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Variability in the Deletion of the Palatal Glide *y* in Seoul Korean: the variable process and its implications

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1. Introduction

Though the deletion of *w* in Korean has been well examined through such studies as Silva (1991) and Kang (1996), the nature of *y* deletion, a parallel process, has been little investigated. This paper will examine the deletion of *y* in Seoul Korean on a large sociolinguistic database, reveal the constraints conditioning the process, and attempt to provide partial phonological explanations to this process. Phonological explanations will be attempted in the framework of Correspondence Theory crucially using the notions of the Obligatory Contour Principle and soft (uncategorical) dominance (cf. Kiparsky 1993).

The organization of this paper is as follows. In Section 2, I will provide some background information on *y* deletion in Seoul Korean. I will discuss the data and explain the methodology used for the analysis of the data in Section 3. The results of the data analysis will be given in Section 4 and the implications of the results will be discussed in Section 5. I will attempt to provide partial phonological explanations to *y* deletion in Section 6, which is followed by concluding remarks in Section 7.

2. *y* deletion and its background

Before discussing *y* deletion, I will first consider some basic notions in Seoul Korean phonology that pertain to the later discussions and then introduce two different processes of *y* deletion.

The syllable structure of Seoul Korean can be schematized as Figure 1. The minimal syllable is V with three optional elements: an onset consonant, a glide and a coda consonant. The internal structure of the Seoul Korean syllable is not without controversy. I will assume, following Sohn (1987) and H.Y. Kim (1990), that GV sequences in Seoul Korean are rising diphthongs.

$$\sigma \\ (C)(G)V(C)$$

Figure 1. Syllable structure of Seoul Korean

Table 1. Monophthongs of Seoul Korean

[-bk]	[+bk]	
i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
(ɛ)	a	

The monophthongs of Seoul Korean are given in Table 1. The present study assumes, following Hong (1988) and H.B. Lee (1971), that the vowels *ü* and *ø* have changed to diphthongs *wi* and *we* in Seoul Korean and that vowels *e* and *ɛ* have (near-)merged to *e*. Table 2 gives the current system of *y* diphthongs in Seoul Korean. As shown in Table 2, the palatal glide *y* cannot combine with the vowel *i*.

Table 2. *y* Diphthongs of Seoul Korean

[-bk]	[+bk]	
* <i>yi</i>	<i>iy</i>	<i>yu</i>
<i>ye</i>	<i>yə</i>	<i>yo</i>
(<i>yɛ</i>)	<i>ya</i>	

The current system of Seoul Korean consonants is given in Table 3. As Figure 1 suggests, consonants can precede and combine with *y* diphthongs, though not all logical possibilities are possible.

Table 3. Consonants of Seoul Korean

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	p, p', p ^h	t, t', t ^h		k, k', k ^h	
affricate			c, c', c ^h		
fricative		s, s'			h
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
liquid		l[l,r]*			
glide	w		y		

*The phoneme /l/ has two allophones [l] and [r].

With the background introduced so far, I will discuss the phonological environments where *y* deletion occurs in Seoul Korean. There are two environments where this process can occur. First, *y* deletes after palatal consonants as (2) illustrates. This is a categorical process and can be formulated as a rule as rule (1).

(1) $y \rightarrow \emptyset / \{c, c^h, c'\} _____ V$ (categorical)

(2)

/ciəs'ta/ "(I) lost"	/cic ^h iəs'ta/ "(I) am tired"	UR
cyəs'ta	cic ^h yəs'ta	Glide Formation ¹
cəs'ta	cic ^h əs'ta	y Deletion
[cəs'ta] ²	[cic ^h əs'ta]	SR

Secondly, as (3) shows, *y* variably deletes before vowel *e* (but not before any other vowel). Notably, the deletion rate of *y* is crucially influenced by whether there is a preceding consonant (e.g., /hyesəŋ/ → [hesəŋ] 'comet', /yup^hye/ → [yup^he] 'waste water') or not (e.g., /yuye/ → [yue] 'postponement', /toye/ → [toe]

'ceramic art'). When a consonant precedes *y*, the deletion of *y* is significantly more frequent than when not (90% vs. 25% according to my data).

