이서 무신거 심엿인이?)
mother sea-LOC what catch-CONT-NPST-SE
'What is mother catching in the sea?'
- b. Emeng-i mwusinke-leyn kaw1-as-in-**i**? (어멍이 무신거렌 곱앗인이?)
mother-NOM what-REP say-PFV-NPST-SE
'What has Mom said?'

However, there appears to be no sentence ender that can occur only with *yes-no* questions.

⁷ *-ka* and *-tia* are Type 2 sentence enders, but *-ko* instantiates a mixed type that can occur with both types of stems summarize in table 25.7. See for Yang et al. (2020:165 & 196) for additional discussion.

7.3 Sentence Enders for Evidentiality

Some sentence enders have an evidential function, indicating how the speaker came to have the information that s/he is expressing—through direct observation, reports from others, or inference from indirect clues. The sentence ender *-eko* is a case in point. As illustrated below, it signals previous direct observations by the speaker, thereby implying that the observed event has already taken place.

- (50) *-eko*: *-ako* under vowel harmony; *-yeko* after *i* or *aw*; *-ko* after any other vowel
- a. With a bare stem (direct observation of an event or capacity)
 Nu-ney apang ecey nawmawl thawt-**ako**. (느네 아방 어제 누물 토틀아고)
 2-PL father yesterday vegetable pluck-SE
 ‘(I saw) your father pick vegetables yesterday.’
- b. With the continuative marker (direct observation of an event as it was unfolding)
 Nu-ney asi cisul sichy-**ems-eko**. (느네 아시 지슬 시츄어고)
 2-PL younger.sibling potato wash-CONT-SE
 ‘(I saw) your younger sibling washing potatoes.’

In contrast, when there is a perfective marker, it is understood that the speaker noticed some evidence of the event's occurrence, but did not actually witness it.

- (51) With the perfective marker (inference that a previous event occurred)
 Mansu-ka hepek pell-e-pwul-**es-eko**. (만수가 허벱 벌러불엇어고)
 Mansu-NOM water.pot break-LV-COMPL-PFV-SE
 ‘(I figured that) Mansu broke the water pot.’

The sentence ender *-key* creates an even more intricate set of contrasts, thanks to the fact that it is directly preceded by a tense marker that indicates the time of the speaker's observation or inference (versus the time of the event denoted by the verb). For example, both sentences below describe an event (a marriage) that has already occurred, as indicated by the perfective suffix *-es*. Use of the past tense marker *-en* in conjunction with the evidential marker *-key* indicates that the speaker learned of the event in the past, whereas the non-past suffix *-un* signals that s/he just now realizes it.

- (52) *-en-key*: the speaker learned of the event in the past
 Mansu keylhon haw-yes-**en-key**. (만수 겔혼후엿언게)
 Mansu marriage do-PFV-PST-SE
 ‘(I learned that) Mansu has gotten married.’
- (53) *-un-key*: the speaker has just now become aware of a previous event
 Mansu keylhon haw-yes-**in-key**. (만수 겔혼후엿언게) [*-in* = allomorph of *-un* after *s*]
 Mansu marriage do-PFV-NPST-SE
 ‘(I just realized that) Mansu has gotten married.’

7.4 Sentence Enders for Reported Speech

A variety of clause-ending morphemes are used to mark reported speech. As the examples below help indicate, these morphemes can appear on either a complement clause or on a stand-alone sentence.

