

ROMANISATION SYSTEM FOR KORYO MAR

Simon Barnes-Sadler
SOAS, University of London, London, England

제목: 고려말의 로마자 표기법 방안 연구

필자: 반즈-새들러, 사이먼 (런던대 SOAS)

개요: 고려말은 여러 가지의 표기법으로 전사(轉寫)되어 있다. 제일 자주 쓰이는 표기법이 한글, 키릴문자와 국제음성기호이다. 고려말을 집중적으로 연구하는 학자가 앞에서 언급한 표기법을 읽을 수 있는 가능성이 높기는 하지만 역사적인 고려말로 쓰인 자료를 통일된 로마자로 쓰면 잇점이 적지 않을 것이다. 본 연구는 기존의 한글과 키릴문자로 된 전사법을 분석하고 로마자 체계화의 장점을 살펴본다. 분석의 결과를 바탕으로 수정된 예일 로마자 표기법을 만들 것을 제안한다. 그리고 나서 새로운 표기법을 평가한다. 결론적으로 말하면 수정된 예일 로마자 표기법은 대체로 보아 한글과 키릴문자의 특성을 잘 반영한다고 할 수 있다. 그렇지만 어떠한 전사법도 고유한 음성을 정확히 기록할 수 없기 때문에 수정된 예일 로마자 표기법이 한글과 키릴문자의 모든 글자를 규칙적으로 반영하는 것은 불가능하다.

주제어: 고려말, 한글, 키릴문자, 표기법, 로마자 표기화

Keywords: *Koryo Mar, Hangul, Cyrillic, transcription, romanisation*

Introduction

The variety of Korean spoken by the Korean diaspora community of the former Soviet Union, *Koryo Mar*, has long been a focus of investigation for Russophone (Vovin 1989), Anglophone (Kho 1987; King 1987) and Korean speaking researchers (Kwak 1987). Ongoing research has led to its written transcription using both Hangul and the Cyrillic alphabet. In order to facilitate the presentation of material drawn from earlier, written linguistic sources in contexts where knowledge of these writing systems may not be assumed (in research intended for an international audience of non-specialist linguists, for example), this paper examines how *Koryo Mar* may be transliterated into the Roman alphabet and proposes a new system of Romanisation.

In this paper, transliterations of standard Korean shall be given using the Yale Romanisation of Korean (YRK) and italicised, except in the case of personal names, the transliterations of which shall use the preferred transliteration of the individual or commonly used

transliterations. Where referring specifically to the graphical realisations of *Koryo Mar* in either the Hangul or Cyrillic alphabet transcription, no transliteration shall be provided. We follow the conventions of Coulmas (2003 p. 1) in marking these purely graphemic examples with angled brackets, like so < ㅏ >.

Arguments for a Romanisation for *Koryo Mar*

Before enumerating the advantages of a unified Roman alphabet based transliteration system for written sources of *Koryo Mar*, it is first necessary to delimit the scope of such a system and lay out precisely what this paper is not. It does not seek to argue that *Koryo Mar*, any other non-standard variety of Korean or any unwritten language ought to have an orthography developed (in the sense of Hinton 2001, Bowern 2008 etc.) on the basis of the Roman alphabet as a matter of course. The use of the Roman alphabet as the primary means of transcription for *Koryo Mar* is not being proposed here. There is, however, a particular advantage to the development of a Roman alphabet based transliteration of *Koryo Mar*; namely, the widening of the audience for prior non-Roman alphabet transcriptions of the variety. The additional advantages of the wider audience such a transliteration system for *Koryo Mar* could bring about are as follows:

- An increase in the impact of Korean or Russian language documentation or research carried out on *Koryo Mar* by enabling the presentation of data drawn from Hangul or Cyrillic linguistic resources in international English language publications
- Facilitation of the translation and broader dissemination of Korean or Russian language research into KM which includes examples transcribed using Hangul or Cyrillic
- An increase of awareness of *Koryo Mar* for language conservation purposes

While these arguments may be applied to the use of many extant Romanisation systems for Hangul (see Song 2005) and the Cyrillic alphabet (see Cubberly 2002) to transliterate earlier written sources of *Koryo Mar*, here we advocate the development of a system of transliteration dedicated exclusively to *Koryo Mar* rather than the extension of the use of existing Romanisations of Cyrillic or Hangul.

