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"ONE COUNTRY, ONE LANGUAGE"?: MAPPING PERCEPTIONS OF DIALECTS IN SOUTH KOREA[1]

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Abstract

Perceptual dialectology studies have shown that people have strong opinions about the number and placement of dialect regions. This study uses the 'draw-a-map' task to examine perceptions of language variation in South Korea, where relatively little perceptual dialectology research has been conducted. Respondents were asked to indicate on hand-drawn maps where people speak differently and provide names, examples, and comments. The map data were aggregated and analyzed with ArcGIS 10.0 software and the qualitative data were categorized using the 'keywords' method. An analysis of these data suggests that South Koreans' perceptions of dialect regions are not necessarily limited by administrative boundaries; in fact, the data reveal not only perceptions of dialect variation unassociated with geographic borders, but they also tap into the way people connect ideas about language and place. Results from this study have implications for language attitudes research, perceptual dialectology methodology, and the relationship between language and place in South Korea.

Keywords

perceptual dialectology, language attitudes, language and place, language variation, South Korea

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"UN PAÍS, UNA LENGUA": MAPAS DE PERCEPCIONES EN LOS DIALECTOS DE COREA DEL SUR

Resumen

Los estudios sobre dialectología perceptual han demostrado que los hablantes tienen fuertes opiniones sobre el número y la ubicación de las áreas dialectales. Este estudio utiliza la tarea de 'dibujar un mapa' para examinar las percepciones sobre variación lingüística en Corea del Sur, donde se han llevado a cabo relativamente pocas investigaciones relacionada con la dialectología perceptual. Se pidió a los encuestados que indicaran en mapas dibujados a mano dónde se hablaba de manera diferenciada y que proporcionaran nombres, ejemplos y comentarios. Los datos de los mapas fueron agregados y analizados con el software ArcGIS 10.0 y los datos cualitativos se clasificaron usando el método de 'palabras clave'. El análisis de estos datos sugiere que las percepciones de los surcoreanos sobre las áreas dialectales no están limitadas necesariamente por las fronteras administrativas; de hecho, los datos ponen de manifiesto no sólo que las percepciones sobre la variación dialectal no están asociadas a las fronteras geográficas, sino que inciden en el modo en cómo los hablantes conectan sus ideas sobre el lenguaje y el espacio. Los resultados de este estudio tienen implicaciones para la investigación sobre las actitudes lingüísticas, sobre la metodología de la dialectología perceptual, y sobre la relación entre lengua y el espacio en Corea del Sur.

Keywords

dialectología perceptual, actitudes lingüísticas, lengua y espacio, variación lingüística, Corea del Sur

1. Introduction

For more than a century dialect geographers have identified and mapped dialect boundaries, describing linguistic differences within these boundaries. This type of dialect research focuses primarily on production – fieldworkers record the linguistic features that are used regularly (or historically) among members of a community. The observed phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and/or lexical differences are then superimposed on maps where researchers draw linguistic isoglosses to indicate dialect boundaries.[2] More recently, however, dialect geography research has begun to focus on documenting "perceived" dialect differences, i.e., where people believe dialect boundaries to exist along with their perceptions of language variation within those boundaries. This field of

[2] This work has led to various linguistic atlases about English in the United States. A few notable examples are the Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE), the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS), the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS), and the Atlas of North American English (ANAE).

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study is referred to as "perceptual dialectology." See Montgomery & Beal (2011) for a detailed account of perceptual dialectology methods.

Contemporary perceptual dialectology methods are grounded both in dialect variation research conducted in the Netherlands and Japan (Weijnen 1946; Rensink [1955], 1999; Sibata [1971], 1999; Mase [1964], 1999) and social psychology research that measured respondents' attitudes about the relationship between language variety and perceived personality and social characteristics such as friendliness, intelligence, and work ethic (cf. Tucker & Lambert 1969; Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982). These early studies examined non-linguists' judgments of similarities and/or differences between their own language varieties and the varieties spoken in neighboring communities or by speakers of different social classes and/or ethnicities. More recently, perceptual dialectology researchers have devised a series of tasks for collecting data that allow them to tap into respondents' ideologies about linguistic variation (Preston 1999a; Hartley & Preston 1999) and to access speakers' "perceptual mental maps" of language and place (see Preston 1999a for a detailed account of the "five approaches to perceptual dialectology.")

The approaches outlined in Preston (1999a) have been adapted for numerous perceptual dialectology studies around the world. Studies in the U.S. at both the national level (cf. Preston 1999b; Fought 2002) and at the local level (cf. Preston 1996; Bucholtz *et al.* 2007; Hartley 1999; Evans 2011; and Cukor-Avila *et al.* 2012) lend support to the basic tenet of perceptual dialectology research that speakers have strong opinions about the number and location of dialect regions. Studies conducted in other countries have come to similar conclusions (cf. Inoue 1999; Long 1999a, 1999b; Demirci & Kleiner 1999; Kuiper 1999; Dailey-O'Cain 1999; Coupland *et al*. 1999; and Montgomery 2007).

The present study reports on perceptions of language variation in South Korea, where except for Long & Yim (2002), relatively little perceptual dialectology research has been conducted. Like Long & Yim (2002), this study incorporates the approaches outlined in Preston (1999a) to collect perceptual data; however, it differs methodologically in the following key ways:

a) Includes a larger geographical area and has a more diverse respondent pool. Long & Yim (2002) restricted their survey to college-aged students living in Seoul. The

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present study surveys respondents of varying ages and demographic backgrounds living in all six provinces of South Korea.

b) Uses GIS to arrive at a quantitative analysis of the data. In this study, we overcome limitations of previous perceptual dialectology research by carrying out a quantitative analysis of the map-labeling task using Geographical Information System (GIS) technology (see section 3.3). The resulting composite maps provide better visual representations of respondents' perceptions of language variation because they allow for a multi-layered analysis of linguistic, perceptual, demographic, and geographic information. In Long & Yim (2002), composite maps of perceived dialect regions were created using Perceptual Dialect Quantifier (PDQ) for Windows 95 (Onishi & Long 1997). This approach was limited both in its ability to examine layers of data and the quality of the visual representation of the results.

c. Uses 'keywords' to arrive at a qualitative analysis of the data. We perform a content analysis of the qualitative data provided by respondents during the map-labeling task using 'keywords' (Garrett *et al.* 2005; Evans 2011). During this process, comments and labels given by respondents are categorized into themes that reflect the ideologies associated with perceived dialect areas.

By expanding on the methods used in Long & Yim (2002) in the ways outlined above, this study provides detailed quantitative and qualitative analyses of perceptions of language variation in South Korea.

2. "One country, one language"

Variation in Korean endures despite many language standardization efforts put in place by the Korean government. On January 23, 1991, the president of South Korea created the Seoul-based National Institute of the Korean Language (NIKL) to act as a regulatory body to promote and maintain a standard Korean based on the dialect spoken in Seoul. In North Korea, the Language Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences performs the same function (Yeon 2006). Since its creation, NIKL, with support from the South Korean government, and the National Language Research Institute (NLRI) have

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successfully perpetuated the notion that Koreans should speak the standard form spoken in Seoul because it is both correct and prestigious. Standard Korean is defined by NIKL as "the modern speech of Seoul widely used by the well-cultivated" and it is based on the speech of educated, middle class natives of Seoul, located in the Gyeonggi province (NLRI 1992). In practice, however, this idealized standard tends not to include features that are found exclusively in Seoul.

In fact, linguists have documented dialectal variation in Korea, dividing South Korea into five major dialect areas that roughly approximate the present-day province boundaries[3] (see Figure 1 below): (1) Central dialects (Seoul and Gyeonggi province, Yeongseo region west of the Taebaek Mountains neighboring Gangwon province in North Korea, and Chungcheong province); (2) Yeongdong dialect (Yeongdong region east of the Taebaek Mountains neighboring Gangwon province in North Korea; (3) Southwest dialect (Jeolla province); (4) Southeast dialect (Gyeongsang province); and (5) Jeju dialect (Jeju province). Even so, many South Koreans still embrace the widespread conceptual myth of "one country, one language."

