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Korean Accent in English

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1 Introduction

In the world of globalization and international human interaction, the topic of accents, specifically non-native or foreign accents, has become an intriguing field of research. This thesis sets out to describe one of the many foreign accents of English, the accent of native Korean speakers, through a comparative analysis of the languages' phonetic systems and to provide a list of the main features and characteristics of the Korean accent in English.

Wells (1982, 1) defines foreign accents as "pronunciation patterns seen as typical of the speech of those for whom English is not the native language, patterns which may be expected to reflect many of the phonological and phonetic characteristics of their mother tongue." When we talk about the Korean accent in English, it needs to be specified which variety is of interest. As Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn (2009) point out, there are seven geographically based Korean dialects (164), however, the standard South Korean spoken form is the Seoul dialect or Standard Korean (SK), which will be discussed in this thesis. The English language also does not have a singular spoken form; however, for the purpose of the comparison, I will compare SK with Received Pronunciation (RP).

In Chapter 2, I will outline some of the most influential frameworks of second language (L2) acquisition, with emphasis on the area of phonology. I will be looking at Lado's Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, Eckman's Markedness Differential Hypothesis, the Optimality theory, the Interlanguage framework and well as Flege's Speech Learning Model. The discussed frameworks will serve as the basis for all predictions of L1 transfer and also for the comparison of SK and RP. I will also define what I mean by the term Korean accent.

Chapter 3 will summarize the main features of RP, which will later be compared with the features of SK. The description will touch upon the consonant inventory and the voiced/voiceless distinction of RP consonants, the vowel inventory and the reduced vowels, as well as prosodic features such as stress and its function and role in English, for example, its role as an indicator of the word's syntactic category.

Chapter 4 will focus on the features of SK. The description will touch upon the phonation types of SK consonants, the debate around terminology and categorization of the lax stop as well as the disagreement on the underlying phonemic value of the sound representing the Korean letter ㅈ. I will also touch upon the most prominent phonological processes of SK, such as coda neutralisation or consonant cluster simplification, as I will use them to make predictions of the transferred features later in the chapter. The section on vowel inventory will present the current debate around the ongoing merger of the front mid and low vowels which relates to the debate on the number of vowels within SK, as some researchers adhere to a 10-vowel system (Sohn 1999), while others argue for a vowel inventory with as little as 7 vowels (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013). I will then discuss the SK syllable structure, the status of Korean in the rhythm typology of stress-timed, syllable-timed, and mora-timed languages, as well as the SK tonal patterns. At last, I will draw comparisons between the RP and SK features and make predictions as to what features can be expected to pose difficulties for SK speakers based on the SLA frameworks discussed in the previous chapters.

In Chapter 5, I will conduct a literature review of the studies that focus on Korean-English transfer (e.g. Kim 2017; Yu 2019; Kim 2004; Lee, Joh, and Cho 2002; and others). I will use the results of those studies to establish the characteristic features of the English production of SK and examine the accuracy of my predictions. This chapter is divided into four parts: the transfer of consonant production, the transfer of assimilation, the transfer of vowel production and at last, the transfer of prosodic cues. This review, as well as the thesis, should result in a comprehensive overview of the Korean accent in English, which could serve as material for interpreters who are preparing to interpret a Korean speaker with an English speech at, for example, international meetings and conferences.

2 Second Language Acquisition

The field of second language acquisition (SLA) has been the subject of many research efforts since its emergence in the 1950s. As with other research fields, there are more approaches that one can adopt to study this field. However, the study of phonology of a second language (L2) can be classified into three main perspectives: psycholinguistic, which is concerned with explicit and implicit learning of L2 phonemic categories; sociolinguistic, which is interested in variation of L2 pronunciation patterns with respect to social contexts; and biological, which is concerned with the acquisition of L2 sounds in contrast to age and exposure to the target language (TL) (Eckman 2008, 91).

As mentioned above, the emergence of SLA as an independent field of study happened during the 1950s with Lado's Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH). The focus of this framework is the differences and similarities between the speaker's L1 and L2 on all levels of language, although it mostly focuses on phonology, morphology and syntax. According to CAH, the errors in L2 pronunciation are the result of the difference in the phoneme and allophone inventories as well as their distribution between the L1 and L2. One of the vital concepts of CAH, transfer, has been adopted and used frequently even outside of this framework. The idea of transfer refers to the idea that language learners during L2 acquisition have the tendency to make use of their L1 system. Lado, who coined the term, explains that in the area of phonology, this includes phonemes and their allophones, stress, rhythm and interaction patterns, and phonetic rules (1957, 11). Depending on the appropriateness of the transferred L1 components in L2, a transfer can be classified as either positive, where the transfer does not result in inappropriate or ungrammatical output, or negative, which is inappropriate or ungrammatical. The negative transfer is commonly referred to as interference.

Ideas of CAH were further developed in the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH) by Eckman in 1977, which is based on the typology of markedness and adds the notion of typologically marked elements, in other words, the relative degree of difficulty. The marked feature of L1 relative to L2 would be difficult for L2 speakers to acquire. As Eckman (1997) demonstrates, the existence of voiced obstruents in English implies the

existence of voiceless obstruents, but not vice versa. In relation to Korean, who has only voiceless obstruents, the production of voiced obstruents, or the marked feature relative to English, should be difficult to produce (320-321).

While similar generative models work with phonological rules, another framework, the Optimality theory, does not consider phonology as a set of rules but as a universal set of constraints. This means that the phonologies of different languages result from the different rankings of those constraints, which L2 learners have to re-order during the acquisition.

Along with the concept of transfer, this thesis relies heavily on the framework of interlanguage (IL) or a mental system developed by L2 learners, which makes it possible for them to comprehend and produce utterances made in L2 (Selinker 1972). In other words, L2 production is guided by the speaker's mental set of rules or their interlanguage. This makes it possible to consider interlanguage phonology independent from both L1 and L2 phonologies.

A hypothesis that further developed this framework is Flege's Speech Learning Model, in which he argues that L2 sounds similar to L1 sounds are difficult to discern and acquire because the learner does not perceive the differences. Therefore, they do not set up a new category of contrast (1995, 233). Within this framework, such difficulty constitutes the perceptual basis of foreign accents and phonological interference.

This thesis is focused on the foreign accent of native Korean speakers in English, which is later referred to as the Korean accent. By Korean accent, I mean the typical phonological and phonetic characteristics of English spoken by an average native Korean speaker, which may or may not be subject to the transfer of typical components of Korean phonology.

3 Phonology of English

As with Korean and other languages, English has many different spoken variants, arguably more than others, because of Britain's history of colonization. Because of the variety and the differences in the accent and also just of the sheer number of the different varieties, it would be impossible to portray characteristics of all of them in this thesis, so that is why I will focus on the British variant of English, and that is Received Pronunciation (RP).

Before discussing the consonant and vowel inventory in more detail, it is crucial to mention the syllable structure, as most of the distribution and allophonic rules stem from it. English uses a lot of consonant clusters; however, the peak of the syllable is always either a vowel or a syllabic consonant. As Roach (1991) demonstrates, the absolute maximum phonological syllable structure of English is (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)(C)(C) (72). Whether or not the vowel is followed by a consonant is dependent on the status of the vowel, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.1 The consonant inventory of RP

RP has 22 distinct consonantal phonemes. The following table shows their classification in respect to their manner of articulation and their place of articulation:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
STOP	p b			t k			k g	
AFFRICATE						tʃ dʒ		
FRICATIVE		f v	θ ð	s z		ʃ ʒ		h
NASAL	m			n			ŋ	
APPROXIMANT	(w)			l	ɹ	j	w	

Table 1 – Consonant inventory of RP, adapted from Cruttenden (2014, 161)

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3.1.1 Obstruents

As Table 1 shows, many consonants have the same manner and place of articulation. This is possible because of an important distinguishing factor: voicing. The consonants are divided into categories based on their manner of articulation, and the consonant to the left is voiceless, while the consonant to the right is voiced. In other words, the voiced sounds include the vibration of the vocal cords as part of their articulation, while their voiceless counterparts do not.