- (54) *-teyn/-teyng*: *-iteyn(g)* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wuteyn(g)* after a labial consonant⁸
 Historical note: *-teyn* < the declarative sentence ender *-ta* + the reportative suffix *-eyn* (Ross 1994:26-30)
 Common usage: marks a reported statement
- a. Sunja mwul cil-ems-**teyn**. (순자 물 질었넨)
 Sunja water draw-CONT-REP
 '(S/he said that) Sunja is drawing water.'
- b. Nu-ney ttawl kelssakcikey kemcil mey-n-**teyn** kawl-ala. (느네 딸 걸썩지게 검질 멘텐 골아라)
 2-PL daughter quickly weed pull-NPST-REP say-SE
 '(S/he said that) your daughter weeds quickly.'
- c. Yawm-**wuteyn** haw-yela. (옴우텐 햏여라)
 ripe-REP do-SE
 '(S/he said that) (it is) ripe.'
- d. Ku kwutul taws-**iteyn**? (그 구들 똗이텐?)
 that room warm-REP
 '(Did s/he say that) the room is warm?'
- (55) *-eley*n: *-aleyn* under vowel harmony; *-yeley*n after *i* or *aw*; *-ley*n after any other vowel
 Historical note: *-eley*n < the evidential sentence ender *-ela* + the reportative suffix *-eyn*
 Common usage: marks a reported observation
- Apang-i ku paechi-n mak kwuc-**eley**n (kawl-ala). (아방이 그 배친 막 꺾어넨 (골아라))
 father-NOM that cabbage-TOP very bad-REP say-SE
 'Father said that that cabbage was very bad (in quality).'
- (56) *-(u)noleyn*: *-(i)noleyn* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-(wu)noleyn* after a labial consonant; *-noleyn* after a vowel or *l* (which is then deleted)
 Historical note: *-(u)noleyn* < *nola* + the reportative suffix *-eyn*⁹
 Common usage: marks a clause whose subject refers to the person who describes the event
- Mansu-man ku-ti sa-**noleyn** (hey-la). (만수만 그디 사노넨 헤라)
 Mansu-only that-place live-REP do-SE
 'Mansu said that only he (Mansu) lives there.'
- (57) *-yeyn* [a]
 Historical note: *-yeyn* < the sentence ender *-ye* + the reportative suffix *-eyn*
 Common usage: reports a statement contain a copula
- Cho-cip-i-**yeyn** haw-cwu. (초집이엔 햏주)
 thatch-house-be-REP do-SE
 '(It) is called a thatched house.'
- (58) *-yeyn* [b]
 Historical note: *-yeyn* < the interrogative sentence ender *-ya* + the reportative suffix *-eyn*
 Common usage: reports a question
- Apang pas-ti-se mwusike pongk-as-in-**yeyn** tul-ela. (아방 밧디서 무시거 봉갓인엔 들어라)
 father field-place-LOC what find-PFV-NPST-REP ask-SE
 'S/he asked what your father has found in the field.'

⁸ This allomorphic variation occurs only when the suffix is added to the bare stem of a descriptive verb.

⁹ Now archaic, the formal sentence ender *-nola* was once used to make reference to one's own actions (Lee 1994:722).

- (59) *-uleyn*: *-ileyn* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wuleyn* after a labial consonant; *-leyn* after a vowel or *l*
 Historical note: *-uleyn* < the imperative sentence ender *-ula* + the reportative suffix *-eyn*
 Common usage: reports a command
- a. Mawncheo kop-as-**ileyn** (kawl-ala). (문쳐 곱앗이렌 (골아라))
 first hide-PFV-REP say-SE
 ‘S/he said to hide first.’
- b. Copan mek-**uleyn** haw-la. (조반 먹으렌 허라)
 breakfast eat-REP do-SE
 ‘Tell him/her to eat breakfast.’
- (60) *-(u)keyn*: *-(i)keyn* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-(wu)keyn* after a labial consonant; *-keyn* after a vowel or *l*
 Historical note: *-(u)keyn* < the propositive sentence ender *-(u)key* + the reportative suffix *-eyn*
 Common usage: reports a proposal or a wish
- Kawccci pwullumssi-haw-**keyn** (kawl-as-ce). (ㄱ찌 부름씨 허겐 (골앗지))
 together errand-do-REP tell-PFV-SE
 ‘S/he suggested that we run the errands together.’

8 Formality and Deference

There is no subject honorific suffix *per se* in traditional Jejueo, but there is an elaborate system of addressee honorification. The sentence enders for use in formal situations and in the presence of people who are older or of higher social status each consist of three morphemes: the addressee honorific (*-up*), an evidentiality marker (*-tey* versus *-ney*), and a sentence ender (*-ta* for statements and *-ka/kka* for questions).

- (61) A sub-template for formal sentence enders: *-ip* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wup* after a labial consonant; *-p* after a vowel or *l* (which is then deleted)
- | | | | |
|---|------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Verb Stem – Addressee Honorific – Evidentiality Marker – Sentence Ender | | | |
| | <i>-up</i> | <i>-tey/ney</i> | <i>-ta</i> (statement) |
| | <i>-up</i> | <i>-tey/ney</i> | <i>-ka/kka</i> (question) |

The evidentiality marker *-tey* implies the involvement of direct observation; *-ney* carries no such implication.