(3) $y \rightarrow \emptyset / (C) _____ e$ (variable)

The process (1), the categorical deletion, will not be discussed until Section 6. The main focus from Section 3 to Section 5 will be the process (3), i.e., the variable deletion of *y*.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data

The data were collected during the author's fieldwork in Seoul, Korea, in 1994 and 1995. Approximately 30 minutes of recordings were made from 77 speakers. The speakers were stratified by age, social status, and sex. There were 2 gender groups, 3 age groups and 3 social status groups. Four different styles of speech were elicited — two styles of spontaneous speech: interview speech and ingroup speech; and two styles of read speech: sentence reading and word-list reading. The data used for the present study come from the recordings of four different styles of speech from 71 speakers; six speakers were found not to be a native speaker of Seoul Korean, so their data were excluded. Interview and ingroup speech were elicited from 54 speakers and from 35 speakers, respectively; eighteen speakers overlap.

The judgment regarding the presence and the absence of the glide was made at the time of the transcriptions and rechecked later. All the cases of *y* which occurs before the vowel *e* were examined. Each token was judged {*y*}, { \emptyset } or 'ambiguous'. Ambiguous cases accounted for approximately 6 percent (207/3448) of the tokens. They were excluded from analysis. Instances of *y* which occurs before vowel *e* after palatal consonants were 7 in interview speech and 22 in ingroup speech. As expected, *y* deleted categorically in all these cases, so these tokens were not included in variable rule analysis either. One hundred tokens were chosen from each of the {*y*}, { \emptyset } and 'ambiguous' token groups. Another Seoul Korean speaker independently checked these tokens and labeled each as {*y*}, { \emptyset } and 'ambiguous'. There were 91, 87 and 72 percent of agreement between her judgment and mine in {*y*}, { \emptyset } and 'ambiguous' token group, respectively. The study of the variable deletion of *y* is based on 3212 tokens of variable (*y*) from 71 speakers' data containing both spontaneous and read speech.

3.2. Variable rule analysis

Statistical analysis of the data was performed using Goldvarb (version 2.1 Rand and Sankoff 1992). Factor groups listed in Table 4 were considered in the preliminary analysis. They will be briefly discussed below.

First, the presence/absence of the preceding consonant was considered in the analysis because the deletion of *y* is very sensitive to whether there is a preceding consonant or not, as noted earlier. The consonants that can occur before the diphthong *ye* are *p*, *k*, *k'*, *h*, *l*, *r*, *n* and η . To examine whether these consonants show different effects on the deletion of *y*, each consonant was coded as a separate factor and 'preceding consonant' was included as a factor group. The distinction between initial vs. noninitial syllables is a crucial distinction in Korean.

As Kim-Renaud (1986) suggests, the initial syllable of the word is a phonologically strong position in Korean, where the deletion of a segment is found noticeably less often than in noninitial syllables (cf. Kang 1996). This initial/noninitial syllable parameter was also considered as a factor group. External constraints, 'speech style', 'gender', 'social status' and 'age' were also included as additional factor groups.

Table 4. Factor groups considered in the preliminary variable rule analysis of y deletion

Factor groups	Factors
1. presence of the preceding consonant	\emptyset , present
2. preceding consonant	<i>p, k, k', h, l, r, n, ŋ</i>
3. initial/noninitial syllable parameter	initial, noninitial
4. speech style	ingroup speech, interview speech, sentence reading, word-list reading
5. gender	male, female
6. social status	upper, middle, lower
7. age	16-25, 26-45, 45-

However, the results of the preliminary Varbrul analysis were not promising. The constructed statistical model showed a very bad fit to the data ($\chi^2/\text{cell} = 3.1696$). It is presumed that this result is due to the fact that factors show rather different effects on the deletion of y with a preceding consonant, on the one hand, and on the deletion of y without a preceding consonant, on the other. Most notably these two were subject to rather different effects by the factors of factor group 'initial/noninitial syllable parameter' as shown in Tables 7 and 8. While the initial and noninitial syllable factors, respectively, showed Varbrul weights of .295 and .657 in the analysis of y deletion with a preceding consonant, the two showed weights of .168 and .970 in y deletion without a preceding consonant. Accordingly separate Varbrul analyses of these two types of tokens of (y) were performed. Table 5 and Table 6 show the factor groups considered in each of these two Varbrul analyses.