It seems that the fortis/lenis distinction, which will be examined in more detail while discussing the Korean phoneme inventory in section 4.1.1, is not significant enough to be considered a distinctive characteristic of English consonants, which is why this thesis omits it in this chapter.

RP has three pairs of stops:

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
STOP	p b			t k			k g	

Table 2 – Stops in RP

Detailed descriptions of the stops as well as their allophonic variants can be found in many coursebook literature on the subject such as Ladefoged and Johnson (2014), so I will only mention those processes and characteristics that are exclusive to English and are not present in Korean phonology or those I will later compare.

Gaining aspiration in English is affected by the surrounding environment, unlike in Korean. The English voiceless word-initial stops gain aspiration, while the voiced word-initial stops become partially devoiced. While the voiced stops attain their full voicing when in between two voiced sounds, they may still be subjected to devoicing when they are followed by an aspirated sound, particularly beyond the word boundary. Voiceless stops do not gain aspiration in intervocalic positions. Some speakers also utilize the glottal stop, which they produce before the word-final stops preceded by a vowel (Ladefoged and Johnson 2014, 57-65).

Stops in syllable-final positions are subjected to no audible release of the accumulated air during the closure period if they are followed by another stop or a nasal (Ladefoged and Johnson 2014, 60). The process of no audible release is also realized in consonant clusters. This no audible release of the noise burst leaves only the characteristic of the preceding sounds and the presence of some voicing to designate which stop was pronounced. The character of the vowels that precede both voiced and voiceless stops will be discussed later in section 3.2.

The fricative inventory of RP consists of the following 9 consonants:

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
FRICATIVE			θ ð			ʃ ʒ		h

Table 3 – Fricatives in RP

When in the coda position, the voiced fricatives undergo a partial devoicing, unless they are followed by a voiced sound. They are usually fully voiced when in intervocalic positions (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011, 66). English fricatives are produced in the palate-alveolar region and with the secondary articulation of lip-rounding (Shin Kiaer, and Cha 2013, 78).

Affricates, the sequence of a stop and a fricative, affricate is regarded as a single sound, and the RP inventory only consists of the following two:

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
AFFRICATE						tʃ dʒ		

Table 4 – Affricates in RP

The articulation of affricates occurs in the same place as the respective fricatives. The state of articulation of English and Korean affricates will be discussed later in Chapter 4.

3.1.2 Sonorants

English sonorants consist of nasals and approximants (liquids and glides):

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
NASAL	m			n			ŋ	
APPROX.	(w)			l	ɹ	j	w	

Table 5 – Sonorants in RP

English considers glides /j/ and /w/ as consonants, while Korean does not. This will be discussed in section 4.2 on SK vowels.

Word-final nasals and liquids can be syllabic. The consonant /ŋ/ can occur at the end of the word, however, it can be preceded only by the vowels /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ʌ, ɒ/. It also cannot be syllabic except for special cases regarding unusual pronunciation. It does not occur in the onset position (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011, 67).

Liquid consonants of English consist of /ɹ/ and /l/. Their voicing can change depending on the environment. In word-final positions, if it is not followed by a vowel, the RP /l/ consonant becomes velarized (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011, 68-69).

3.2 The vowel inventory of RP

The RP vowel inventory is made out of 12 distinct vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid-high	ɪ	ʊ	
Mid		ə/ɜ	ʌ ɔ
Mid-low	ɛ	ʌ	
Low	æ[1]		ɑ ɒ

Table 6 – RP vowel inventory, adapted from Roach (2004)

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[1] Near-low front unrounded vowel

The main two categories of vowels are tense and lax vowels. The difference between those categories is their distribution and acoustic properties. The lax vowels are articulated lower in the oral cavity than the tense vowels; their duration is also shorter, and their production is more centralized (Ladefoged and Johnson 2014, 106). While any vowel can occur in a closed syllable, meaning there is a syllable-final consonant, this is not the case for open syllables. In those open syllables, only the following vowels can occur: /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ʊ, ʌ/. In connected speech, the quality of the vowels can be reduced, which is designated by the symbol [ə] (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011, 97). Apart from the distinctions shown and discussed above, some categorize vowels according to their length. This distinction is left out of this thesis, as it is not a feature that is contrastive enough in RP in most cases, and it will not be relevant. The RP inventory also includes the following diphthongs: /eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɪə, ʊə/. Any of the monophthongs and diphthongs can occur in any combination with the aforementioned glides except in the combinations of /*jʊ/ and /*wɑ/.

3.3 Prosody of RP

As Cruttenden (2014) summarizes, the accentual pattern of English is both free and fixed: fixed because the primary accent always falls on a particular syllable of a word, but free because it is not tied to a particular syllable of a word (241). English is also classified as a stress-timed language, as the stressed syllables recur at somewhat regular intervals (Kim 2017, 182). Stress has multiple crucial functions in speech, such as adding emphasis, contrast between words as well as indicating a syntactic category of the word. The function of stress as an indicator of syntactic category and as a contrastive feature is what allows English speakers to differentiate between certain noun-verb pairs such as *an ˈinsult* and *to inˈsult* and multiple-word phrases and compounds like *a ˈwalkout* and *to ˈwalkˈout.* When it comes to stress on the word level, English syllables can be either stressed or unstressed, depending on the morphology of the word, its grammatical category, number of syllables, or phonological structure (Ladefoged and Johnson 2014, 111-112). Stressed and unstressed syllables differ in duration variability, as the unstressed syllables are significantly shorter than the stressed syllables (Porzuczek 2012, 210).

Pitch, similarly to stress, also serves multiple purposes in English. It signals the boundaries of intonational phrases and syllables with primary and secondary accents and carries various types of meaning, mainly discoursal and attitudinal. English speech can be divided into intonational units, which can be made out of one or more syllables, each containing one major accent. Intonational phrases, as well as multiple-syllabic words, have an obligatory primary accent (tonic syllable), which is usually the most prominent one (Cruttenden 2014, 242-243).

4 Phonology of Korean

The Korean language, like most languages, does not have only one spoken form. Korean is spoken primarily on the Korean peninsula, and it is the language of two nations: South and North Korea. Both of those nations have their own form of language, and they differ mostly on the lexical level. However, I will exclude the North Korean variety from the description and focus on a variety belonging to the dialects of the South Korean territory.

There are eight dialects within the South Korean territory that are generally recognised, and most of the differences between them are accounted for by prosodic features (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013, 14). The dialect that I will be describing is of the capital Seoul, which has been regarded as the "standard" version of Korean, and therefore thematically called Standard (Seoul) Korean (SK).

4.1 The consonant inventory of SK

There are 19 consonants in SK. As for the manner of articulation, the number can be divided into groups of stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, and liquids. It can also be divided according to the place of articulation, which are bilabial, alveolar, alveolo-palatal, velar, and glottal.

4.1.1 Obstruents

Obstruents are the single most numerous groups among the SK consonants, as there are 15 of them: 9 stops, 3 fricatives and 3 affricates.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
STOP					
Lax	p	t		k	
Tense	p*	t*		k*	
Aspirated	pʰ	tʰ		kʰ	
FRICATIVE					
Lax		s			h
Tense		s*			
AFFRICATE					
Lax			tɕ		
Tense			tɕ*		
Aspirated			tɕʰ		

Table 7 – Obstruents in SK, adapted from Shin, Kiaer, and Cha (2013)

Unlike the English obstruents, Korean obstruents are all underlyingly voiceless as there is no voiced obstruent phoneme. The main distinction, therefore, does not rely on voicing, but on the tension in the laryngeal area as well as aspiration. Stops and fricatives are subjected to a three-way distinction and can be either lax, tense or aspirated, while fricatives can only be lax or tense.

In the production of lax consonants, the tension in the vocal folds and the level of aspiration is minimal, which makes the full description of SK lax consonants voiceless unaspirated lenis. Unlike other distinctions that will be described below, lax consonants are not distinguished by any diacritic.