- (62) Formal statements:
- a. Ku sin Mansu-sinti cok-**up-tey-ta**. (그 신 만수신디 족읍테다)
 that shoe Mansu-DAT small-AH-EVI-SE
 ‘(I saw) the shoes were small for Mansu.’
- b. Ku sin Mansu-sinti cok-**up-ney-ta**. (그 신 만수신디 족읍네다)
 that shoe Mansu-DAT small-AH-EVI-SE
 ‘(I know) the shoes must be small for Mansu.’
- (63) Formal questions:
- a. Mwusike pongk-ams-**ip-tey-ka**? (무시거 봉값입테가?) [*-ip* = allomorph of *-up* after *s*]
 what pick-CONT-AH-EVI-SE
 ‘What were they picking?’
- b. Na-ka halmang tawl-ang-ka-**p-ney-kka**? (나가 할망 둘앙 갑네까?)
 1.SG-NOM grandmother bring-CON-go-AH-EVI-SE
 ‘Shall I bring grandmother?’

Formal requests are marked by *up-se*.

- (64) Formal requests:
- a. Tawkseyki theywu-**p-se**. (독세기 테옵서)
egg distribute-AH-SE
'Please distribute eggs.'
 - b. Mikkang tha-ms-**ip-se**. (미깡 탐입서) [-ip = allomorph of -up after s]
tangerine pick-CONT-AH-SE
'Please, get picking tangerines before me!'

In order to express deference to older people and in situations where there is a greater social distance, the additional honorific morpheme *-usi* may be added.

- (65) *-usi*: *-isi* after *s*, *c* or *ch*; *-wusi* after a labial consonant; *-si* after a vowel or *l* (which is then deleted)
- a. Mek-**usi**-p-se. (먹으십서)
eat-AH-AH-SE
'Please eat.'
 - b. Ac-**isi**-p-se. (앉이십서)
sit-AH-AH-SE
'Please sit down.'

In contrast to the near-homophonous Korean subject honorific *-si*, the Jeju version of the morpheme is traditionally restricted to patterns in which the subject is also the addressee, as in (65a-b) above. However, there are reports of its use with third-person subjects by some contemporary speakers, presumably reflecting the influence of Korean.

8.1 Alternative Strategies for Expressing Formality

An alternative strategy for expressing formality makes use of the addressee-honorific suffixes *-wu* (for inflected verbs of all types) and *-uwu* (for uninflected descriptive verbs).¹⁰

- (66) *-wu*: *-swu* after *-ems* and *-es* (for some people)
- a. Ssawl kwe-w-as-(**s**)wu-ta. (쫄 꿩왓우다; also 꿩왓수다)
rice boil-CAUS-PFV-AH-SE
'(I) boiled rice.'
 - b. Pwulumssi haw-kh-**wu**-key/kwey. (부름씨 흥쿠게/궤)
errand do-PROSP-AH-SE
'You should have done the errand.'
 - c. Mwusike kop-cy-es-(**s**)wu-kwa? (무시거 곱젓우과?; also 곱젓수과)
what hide-CAUS-PFV-AH-SE
'What have you hidden?'

¹⁰ We take no position here on whether *-wu* and *-uwu* should be considered separate morphemes or variants of the same morpheme.

- (67) *uwu*: *-iu* after *s* or *j*; *-wuwu* after a labial consonant; *-wu* after a vowel or *l* (which is then deleted)
 Note: As examples (e) - (g) illustrate, the alternative form *-swu* can be used after a stem ending in any consonant other than *l*; see Yang et al. (2020:219).
- a. Cok-**uwu**-ta. (죽으우다)
 small-AH-SE
 'It is small.'
 - b. Kwuc-**iwu**-kkwe. (꺫이우꺫)
 bad-AH-SE
 'It is bad (in quality).'
 - c. Me-**wu**-kkwa? (머우꺫?) [root = *mel*]
 far-AH-SE
 'Is it far?'
 - d. Ciph-**wuwu**-ta. (꺫우우다)
 deep-AH-SE
 'It is deep.'
 - e. Twuthep-**swu**-ta. (두텡수다)
 thick-AH-SE
 'It is thick.'
 - f. Kwuc-**swu**-ta. (꺫수다)
 bad-AH-SE
 'It is bad.'
 - g. Pawlk-**swu**-ta. (꺫수다)
 bright-AH-SE
 'It is bright.'