Table 5. Factor groups considered in the variable rule analysis of the deletion of y with a preceding consonant

Factor groups	Factors
1. preceding consonant	<i>p, k, k', h, l, r, n, ŋ</i>
2. initial/noninitial syllable parameter	initial, noninitial
3. speech style	ingroup, interview, sentence reading, word-list reading
4. gender	male, female
5. social status	upper, middle, lower
6. age	16-25, 26-45, 45-

Table 6. Factor groups considered in the variable rule analysis of the deletion of y without a preceding consonant

Factor groups	Factors
1. initial/noninitial syllable parameter	initial, noninitial
2. speech style	ingroup, interview, sentence reading, wordlist reading
3. gender	male, female
4. social status	upper, middle, lower
5. age	16-25, 26-45, 45-

4. Results

The results of the Varbrul analysis of y deletion after a consonant are given in Table 7. Five factor groups were selected as significant in the stepwise regression analysis. In the order of selection, they are factor groups 'preceding consonant', 'age', 'initial/noninitial syllable parameter', 'speech style', and 'social status'. The factor group 'gender' was not chosen as significant, suggesting that male and female speakers showed little difference in their behavior toward y deletion.

In the Varbrul run, sonorant consonants (i.e., *l, r, n, ŋ*) showed relatively uniform effects on y deletion, i.e., the weight of each sonorant consonant was as follows: *l* (0.076), *r* (0.141), *n* (0.076), *ŋ* (0.096). The loglikelihood significance test did not find a significant difference ($p > .05$) between the Goldvarb run where each of the sonorant consonants was analyzed as a separate factor and the run where the sonorant consonants were collapsed together. Table 7 gives the results of the latter Varbrul run.

The results of the Goldvarb run of y deletion without a preceding consonant are given in Table 8. Four factor groups, 'initial/noninitial syllable parameter', 'age', 'speech style' and 'social status' were selected in the stepwise analysis and in that order. Again the factor group 'gender' was not chosen as a significant factor group. As noted earlier, the results show that the main difference between y deletion after a consonant and y deletion without a preceding consonant is the strength of the factor group 'initial/noninitial syllable parameter'. The effect of this constraint is noticeably stronger in y deletion without a preceding consonant.

Table 7. Goldvarb probabilities for factors for the deletion of y after a consonant

<u>Factor groups</u>	<u>Factors</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>% Applications</u>	<u>Total N</u>
*Preceding C	p	0.504	90	527
	k	0.689	96	805
	k'	0.626	97	75
	h	0.747	95	351
	sonorant C	0.099	75	484
*Initial/Noninitial Syl	initial	0.295	91	958
	noninitial	0.657	89	1284

*Speech Style	ingroup	0.641	96	144
	interview	0.611	95	269
	sentence R	0.538	91	902
	word list R	0.408	86	927
Gender	male	0.502	90	1165
	female	0.498	89	1077
*Social Status	upper	0.421	87	788
	middle	0.532	91	764
	lower	0.556	91	690
*Age	16-25	0.628	94	801
	26-45	0.601	94	687
	46+	0.282	82	754

number of cells: 375 total chi-square = 470.7270
 chi-square/cell = 1.2553 loglikelihood = - 590.548 Input = 0.945

* Starred factor groups are those chosen in the stepwise regression analysis.

Table 8. Goldvarb probabilities for factors for the deletion of y without a preceding consonant

<u>Factor groups</u>	<u>Factors</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>% Applications</u>	<u>Total N</u>
*Initial/Noninitial Syl	initial	0.168	04	664
	noninitial	0.970	70	306
*Speech Style	ingroup	0.696	08	154
	interview	0.652	07	222
	sentence R	0.436	39	334
	word list R	0.333	30	260
Gender	male	0.539	25	481
	female	0.462	24	489
*Social Status	upper	0.408	24	313
	middle	0.519	24	323
	lower	0.568	25	334
*Age	16-25	0.599	30	330
	26-45	0.594	28	301
	46+	0.325	17	339

number of cells: 114 total chi-square = 141.3995
 chi-square/cell = 1.2403 loglikelihood = - 270.202 Input = 0.103

5. Discussion

The results suggest that three linguistic constraints condition the variable deletion of *y* in Seoul Korean. The first is the presence of the preceding consonant. The deletion of *y* occurs approximately 90 percent after a consonant and 25 percent without a preceding consonant. This result indicates that the presence of a consonant is an important constraint on *y* deletion.