On the other hand, tension is much more significant in the production of tense consonants, while aspiration is minimal. The full description of SK tense consonants is voiceless unaspirated fortis, and these consonants are distinguished from others by the [*] diacritic in this thesis. As Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) point out, the term fortis has been used to indicate both greater respiratory energy and greater articulatory energy during production (95). The meaning of the term fortis in this thesis indicates the former.

Aspiration and tension are both significant in aspirated obstruents. The full description of SK aspirated consonants is voiceless aspirated fortis, and they are distinguished from others by the [ʰ] diacritic in this thesis.

The diacritic I use in this thesis seems generally agreed upon by the Korean phonologist. However, many researchers use different diacritics to signal the same distinction described above.

SK has 9 stops, 3 bilabial, 3 alveolar and 3 velar stops:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
STOP					
Lax	p	t		k	
Tense	p*	t*		k*	
Aspirated	pʰ	tʰ		kʰ	

Table 8 – Stops in SK

All stops can occur in the word-initial position. That is not to say that their features do not change. As Shin, Kiaer, and Cha (2013) point out, all stops, regardless of their phonation type, will be produced with a different degree of aspiration, and the Voice Onset Time (VOT) will be different for every phonation type, with tense stops having the shortest VOT and aspirated having the longest VOT (61).

Korean does not have a consonantal phoneme that can be classified as underlyingly voiced. SK only has partially voiced allophones of lax stops [b̥, d̥, ɡ̊] which occur when the stop occurs in intervocalic positions (Shin, Kier, and Cha 2013, 69). Korean consonants in the coda position undergo a process of neutralization, which will be further described later in section 4.1.3. Because of this process, only lax stops actually occur in the coda position.

While lax stops are regarded as unaspirated voiceless lenis, there has been extensive debate over this claim and the characterization of the lax stop as such. Kim and Duanmu (2004) summarize that the main subject of this debate is the underlying form of the lax stop with respect to voicing because these stops can occur both

as voiced and voiceless in different environments. One group of researchers believes that the underlying form of a lax stop in SK is voiceless and, therefore, needs the lenis/fortis distinction to distinguish between the lax and tense stop. The second group of researchers are of the opinion that the lax stop is underlyingly voiced and proposes a devoicing rule to explain voicelessness in some environments. In this case, the lenis/fortis distinction would not be necessary, and the difference between lax and tense stops would come down to voicing. While much research has been done on both sides of the argument, most literature operates under the assumption that lax stops are underlyingly voiceless, which is the opinion this thesis follows.

Unlike stops, fricatives are a relatively small category with only three sounds:

	Bilabial	**Alveolar**	**Alveolo-palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
FRICATIVE					
Lax		s			h
Tense		s*			

Table 9 – Fricatives in SK

As is apparent from Table 9, fricatives do not have the same three-way distinction as stops do. The acoustic properties of the lax and tense fricatives are the same as those of stops. However, unlike stops and sonorants, fricatives do not occur in word-final positions.

As with the stops, word-initial lax fricatives are produced with a degree of aspiration, while their tense counterparts are not. Word-medial lax fricatives are not produced with aspiration as they would be in word-initial positions. Furthermore, the friction duration of tense fricatives is longer than that of lax fricatives (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013, 71-72).

The sound /s/ also does not become voiced in intervocalic positions like lax stops do, as the /z/ sound is not a part of the phonemic or allophonic inventory of SK.

The following table shows the affricate inventory of SK:

	Bilabial	**Alveolar**	**Alveolo-palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
AFFRICATE					
Lax			tɕ		
Tense			tɕ*		
Aspirated			tɕʰ		

Table 10 – Affricates in SK

The actual phonemic value of the affricates in Korean has been debated extensively, and the issue stems from the place of articulation of the affricates. Some researchers regard Korean affricates as palatal sounds and assign it the value of /c/, while others see it as post-alveolar sound /tʃ/. I assign SK affricates the phonemic value of /tɕ/ because, as Shin, Kiaer, and Cha (2013) present, it seems that the SK speaker pronounces the affricate much closer to the alveolar ridge than the English or other speaker of different languages that have consonants with the phonemic value of /ʃ/ or /tʃ/ (78). The SK speaker also touches their lower teeth with their tongue and does not protrude their lips, which are significant differences from the English affricate sounds. Because of the aforementioned reasons, the phonemic value of a SK lax consonant in this thesis is /tɕ/.

As with other obstruents, word-initial lax and aspirated affricates are produced with a degree of aspiration, while their tense counterparts are not. Furthermore, similarly to intervocalic fricatives, the affricate in intervocalic position does not become voiced.

4.1.2 Sonorants

The SK sonorant inventory consists only of four consonants:

	Bilabial	**Alveolar**	**Alveolo-palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
NASAL	m	n		ŋ	
LIQUID		l			

Table 11 – Sonorants in SK

Unlike obstruents, all SK sonorants are voiced.

The nasal category has two main characteristics: weak nasality in word-initial positions and weak nasalization of a vowel that precedes a nasal in the coda positions.

As is the case with English, all nasals can occur in the word-initial position except for the velar nasal. This exemption does not apply to word-final nasals; however, those nasals will be realized as unreleased stops because of neutralization, which will be discussed later in more detail.

The sound /l/ is the only liquid phoneme in SK; however, it has two allophones: the alveolar lateral approximant [l], which occurs in the coda environment and also after /l/, and the alveolar tap [ɾ], which occurs in the word-initial and intervocalic positions. The lack of the /ɹ/ sound, which is very common in English, will be discussed in detail later in the thesis in sections 284.4.1 and 5.1. Unlike in English, the word-final /l/ does not become velarized, as the allophone [ɫ] does not exist in Korean.

4.1.3 The most prominent phonological processes in Korean

The following section will discuss the most common phonological processes that occur in SK and will be important for the purposes of this thesis, as they are different from the phonological processes of English. Some of them have been mentioned previously, and those will be described in more detail. Those not previously explicitly mentioned will be described.

As previously discussed in section 4.1.1, while there is no voiced consonant phoneme in the SK inventory, the lax stops have voiced allophones that occur in between voiced sounds. This is unique only to the lax stops, as tense and aspirated stops, along with the other obstruents, do not gain voicing in any environment. This is different to English, as its consonant inventory has several voiced sounds classified as phonemes. Furthermore, all consonants in the coda position undergo the process of neutralisation, which causes them to be realised as unreleased stops. The tense and aspirated stops are replaced with their homorganic lax counterpart, while the fricatives and affricates are replaced by [t], except when the word-final aspirated or tense consonant is followed by a vowel within a phonological phrase. In such an environment, resyllabification occurs instead of neutralisation, as will be explained in the following

paragraph. The most similar process to stop neutralisation in English is when a nasal or stop becomes unreleased or, in certain cases, deleted, as they are followed by another nasal or a stop. However, they are not replaced by other consonantal sounds, as in Korean.

The syllable structure of Korean does not allow for consonant clusters, which will be further discussed in section 4.3. Although the consonant clusters can still occur orthographically and when a consonant in the coda position is followed by another in the onset position, Korean has two main processes to handle consonant clusters: resyllabification and consonant cluster simplification. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, resyllabification occurs when a word-final consonant cluster is followed by a vowel. In this case, the first consonant from the consonant pair remains within the original word-final syllable while the second consonant combines with the initial vowel of the following syllable. Consonant cluster simplification, on the other hand, happens when a consonant in the coda position is followed by a consonant in the onset position of the next syllable. In this case, only one consonant is realised, because in SK speech, only the member with the strongest oral contact in the cluster position remains. This also applies when the consonant cluster occurs orthographically within a syllable: the speakers produce only the consonant with the stronger oral contact, depending on the cluster composition. English does not have those strategies for dealing with consonant clusters, as the English syllable structure allows them.