The use of differing standard systems of Romanisation within the same work to transliterate sources transcribed using different writing systems would introduce an unacceptable level of variation into transliterations. For example, transcriptions of aspirated bilabial plosives rendered <ㅃ> in Hangul and <пх> in Cyrillic transcriptions would be transliterated as <ph> and <pkh> using the YRK and American Library Association - Library of Congress transliteration systems, respectively. Plainly, it would be preferable to standardise the Romanisation of KM so that similar sounds transcribed using Hangul and Cyrillic graphemes which require radically different transliteration were instead represented by a unified encoding.

In situations where the data being presented is not drawn from a written linguistic resource, i.e. from an audio or video recording rather than a Hangul or Cyrillic transcription of KM, and in which the original may not simply be reproduced, the use of an IPA based transcription (for example that of King and Yeon 1992) is to be preferred to the use of the Romanisation system proposed here since IPA transcription best reflects the features of spoken KM. In contrast, the Romanisation proposed here does not directly reflect the features of spoken KM, but rather encodes the graphs used in transcriptions of KM regardless of their sound values.

Before presenting and explaining the choices made in the development of a unified Romanisation for KM, we first examine the contemporary Hangul and Cyrillic transcriptions in more depth in order to establish the extent to which they themselves encode the features of KM, as well as which of these are possible or desirable to encode in the Romanisation.

Existing Transcriptions of Koryo Mar

Although there are numerous historical records of *Koryo Mar* (for example, Putsillo 1874, Matveev 1900 etc.), we restrict our discussion in this paper to contemporary scholarship carried out on the variety, and methods of transcription used in the presentation of linguistic examples and documentary materials.

Hangul Transcription

Since *Koryo Mar* is ultimately a variety of Korean, a Hangul based orthography, such as that developed by Kwak Chung Gu for the purpose of documenting the variety as it is spoken throughout Central Asia (e.g. Kwak 2008, Kwak 2009, Kwak 2011 etc.), seems appropriate. There are, however, features of *Koryo Mar* not shared with standard Contemporary Korean which complicate the implementation of a Hangul based transcription due to its close association with only the standard varieties of Korean. We briefly examine these features before going on to detail the features of Kwak's system of transcription, including how these difficulties are overcome.

Firstly, there are sounds present in *Koryo Mar* which are not present in standard Contemporary Korean and thus have no conventional Hangul realisation, for example [v]. Furthermore, the allophonic variation of *Koryo Mar* is different from that of standard varieties of Korean. Therefore, in the cases of graphemes which represent phonemes the phonetic realisation of which is conditioned identically to standard Contemporary Korean, for example, the intervocalic voicing of the lax stop consonants, this does not present a problem. However, where such variation is not shared with standard Contemporary Korean, for example the *Koryo Mar* variation in the realisation of <ㄹ> as either the alveolar trill [r], the tap [ɾ] or the liquid [l], it is completely obscured by Hangul based transcription. Hangul orthography is strongly associated with the phonological processes of standard Contemporary Korean, such as labial or liquid assimilation. Whether these phonological processes ought to be reflected in the transcription of *Koryo Mar* or whether the variety should be written 'as it sounds' is a point of contention. Accurate transcription of *Koryo Mar* vowel quality is also problematic in Hangul transcriptions, since vowels are frequently nasalised and tone is contrastive. Neither of these features are marked in standard Contemporary Korean orthography, and incorporating the marking of these features with diacritics is complicated by *moassugi* orthography.