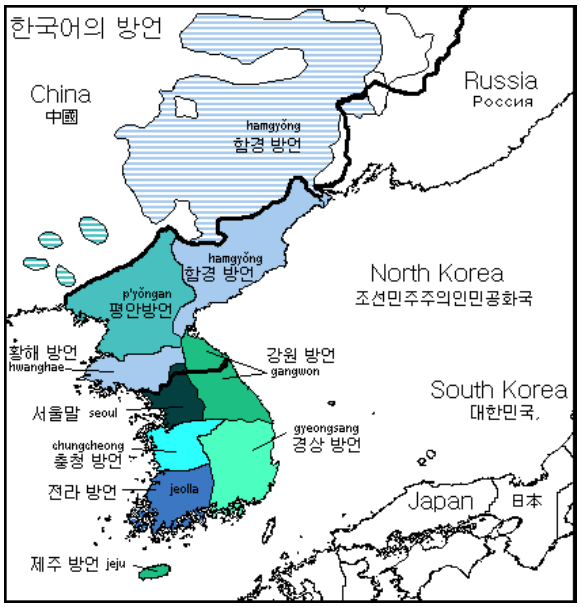


Figure 1. Korean dialect divisions (Source: KoreanWikiProject.com.)

[3] In this study, we Romanize the names of places in South Korea following the Romanization given by the South Korean government to that place. Therefore, all names of places are Romanized according to the Revised Romanization of Korean, the official Korean language Romanization used by the South Korean government.

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An in-depth discussion of the linguistic differences among Korean dialects is beyond the scope of this paper; however, the following general characterizations can be made. First, there is variation in the number of vowel phonemes that corresponds to geographic region and speaker age (King 2006). Originally, there was a phonemic contrast between long and short vowels in the standardized speech of North and South Korea. However, this contrast is disappearing in the language of younger Seoul speakers (Nakamura *et al*. 1991) and has disappeared altogether in some dialects like Hamgyeong in North Korea and North Jeolla in South Korea. There is also variation in pitch accent in several regions like Geyongsang, Hamgyeong, South Jeolla, and some areas of Gangwon, but not in Seoul or in the surrounding Gyeonggi area (Hayata 1976; W. G. Kim 1983; S.-O. Yi 1983). Finally, there is considerable lexical and grammatical variation, especially for provinces in the southern dialect regions like Gyeongsang, Jeolla (S. G. Yi 1998; K. Yi 1998), and the dialect spoken on Jeju Island. The Jeju dialect is often referred to as the most divergent dialect in Korea, and many people from the mainland claim that it is unintelligible.

3. Methods

3.1 Survey Instrument

The present study uses the first approach to collect perceptual dialectology data outlined in Preston (1999a): the 'draw-a-map' task. 'Draw-a-map' tasks ask informants to draw perceived boundaries for language variation on blank or minimally detailed maps of the area of study. In perceptual dialectology studies of the U.S. (Preston 1989, 1996), respondents were given maps for the 'draw-a-map' task that only outlined the states and then offered separate detailed maps of the area of study if they wished to reference them. Other researchers have used minimally detailed maps for 'draw-a-map' tasks that include reference information for the respondent on the survey instrument itself.

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Reference information can be geographical features, major cities and highways, cultural and historical markers, bordering areas, or a combination of all of these.[4]

The 'draw-a-map' task used in the present study asked informants to draw lines or circles on a map of Korea indicating places where they believed people speak differently (see Figure 2).[5] We then asked informants to provide names or labels for the areas they indicated. We also collected qualitative data from open-ended conversations with informants about the information they provided on the maps along with any other comments they had about language variation in Korea.



Respondents were asked to (1) draw "a line around places where you think people's Korean sounds different" and (2) "write down what you'd call that way of talking, if you can think of a label for it (e.g., is it a word or pronunciation they use? Or a special way of talking?)"

Figure 2. Survey instrument

[4] For example, the survey instrument in Evans's (2011) perceptual dialectology study of Washington included the Cascade mountain range — a very salient geographical landmark — along with major cities and highways. Results from Evans's study support the idea of a perceived cultural divide that separates eastern and western Washington that follows the Cascade mountain range. Similarly, in Long & Yim (2002), the survey instrument used was a map of the Korean peninsula with province boundaries included as reference information. Their data suggest that these boundaries were very salient as many respondents indicated dialect areas that corresponded to the provincial boundaries.

[5] To test for the effect that geospatial reference information provided on survey instruments might have on respondents' answers, we used two different map types in this study. Except for Lameli *et al.* (2008) and Jeon (2011), map type differences have not been quantitatively analyzed in perceptual dialectology research. In this paper we have grouped the data from both map types because our initial findings are that map type did not significantly affect the type or amount of information these respondents put on the maps. We are currently investigating this in more detail.

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After completing the 'draw-a-map' task, respondents were asked to answer nine demographic questions listed on the back of the map that included the following: year born, sex, ethnicity, educational background, ability to speak a language other than their first, time lived in Korea, place lived in the longest, self-identification with a place, and self-identification as urban, rural, or suburban.

Figures 3 and 4 are example hand-drawn maps collected from respondents with different demographic backgrounds and from different regions of Korea. The blue star in the figure indicates the place the map was collected. These examples illustrate the kinds of varied responses we received. Some respondents included very little information and identified fewer places where people speak differently, as in Figure 3. Others, as in Figure 4, included a lot of detailed information about dialect differences and indicated a greater number of places where they perceived people to speak differently.