Apart from consonant clusters, Korean also does not allow for the following sequences to occur: obstruent and a lax stop, obstruent and a nasal consonant, the liquid /l/ and a non-alveolar nasal, and the liquid /l/ and /n/. A lax stop that is following an obstruent becomes, through the process of post-obstruent tensification, a tense stop instead. Obstruent, followed by a nasal consonant, is assimilated into a homogenous nasal through the process of obstruent nasalisation. Similarly, through liquid nasalisation, /l/ in a sequence with a non-alveolar nasal becomes a nasal. In the case of the sequence of /l/ and /n/, the nasal is lateralised into the liquid /l/. English has no process or constraint that is similar to those mentioned in this paragraph.

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The SK fricatives also undergo certain phonological processes, such as /j/ and /h/ deletion and s-palatalization. The /j/ deletion occurs in the affricate and [j] sequences, which can occur when inflecting a verb that has a stem of /tɕi, tɕ*i, tɕʰi/ with a verbal ending starting with /ʌ/. As Shin, Kiaer, and Cha (2013) demonstrate, the word /tɕiʌsʌ/, meaning *to lose*, will be realized as [tɕʌsʌ] instead of [*tɕjʌsʌ] (195). The /h/ deletion occurs in connected speech between voiced sounds in the connected speech. Some varieties of English also delete /j/ sound when it occurs after /t, d, θ, ð, n/ while others delete /h/ in /h/ + /j/ sequences; however, RP in most cases retains the /j/ sound except in unstressed syllables, where it may coalescence with /d/, /s/, /t/, and /z/ into /dʒ/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /ʒ/. S-palatalization in Korean occurs when /s/ is followed either by the vowel [i] or the glide [j], in which case /s/ is realised as [ʃ].

4.2 The vowel inventory of SK

The Korean vowel system has undergone many changes throughout the century that are well documented by Lee and Ramsey (2011, 294). The current vowel inventory has been arranged into a ten-vowel system:

	Front		Back	
	(Rounded)		Rounded	
High	i	(y)	ɯ	u
Mid	e	(ø)	ʌ	o
Low	(æ)		ɑ	

Table 12 – 10-vowel inventory in SK, adapted from Lee and Ramsey (2011)

This inventory has undergone a lot of scrutiny, and the identity of many vowels has been disputed. As Shin (2015) summarizes, only an incredibly low number of SK speakers use the monophthongs /ø/ and /y/, and there is an ongoing merge of the vowels /e/ and /æ/throughout the SK-speaking population (4). With all the changes to the system mentioned above, the ten-vowel system suddenly becomes a seven-vowel system. Although the vowels /ø/ and /y/ are used in certain dialects

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of Korean (Sohn 1999, 156), I will be using the seven-vowel system, as it is more representative of the contemporary SK.

It also needs to be pointed out that some researchers recognize the high-back unrounded vowel /ɯ/ as central /ɨ/ and the mid-low-back unrounded vowel /ʌ/ as mid-central unrounded vowel /ə/ with the argument being that those vowels can be traced back to the Late Middle Korean. However, as Cho and Whitman (2020) point out, it seems that the properties of /ɨ/ in Late Middle Korean were consistent with the articulatory and acoustic properties of /ɯ/ in later versions of Korean (25). Some researchers also chose to portray the letter ㅏ in Korean orthography as the sound /a/ (Lee and Ramsey 2000; Sohn 1999) while others (Shin 2015; Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013) assign it the value of /ɑ/. This difference comes from the fact that the sound for ㅏ is more central than both /a/ and /ɑ/ and lower than the mid-low central unrounded vowel /ɐ/ (International Phonetic Association 1999, 121). I will use the sign /ɑ/, as it seems that it is more representative of the ㅏ sound than /a/.

With everything mentioned above taken into consideration, the inventory of SK vowels in this thesis is demonstrated in the table below:

	Front	Back	
			Rounded
High	i	ɯ	u
Mid	e	ʌ	o
Low		ɑ	

Table 13 – SK vowel inventory (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013, 102)

While Korean vowels do have long and short variants, they function as a contrastive feature only in word-initial syllables. As Kim, Lotto, and Kim (2006) demonstrate, there are certain environments in which the vowels are longer or shorter and their length is influenced by morphological processes (104). However, Park (1994) argues that it seems that the younger generation of native Korean speakers has mostly

lost the distinctive vowel-length distinction (184). As it does not seem that the vowel length distinction is relevant in SK at present, I will not take it into consideration in this thesis.

While glides, or semivowels, are regarded as more consonantal sounds than vowels in RP, SK regards them as more vowels than consonants, which is why they are included in this section. Their status as vowels is also debated, with Cheon (2002) arguing that Korean glides should have the status of a consonant and Shin, Kiaer, and Cha (2013) pointing out that would be inconsistent with the behaviour of other sounds around the glide, should it function as a consonant. This thesis operates under the assumption that glides function more as vowels than consonants and are, therefore, treated as such.

The number of Korean glides has also been a matter of extensive debate. While some classify Korean as a language with two glides, /j/ and /w/, some researchers propose a third glide /ɰ/. Most of the debate has to do with the underlying values of glides, as mentioned above, restrictions of Korean syllable structure and the on-glide versus off-glide debate. The overview of the debate and the arguments is below.

If we were to adopt the view that SK has only two glides, it would mean that there would be a unique off-glide /ɰj/ as a production of the diphthong representing the letter /ㅢ/ while other diphthongs would be on-glides. There is also no explanation as to why /j/ only interacts in an off-glide with /ɰ/ and not any other vowel. Shin, Kiaer, and Cha (2013) point out that a new combining constraint for falling diphthongs in general would have to be established, because /j/ cannot be combined with coronal consonants within a morpheme. Adding the third glide /ɰ/ would make /ㅢ/ a rising diphthong with specific constraints for combining with certain consonants only for this glide, not for all of them (110-111). With the above taken into consideration, the diphthong inventory that I adhere to in this thesis is the following:

	i	e	ɑ	ɯ	u	ʌ	o
j		je	jɑ		ju	jʌ	jo
w	wi	we	wɑ			wʌ	
ɰ	ɰi						

Table 14 – Diphthongs in SK (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013, 112)

4.3 Prosody of SK

The syllable in SK is, as in English, the smallest prosodic unit, but its composition is very different. Korean is a CVC language with an optional glide and an obligatory vowel as the syllable nucleus and the maximal syllable structure of (C)(G)V(C). Unlike in English, where certain sonorants such as /m/, /n/, /l/, and /ɹ/ can be syllabic, Korean allows only vowels to be syllabic. Any SK consonant can occur in the syllable-initial position, besides /ŋ/. The selection of syllable-final consonants is much more limited, because of the process of stop neutralization, as mentioned in section 4.1.3. Because of this process, the only consonants that can occur in the syllable-final position are /p, t, k, n, l, m, ŋ/, as all SK syllables must end with a lax unreleased stop. As can be seen from the syllable structure above, Korean does not allow consonant clusters, although they can occur orthographically, as they are the remnant of their use in fifteenth-century Korean (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013, 183). In such cases, only one of the consonants is produced because of consonant-cluster simplification also described in section 4.1.3. Syllables can be grouped to form phonological words and accentual phrases which can be grouped to form an intonational phrase, which will be described in more detail in the next paragraph.

The status of Korean within the traditional rhythm typology of stress-timed, syllable-timed, and mora-timed languages has been extensively debated, and there is no satisfying conclusion to this debate. While some scholars propose that Korean is a stress-timed language with the stress being on the first syllable, others suggest that Korean is a syllable-time language. However, recent development suggests that Korea does not belong to any of the aforementioned categories (Jeon 2015, 42-43). Unlike in English, the stress in Korean is not lexically contrastive, if there is any stress at all, and

the pitch does not mark tonic syllables. Instead, the pitch serves as a way to signal the grouping of the words within the utterance, as the same sentence can have multiple meanings based on the grouping of words into accentual phrases and intonational phrases. Intonational phrases do not only include the accentual phrases, but also their tonal patterns, as well as a boundary tone (Jun 1993, 34-38). The tonal patterns consist of either low tones or low pitch (L) or high tones or high pitch (H), and their actual composition within the accentual depends on criteria such as the phrase's initial phoneme or the number of syllables. The two most common tonal patterns in SK are LHLH and HHLH. Accentual phrases with a tense or aspirated stop, affricate, or any type of fricative are more likely, to begin with a high pitch and continue in the HHLH pattern. Otherwise, they begin with a low tone and continue in the LHLH pattern (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013, 167). Although, Jun (1993) presumes the underlying tone melody of the SK accentual phrase to be LHLH (64). It is important to note that there is a significant tonal variation within different Korean dialects, although the underlying principles and functions stay the same.