The designer of any transcription *Koryo Mar* must bear all of these features in mind and decide whether or not they should be reflected at all in the transcription system. In the case of Kwak's Hangul based system, the decision was taken not to transcribe every sound of the non-standard variety, but rather to maintain a morpho-

phonemic orthography more similar to standard Hangul. The reasons given for this are twofold (Kwak 2008 p. 24): to simplify the task of transcription and to make the transcriptions more accessible to lay readers and other researchers

Nevertheless, the following modifications were made to Hangul orthography in order to more accurately transcribe *Koryo Mar*: the grapheme <ㅣ> is given the value [i] rather than that of a diphthong; the sound [v] is transcribed using <ㅅ>; the variable palatalization of the second components of the affricates [tʃ] and [ts] and [dʒ] and [dz] are marked on the following vowels through the mechanic of stroke addition, but voicing is not (thus <ㅈ> could be read as [tʃu] or [dʒu], whereas <ㅉ> could be read as [tsu] or [dzu]); <~> may be used as a diacritic to mark the nasal quality of a vowel of the *camo* which precedes it; word initial tokens of [z] are transcribed using <ㅈ>; the grapheme <ㄷ> may transcribe either [r] and [ɾ] where they appear in intervocalic and syllable final positions; intervocalic lenition of labial stops to [β] are transcribed using <ㅃ>; <ㅅ> and <ㅆ> are used to transcribe the sounds [ö] and [ü], respectively, where they occur, in addition to the sounds [ve] and [vi], and [we] and [wi]. In cases where the graphemes represent monophthongs, they are followed by IPA annotation and a brief explanation of the phonological processes behind the realisation of these high front vowels; fortition of lax sounds is irregularly marked in IPA following the standard morpho-phonemic Hangul transcription; since the transcription is morpho-phonemic, not all intra-speaker variation is directly reflected in the Hangul transcription, but further details may be given on an *ad hoc* basis in IPA annotations; long vowels may be marked with <: > following the *camo* of which they constitute a part.

The effect of these modifications is largely that many Hangul graphemes, for example <ㅃ> and <ㅈ>, take on a greater number of variable phonetic realisations. Since the IPA is frequently used to augment this transcription's fidelity to the sounds of *Koryo Mar*, the central question in the design of a Romanisation system is whether the graphemes or their sound values should primarily be reflected. We return to this question in the examination of the proposed Romanisation system, which follows an analysis of Cyrillic transcriptions of *Koryo Mar*.

Cyrillic Transcription

Despite the historical links and contemporary cultural practices of the *Koryo Saram*, the majority of the Central Asian Korean community is not familiar with Hangul and far more frequently encounters the Cyrillic alphabet in the multiple forms used for writing the regional LWCs, which have replaced *Koryo Mar* as the community's primary method of communication (Yun 2004). Thus, there are equally strong arguments for adapting the widely used Cyrillic alphabet to render *Koryo Mar* in a written form as there are for Hangul.

The contemporary transcription which we examine is that of N.S. Pak. In contrast to the Hangul based transcription, reflecting the sounds of *Koryo Mar* faithfully is the primary concern of the Cyrillic transcription. The extent to which this may truly be considered a Cyrillic transcription of *Koryo Mar* is initially uncertain, though, since in its design (Pak 2005 p. 302) establishes one-to-one correspondences between Hangul graphemes and Cyrillic graphemes. Consequently, whether this system is a transliteration of a particular Hangul based transcription rather than an independent transcription system must be determined. At first glance this system has many surface similarities with the Kontsevich system for transliterating Hangul into the Cyrillic alphabet and, despite the one-to-one correspondences established in its design, in actual use it even reflects several of spoken Korean's phonological processes using the same graphical devices and many-to-one correspondences between Cyrillic graphemes and Hangul graphemes, e.g. intervocalic voicing and final unreleasing of stop consonants, as the Kontsevich system. However, due to Pak's transcription system's encoding of other phonetic characteristics and phonological processes of spoken *Koryo Mar* which could not possibly be explicitly reflected in Hangul orthography and are which not reflected in the Kontsevich transliteration system, for example the variable realisation of the phoneme /c/ as [ts], [tʃ], [dz], or [dʒ]. In other words, since its similarities with the Kontsevich system and innovations both serve to more precisely and explicitly render the sounds of *Koryo Mar* using conventional values for Cyrillic characters rather than encode a Hangul transcription, there is ample justification for considering this a true transcription system.