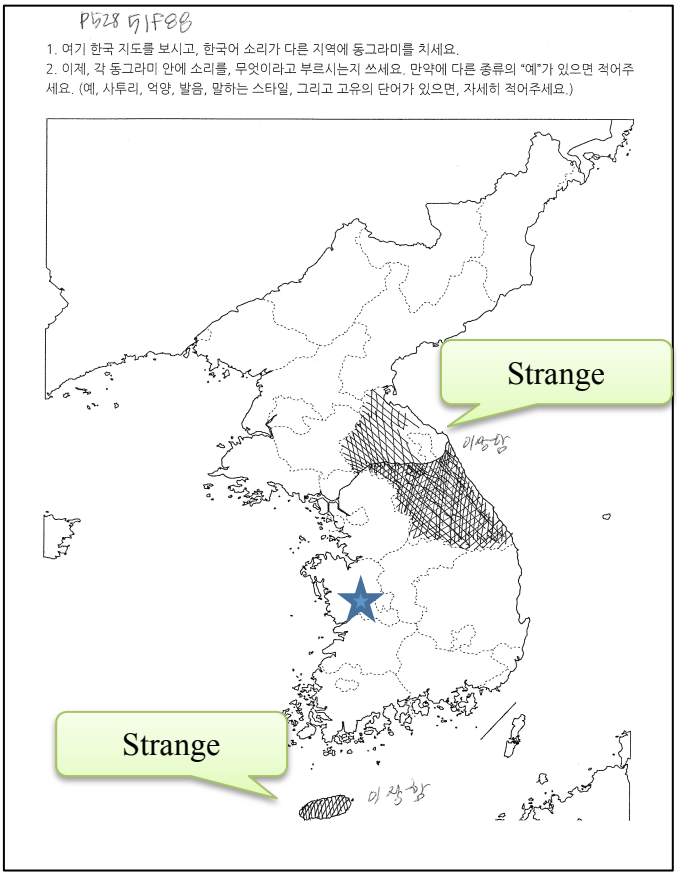


Figure 3. Example hand-drawn map from a female born in 1988 in Jeonju

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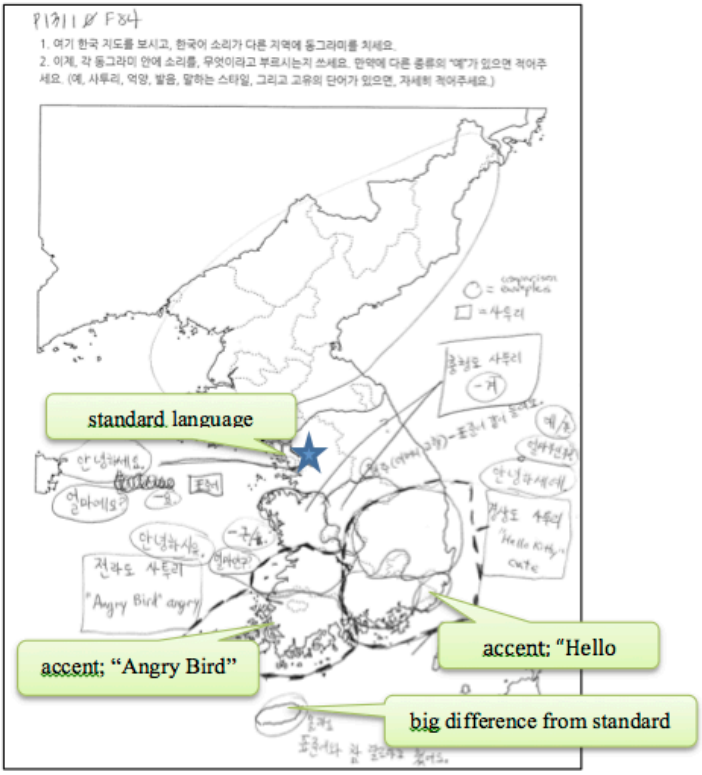


Figure 4. Example hand-drawn map collected from a female born in 1984 in Seoul

3.2 Data Collection

In order to collect a representative sample of dialect perceptions we surveyed Koreans of various ages and backgrounds residing in major urban areas and their surrounding rural communities. As shown in Figure 5, data collection sites included 11 cities (Seoul, Cheonan, Daejeon, Jeonju, Mokpo, Yeosu, Boseong, Busan, Daegu, Yangyang, and Jeju) located in all six provinces (Gyeonggi, Chungcheong, Jeolla, Gyeongsang, Gangwon, and Jeju). Fieldwork sites were diverse and included university campuses, bars and restaurants, coffee shops, malls, museums, hotels, on the street, taxis, buses and bus terminals, trains and train stations, airplanes and airports, and even the 2012 World Expo that was held in Yeosu.

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Figure 5. Data collection sites

During three weeks of fieldwork we collected a total of 488 maps. In the final analysis, 52 maps were discarded because they either had ambiguous information or were not drawn on. This left a total of 436 maps from 197 male (45%) and 239 female (55%) respondents. As Tables 1 and 2 show, the majority of respondents (68.1%) were between 18-28-years-old and were well educated (78.3% reported some college or higher)[6].

Table 1. Total respondents by year of birth

Year of Birth	**# of Respondents**	**% of Total**
1930-1962	47	10.8%
1963-1982	92	21.1%
1983-1994	186	68.1%
Total	**436**	

[6] This is representative of the Korean population. According to annual reports by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) since 2005, South Korean people are the most likely among industrialized countries to be literate (97.9%) and have university degrees.

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Table 2. Total respondents by education level

Education Level	**# of Respondents**	**% of Total**
Some high school	15	3.4%
Completed high school	35	8.0%
Some college	246	56.4%
Bachelor's degree	96	22.0%
Graduate degree	43	9.9%
Unknown	1	0.2%
Total	**436**	

In addition, most respondents (83.7%) were born in Korea and had lived there all their lives, they self-reported as urban (63.3%)[7], and indicated that they could speak a second language (86.2%).

3.3 Data Analysis

The principal method used in perceptual dialectology research to uncover general trends and patterns is the 'draw-a-map' task. However, the 'draw-a-map' task presents challenges in this regard because respondents freely draw lines and shapes (referred to as 'polygons') on paper maps, and there is considerable variation in the size and number of the areas that they draw. While this free choice allows for respondents to provide a wealth of information about their perceived dialect boundaries, it does not easily lend itself to data aggregation. For example, the hand-drawn maps collected in this study yielded many 'layers' or categories of data: geographical data that included the extent, placement, and names of dialect areas; attitudinal data that consisted of qualitative comments; and linguistic data that consisted of lexical, phonological, and intonational features that respondents associated with different regions of Korea.

An ideal solution for analyzing multi-layered data from 'draw-a-map' surveys is the

[7] This is also representative of the Korean population. According to the World Bank, most of the population of South Korea has been concentrated in urban areas since the country underwent industrialization in the 1960s. In 2002, over 77% of the population was concentrated in major urban areas and the country continues to see a growing number of people migrating from rural to urban areas.

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use of a GIS (Geographical Information System). A GIS is defined as a system that integrates the three basic elements of hardware, software, and data "for capturing, managing, analyzing, and displaying all forms of geographically referenced information" (ESRI, 2011). The primary function of a GIS for perceptual dialectology is 'geo-referencing' or linking different layers of data to the earth's surface. This allows a GIS to "combine semantic and geometrical information" (Gomarasca 2009: 481). Using a GIS, perceptual data can be aggregated, analyzed, and displayed according to the different layers of data collected from respondent maps, as is illustrated in Figure 6 (cf. Evans 2011 and Montgomery & Stoeckle 2013). Following this approach then, we used ArcGIS 10.0 software to analyze the data provided by respondents in the 436 hand-drawn maps we collected.

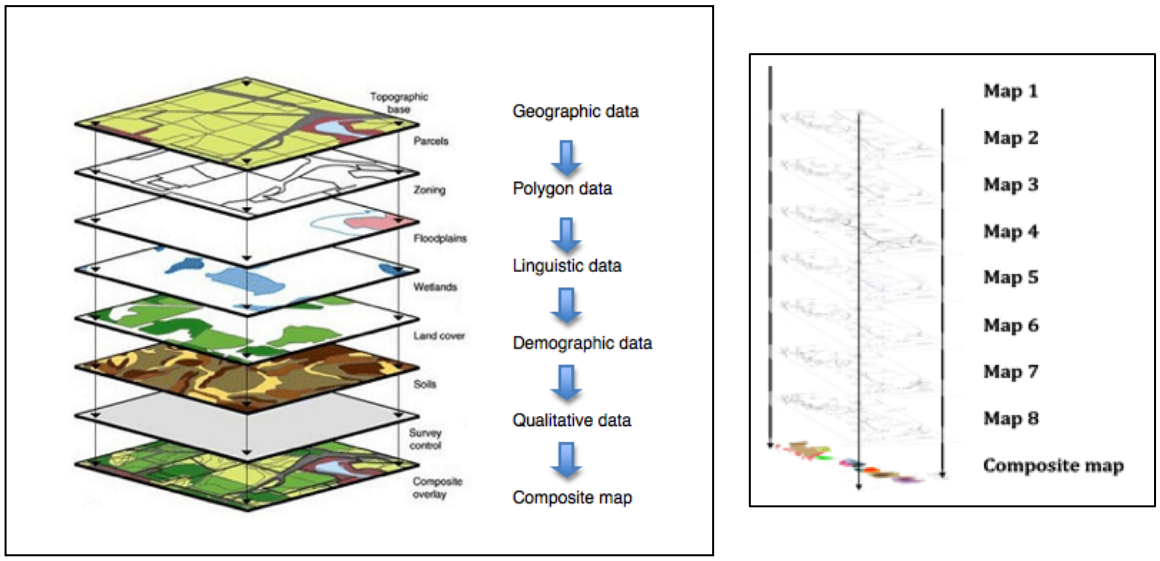


Figure 6. Multi-layering of data types in a GIS (adapted from Montgomery 2011)

4. Results

The results of our analyses suggest that Koreans' perceptions of dialect regions do not overlap with province boundaries, as proposed by Long & Yim (2002). In addition, the qualitative data provide insight on the way people connect ideas about language and place (Johnstone 2010).