The results also show that type of consonants is also an important factor in *y* deletion. In Varbrul terms, when a Varbrul probability of a given factor is above .5 (or under .5), that factor is said to favor (or disfavor) the application of the rule. Table 7 shows that in terms of Goldvarb probabilities obstruent consonants (*p*, *k*, *k'* and *h*) favor *y* deletion, while sonorant consonants disfavor it. This result suggests that the diphthong *ye* is almost monophthongized after obstruent consonants but not quite yet after sonorant consonants. T.Y. Choi (1983) suggests that in Chunpuk dialect *y*-diphthongs (not just the *ye* sequence) have monophthongized after obstruents but not after sonorant consonants. A similar pattern of change is exhibited in the two dialects.

The third linguistic constraint that is shown by the results to play an important role in the variable deletion of *y* is whether *y* occurs in the initial syllable of the word or a noninitial syllable. This constraint has significant effects on the deletion of *y* both after a preceding consonant and without a preceding consonant. Yet it is much stronger in the deletion of *y* without a preceding consonant. The results show that the deletion of *y* rarely occurs in the initial syllable when there is no preceding consonant, i.e., only 4 % as opposed to 70 % of deletion in noninitial syllables. These results support Kim-Renaud's (1986) claim that the word-initial syllable is a phonologically strong position in Korean.

The fact that *y* deletion is a sociolinguistic process is indicated by the result that factor groups 'social status' and 'age' are found to be significant constraints in the stepwise analysis. The results show that the upper status speakers 'disfavor' *y* deletion, while the other status groups 'favor' the process. A more clear difference in *y* deletion is shown among the age groups. The results show that younger speakers delete *y* more often than older speakers. This result can be taken to suggest that *y* deletion is not just a synchronic process but also a change in progress. I suggest that *ye* has almost monophthongized after obstruent consonants, while the change from *ye* to *e* after sonorant consonants is still under way. This claim is supported by the following statement from the most prescriptive source, *Standard Pronunciation of Seoul Korean* published by the Ministry of Education (1988), that "the diphthong *ye* can be pronounced as *e* when a consonant, except *l* [*l*, *r*] and *n*, precedes it". This statement is a prescription that the diphthong *ye* should be pronounced as *ye* after sonorant consonants, while allowing the production of *ye* as *e* when obstruent consonants precede the diphthong. This prescriptive statement implicitly shows that the production of *ye* as *e* after sonorant consonants in the Seoul community is not still as prevalent as the deletion of *y* after obstruent consonants.

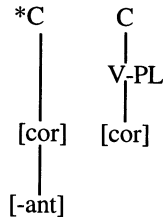
The fact that *y* deletes even without a preceding consonant (mostly in noninitial syllables) seems to show that a change is happening even in other phonological environments. This result indicates that there may be an inherent instability in the diphthong *ye*. In the following section I will attempt to provide

phonological explanations to this instability in the diphthong *ye* and also to the categorical deletion of *y* proposing two OCP constraints.

6. Possible phonological explanations

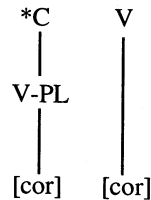
One of the interesting facts in *y* deletion in Seoul Korean is that two rather different processes cooccur, as noted in Section 2. To repeat, one is a categorical process formulated as (1) where *y* deletes after palatal consonants; the other is a variable process which occurs only before the vowel *e*. Considering that Korean does not have the diphthong *yi*, the defining feature that distinguishes the vowel *e* from the other vowels of Seoul Korean with which *y* can combine is the feature [back], i.e., the vowel *e* is [-back], while the others are [+back] (cf. Table 2). If we adopt the feature system of Clements and Hume (1995), the phonological feature that distinguishes these two groups of vowels is the feature [coronal]. Seoul Korean data show that both categorical and variable deletions of *y*, a coronal vocoid in Clements and Hume's (1995) model, are triggered by an adjacent coronal segment, i.e., by the OCP effects. I propose that the two OCP constraints shown in Figure 2 are mainly attributable to the two types of *y* deletion in Seoul Korean.

a. OCP(CG: cor)³



Domain: syllable

b. OCP(GV: cor)



Domain: syllable

Figure 2. Two proposed OCP constraints against adjacent coronal segments in Seoul Korean

OCP(CG: cor) shown in Figure 2 is a constraint which prohibits the sequence 'palatal consonant + glide *y*' in the domain of syllable in Seoul Korean, while OCP(GV: cor) is a constraint prohibiting the sequence 'glide *y* + vowel *e*' in the same domain. I consider these two as part of the phonological constraints operating in Seoul Korean. I suggest by proposing these two OCP constraints that both categorical and variable deletions of *y* are OCP-triggered processes (Yip 1988). That is, I suggest that *y* is deleted in Seoul Korean to observe the two OCP's proposed in Figure 2.