4.4 Predicted characteristics of Korean accent in English

4.4.1 Transfer of consonant production and assimilation

The characteristics of both languages discussed in the chapters 3 and 4 lend themselves to drawing cross-linguistic comparisons and predicting which aspects of L2 English should be the most difficult for L1 Korean speakers to produce. Firstly, there are a number of phonemic differences that are likely to result in transfer. One of the main differences between English and Korean is the different distinctions between obstruents, mainly regarding the voicing status. Because there are no voiced obstruents that are classified as voiced in SK, it can be presumed that SK learners of English would have difficulties with producing voiced RP sounds and would replace them with homorganic or the closest variant with respect to the place and manner that occurs in SK.

English also has the labiodental and dental consonant category, which Korean lacks, so the SK speakers can be expected to have trouble pronouncing the consonants

/f, v, θ, ð/. Because of this, SK speakers can be expected to resort to replacing those consonants with either bilabial (in the case of labiodental consonants) or alveolar (in the case of dental consonants) stops because they are closest in the matter of place. Replacement by other affricate or fricative consonants more different in place is less likely.

SK lacks a clear phonemic distinction between liquids /l/ and /ɹ/. Because of this, SK learners of English can be expected to have difficulties producing the contrast and can be expected to pronounce /ɹ/ as [l] and /l/ as [ɹ]. Evidence that is needed for this case is discussed in the section 5.1.

In addition to phonemic differences, there are also differences in the phonetic realization of phonemes. Allophonic processes can also be transferred. The process of final stop neutralization does not occur in English, as the language lacks the three-way distinction of Korean. Because this process is one of the most prominent in SK, it should carry over to the L2 pronunciation. For example, SK speakers can be expected to pronounce big as [bɪk̚] instead of [bɪg]. Another process that will influence the final consonants is the consonant cluster simplification. SK learners might simplify English consonant clusters to just one consonant sound. This sound, should the cluster occur in the syllable-final position, would then be realised as an unreleased stop. This means that the word kelp would be pronounced as [kɛl] instead of [kɛlp].

While /j/ and /h/ deletion (or dropping) do exist in certain varieties of the English language, RP, in most cases, retains both of the sounds. However, the circumstances of RP yod-dropping or h-deletion are different from the circumstances of /j/ and /h/-deletion in SK and cannot be compared effectively. Nevertheless, the SK learners may have a tendency to delete [j] which occurs as a result of palatalization, and not produce /h/ in intervocalic positions in connected speech.

The processes of obstruent and liquid nasalization are also prominent in Korean phonology, and their transfer to L2 speech is also possible and could pose significant issues in production. To illustrate the transfer, the word bookman would be pronounced

as [bʊŋmən] instead of [bʊkmən] because of obstruent nasalization, and Hamlet would be pronounced as [hɛmnit] instead of [hæmlət].

4.4.2 Transfer of vowel production

Based on the differences in the vowel inventory as described in sections 3.2 and 4.2, the SK speakers can be predicted to have difficulties producing the English vowels /ɛ, æ, ə, ʊ, ɔ, ɒ/ as they do not exist within the SK vowel inventory.

5 Literature on Korean accent in English

The following chapter of this thesis will take the predicted characteristics of the Korean accent in English that were proposed in section 4.4, and will discuss them in light of evidence from different studies focusing on production. It concludes by describing the accent of an average Korean learner of English. An average Korean learner is a mediumly proficient adult native Korean learner of English. Because of the nature and the participants of the studies below, the average participant is a university student with no experience of living abroad in any English-speaking country, so their production and English knowledge were only acquired through traditional schooling.

The following discussion of the studies is divided into three main sections according to the subject of interest. Firstly, I will tackle the studies that discuss the production of English consonants and provide the common error types and patterns. Then, I will examine the transfer of allophonic processes such as obstruent nasalization, s-palatalization and others mentioned previously. I will then comment on the production of reduced vowels by SK learners as well as the production of lax-tense contrast. And lastly, I will comment on the transfer of prosodic features, such as duration, intensity and pitch.

5.1 Transfer of consonant production

As emphasized throughout the thesis, Korean and English have significantly different consonant phonemic inventories, with several crucial sounds of RP missing in SK. This applies mainly to most fricative sounds as well as affricates, as the sounds /f, v, θ, ð, z, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/ do not exist in Korean even as allophonic variations, as was mentioned in section 4.1.1. A study by Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn (2009) presents three case studies of SK children residing with their families in the US. From the children's speech, the authors recorded target errors that could be attributed to negative transfer. All participants displayed difficulties with the production of English fricatives and affricates and tended to replace them with homorganic stops. The data shows that the labiodental fricatives /f, v/ were replaced by bilabial [p, b], the alveolar /z/ was replaced with [d] by one participant, dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ were replaced with [t]

and [d]. While one of the participants replaced the sound /ʒ/ with [dʒ] and one other participant replaced /tʃ/ with [s], those substitutions were not frequent enough to consider as the default replacement (Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn 2009, 175).

The data from the three case studies is also supported by a study done by Lee (2011), which used a series of nonsense words to investigate the production of English fricatives /f, θ, s, ʃ/ across 32 SK advanced learners of English with high proficiency test scores. The SK speakers faced significant difficulty with the production of /f/ and /θ/, their mean accuracy being 60.9% and 39.7%, respectively. When it comes to the substitution patterns, the sound /f/ was most frequently substituted with the sounds [θ, h, v, s, p] while /θ/ was substituted with [f, s, d] or was deleted (Lee 2011, 272). Speakers had no trouble producing the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/, as the mean values of correct production instances were above 85% for both sounds.

Both Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn (2009) and Lee (2011) demonstrated that SK speakers struggle with producing English fricative sounds, although the substitution patterns the studies presented were slightly different. While the findings of Lee (2011) apply to advanced SK speakers of English, other research (Cho and Park 2006; Shin 2013; Lee and Cho 2011; and others) shows that the findings of Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn (2009) are more consistent with the common substitution patterns of SK speakers, children, or adults. As this thesis sets out to describe the Korean accent in English of the average adult SK learner, the common and expected substitution patterns are the following: /f/ → [p], /v/ → [b], /θ/ → [s], /ð/ → [d], /z, ʒ / → [tʃ] (Cho and Park 2006, 238). More evidence for these substitution patterns will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Lee, Joh, and Cho, in their 2002 study, investigated the acquisition and production of English consonant clusters among 60 university students, both from the Seoul and Kyongsang areas. Because this thesis is concerned with the Standard, or Seoul, Korean, the data from the participants from the Kyongsang area will not be presented. Instead of drawing conclusions from the data collected from all 60 participants, I will draw conclusions from the data collected from 30 participants from the Seoul area, as the Lee, Joh, and Cho (2002) study differentiates between

the two groups and offers a detailed and extensive analysis of the interferences present in the groups separately.

As mentioned in section 4.3, consonant clusters do not exist in the SK speech. A SK speaker can be expected to face significant difficulty with their production in English. Lee, Joh, and Cho (2002) confirm this expectation, as the participants produced the consonant clusters in a native-like fashion only 60.1% of the time. The study then looked more specifically at rates of correct production of the 2-consonant (CC) and 3-consonant clusters (CCC) and reported mean native-like production rates at 60.9% and 55.2%, respectively. The subsequent analysis also revealed that the position of the consonant cluster within a word played a significant role in SK learners' production, as the learners were much more successful at producing word-initial consonant clusters than word-final clusters (450).