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4.1 ArcGIS Analysis

The composite maps created with ArcGIS visually represent the frequency of areas most identified by respondents, i.e., the most salient perceptual areas. These maps reveal that Koreans do indeed perceive language variation despite the prevalent conceptual myth that Korea has only one speech variety, the standard dialect, located in the Seoul and surrounding Gyeonggi region.

Figure 7 is a composite map that indicates the overlap of areas identified by all 436 respondents as places where they perceive people's Korean sounds different. The darkest areas show where the most overlap occurs, while the lighter areas indicate where the least overlap occurs. In the map's legend, the overlap is calculated as the percent of all 436 respondents who identified an area. For instance, the darkest locations on the map represent the overlap of areas identified by the most respondents (between 60.2%-75.2% of people surveyed).

Figure 8 compares the composite map in Figure 7 to a map of established dialect boundaries of Korea. The perceptual composite map somewhat correlates to the dialect boundary map; however, a notable difference between them is the merging of two Central dialects on the traditional map, the dialects spoken in Seoul/Gyeonggi and Chungcheong, into one large dialect region on the perceptual map. Another difference includes the merging of the established Northwest and Northeast dialect spoken in Pyeongyang and Hamgyeong and the established Central dialect spoken in Hwanghae into one large perceptual dialect area for North Korea. Also, respondents in our study perceived a distinct dialect boundary at the 38th parallel north, a line of latitude used as the pre-Korean War division line and current Military Demarcation Line separating North and South Korea. This boundary is not represented on the map of traditional dialect divisions.

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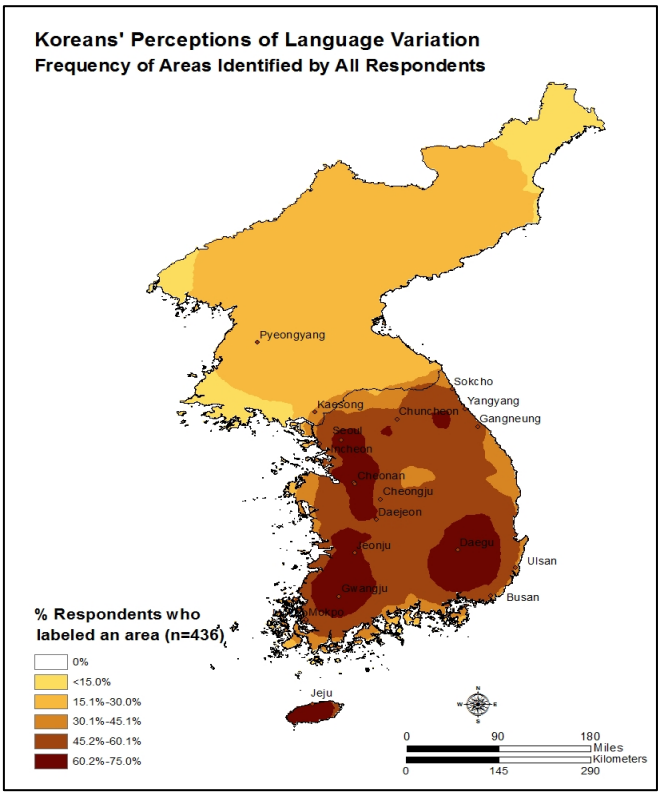


Figure 7. Composite map showing the most salient dialect areas for all respondents

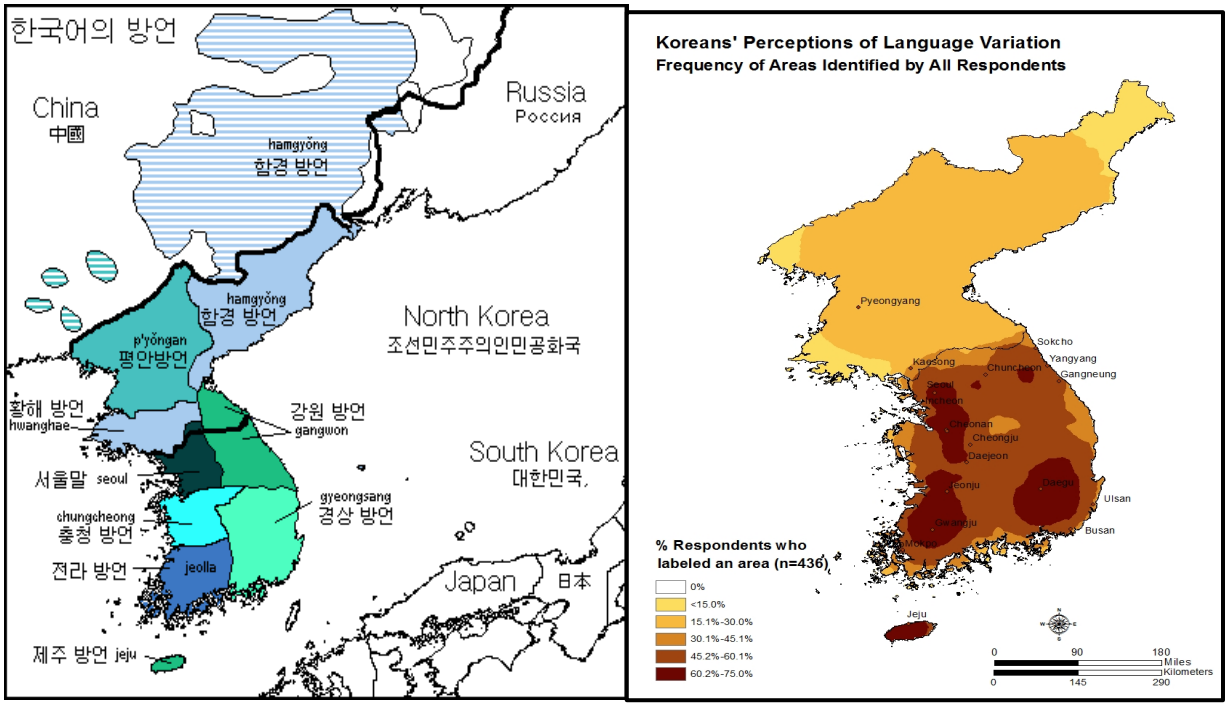


Figure 8. Comparison of established and perceptual dialect boundaries

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4.2 Content analysis

To analyze the comments and qualitative labels that respondents provided on the maps we performed a content analysis using the 'keywords' technique outlined in Garrett *et al.* (2005) and Evans (2011). During this process, similar words and phrases were combined with others that were in the same semantic field to find emerging themes. For example, we combined words and phrases like "correct" and "official language" to form one category called *Standard*.

The keyword analysis yielded eight categories; we are not including three of the categories, *Lexical Items*, *Sentence Final Endings*, and *Manner/Personality,* in the analysis here because they were identified in every region and thus were not as interesting perceptually. The remaining five categories are listed in Table 7 by order of frequency from most to least identified by respondents: (1) *Standardness*, which we further divided into *Non-Standard* and *Standard*; (2) *Strong Intonation/Tone*; (3) *Strong Accent*; (4) *Speed*, which we further divided into *Slow* and *Fast*; and (5) *Gender Association*, which we further divided into *Aegyo*,[8] *Feminine*, and *Masculine*. Using ArcGIS 10 we created composite maps for each of the categories listed in Table 7. In the following sections, we discuss and compare each of the maps for each of these categories in further detail.

Table 7. Five perceptual categories most identified by respondents at least once per map

Category	**# of Respondents**	**% of Total (n=436)**
Standardness	420	96.3%
Standard	(202)	(46.3%)
Non-Standard	(218)	(50.0%)
Strong Intonation/Tone	272	62.4%
Strong Accent	171	39.2%
Speed	261	59.9%
Slow	183	(42.0%)
Fast	78	(17.9%)
Gender Association	144	33.0%
Aegyo	(75)	(17.2%)
Feminine	(38)	(8.7%)
Masculine	(31)	(7.1%)

[8] *Aegyo* is a behavior and speech style typically used by younger females in Korea to appear cute, innocent, and child-like, sometimes for a manipulative purpose. It is characterized by a higher pitched voice and utterances with a melodic sweep over the vocal cords. Often, child-like dress, mannerisms, and facial expressions also characterize *aegyo* speakers.