However, the strengths of OCP(CG: cor) and OCP(GV: cor) are different. I argue that this is why one triggers categorical deletion and the other, variable deletion. The difference in the strengths of these two constraints can be shown in the framework of Correspondence Theory (CT) if we incorporate the concept of soft (i.e., uncategorical) dominance to this theory (cf. Kiparsky 1993). I use the

eight constraints listed in (4) to show the different strengths of the two OCP constraints.

(4) Constraints required

1. OCP (CG: cor) : The C[cor, -ant] G[cor] sequence is prohibited.
2. OCP (GV: cor) : The G[cor] V[cor] sequence is prohibited.
3. Max (V[+hi]): Every high vowel in underlying representation has a correspondent in surface representation.
4. Max (V[-hi]): Every underlying nonhigh vowel in underlying representation has a correspondent in surface representation.
5. Max (C): Every consonant in underlying representation has a correspondent in surface representation.
6. Max (G): Every glide in underlying representation has a correspondent in surface representation.
7. L-Anchor: The leftmost element of underlying representation has a correspondent at the leftmost position of surface representation.
8. *VV: The vowel hiatus is prohibited.

OCP and *VV constraints are frequently observed constraints among world languages. Refer to McCarthy and Prince (1995) for Max and Anchor family constraints. Since Seoul Korean has such pairs as *ui* 'the ear of a cow' vs. *wi* 'top' and *kiun* 'power' vs. *kyun* 'germ' that distinguish vowels and glides underlyingly, I assume following Hayes (1989) and Y.S. Lee (1993) that moraic structure is given in underlying representation in Korean and that glides and vowels are underlyingly different in this language. The motivation for proposing two Max(V) constraints is that high and nonhigh vowels show different behavior toward deletion in Seoul Korean: The vowels *u* and *i* are often deleted after going through a glide formation before another vowel (cf. Silva 1991, Kang 1996); the vowel *i* is often subject to deletion when in contact with another vowel or between certain consonants (cf. Kim-Renaud 1986, Y.S. Lee 1993); on the other hand, nonhigh vowels are rarely subject to deletion. The ensuing discussion will show that the strengths of the two constraints OCP(CG: cor) and OCP(GV: cor) are crucially different.

First I will consider the categorical deletion of *y*, as exemplified in Tables 9 and 10. In the tables the thick line and the double line, respectively, indicates hard (categorical) dominance and soft dominance. The thin line indicates that the two adjacent constraints are unranked. Since the deletion of *y* is sensitive to whether *y* occurs in the initial or noninitial syllable of the word, I consider both the cases in the tables below.

Table 9.

/ciəs'ta/	OCP(CG)	Max(C)	Max(V[-hi])	*VV	Max(V[+hi])
ciəs'ta				*!	
cyəs'ta	*!				
+cəs'ta					*
yəs'ta		*!			
cis'ta			*!		

Table 10.

/ci ^h iəs'ta/	OCP(CG)	Max(C)	Max(V[-hi])	*VV	Max(V[+hi])
ci ^h iəs'ta				*!	
ci ^h yəs'ta	*!				
☞ ci ^h əs'ta					*
ciyəs'ta		*!			
ci ^h is'ta			*!		

Table 9 and Table 10 show that *y* deletion occurs categorically after a palatal consonant because OCP(CG: cor) dominates Max(V[+hi]). Another way of observing the OCP, i.e., the deletion of the preceding palatal consonant is prohibited because Max(C) is also a highly ranked constraint in Seoul Korean. Based on the categorical deletion of *y*, I temporarily formulate the dominance relationship (5).

(5) OCP(CG: cor), Max(C), Max(V[-hi]), *VV >> Max(V[+hi])

Now I turn to the variable deletion of *y*. Table 7 shows that *y* deletes near-categorically when there is a preceding obstruent and a majority of time when a sonorant consonant precedes it. Thus the generalization is that *y* deletes a majority of the time or more when a consonant precedes it but not categorically. This pattern of *y* deletion shows that the dominance relationship (6) holds in Seoul Korean (NB. the double angle bracket and the single angle bracket, respectively, indicates hard dominance and soft dominance). Tables 11 and 12 illustrate using the words *ph^hyeki* 'disposal' and *yup^hye* 'confinement'.