For a more detailed discussion of the intricate allomorphy associated with the use of *-uwu*, see Yang et al. (2020: 218ff).

Another strategy for signaling formality and deference has become popular. It involves use of the “all-purpose” honorific marker *massum* (마썸), with the variants *massim* and *massi*. *Massum* can combine with complete phrases of all types—NP, PPs and clauses with certain sentence-ending morphemes.

- (68) a. NP (in answer to a question such as ‘What are you reading?’)
 Cheyk-**massum** (책마썸)
 book-AH.SE
 ‘A book.’
- b. PP (in answer to a question such as ‘Where should I put it?’)
 I chak-tuley-**massum** (이착드레마썸)
 this side-DIR-AH.SE
 ‘Toward this side.’
- c. A clause ending with the past-tense suffix *-en*
 Kweyngtang-tel san-i ka-n-**massum**? (꺫당텔 산이 간마썸?)
 relative-PL grave-DIR go-PST-AH.SE
 ‘Did the relatives go to the grave?’

- d. A clause ending with a future marker *-ulke*
Yangci sichi-lke-massum. (양지 시칠거마씀)
face wash-FUT-AH.SE
'I will wash my face.'

9 Concluding Remarks—The Future of Jejeuo

In the early centuries of the first millennium AD, Jeju Island was an independent kingdom known as Tamna (탐라), but we have no way of knowing what language was spoken there at that time. By the middle of the tenth century, Tamna had come under the control of the Goryeo Dynasty, which was to rule the Korean peninsula for the next four and a half centuries. The island was officially annexed in 1105, and eventually renamed Jeju 'province across the sea.'

We know from the comments of visitors to Jeju Island (see Section 1) that the language spoken there was already very different from the language of the Korean mainland by at least the 1500s. The differences could only have become greater over the next two centuries. In 1629, the national government attempted to counteract a decline in the island's population by banning travel to the mainland and marriage to outsiders. The ban was not lifted until 1828, by which time the linguistic divide between Jejeuo and Korean must have been very deep indeed.

It is generally accepted that Jejeuo was the principal language of Jeju Island up to 1950 or so. Now, however, the language is rarely spoken, and it has been classified as highly endangered by several international organizations, including UNESCO, Ethnologue, and the Endangered Languages Project.¹¹ Although UNESCO estimates the number of speakers at 5,000 to 10,000 (out of a population of 600,000), our work on Jeju Island (Yang, O'Grady, & Yang, 2017) leads us to believe that the number of fluent speakers is much smaller (probably far less than 1000), all of whom are elderly. What happened to Jejeuo?

A first factor in the decline of Jejeuo involved a tragic series of events that began on April 3, 1948 with the notorious "4.3 incident," as it is called on Jeju Island. On that day, a small uprising took place, triggered by grievances that are still a matter of research and debate. A harsh response by the national government to the incident intensified the conflict, which quickly escalated into full-blown civil strife that led to 30,000 deaths over the next two years. An equal number of residents fled the island, many to Japan. (The population at the time was less than 300,000.) A later influx of residents from mainland Korea further undermined the traditional culture of Jeju Island.¹²

A second factor can be traced to national language policy in Korea. The years of the Japanese occupation (1910 – 1945) were marked by a vigorous attempt to suppress Korean culture and identity. Japanese was declared the "national language" of Korea; it became the sole language of education, and its use was strongly encouraged at all levels of society, including even in the home. After their liberation, Koreans responded with a "one nation – one language" policy of their own: Korean was the language that defined and unified their nation; there was no room for any other language.

A third important factor was the implementation, in 1955, of a national curriculum, with Korean as the sole language of education. Some of the saddest stories told by older residents of Jeju Island involve their treatment in school, where they were scolded, ridiculed, and even punished for speaking Jejeuo. Children became ashamed of their language and afraid to speak it. The feeling spread to their parents, who ended up discouraging use of Jejeuo for the sake of their children. To this day, many speakers of Jejeuo avoid using the language in public situations.

Does Jejeuo have a future? Possibly. There are many different options for language revitalization, including some that involve bilingualism among members of the community who wish to maintain their traditional language and the sense of identity that goes with it. There are many models for this type of language maintenance, ranging from Hawaiian in the United States, to Maori in New Zealand, to the dozens of regional languages in Europe. Grenoble & Whaley (2006) provide a general survey of these and other options. The *European Charter for Regional or Minority*

¹¹ Ethnologue: <https://www.ethnologue.com/>, UNESCO Atlas: <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/>, Catalogue of Endangered Languages: <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/region>.