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4.2.1 Standard vs. Non-Standard

Almost all respondents (96.3%) labelled at least one area that was categorized as either *Standard* or *Non-Standard*. Key words for *Standard* included words and phrases such as *standard language, speech of popular media, mainstream, cultured, educated, academic, professional, official,* and *correct*. Key words for *Non-Standard* included words and phrases such as *different from standard*, *substandard, illiterate, uncultured, uneducated,* and *incorrect*. Many respondents also wrote examples of non-standard forms or indicated areas that were different from the standard on maps and these were also coded as *Non-Standard*.

A comparison of the composite maps for *Standard* and *Non-Standard* in Figure 9 reveals that (1) most respondents perceive that *Standard* is located primarily in the capital city of Seoul and the surrounding Gyeonggi province; (2) a smaller number of respondents also perceive their home region and North Korea as Standard;[9] (3) *Non-Standard* is heavily associated with the Southeast dialect region, the darkest area on the right map, as well as the dialects spoken in Gangwon, Jeolla, and Jeju;[10] and (4) *Non-Standard* is not associated at all with the Chungcheong province in the Central dialect region nor with North Korea, the white areas on the map.

[9] Preston (1996) suggests that nonlinguists view dialects as sub-varieties of a super variety. Similar results in Long & Yim (2002) indicate that perhaps Koreans view the linguistic varieties spoken in their local area or in North Korea in a parallel sense to the standard variety — different but equal.

[10] Another category related to *Non-Standard* that we have not included in the present analysis is *Unintelligibility*. Keywords for this label included *unintelligible* and words and phrases such as '*mwo?*' ('what?'), *foreign, can't/difficult to understand, doesn't sound like Korean, words you don't know or will hear for the first time, and like a different language/country*. The composite map of areas most frequently identified as *Unintelligible* suggests that the Korean spoken in Jeju province is very hard to understand, to the extent that many consider it to be another language. This is in direct contrast to the capital city of Seoul and the surrounding Gyeonggi province which none of the 436 respondents perceived as *Unintelligible*.

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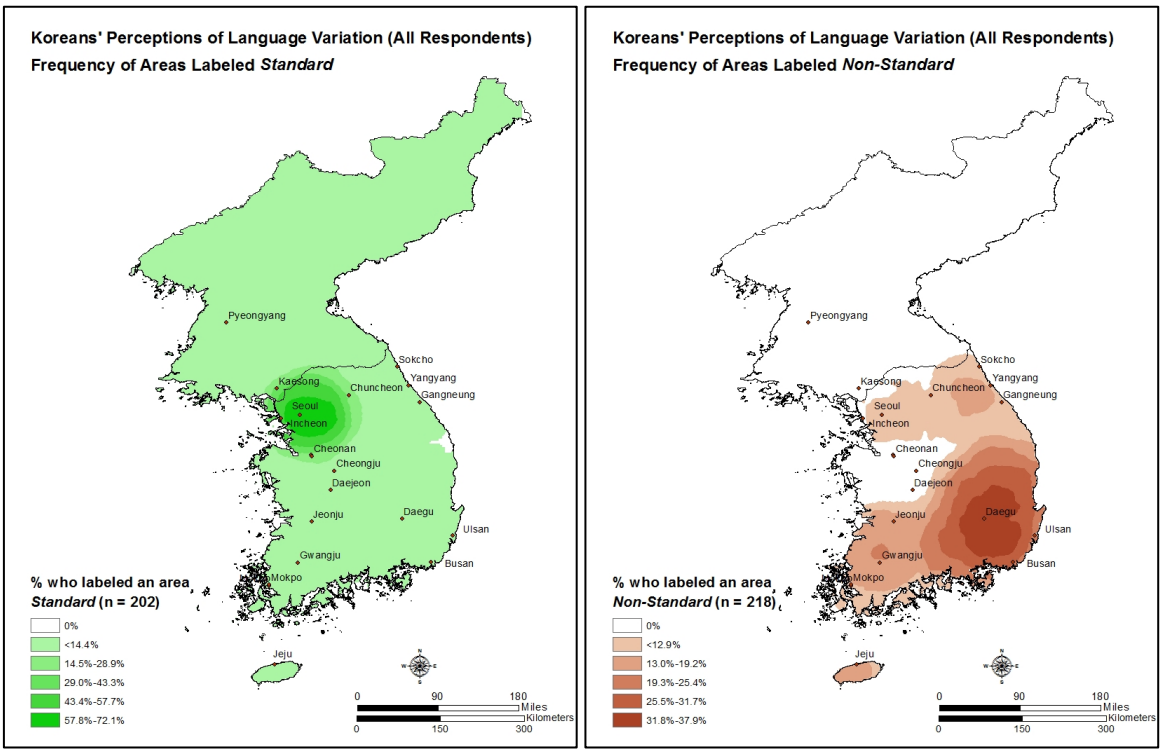


Figure 9. Composite maps of *Standard* (left) vs. *Non-Standard* (right)

4.2.2 Strong Intonation/Tone and Strong Accent

Perceptual labels categorized as *Strong Intonation/Tone* occurred at least once on almost two-thirds of the maps (62.4%). Key words for this category included the words *intonation* and *tone* as well as characterizations of speech as being *strong*, *severe*, *noticeable*, *wavy*, *high and low*, and *up and down*. Several respondents drew arrows or lines indicating the directionality and waviness of intonation and/or tone patterns (the circled areas in Figure 10) or provided their imitations of how certain words are pronounced with the intonation and/or tone patterns of the region they circled.

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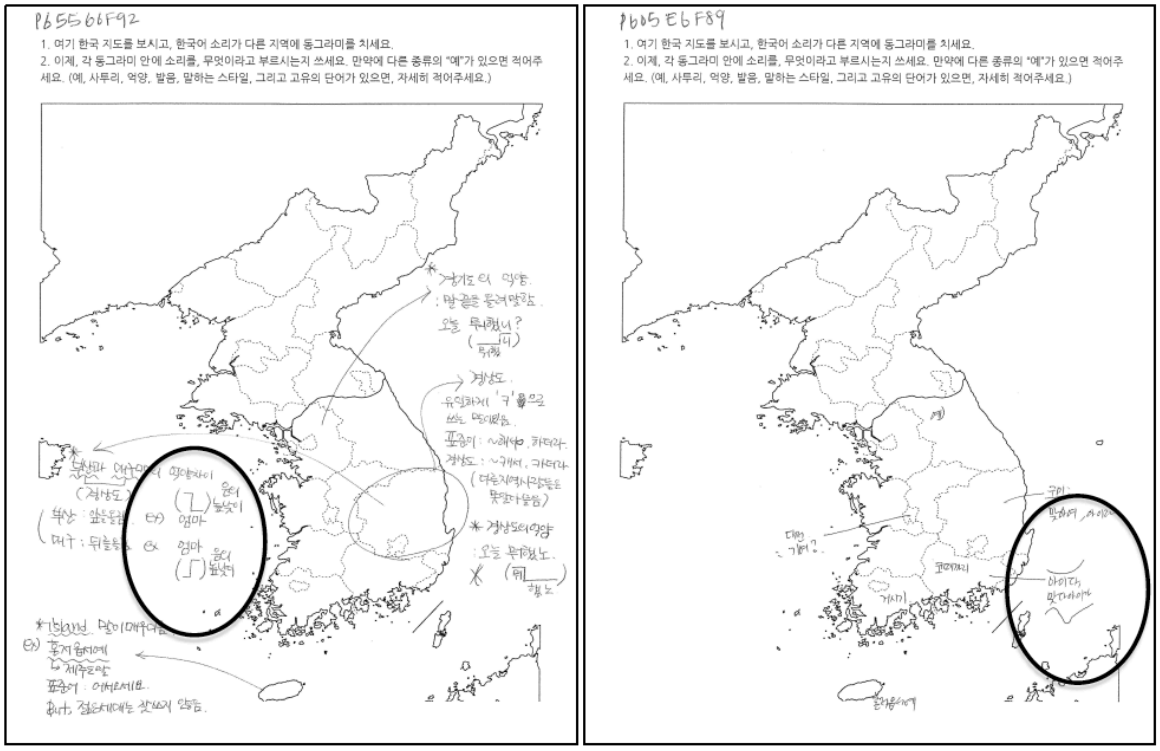