Table 11.

/ph ^h yeki/	Max(C)	Max(V[-hi])	OCP(GV)	Max(G)
ph ^h yeki			*!	
☞ ph ^h eki				*
ph ^h yki		*!		
yeki	*!		*	

Table 12.

/yup ^h ye/	Max(C)	Max(V[-hi])	OCP(GV)	Max(G)
yup ^h ye			*!	
☞ yup ^h e				*
yup ^h y		*!		
yuye	*!		*	

(6) Max(C), Max(V[-hi]) >> OCP(GV: cor) > Max(G)

The deletion of *y* without a preceding consonant shows a rather different pattern. *y* deletion occurs a majority of the time in the noninitial syllable of the word but this process is near-categorically absent in the initial syllable. This pattern of deletion shows that the dominance relationship (7) holds. Tables 13 and 14 illustrate, with examples of *yuye* 'postponement' and *yedul* 'art'.

Table 13.

/yesul/	Max(V[-hi])	L-Anchor	OCP(GV)	*VV
yesul			*	
esul		*!		
ysul	*!			

Table 14.

/yuye/	Max(V[-hi])	L-Anchor	OCP(GV)	*VV
yuye			*!	
yue				*
yuy	*!			

(7) Max(V[-hi]) >> L-Anchor > OCP (GV: cor) > *VV

On the basis of the dominance relationships among the constraints shown in (5), (6) and (7), the dominance hierarchies listed in (8) can be established. (8) shows that while OCP(CG: cor) is an undominated constraint, OCP(GV: cor) is dominated by three more powerful constraints, i.e., Max(C), Max(V[-hi]), L-Anchor, which explains why OCP(CG: cor) and OCP(GV: cor), respectively, triggers categorical deletion and variable deletion.

(8) Constraints ranking

- a. Undominated: OCP(CG: cor), Max(C), Max(V[-hi])
- b. OCP(CG: cor), Max(C), Max(V[-hi]), *VV >> Max(V[+hi])
- c. Max(C), Max(V[-hi]) >> OCP(GV: cor) > Max(G)
- d. Max(V[-hi]) >> L-Anchor > OCP(GV: cor) > *VV

To summarize, in this section I attempted to provide a phonological explanation to the deletion of *y* in Seoul Korean. I suggested that *y* deletion is a process triggered by two OCP constraints operating in Seoul Korean. I claimed that these two constraints have rather different strengths, which result in two different types of deletion, i.e., categorical deletion and variable deletion. I attempted to show the different strengths of the two in terms of the dominance hierarchy crucially used in Correspondence Theory.

7. Conclusion

In this study, I examined the deletion of *y* in Seoul Korean on a large sociolinguistic database. It was observed first that there are two distinct processes of *y* deletion in Seoul Korean — one is a categorical process; the other, a variable process. The first five sections of this paper focused primarily on the variable deletion. I attempted to reveal the linguistic and external constraints which condition this variable process using the Varbrul analysis. The results of the analysis suggested that the deletion of *y* is not just a synchronic sociolinguistic process but also a change in progress.

I also attempted to provide an explanation to two processes of *y* deletion. I suggested that two different OCP constraints trigger the deletion of *y* in Seoul Korean. It was crucially claimed that the strengths of these two OCP constraints

are different: The stronger one triggers the categorical deletion, while the weaker one triggers the variable deletion. I suggested that the different strengths of the two OCP constraints can be shown in the framework of Correspondence Theory, if we incorporate the concept of soft dominance to this theory.

Notes

1. Seoul Korean has the following *y* glide formation rule: $i \rightarrow y / \text{_____} + \text{ə}$ (cf. Kim-Renaud 1986, Y.S. Lee 1993). The intermediate representations "cyəs'ta" and "ci^hyəs'ta", respectively, come from /ciəs'ta/ and /ci^hyəs'ta/. The fact that written forms reflect intermediate representations, not underlying representations, strongly shows the obligatory nature and the psychological reality of this rule.
2. Korean has a coda neutralization rule that neutralizes obstruents to lenis voiceless stops at the coda position, and an obstruent tensing rule that strengthens a lax obstruent to its tense counterpart after an obstruent consonant. However, since these processes are not directly relevant to the current study, I will ignore them in this paper.
3. I acknowledge that constraints similar to, though not identical with, OCP(CG:cor) have been suggested by a number of other researchers (e.g., Kim 1994).

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