¹² For more about the 4.3 incident and its impact, see the report of the 'truth commission,' established in 2000 by then President Kim Dae-jung and chaired by Prime Minister Goh Kun. The document, approved by President Roh Moo-hyun in 2003, can be found in English and in Korean at <http://43archives.or.kr/data/publication/list.do>. See also <https://jeju43peace.or.kr/> (the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation).

Language outlines a set of policies for language preservation that have been implemented in Europe,¹³ where there are many regional languages similar in status to Jejueo.

It remains to be seen whether the national and provincial institutions responsible for language policy in Korea and in Jeju Island will take the measures necessary to save Jejueo. Of necessity, a first such measure is the recognition that Jejueo is a language, related to but distinct from Korean. A second step is to recognize its importance to the cultural history of the entire country and to acknowledge that the sentiments expressed in the national Framework Act for the Korean Language apply to Jejueo as well: "the State and people shall recognize that [language] is the most valuable cultural heritage of the nation ... and exert every effort in developing ... and preserving [it], to bequeath it to the next generation."¹⁴

¹³ <http://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680695175>

¹⁴ The Act was first passed in 2005; the passage cited here is from Chapter 1, Article 2. An English version of the Act can be accessed at: <http://law.go.kr/lisInfoP.do?lsiSeq=136820&chrClsCd=010203&urlMode=engLsInfoR&viewCls=engLsInfoR#0000>

List of Abbreviations

1	first person	INDC	indicative mood
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	LV	linking vowel
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
AH	addressee honorific	NPST	non-past
CAUS	causative	PFV	perfective
COMPL	completive	PL	plural
CON	connective	PROSP	prospective
CONT	continuative	REP	reportative
DAT	dative	SG	singular
DIR	directional	SE	sentence ender
EVI	evidential	SS	<i>sai sios</i>
EMPH	emphatic	TOP	topic

References

- Casad, Eugene. 1974. *Mutual Intelligibility Testing*. Dallas, Tx: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1980. *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, Cultural, and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Cho, Taehong, Sun-Ah Jun, Seung-Chul Jung, & Peter Ladefoged. 2001. The vowels of Cheju. *Korean Journal of Linguistics* 26, 801-819.
- Gooskens, Charlotte. 2013. Experimental methods for measuring intelligibility of closely related language varieties. In R. Bayley, R. Cameron, & C. Lucas (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 195-213. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Grenoble, Lenore & Lindsay Whaley. 2006. *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hockett, Charles. 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
- Hong, Jong-rim. 1993. *Jeju Bangeon-ui Yangtae-wa Sang* 제주방언의 양태와 상 [A Study on the Modality and Aspect of the Cheju Dialect]. Korea: Hansin Mwonwhasa.
- Jung, Un-Taek. 1983. *Jeju bangeon-ui gyeog eomi yeongu*. 제주도 방언의 격어미 연구 [A study on the case endings of the Cheju dialect]. Master's thesis, Cheju National University.
- Kang, Chung-Hee. 1983. *Jeju bangeonui myeongsaryu jeobmisae gwanhan yeongu*. 제주방언의 명사류 접미사에 관한 연구 [A study of the noun class suffix in the Cheju dialect]. Ph.D. dissertation. Seoul. Ewha Woman's University.
- Kang, Yeong-bong. 2007. *Jejueo* 제주어. Seoul: Sinkwang Ssiring.
- Kim, Jee-hong. 2001. *Jeju bangeon daeubeob yeongu-ui myeoj gaji munje*. 제주 방언 대우법 연구의 몇가지 문제 [A few issues in studies about deference in Jeju dialect]. *Baeglog Eomun* 17, 7-35.
- Kim, Jee-hong. 2014. *Jeju Bangeon-ui Tongsa Gisul-gwa Seolmyeong*. 제주방언의 통사기술과 설명 [Explanation and Description of the Syntax of the Jeju Dialect]. Seoul: Gyeongjin Chulpan.
- Kim, Jee-hong. 2016. *Jeju bangeon-ui seoneomal eomi-wa jonggyeol eomi chegye*. 제주 방언의 선어말 어미와 종결어미 체계 [On prefinal and final ending systems in Jeju Korean]. *Han-geul* 313, 109-171.