Figure 10. Hand-drawn maps showing indications of intonation and/or tone patterns

We compare with *Strong Intonation/Tone* and *Strong Accent* in Figure 11 because of the similarity between the two maps. Key words for *Strong Accent* included the word *accent* and *dialect* as well as characterizations of it as being *strong*, *severe*, or *distinct*. These maps show that (1) none of the respondents associated the capital city of Seoul with being strongly accented (the white area on the right map); (2) *Strong Accent* is perceived by the majority of respondents in the southernmost dialect regions including the Southeast, Southwest, and Jeju Island; (3) *Strong Intonation/Tone* and *Strong Accent* are primarily associated with the Southeast dialect area (the darkest areas on the maps) that includes the major cities of Busan and Daegu, and also overlaps with the same region perceived as *Non-Standard* (Figure 9).

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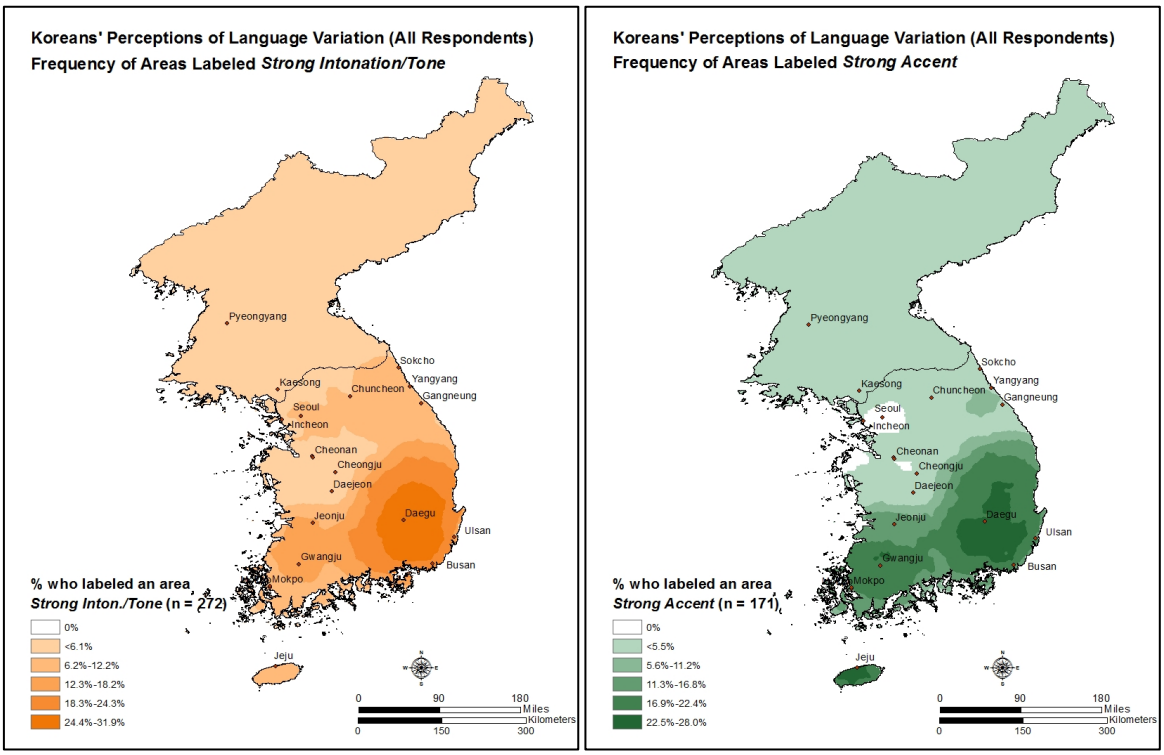


Figure 11. Composite maps of *Strong Intonation/Tone* (left) and *Strong Accent* (right)

4.2.3 Slow vs. Fast Speed

A little over half of the respondents (59.9%) labeled at least one area that was categorized as *Speed*, either *Slow* or *Fast*. Key words and phrases for *Slow* included *slow*, *drawl*, *drawn out*, and *takes a long time to speak*, as well as tildes used to illustrate lengthened utterances of words. One respondent circled Chungcheong province and described it as "*the slowest place in the world*" and described the speech there as having "*slow, dragging syllables—the Texas of Korea." Fast,* on the other hand, included key words and phrases such as *fast ('pali pali')*, *short*, *hurried*, and *like lightening.* For instance, one respondent commented that people in the Gyeongsang region "*spoke so fast that you have to suspect that they did something wrong and need to run away after they finish speaking*."

A comparison of the composite maps for *Slow* and *Fast* in Figure 12 illustrates that (1) most respondents perceive slow speech in the Chungcheong province which lies within the Central dialect region, the darkest area on the left map; (2) the Southeast and Southwest dialect regions, the darkest areas on the right map, are where respondents

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perceive speech to be fast; and (3) perceptions of fast and slow speech were never associated with North Korea.