Lee, Joh, and Cho (2002) report that vowel epenthesis of high vowels /i/ or /ɨ/ (in this thesis represented as /ɯ/, as discussed in section 4.2)**,** sound replacement and deletion were the predominant error types in consonant cluster production in SK speakers (451). Out of the three strategies, the most common proved to be vowel epenthesis, which occurred in all consonant clusters. However, the position of the inserted vowel differed with respect to the number of consonants in the cluster, the position of the cluster in a word and even the consonant composition of the cluster.

In word-initial CC, the epenthesis occurred after the first consonant independently from the composition of the cluster. In word-initial CCC, the vowel epenthesis occurred in some speakers after the first consonant, while in others after the second consonant. In the word-final CC, the vowel epenthesis mostly occurred after the second consonant, regardless of the type of consonants in the cluster. However, if the CC contained a sequence of only sonorants, the epenthesis occurred after the first of the pair. In word-final CCC, the epenthesis occurred after the last one (Lee, Joh, and Cho 2002, 455-456).

The second most recorded error type, replacement, also differed based on the type, position, and composition of the cluster. The replacement pattern of word-

initial CC follows the findings of Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn (2009) and other studies mentioned above, with /f/ being replaced by [p], /θ/ replaced by either [s*], [t] or [t*] and /ʃ/ being most frequently replaced by [s*]. Surprisingly, there were no recorded errors in the production of word-initial CCC apart from producing /l/ as /ɹ/ and vice versa. When it comes to word-final consonant clusters, the replacement patterns were the same as those of word-initial clusters in both CC and CCC. The only noticeable replacement in word-final CCC was the replacement of /ŋ/ for [n] (Lee, Joh, and Cho 2002, 457).

As mentioned above, the third most recorded error type was deletion. The composition of the cluster impacted which consonant was deleted. In the word-initial CC, there were two categories with respect to the composition: the obstruent-obstruent sequence and the obstruent-sonorant sequence. In the former, the second consonant was deleted, while in the latter, the sonorant was deleted. Lee, Joh, and Cho (2002) point out that the second consonant in the two-obstruent sequence was, in most cases, the labiodental /f/, and that its deletion might be connected to the fact that there is no /f/ phoneme in Korean (454). In the word-initial CCC cluster, the final consonant was deleted. In the word-final CC, the second consonant was deleted in most cases of two-obstruent sequences, in obstruent and sonorant sequences, as well as sonorant and obstruent sequences. The only instance where the first consonant was deleted was in sonorant and obstruent sequences where the sonorant was /ɹ/ (Lee, Joh, and Cho 2002, 454-455).

To summarize, the findings of Lee, John, and Cho (2002) confirm L1 interference in producing L2 consonant clusters. The three phonological processes that are most likely to be a part of the English accent of SK speakers are vowel epenthesis, consonant replacement, and deletion. Epenthesis in CC in the onset position will occur after the first consonant and in the coda position after the second consonant unless the cluster is made of a sonorant sequence. In CCC, the epenthesis will appear after the first or second consonants if the cluster occurs in the onset position and after the last consonant of the cluster when in the coda position. The replacement patterns are mostly the same for onset and coda positions, except for word-final CCC clusters in which /ŋ/ is realized as [n]. Otherwise, the CC experiences the replacement

of /f/ with [p], /θ/ with [s*], /t/ or [t*] and /ʃ/ with [s*]. Furthermore, the CCC experiences the replacement of /l/ with /ɹ/ and vice versa.

The problem of SK speakers producing the /l/ - /ɹ/ contrast is a well-known difficulty that has been discussed in multiple studies (Cho and Park 2006; Lee, Joh, and Cho 2002). A study by Eun (2004) provides further data collected from 80 SK participants who were tested for their production of the liquids. The age of the participants ranged from under 20 to over 40; most of them were university students. The participants were divided into three groups depending on the level of their English pronunciation, assessed by four native English (NE) speakers. Through analyses of the recordings of the SK speakers' speech production, Eun (2004) reports the mean correct production of the liquid sounds at 64.3%, with the correct pronunciation for /l/ and /ɹ/ being 69.4% and 60.7%, respectively (49). The data also showed that the production of /l/ was significantly worse in word-initial and word-final positions. Surprisingly, the correct production of /l/ is much higher in consonant cluster positions, with the mean correct production being 79.9%. Unlike the lateral liquid /l/, /ɹ/ was most correctly produced in the word-initial position with a mean correct production of 68.5%. The general worst production of both liquids occurred in word-final positions. The highest rate of correct production of liquids occurred in consonant clusters, then word-medial positions, and then word-initial positions. In other words, the worst production occurred in positions of velarized /l/ and postvocalic /ɹ/ (Eun 2004, 54).

In Eun (2004), four NE listeners assessed the overall degree of foreign accent in the participants' production, dividing them into three groups: good, average, and poor English pronunciation proficiency. While the group with good pronunciation proficiency produced the liquids accurately in 90.7% of the cases, the average group did so in only 57% of the instances of /l/ and /ɹ/, which is a significant difference. As this thesis is interested in the average SK learner, the problem with the production of /l/ and /ɹ/ contrast can be classified as one of the typical characteristics of the Korean accent in English.

The matter of the production of the glide /j/ by SK learners of English was investigated by Kang (2014). This study conducted an experiment with 22 adult SK

learners and sought to assess the acquisition of the English glides /j/ and /w/ and identify the repair strategies used in the SK participants' production. The participants were asked to read a two-paragraph passage which included the stimuli words with the glides in word-initial position. The results of Kang (2014) show that 68% of the recorded stimuli words were produced in untarget-like fashion and the SK speakers used four major repair strategies: replacing the glide with a glottal stop (ʔ-replacement), glide deletion, replacing the vowel after glide with /ə/ (V-shift), and replacing one glide with the other (G-shift). The ʔ-replacement and glide deletion were the most employed tactics as they were used in 29.8% and 23.9% of the target production, respectively. The V-shift was used in 13.6% of the target production while G-shift was used in only 0.7% of the target production (107-108). Based on these results, the ʔ-replacement and glide deletion of both /j/ and /w/ in word-initial positions can be categorized as a typical characteristic of the Korean accent in English.

To the best of my knowledge, there seems to be no research on the SK learners' production of English which mentions or is concerned with the transfer of /h/-deletion. This thesis, therefore, presumes that SK speakers have no issues with a native-like production of the consonant /h/ in between two voiced sounds.

5.2 Transfer of assimilation

A study conducted by Kim (2004) focused on the transfer of manner assimilation from Korean to English, more specifically on the transfer of syllable-final obstruent and liquid nasalization and the lateralization of alveolar coda followed by a liquid onset. The study set out to test the hypothesis that all manner of assimilation will transfer from Korean to English in the same or similar degree. To test this hypothesis, data was collected from 10 SK, as well as from 2 NE, to provide baseline data. The data consisted of recordings of the participants reading 73 English sentences that included 75 target forms, which Kim (2004) went on to compare with the baseline data provided by NE.

Out of the 1500 English target forms, SK speakers assimilated 27% of all instances of an obstruent followed by a sonorant, while NE speakers only assimilated 3% of such instances. In total, SK speakers nasalized 44% of all obstruents before nasals,

but only 11% underwent nasalization or lateralization before liquids. In comparison, NE speakers assimilated only 5% of obstruents before nasals, while nasalization or lateralization before liquids was not produced by any speaker. In a more thorough investigation of the data, Kim (2004) concludes that obstruent nasalization and lateralization are commonly transferred to the English production of SK speakers, while the nasalization of obstruents before liquids is not (725).

In a similar study, Park (2006) investigates the production of stop-nasal sequences, which in Korean would undergo a mandatory stop-nasalization. This study analysed speech data collected from 8 SK speakers and 2 NE speakers. Out of the 8 SK speakers, the author classified 6 as non-advanced English learners and I will mainly focus on the results of this group. The study was focused on the sequences of alveolar stops /t, d/ and nasals /m, n/. Different stress patterns were also taken into consideration and tested.