We must acknowledge, though, that many of the characteristics of *Koryo Mar* are not encoded by the conventional values of Cyrillic

characters. As mentioned above, this transcription system has much in common with the Kontsevich system for transliterating standard Korean. Features shared by the standard varieties of Korean and *Koryo Mar* are transcribed using similar graphical devices, for example the use of grapheme gemination to represent tense consonants or the mapping of different vocalic qualities to Cyrillic vowel graphemes. We now go on to enumerate the features of the Cyrillic *Koryo Mar* transcription system with particular regard to how it deals with the non-standard features of the variety.

The Cyrillic transcription of *Koryo Mar* makes use, either singly or as digraphs, of twenty eight graphemes of the Cyrillic alphabet and two graphemes <æ> and <ɔ> which do not feature in it. As mentioned above, this transcription does not retain any morpho-phonemic characteristics and may be considered a very broad phonetic transcription. This is reflected in the following ways: a high degree of allophony is reflected in the transcription, including voicing distinctions, in addition to aspiration articulatory tenseness, palatalization of sibilants and affricates and the full range of variation of the phoneme /l/; nasalisation, contrastive tone, and stress may be marked using the diacritics <~>, <' >, and <' > either directly over (in the case of the first two) or directly preceding the vowel grapheme to which they apply (Pak 2005 p.74); the phonological processes shared with standard Contemporary Korean, e.g. environmentally conditioned assimilations, are written as they are realised, rather than as a reflection of underlying forms; historically distinct, but currently phonetically near-identical sounds are transcribed using the same Cyrillic graphemes.

The sounds of *Koryo Mar* do not map perfectly onto the conventional values of the Cyrillic alphabet, although this selection of graphemes is based on phonetic closeness. For example, [h] is transcribed by the grapheme <x>, which conventionally has the value [x]. Due to this method of retaining the conventional values of Cyrillic graphemes to as great an extent as possible some irregularity in the encoding of phonological features has arisen. *Koryo Mar* /j/ on-glides may be reflected by both single graphemes and digraphs consisting of <й> combined with another vowel. Moreover, etymological /w/ on-glides (which may also be realised with initial [v] in *Koryo Mar*) are transcribed using the Cyrillic grapheme conventionally used to encode [v], which may lead to some ambiguity of in the transcription.

Before moving on, it is also necessary to point out the shortcomings of the Cyrillic transcription system. Most notably, there is

a particular case where the Cyrillic transcription is ambiguous in its phonological encoding. Namely, [jɔ] and [jo] are transcribed by the single Cyrillic grapheme <ё> rather than by two distinct graphemes, as in Hangul <ㅟ> and <ㅞ>. While it may seem that the digraph <be> creates similar ambiguity, this is debatable since it only creates confusion about the Korean grapheme to which it corresponds rather than the quality of the diphthong which it encodes.

Neither contemporary transcription system of *Koryo Mar*, wholly unambiguously reflects the sounds of spoken *Koryo Mar*. We therefore conclude that it the graphemes used in these transcription systems rather than their sound values may be most usefully and unambiguously encoded in a true transliteration of these transcriptions. It may be further proposed that an optimal system of transliteration will establish one-to-one-to-one correspondences between the graphemes used in these transcriptions and those of the Roman alphabet. In the next section, we propose a unified Romanisation of these transcriptions of *Koryo Mar* which conforms to these principles to as great an extent as possible and examine the decisions taken in its design.

The Romanisation of *Koryo Mar*

None of the extant systems for transcribing *Koryo Mar* are without their attendant issues, perhaps due to the fact that they are all adaptations of existing writing systems and no orthography has yet been designed from the ground up with *Koryo Mar* in mind. Nevertheless, the transcriptions used have been broadly fit for their specific purposes – presenting *Koryo Mar* to specific audiences. Above, we examined the advantages a Romanisation of these sources would have and the issues with using existing Romanisations of both Hangul and Korean in parallel.