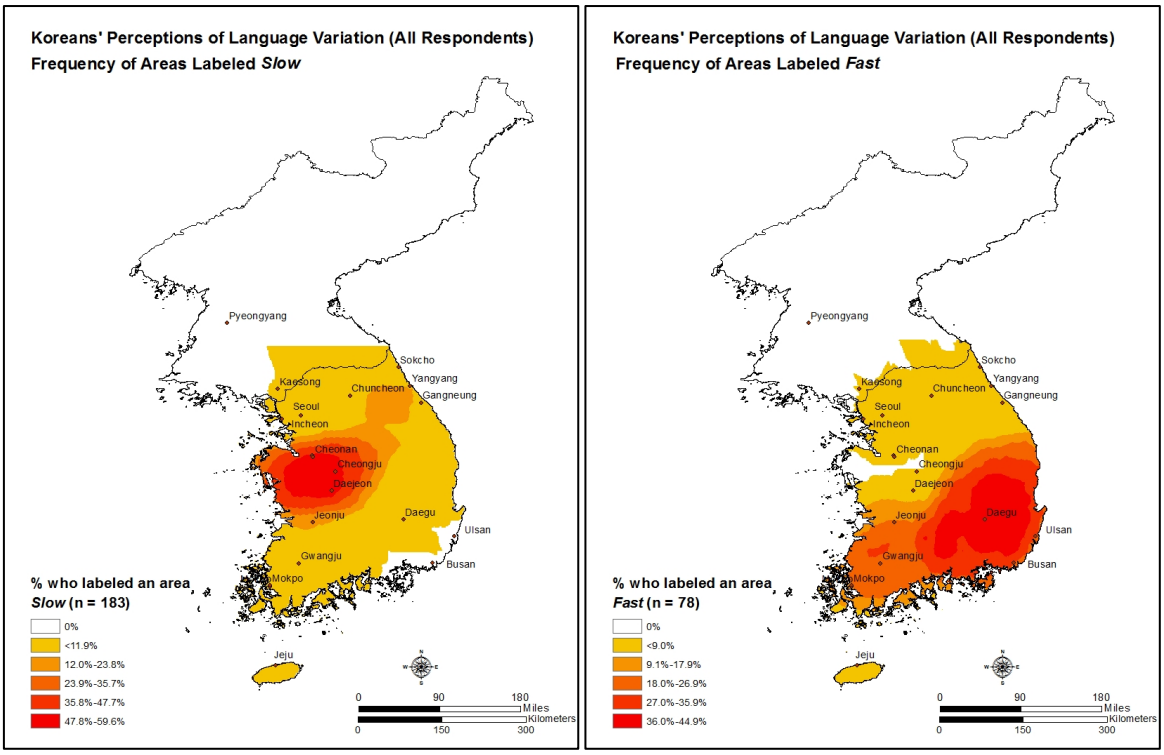


Figure 12. Composite maps of *Slow* (left) and *Fast* (right) *Speed*

4.2.4 Gender Association

One-third of the respondents had perceptions of Korean that we included in one of the three *Gender Association* categories: *Aegyo, Feminine,* or *Masculine*. Comments categorized as *Aegyo*, the "affected" high-pitched speech typically associated with young women, occurred twice as often per map (17.2%) than either *Feminine* (8.7%), or *Masculine* (7.1%). Keywords for *Aegyo* included *cute*, *winsome*, *baby talk, affected sweetness*, and *speech used for manipulation*. Some respondents simply wrote the word '*oppa*' (a word meaning 'older brother' often used by speakers of *aegyo* to address older males) as Figure 13 shows, onomatopoeic words, tildes, and emoticons to indicate intonation and pitch patterns of *aegyo* speech.

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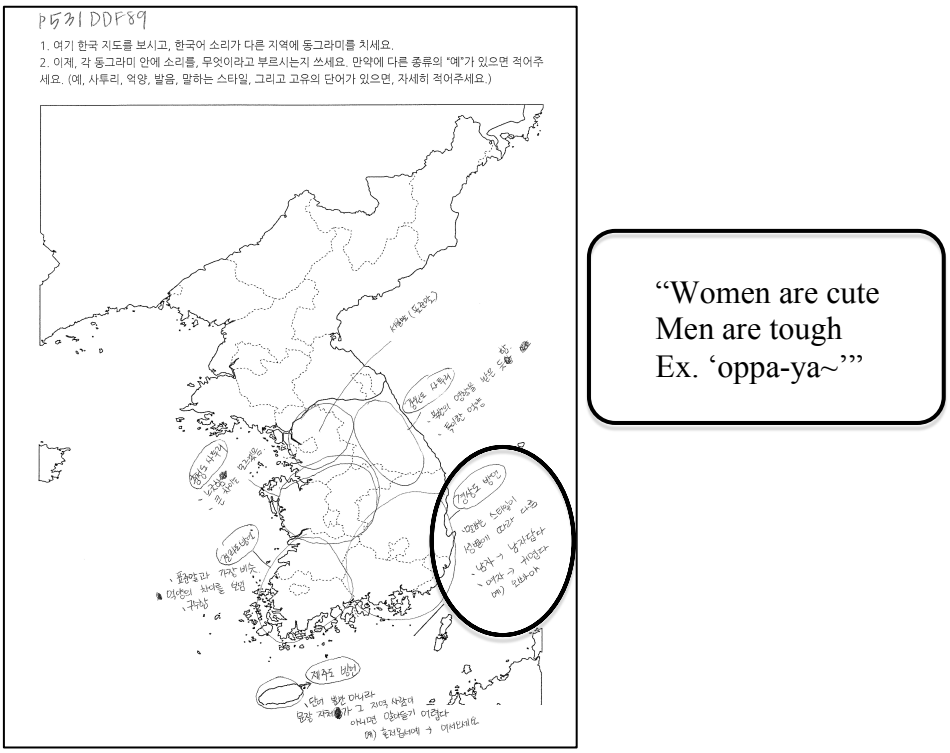


Figure 13. Hand-drawn map showing indications of *aegyo* speech

Keywords for the categories *Feminine* and *Masculine* included words, phrases, or symbols typically (or perhaps "stereotypically") associated by the respondents with women and men. Adjectives such as *cute, attractive*, *soft,* and *smooth* often occurred with and thus were categorized as *Feminine*; alternatively, adjectives such as *tough*, *loud*, *crude*, *aggressive*, and *blunt* often occurred with were thus were categorized with *Masculine*. Many respondents also wrote comments such as "*Men are tough and women are cute*."

A comparison of the maps that characterize perceptions of feminine sounding speech, *Aegyo* and *Feminine*, (Figure 14) suggests that (1) both *Aegyo* and *Feminine* are perceived mostly in the Southeast dialect region and also in the Southwest and Central dialect regions, the darkest areas on the maps; (2) Korean spoken in the Jeju province is never perceived as *Feminine*, although a small percentage of the respondents associate this area with *Aegyo*; and (3) respondents do not associate speech in North Korea and parts of Gangwon province (the white areas on the maps) as sounding either *Aegyo* or *Feminine*.

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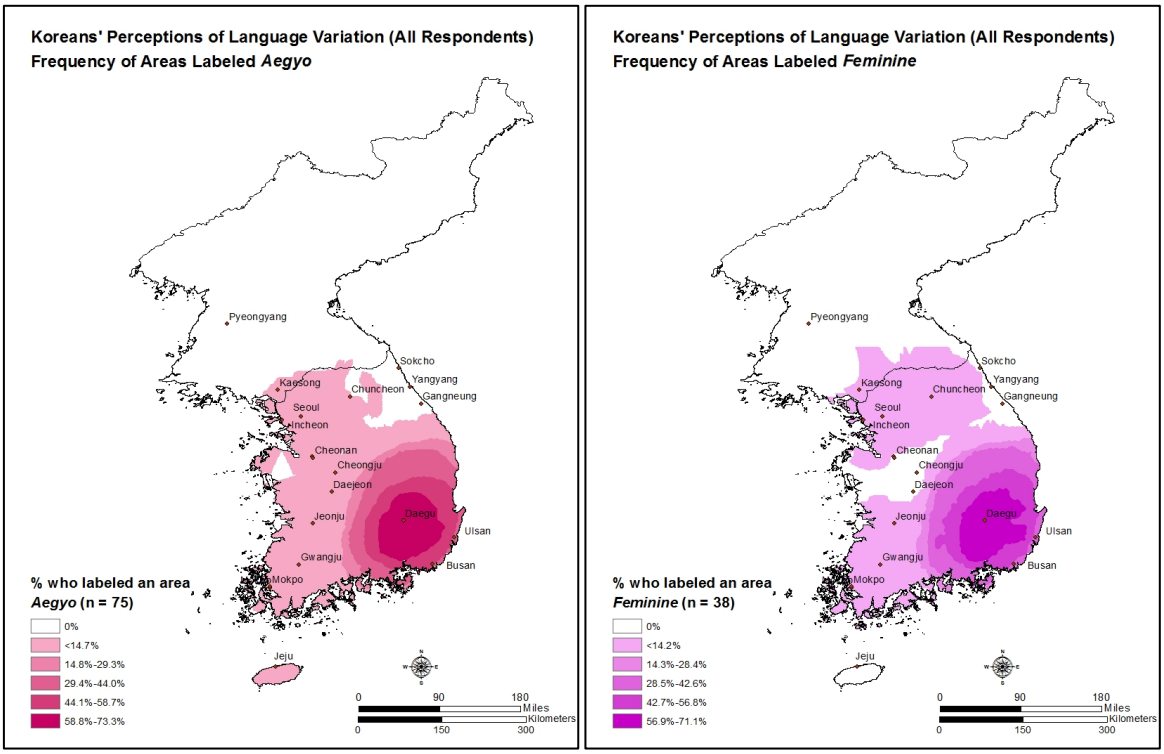


Figure 14. Composite maps of *Aegyo* (left) and *Feminine* (right)