In the results of the study by Park (2006), the SK speakers produced the correct consonant sequence only 40% of the time, while the mean rate of nasalization was recorded at 40% and the mean rate of vowel insertion at 20% (5). The results also show that the average SK learners showed both nasalization and vowel epenthesis most frequently in the stressed-unstressed syllable sequences, while this was the opposite for unstressed-stressed syllable sequences (Park 2006, 9).

The data from Eckman and Iverson (1997) can be used to discuss the transfer of the palatalization of the phoneme /s/, which is typically substituted with the allophone [ʃ] before the vowel [i] and the palatal glide [j]. The data was collected from 4 SK speakers of English, who were assessed for whether their interlanguage exhibited the contrast between /s/ and /ʃ/ and whether or not s-palatalization occurred in derived and non-derived contexts. Out of the SK speakers, 3 produced the /s/ x /ʃ/ contrast. Out of all the participants, only 2 speakers substituted /s/ with [ʃ], and only one of them did so in a non-derived context. The findings of Eckman and Iverson (1997) suggest that s-palatalization may sometimes be transferred to the English speech of SK speakers, but the results suggest that it is not a prominent feature of SK English production. This conclusion is supported by the analysis of the English production

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of SK speakers conducted by Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn (2009). Out of the three presented participants, only one was recorded to display s-palatalization in English.

Further, Park (2005) provides more specific data on s-palatalization. In their study, Park (2005) elicited sequences of the fricative /s/ and the vowel /i/ or the glide /j/. Combinations that occurred both at the word boundary and within a word were included. The total number of participants in this study was 32. In total, the correct pronunciation of the s-sequences ranged from 78% to 96%, and palatalized pronunciation from 0% to 21.3% (Park 2005, 104).

Park summarizes that the transfer of s-palatalization occurred infrequently, an observation made also by Eckman and Iverson (1997), and Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn (2009). Because of this conclusion, s-palatalization will not be classified as one of the typical characteristics of a Korean accent in English in this thesis. However, it should be remembered that, while s-palatalization does not apply in the majority of cases, there are speakers who transfer the rule to their English speech.

5.3 Transfer of vowel production

Before examining the different studies that are focused on vowel production, it needs to be pointed out that most of the studies concerning the vowel pronunciation of SK learners of English work with the vowel inventory of General American English. The reason for this is that most SK speakers present different degrees of pronunciation of vowels that are representative of GA, such as the rhotacization of schwa and the absence of the vowel /ɒ/. As Choi (2013) clarifies, English education in Korea shows a significant bias towards the General American, as the majority of listening materials for both classroom use and testing are presented in GA (136). The bias towards GA results in little to no research on the production of RP vowels, which is why I cannot make any claims as to the production of the vowel /ɒ/ by SK learners of English. To the best of my knowledge, the only studies concerned with RP and Korean accents focus on perception and attitudes towards the variety (Oh 2017; Kwon 2019; and others).

As is apparent from the table of the SK vowel inventory in 4.2, SK has no reduced vowels, while English utilizes the mid-central vowel /ə/ frequently. The study by Han, Hwang, and Choi (2011) examined 29 native Korean university students, with 15 being typical EFL learners with no experience of living in an English-speaking country (549). I will only consider the data of this group and draw conclusions from its results. The results of the study suggest that Korean learners were not likely to produce reduced vowels as they instead produced full vowels. Their quality differed based on their position within a word. In word-initial positions, the speakers produced the vowels a rhotacized long schwa [ɝ] and a mid-low central [ʌ]. The produced vowels had lower F2 frequencies (were not as front) compared to the same vowels produced by American NE. In word-internal positions, the speakers produced high front [i] and [ɪ], and in word-final positions, they produced low back [ɑ] (Han, Hwang, and Choi 2011, 549-550).

Cho and Jeong (2013) investigated Korean speakers' production and perception of the English vowels /i, ɪ, eɪ, ɛ, æ, ʌ, ɔ, ɑ, oʊ, ʊ, u/. The study collected speech data from 21 SK learners of English who were university students. For the production task, the participants were asked to produce 11 stimulus words, each containing one of the vowels. The accuracy rate of the production effort amounted to 60%, with the most correctly produced monophthong being /ɑ/ and the least correctly produced vowel being /ʌ/ (Cho and Jeong 2013, 168).

The study recorded several significant patterns of mispronunciation, the most significant being the bidirectional confusion patterns between [i] and [ɪ], [u] and [ʊ], and [æ] and [ɛ]. More specifically, the tense [i] was produced as [ɪ] 50% of the time, and lax [ɪ] was produced as [i] in 27% of the collected data. The tense [u] was pronounced as [ʊ] in 26% of the collected data, and lax [ʊ] was pronounced as [u] in 24% of the collected data. The vowel [æ] was produced as [ɛ] 29% of the time, [ɛ] was produced as [æ] 59% of the time. The vowel [ʌ] was pronounced in a target-like fashion only 34% of the time, as it was pronounced as the vowel [ɔ] in 46% of the speech data. The participants also produced the vowels [ɑ] and [ʊ] as [ɔ] and [ʌ], respectively. Unlike in the previous confusion patterns, this mispronunciation was not bidirectional. The vowel [ʌ] was

in a similar fashion mispronounced as [ɑ] and [ɔ], but [ɔ] and [ɑ] were not mispronounced as [ʌ] (Cho and Jeong 2013, 169).

From these studies, it is possible to conclude that SK speakers experience significant difficulties in differentiating between vowels /i, ɪ /, /æ, ɛ/, /u, ʊ /, and /ʌ/ and /ɔ, ɑ/. In general, the SK speakers also displayed a greater degree of confusion between the central and back vowels, which another study also confirms (Lee and Rhee, 2019). Since the degree of confusion was shown by Cho and Jeong (2013) to be significant, it will be taken as a characteristic element of the Korean accent in English.

5.4 Transfer of prosodic cues

The study conducted by Kim (2017) examines the Korean-English prosodic transfer with a focus on acquiring the stress-timed rhythm of English (182). The study proposes that SK learners express the duration variability of stressed and unstressed syllables through pitch variability in their English production. During the experiment, the participants first listened to recordings of two NE speakers producing the target sentences. Then they repeated the target sentences, and their production was recorded. The participants were then given 5 weeks to practice target-like production from audio samples, and after the 5-week period, their production was recorded once again. Seven NE speakers then evaluated both sets of the SK recordings in terms of English speech proficiency, ranging from 1 to 7. The Kim (2017) study showed that SK learners showed a much lower degree of durational variability and much higher degrees of pitch variability than the NE speakers (192). The study also showed that SK learners showed higher pitch variability between stressed and unstressed vowels, while the NE speakers did not produce such strong contrast in pitch height between the syllables. Kim (2017) summarizes that SK learners overuse pitch to express stressed and unstressed syllables to compensate for small duration variability in their English production (196).

The study by Yu (2019) examines the acquisition of English prosody by SK learners with a focus on stress assignment and the transfer of tonal patterns. In this study, 10 SK learners were first assessed on their overall English skills and then they were recorded producing the target stimuli words. The stress position in the target words,

as well as the voicing type, varied from word-initial to word-final and from voiceless to voiced. The recordings were then assessed by a NE speaker. The results show that SK learners were less successful in target-like production of word-final stress, as the accuracy rate for advanced and beginner learners was 86% and 56%, respectively. Yu (2019) observed the presence of three tonal patterns within the untarget-like responses, those tonal patterns being HLL, LHLL, and LHLL (486-487). The study concludes that stress assignment poses significant difficulties to SK learners and that L1 Korean prosody was transferred into their English production (Yu 2019, 493).

The findings of both Kim (2017) and Yu (2019) showed that L1 Korean prosody is transferred to the SK speakers' L2 English production, mainly the high pitch variability between stressed and unstressed syllables, low duration variability between stressed and unstressed syllables, and tonal patterns.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to create an overview of the features of the Korean accent in English. The first chapter of the thesis briefly summarized the frameworks of SLA, which then served as the basis for later comparison of the phonological systems as well as drawing predictions on what problems will SK speakers face in their English production. The varieties chosen for the comparison were Received Pronunciation and Standard Korean, which were discussed in their own chapters with respect to their consonant and vowel inventories, prosody and phonological processes and later compared. Through this comparison, I predicted the characteristic features of the Korean accent in English and then consulted my predictions with the different studies on the topic of L1 Korean transfer to L2 English.