We now present the graphemes used in the transcription systems of *Koryo Mar* along with the standard YRK transliteration system for Hangul and the Standard Scholarly system of transliteration for Russian Cyrillic (presented in brackets next to the graphemes). The juxtaposition of commonly used transliterations of the graphemes of the transcription systems reveals the full extent of their differences and the necessity of a more unified Roman alphabet transliteration. We further present the proposed system of Romanisation for use transliterating *Koryo Mar* texts transcribed in either Hangul or the Cyrillic alphabet in

a separate column and discuss the reasoning behind the form this Romanisation takes below the tabular comparison:

Cyrillic Transcription of <i>Koryo Mar</i>	Hangul Transcription of <i>Koryo Mar</i>	Adapted YRK Transliteration of <i>Koryo Mar</i>
а (a)	ㅏ (a)	a
б (b)	N/A	b
в (v)	N/A	v
г (g)	N/A	g
д (d)	N/A	d
е (e)	ㅓ (ey)	ey
ж (ž)	N/A	zh
з (z)	N/A	z
и (i)	ㅣ (i)	i
й (j)	N/A	y
к (k)	ㅋ (k)	k
р/ль (r/l')	ㄹ (l)	r/l l
м (m)	ㅁ (m)	m
н (n)	ㄴ (n)	n
о (o)	ㅓ (o)	o
п (p)	ㅍ (p)	p
р (r)	N/A	r
с (s)	ㅅ (s)	s
т (t)	ㅌ (t)	t
у (u)	ㅜ (wu)	wu
х (x(h))	ㅎ (h)	h
ц (c)	N/A	ts
дз (dz)	N/A	dz
ч (č)	ㅈ (c)	c
дж (dž)	N/A	dzh
ш (š)	N/A	sh
щ (šč)	N/A	shsh
ы (y)	ㅡ (u)	u
о (N/A)	ㅓ (e)	e
ю (ju)	ㅠ (yu)	yu
я (ja)	ㅑ (ye)	ya
ë (ë)	ㅓ (ye)	yo ye

	ㅟ(yo)		yo
æ (N/A)	ㅟ(ay)		ay
йæ (jN/A)	ㅟ(yay)		yay
йе (je)	ㅟ(yey)		yey
ве (ve)	ㅟ(oy)	vey	oy
	ㅟ(wey)		wey
ви (vi)	ㅟ(wi)		vi
ый (yj)	ㅟ(ui)		uy
ва (va)	ㅟ(wa)		va
вэ (vè)	ㅟ(we)		ve
вæ (vN/A)	ㅟ(way)		vay
кк (kk)	ㅟ(kk)		kk
тт (tt)	ㅟ(tt)		tt
сс (ss)	ㅟ(ss)		ss
пп (pp)	ㅟ(bb)		pp
чч (čč)	ㅟ(cc)		cc
цц (cc)	N/A		tsts
нъ (n’')	ㅟ(ng)		ng
кх (kx(h))	ㅟ(kh)		kh
тх (tx(h))	ㅟ(th)		th
пх (px(h))	ㅟ(ph)		ph
чх (čx(h))	ㅟ(ch)		ch

Table 1: Comparison of *Koryo Mar* Transcriptions and Proposed Romanisation

In the above table, where one grapheme or digraph is given in the “Adapted YRK Transliteration of *Koryo Mar*” column, it is to be used to transliterate both the Cyrillic and Hangul graphemes. Where the column is split, the right hand sub-column is the proposed Romanisation for the Cyrillic grapheme and the left hand sub-column the proposed Romanisation for Hangul.

Features of the Proposed Romanisation System

The similarities between this Romanisation of *Koryo Mar* and the standard YRK are immediately noticeable. Indeed, the vast majority of the Roman graphemes and digraphs used in the proposed Romanisation for *Koryo Mar* are identical to those of the standard YRK

and map onto the Hangul transcription of *Koryo Mar* just as the standard YRK maps onto standard Hangul. These Roman graphemes and digraphs are also largely used to transliterate the Cyrillic graphemes of the Kontsevich Cyrillicisation which encode the corresponding Hangul graphemes, establishing one-to-one-to-one correspondences between the Cyrillic, Hangul and Roman graphemes. Thus, both the Hangul grapheme <ㅡ> and the Cyrillic grapheme <ы> are transliterated in the proposed Romanisation as <u>, identical to the standard YRK, but different from the standard Romanisations of Cyrillic. Therefore, in many ways, this Romanisation could be conceived of as a way of mapping the YRK onto the Cyrillic transcription of *Koryo Mar*.