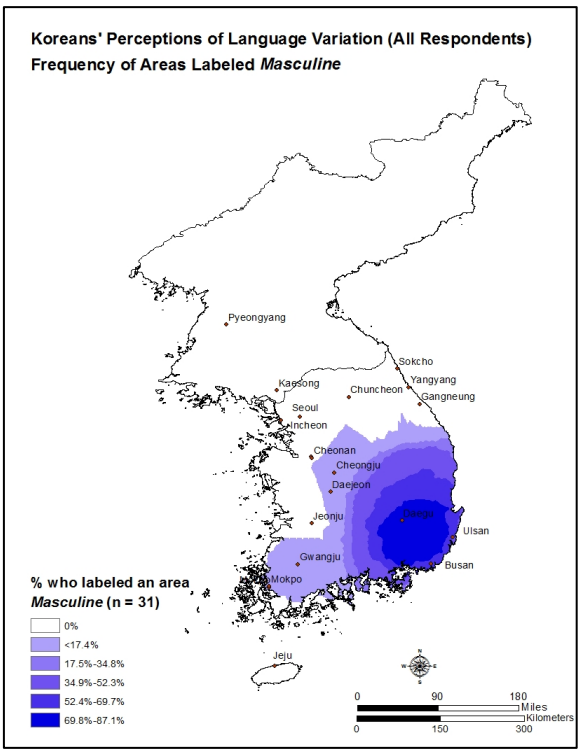


Figure 15. Composite map of *Masculine*

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If we compare the composite map for *Masculine* in Figure 15 with the maps in Figure 14 we notice that respondents' perceptions of *Masculine* sounding speech overlap with their perceptions of *Feminine* sounding speech. Like *Aegyo* and *Feminine*, *Masculine* is mainly perceived in the Southeast dialect region and not at all in North Korea; however, unlike *Feminine* sounding speech it is not associated at all with the Central or Jeju dialect regions.

5. Discussion

Results of this study suggest that Koreans do not perceive the peninsula as a homogenous speech community, despite the widespread belief that there is a national standard modeled after the Korean spoken in Seoul and throughout the Gyeonggi province. As evidenced by the clear division on the perceptual maps at the 38th parallel, the North-South political border plays a significant role in the perception of a North Korean dialect area that is distinct from dialects perceived in South Korea. Contrary to the findings in Long & Yim (2002), the dialect regions that our respondents perceived (see Figure 7) do not all fall within the provincial boundary lines. Not surprisingly, the more salient dialect areas for our respondents seem to be concentrated in major urban areas that are densely populated and are connected by high-speed transportation. In contrast, dialect areas that are less salient cluster in regions that are not urban centers and are not easily accessed by the Korean rail system, e.g., Gangwon, the coastal areas, and the interior regions of the peninsula.[11] The exception to this is the highly stigmatized variety of Korean spoken on Jeju Island that was identified by most of our respondents as a separate dialect region. Many of the people we talked to both on the mainland and on Jeju Island remarked that because Jeju is sparsely populated[12] and is located far from the

[11] Currently, high-speed rail lines that transverse the peninsula between the west and east coast are very limited.

[12] According to census figures from 2011 the province of Jeju ranks last in terms of population, 583,284 inhabitants compared with Gyoenggi Province which ranks first with a total population of approximately 12 million; 10.5 million of these inhabitants live in the capital Seoul.

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capital and closer to Japan, it is culturally and linguistically different from the rest of South Korea. The mainland respondents often commented that Jeju was a nice vacation destination but not a place where educated Koreans would live and work.

The content analysis of the respondents' comments provides additional insight into how attitudes and beliefs associated with language variation in and across speech communities correlate with perceptual dialect boundaries. All but sixteen of the 436 respondents wrote comments on their maps that were related to *Standardness*. This overwhelming tendency for respondents to view language as either *Standard* or *Non-Standard* supports Preston's suggestion that, "one of the dominating folk concerns in language is pre- (and pro-) scription" (Preston 1999b). *Non-Standard* was slightly more salient than *Standard* and mostly associated with the southern regions of Gyeongsang and Jeju. *Standard* was overwhelmingly associated with Seoul/Gyeonggi province, perhaps a reflection of the wholesale adoption by Koreans of the conceptual myth of "one country, one language" based on the variety spoken in the capital.

Results for the category of labels associated with *Strong Intonation/Tone* and *Strong Accent* showed that both these features were most often perceived in the southern regions of Gyeongsang, Jeolla, and Jeju. This finding correlates well with documented linguistic differences such as pitch accent (in Gyeongsang), number of vowels, lexical and grammatical variation, and differences in verb and sentence-final endings.

The perceptions of *Slow* and *Fast* speech that respondents primarily associated with Chungcheong and Gyeongsang respectively reveal one of the great paradoxes in Korean culture – a preoccupation with speed (*pali pali* meaning "fast fast" is often heard in Korea) and conversely the notion that one should appreciate and enjoy life. While Korea is a country that values getting things done efficiently and expediently, people also value vacations and leisure time. This paradox in cultural values was reflected in many of the comments on the maps where respondents indicated a frustration or dislike for the slow speech of Chungcheong and a similar disdain for the faster speech of Gyeongsang.

The key word analysis for *Gender Association* suggests that Koreans' perceptions of dialect diversity may be linked to recent changes in traditional gender roles and beauty standards in Korea, specifically in Seoul, that have now "come to reflect both a male and female ideal" (Maliangkay 2010). The idea of the ultra-feminine *aegyo* ("winsomely cute")

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female and the effeminate *kkonminam* (*kkot* = "flower"; *minam* = "handsome man") male embodied by many Korean pop icons, has begun to spread throughout the country and to broader East Asian markets. This is often attributed to the rise of the so-called "Korean Wave" (*hallyu*) in the late 1990s, when Korean pop icons began gaining popularity. Turnbull (2009) suggests that the ultra-feminization of the ideal Korean female figure may also stem from Japan's *kawaii* craze and a general obsession with cuteness. He attributes the feminization of the ideal Korean male to a shift in women's attitudes about traditional gender roles after decades of significant gender inequality following the IMF crisis in 1997. With the emergence of these new gender ideals, Korean females have begun to view the idea of the more traditional, macho "tough guy" Korean male that dominated in popular culture prior to 1998 (when the *kkonminam* trend began) as less appealing.

The composite maps in Figures 14 and 15 reflect these recent cultural changes. We suggest that the reason Gyeongsang is associated with both *Masculine* and *Feminine* speech is because inhabitants of this region are distant from the blurred gender associations for men that are prevalent in the Seoul/Gyeonggi region. This is reflected in the high frequency of comments like "men are tough and women are cute" that respondents gave for the Gyeongsang region only. Our data also show that *Aegyo* is most often associated with the Gyeongsang area. The Gyeongsang dialect is noted for having pitch accent, and since *aegyo* is characterized by high pitch and varied intonation, the perception of *aegyo* in this area is not surprising. In fact several of our respondents told us that they believe the *aegyo* "phenomenon" may be established in the Southeast region and that it is spreading to other areas, specifically Seoul. Recent research on the use of *aegyo* in Seoul (Moon 2012) corroborates their observations. Additional research on *aegyo* should uncover if the *aegyo* is the same or different than what has been noted for the Gyeongsang region.

6. Conclusion

Perceptual studies allow us to get a complete understanding of the attitudes and beliefs associated with language variation in and across speech communities. As such,

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they provide a more comprehensive picture of speech communities on their own and in relationship to one another, and can even provide insight on the mechanisms of linguistic variation and change. The results from this study suggest that there are many different perceptual cues used to make evaluations of a linguistic variety.

Although much is left to explore, the present study is a step toward understanding Koreans' perceptions of language variation. Some of the findings in this paper were not surprising, e.g., the prevalent perception of the Korean spoken in the capital city of Seoul/Gyeonggi province as the most standard variety and the speech of Jeju Island as the most non-standard. However, other findings, such as the differences between the established and the perceived dialect boundaries along with the types of perceptions associated with these dialect areas were unexpected and warrant further investigation.

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