- Kim, Kwang-Woong. 2001. *Jeju Jiyeogeo-ui Eumunlon*. 제주 지역어의 음운론 [A phonological study of the Cheju area dialect]. Cheju: Cheju National University.
- Kim, Won Bo. 2005. The acoustic analysis of the diphthongs in Jeju dialect. *Journal of Linguistic Studies* 10(2), 161-174.
- King, Ross. 1994. History of reported speech in Korean. *Korean Linguistics* 8, 1-38.
- King, Ross. 2006. Dialect variation in Korea. In H. Sohn (ed.), *Language in Korean Culture and Society*, 264-80. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- King, Ross. 2007. North and South Korea. In A. Simpson (ed.), *Language and National Identity in Asia*, 200-34. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ko, Dong-Ho. 2008. Jeju bangeon '·' ui seditaebyeol byeonwha yangsang [The study of arae-a in Jejueo in different generations]. *Hangugeoneomunhag* 65, 55-74.
- Ko, Jae-Whan. 2011. *Jejueogaelon*. 제주어개론 [Introduction to Jejueo] Vol. 1. Seoul: Bogosa.
- Ko, Jae-Whan, Sang-Jo Song, Jee-hong Kim, Dong-Ho Ko, Chang-myeong Oh, Soon-Deok Moon, and Seunghun Oh. 2014. *Jejueo Pyogibeob Haeseol*. 제주어 표기법 해설 [Explanation of the Jejueo writing system]. Jeju: Jeju Development Institute.
- Kwon, Mi-So. 2011. Jejueo bangeon-ui siljae sigan gyeonggwae-ttaleun eoneo byeoni yangsang yeongu. 제주도방언의 실제시간 경과에 따른 언어 변이 양상 연구 [The study of linguistic variation according to the passing of real time in Jeju dialect]. Master's thesis, Jeju: Jeju National University.
- Lee, Hee-Seung. 1994. *Gugeo Tae Sajeon*. 국어대사전 [Unabridged Dictionary of the National Language]. 3rd ed. Seoul: Minjungseolim.
- Lee, Ki-Moon and S. Robert Ramsey. 2011. *A History of the Korean Language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Iksop and S. Robert Ramsey. 2000. *The Korean Language*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Lee, Siwon. 2013. Multicultural education and language ideology in South Korea. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 28, 43-60.
- Martin, Samuel E. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean: A Complete Guide to the Grammar and History of the Korean Language*. North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle.
- Moon, Soon-Deok. 1999. Jeju bangeon-ui bujeong pyohyeon yeongu. 제주 방언의 부정 표현 연구 [A study of negative expressions in the Jeju dialect]. PhD diss., Jeju National University.
- Moon, Soon-Deok, Chang-myeong Oh, Won-Bo Kim, Woo-Bong Shin. 2015. *The Actual Pronunciations of Vowels and Consonants Acknowledged in the Transcription Regulation for the Jeju Language and their Phonetic Analysis Study*. Center for Jeju Studies, Jeju Development Institute, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province.
- Oh, Seunghun, Dongho Ko, Sangjo Song, Changmyeong Oh, Sundeok Moon. 2015. *Jejusmalui Ihae*. 제주말의 이해 [Understanding Jeju Speech]. Center for Jeju Studies
- Oh, Seunghun, Chang-myeong Oh, & Soon-Deok Moon. 2016. *Jeju Sanan Jejussaleum* 제주 사난 제춧사름 [Jeju Person Because of Living in Jeju]. Jeju: Jeju Development Institute.
- Sohn, Ho-Min. 1999. *The Korean Language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Valin, Robert D. and Randy LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning, and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yang, Changyong, Sejung Yang and William O'Grady. 2020. *Jejueo: The Language of Korea's Jeju Island*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Yang, Changyong, William O'Grady, Sejung Yang. 2017. Toward a linguistically realistic assessment of language vitality: The case of Jejueo. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 11, 103-113.
- Yang, Changyong, William O'Grady, Sejung Yang, Nanna Hilton, Sang-Gu Kang, So-Young Kim. 2018. Revising the language map of Korea. In S. Brunn (ed.), *The Changing World Language Map*. Berlin: Springer. Available at: <https://changingworldlanguagemap.weebly.com/>.
- Yeon, Jaehoon. 2012. Korean dialects: A general survey. In N. Tranter (ed.), *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, 168-85. New York: Routledge.