There are two main reasons for choosing the YRK as the basis for the current transliteration rather than a widely used Romanisation of Cyrillic or another Romanisation of Hangul. The first consideration is the YRK's ease of use as a system which may be typed on a standard English keyboard without the obligatory use of any special diacritics. The second is the likely audience for research featuring transliterated *Koryo Mar*. The YRK is likely to be familiar to both Koreanists with a research interest specifically in the Korean language and linguists with a research interest Korean. Since the proposed Romanisation of *Koryo Mar* is based on the YRK, it should be more easily accessible to this audience than a wholly novel system of transliteration. However, since the proposed Romanisation is designed to reflect the allophonic variation encoded in the Cyrillic transcription and the increased phonological complexity of *Koryo Mar* the standard YRK has necessarily been modified as follows:

- Since the grapheme inventory of the Cyrillic transcription is larger than that of the Hangul transcription, the proposed Romanisation includes graphemes which correspond only to Cyrillic graphemes or digraphs rather than to both Hangul and Cyrillic graphemes, e.g. <dzh> corresponding to <дж>
- Voicing distinctions are marked in the Cyrillic transcription are transliterated using letters of the Roman alphabet which are generally considered voiced or voiceless in English and which correspond to a number of Romanisations of Russian Cyrillic, including the Scholarly Transliteration system presented above, the ALA-LC system, and the ISO 9:1995 system.

- The grapheme <w> used in YRK /w/ on-glide diphthongs is instead rendered as <v> in the digraphs <va>, <vi>, <vey> etc. This better reflects both the graphemes used in the Cyrillic transcription, which uses the grapheme <в>, and the sounds of *Koryo Mar*, which include [v].
- Since the phoneme /s/, encoded by the Hangul grapheme <ㅅ>, is realised by the environmentally conditioned allophones [s] and [ʃ] in Standard Contemporary Korean it is transliterated using just the single grapheme <s> in the YRK. The full extent of the conditioning underlying this phoneme's variation in *Koryo Mar* is not yet known, but [ʃ] may appear in positions other than immediately preceding high front vowels (Pak 2005 p. 38), and each allophone is represented in the original Cyrillic transcription with a separate grapheme. In the proposed Romanisation, the allophone [s] is represented by the grapheme <s> whereas the allophone [ʃ] is represented by the digraph <sh>. This is in-keeping with the design principle of YRK that special characters or diacritics unavailable on a standard English keyboard should not be used, but renders the grapheme <h> as it is used in digraphs irregular as it marks aspiration exclusively in the standard YRK.
- Geminate digraphs are used just as geminate single graphemes are used to mark articulatory tension, even when this graphical device is not used in the transcription system. Thus, <ㅃ> is transliterated as <shsh>.
- *Koryo Mar* speakers' variation between [ts] and [tʃ] is reflected in original Cyrillic transcriptions, so we provide means whereby it may be reflected here, too. We use the standard YRK transliteration of the Hangul grapheme <ㅈ>, the Roman grapheme <c>, only in cases corresponding to the use of the Cyrillic grapheme <ч>, which encodes the variant [tʃ]. Since we also choose to mark voicing distinctions here, the strings <c>, <ts>, <dzh> and <dz> are used to represent the Cyrillic graphemes <ч>, <ц>, <дз>, and <дж>, all of which correspond to Hangul <ㅈ>.
- The variable realisation of /l/ is also reflected in the proposed Romanisation, with alveolar trills and flaps originally transcribed <ㅃ> being transliterated with <tr> and, whereas other realisations of the phoneme originally transcribed as <ㄹ(ㄴ)> are transliterated with <l>.