When it comes to consonant production SK speakers will replace the English /f, v, θ, ð, z, ʒ/ with [p, b, s, d, tʃ] and either simplify the English consonant clusters by deletion of one of the consonants or employ vowel epenthesis to resyllabify the cluster. SK speakers also showed difficulty in producing liquids accurately, and they had significant problems with the target-like production of the glides /j/ and /w/. SK speakers can also be expected to nasalize the syllable-final obstruents, and stop-nasal sequences with the stressed-unstressed pattern, as well as lateralize the alveolar coda when it is followed by a liquid onset.

SK speakers are also not likely to produce reduced vowels in their English production. Instead, they produce different vowels based on the vowel position within a word. The speakers also display bidirectional confusion between [i] and [ɪ], [u] and [ʊ], and [æ] and [ɛ]. In terms of prosody, SK speakers produce a strong contrast of pitch to differentiate between stressed and unstressed syllables and their English production will be influenced by the Korean tonal patterns.

7 Resumé

Cílem této práce bylo vytvořit přehled rysů korejského přízvuku v angličtině. V první kapitole práce byly stručně shrnuty rámce SLA, které pak sloužily jako základ pro pozdější srovnání fonologických systémů a rozbor. Pro srovnání byly vybrány výslovnosti přijaté výslovnosti (*Received Pronunciation*) a standardní korejštiny (*Standard Korean*), které byly popsány ve vlastních kapitolách s ohledem na souhlásky a samohlásky, prozodii a fonologické procesy, a později byly i porovnány. V rámci tohoto srovnání jsem navrhla charakteristické rysy korejského přízvuku v angličtině a následně jsem představila vybrané studie, které se týkaly přenosu rysů korejské fonologie do angličtiny.

Mluvčí SK v anglickém projevu nahrazují samohlásky /f, v, θ, ð, z, ʒ/ za [p, b, s, d, tʃ] a také zjednodušují souhláskové shluky buď vypuštěním jedné ze souhlásek, nebo používají epentezi k rozdělení shluku. Mluvčí SK také měli potíže s výslovností likvid a měli značné problémy s anglickou výslovností aproximantů /j/ a /w/.

U SK mluvčích lze také očekávat, že budou nazalizovat slabikotvorné obstruenty a stop-nasálních sekvence v kombinaci přízvučné a nepřízvučné slabiky. Stejně tak lze očekávat, že v jejich projevu bude docházet k lateralizaci alveolárů v kodě, pokud je následuje likvid v pozici iniciály.

V anglickém projevu SK mluvčí také nebude probíhat samohlásková redukce. Místo toho produkují různé samohlásky na základě jejich pozic ve slově. Mluvčí také zaměňují [i] a [ɪ], [u] a [ʊ] a [æ] a [ɛ] a obráceně. Pokud jde o prozodii, SK mluvčí v mluvě dělají větší kontrast mezi výškami tónů přízvučných a nepřízvučných slabik. Zároveň jejich anglický projev ovlivňují také korejské intonační vzorce.

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9 Appendix

9.1 Overview of characteristic features of Korean accent in English

CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
STOP	p b			t k			k g	
AFFRICATE						tʃ dʒ		
FRICATIVE		f[1] v[2]	θ[3] ð[4]	s z[5]		ʃ[6] ʒ[7]		h
NASAL	m			n			ŋ[8]	
APPROXIMANT	(w)			l[9]	ɹ[9]	j[10]	w[10]	

Replacement

[1] replaced with p

[2] replaced with b

[3] replaced with [s*], [t] or [t*]

[4] replaced with [d]

[5] replaced with [tʃ]

[6] replaced with [s*]

[7] replaced with [tʃ]

[8] replaced with [n] in word-final CCC

[9] Confusion on word-initial CCC, see below

[10] Replaced with ʔ or deleted in word-initial positions

Vowel epenthesis → /i/ or /ɯ/

CC

Word-initial: After the first consonant

Word-final: After the second consonant, except for SS → after the first consonant

CCC

Word-initial: After the first or second consonant (speaker dependent)

Word-final: After the third (last) consonant

Cluster simplification

CC

Word-initial:

- OO – the second obstruent is deleted
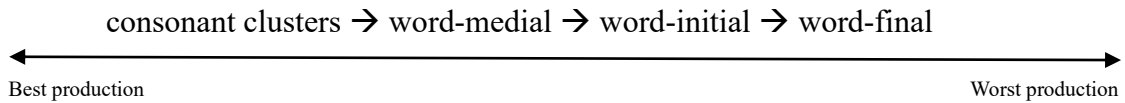- OS – the sonorant is deleted

CCC

Word-initial: Final deleted

Word-final:

- OO – the obstruent is deleted
- OS – the sonorant is deleted, except if S is /ɹ/ → the obstruent is deleted
- SS – the second sonorant is deleted

Production of the /l/ - /ɹ/ contrast

consonant clusters → word-medial → word-initial → word-final

←————————————————————————————————→

Best production   Worst production

MANNER ASSIMILATION

ON → O assimilated into a homogenous N

Alveolar O + liquid → O is lateralized into a liquid

VOWEL PRODUCTION

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
High	i (x ɪ)		u (x ʊ)
Mid-high	ɪ (x i)		ʊ (x u, ʌ)
Mid			ʌ (x ɔ, ɑ) ɔ
Mid-low	ɛ (x æ)		
Low	æ (x ɛ)		ɑ (x ɔ)

PROSODIC CUES

SK speakers have a significantly higher pitch difference between stressed and unstressed vowels.

SK speakers have a significantly lower duration variability between stressed and unstressed vowels.

SK speakers use pitch to compensate for small duration variability in English production.

SK speakers have difficulty with producing word-final stress and assigning stress.

Abstract

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Abstract: This thesis aims to describe typical features of pronunciation of native South Korean speakers of L2 English. In the literature review, I will discuss the current approaches to L2 phonology and how it is influenced by L1 phonology (e.g. Eckman and Iverson 2013). Then I will compare the phonological systems of Standard Korean (Shin, Kiaer, and Cha 2013) and Received Pronunciation (Cruttenden 2014). Based on this contrastive analysis and the review of L2 phonology, I will outline the aspects of Standard Korean that might influence a Korean speaker's pronunciation in English. Finally, I will review studies of Korean L2 English speech production (e.g. Ha, Johnson, and Kuehn 2009). This examination should result in a comprehensive overview of typical features of the English pronunciation of native South Korean speakers. The overview could serve as material for interpreters who need to prepare for interpreting from Korean-accented English.

Anotace

Název práce: Korean Accent in English

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Abstrakt: Cílem této práce je popsat typické rysy výslovnosti angličtiny rodilých jihokorejských. V přehledu literatury se budu zabývat současnými přístupy k fonologii druhého jazyka (L2) a ovlivněním fonologií mateřského jazyka (L1) (např. Eckman a Iverson 2013). Dále porovnám fonologické standardní korejštiny (SK) (Shin, Kiaer, a Cha 2013) a přijaté výslovnosti (RP) (Cruttenden 2014). Na základě této kontrastivní analýzy a přehledu L2 fonologie nastíním aspekty standardní korejštiny, které mohou ovlivňovat anglickou výslovnost jihokorejských rodilých mluvčí. Následně představím vybrané studie, které se týkají právě popsaných rysů a jejich přenos do anglické výslovnosti (např. Ha, Johnson, a Kuehn 2009). Výsledkem mé práce bude ucelený přehled typických rysů anglické výslovnosti rodilých jihokorejských mluvčích, který může sloužit jako materiál pro tlumočníky, kteří se potřebují připravit na tlumočení anglického projevu korejského mluvčího.

Klíčová slova: korejský přízvuk v angličtině, fonologie druhého jazyka, srovnávací analýza, přenos z L1, standardní korejština