- While both transcription systems allow for the marking of contrastive tone and nasalisation (and the Cyrillic system allows for the marking of contrastive stress), these features are not consistently marked in all transcriptions. Although it violates the ideal of restricting the inventory of Roman graphemes used in the transliteration to those available on a standard English keyboard, in order that none of a given transcription's features are lost in Romanisation, the tilde <~> and the acute accent <'> may be used as diacritics to modify the vowels of the proposed Romanisation to mark nasalisation and high tone, respectively.

Ambiguities in the Proposed Romanisation

While this system may conceivably be used as a transcription device for *Koryo Mar*, its primary purpose is the transliteration of modern written sources (true transcriptions) of the variety. Consequently only minimal accommodations to the sounds of *Koryo Mar* have been made in the design of the proposed Romanisation, which are themselves largely attempts to fully represent the range of graphemes used and in the Cyrillic transcription. This limitation is held in common with a wide range of transliteration systems and may be attributed to the primacy of the written form over spoken in the design of this Romanisation system.

This system largely maps the graphemes of Hangul and the Cyrillic alphabet to Roman alphabet graphemes and digraphs in a one-to-one-to-one relationship in order that the transliteration system be unified and efficient while minimising the possible ambiguity as to which grapheme is encoded by the Romanisation. There are, however, two cases where the Cyrillic transcription encodes different sounds using the grapheme conventionally assigned the closest sound value. Thus, <ë> is used to transcribe the sounds written as <ㅔ> and <ㅚ> in the Hangul transcription and <be> is used to transcribe the sounds written as <ㅖ> and <ㅙ>. Given this situation, we must ask whether our main priority is to reflect all of the possible Hangul or Cyrillic graphemes used to transcribe *Koryo Mar* or whether it is to create a unified system of Romanisation. As we have incorporated other instances where a single phoneme is transcribed using multiple graphemes, for example the transliteration of voicing through the mapping of voiced/voiceless pairs of Cyrillic graphemes to

voiced/voiceless Roman graphemes, it does not seem consistent to restrict the transliteration of distinct phonemes from Hangul based orthography on the grounds that such distinctions are not made in the Cyrillic orthography. Consequently, in these two cases only, we propose a variable transliteration with the Hangul graphemes being transliterated identically to the standard YRK and the Cyrillic graphemes being transliterated according to the adapted YRK, retaining the ambiguity of such transcription in order to maintain the primacy of the written source over the speculations of individual researchers.

In conclusion, we may say that this Romanisation system unfortunately but necessarily combines the limitations of the transcriptions which it transliterates, as well as their advantages. While a researcher with some experience of the variety may be able to guess with a certain degree of accuracy the phonetic realisation of <ë>, or whether <≡> transcribes a trill, tap, where this information is not explicitly encoded transcriptions of *Koryo Mar*, the transliteration, too, ought not encode such information.

Conclusion

The Romanisation system proposed in this paper retains the ambiguities with regard to the phonetic realisations of *Koryo Mar* which are inherent in the transcriptions which it was designed to transliterate. While this prevents the proposed Romanisation from fully unifying the transcriptions of *Koryo Mar*, this transliteration does succeed in unambiguously representing the graphemes of both the Hangul and the Cyrillic transcriptions of *Koryo Mar* with the graphemes of the Roman alphabet to be found on a standard English keyboard in a more unified manner than would be possible using extant transliterations of either Hangul or Cyrillic. Although one-to-one-to-one correspondences between the graphemes of Hangul, the Cyrillic alphabet, and the Roman alphabet not established in every case, they obtain in the vast majority of cases and where they do not, one-to-one correspondences between the Roman alphabet and either Hangul or the Cyrillic alphabet are established.

As the global profile of Korean studies rises, so too does the prominence of even comparatively lesser studied areas, such as international varieties of Korean. While the outlook for the continued survival of these varieties under pressure from regional languages of wider communication and standard varieties of Korean may not be

promising, in making documentary materials and research carried out on these varieties accessible to a wider audience through the Romanisation proposed in this paper we hope to promote awareness of their existence and contribute to their continued study.

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