Korean Residents in Japan and their Korean Language in Multiple Language Contacts

by

Jeonghye Son

M.A., The University of British Columbia, 2008

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

(Asian Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

October 2008

© Jeonghye Son, 2008
Abstract

In present-day Japan, there are about 500,000 Korean residents (henceforth, Zainichi Koreans) and most of them are individuals who were forced to cross over to Japan as low-wage labourers and for military service during the colonial period and their descendants. The language contact which Zainichi Koreans have undergone is interesting for a number of reasons. The majority of the first generations are southern dialect speakers; due to geographical proximity to Japan, it was easier for Koreans in the southern areas on the peninsula to cross over to Japan. However, following liberation from Japan in 1945, younger generations have been exposed to the standard languages of North or South Korea in schools that were established for children remaining in Japan whereas, at home, to the dialects spoken by older generations in their families or communities. Moreover, in their day-to-day activities they primarily use the dominant language of Japanese.

It is the purpose of this study to characterize the Korean language used by Zainichi Koreans through an in-depth analysis of orthography, lexicon and grammar compared with the original Korean language used on the peninsula, and to suggest the socio-linguistic typology. This study is based mainly on data from three volumes of comic books which were titled ‘Flutter Toward the Sky’ (Ch'anggonge narae ch'ŏra) and published by a Chongryun-run publisher, Chosŏn Sinbo and on audio-recorded data from classes in a Chongryun-run primary school. As a result, it was ascertained that Chongryun Korean language is not a language which can trace its origins in a straightforward fashion as ‘inheritance’ from a single standard or regional dialect on the Korean peninsula. Although Chongryun Koreans have been educated in the Korean language through the model of the North Korean standard language in schools, their Korean language comprises not only official North Korean features but also southern dialectal features presumably transmitted from first-generation Koreans and is influenced by the dominant language, Japanese. Moreover, based on the functional and linguistic characteristics (i.e., semantic shifts, functional shifts, omission, and innovatory) of Zainichi Korean language, this study suggests that Zainichi Korean language can be defined as an emigrant language.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................... ii  
Table of Contents .......................................................................................... iii  
List of Tables ................................................................................................ iv  
1. Introduction ................................................................................................... 1  
2. Background .................................................................................................. 3  
   2.1. Korean immigrant to Japan ................................................................. 3  
   2.2. Zainichi Korean today ......................................................................... 5  
   2.3. Korean ethnic schools in Japan .......................................................... 7  
3. Early Developments and Contributions ..................................................... 12  
   3.1. Language awareness and language accommodation ................................ 12  
   3.2. The Korean language of first-generation Koreans from Cheju Island .......... 14  
   3.3. The Korean language used by Chongryun Koreans ............................ 18  
4. Questions Raised by Earlier Studies ............................................................ 21  
5. The Korean Language of Chongryun Koreans ............................................. 25  
   5.1. Orthography .................................................................................... 25  
   5.2. Lexicon ................................................................................................ 28  
   5.3. Grammar ............................................................................................ 33  
6. Conclusions: Zainichi Korean Language as an Emigrant Language ........... 42  
Bibliography .................................................................................................... 46
List of Tables

Table 5.1 Chongryun Korean Lexicon ................................................................. 33
Table 5.2 Chongryun Korean Grammar .............................................................. 41
Table 6.3 Demonstrative, Imperatives, and Aspect in Chongryun Korean Language ............................................................................................................. 43
1. Introduction

In present-day Japan, there are about 500,000 Korean residents who call themselves either *Zainichi*, a term which denotes ‘residents in Japan’, or *Chosenjin*, a term which denoted any and all Koreans who were from the Korean peninsula prior to the establishment of separate North and South Korea governments, apart from those so-called ‘newcomers’ who came to Japan from South Korea for study, business, marriage, etc. in recent years. Most of these Korean residents are individuals who were forced to cross over to Japan as low-wage labourers and for military service during the colonial period, and their descendants; for nearly a century they have settled in the land of their former colonisers, Japan. In this study, I will designate such Koreans as Zainichi Koreans in order to distinguish them from others.

The language contact which Zainichi Koreans have undergone and continue to undergo is interesting for a number of reasons. The majority of Zainichi Koreans originated from southern areas of the Korean peninsula due to geographical proximity to Japan. In 1920, the only sea lane to Japan was between Pusan and Shimonoseki, but in 1923 a regular line from Cheju Island to Osaka opened up and a large number of Koreans using different regional dialects converged in large Japanese cities in their quest for employment. Following liberation from Japan in 1945, many Korean ethnic schools were established with the purpose of implanting autonomous Korean national subjecthood within Korean children remaining in Japan. Since then, many younger generations have been exposed to the standard languages of North or South Korea in schools, and to the dialects spoken by older generations in their homes and communities, whereas in their day-to-day activities they primarily use the dominant language of Japanese. Lately, the number

---

1 Korean residents who came to Japan during the colonial period and their descendants count as ‘special permanent residents’. According to the Japanese Ministry of Justice, as of 2003 their numbers were 471,756 and the total number of Korean residents registered as non-Japanese, including the newcomers, was 613,791. Thus, the reality is that Korean residents who have the status of “special permanent resident” still represent the majority of Korean residents in Japan.

2 See Maeda Tatsurō (2005) for various appellations of Korean residents in Japan within Japanese research. Since Zainichi Koreans and newcomers are different in terms of their immigration history, and in terms of the period of and purposes of their immigration, it is crucial to distinguish these two separate groups before conducting research and analyzing any data.

3 Kang & Kim (2000: 63) report that in 1923, Koreans from Kyongsang province and the southern part of Cholla province (including Cheju Island) comprised 79.2% of all Koreans in Japan, and in 1938 comprised 81.2%.
of newcomers from South Korea has been increasing and the enormous information inflow of South Korean pop culture and television dramas has been pouring through mainstream Japanese media as a result of the ongoing 'Korean wave', hallyu'. With respect to this phenomenon, one can anticipate that the Korean language of Zainichi Koreans who still speak it has undergone various changes induced by these multi-directional and prolonged language contacts as generations have passed.

It is the purpose of this study to grasp the entity of the Korean language of Zainichi Koreans which has been constructed through multiple language contacts, and suggest its linguistic typology. I will start by presenting the situation of Zainichi Koreans in light of this group's historical, social and educational context in section 2, and will critically review previous studies on their language use and the characteristics of their Korean language in sections 3 and 4. In section 5, I will assess the characteristics of the Korean language used by Zainichi Koreans through in-depth analysis of orthography, lexicon and grammar based on my own sources and attempt to investigate the patterns of linguistic changes therein. Lastly, I will conclude this study in section 6 with a suggestion on the socio-linguistic typology of their Korean language compared to other contact languages such as pidgins and creoles.

For Korean language forms, I follow the McCune-Reischauer Romanization for citations in expository prose, and the Yale Romanization for citations of linguistic data, for Japanese, I use the Hepburn Romanization.
2. Background

2.1. Korean immigration to Japan

Present-day Zainichi Koreans are, as mentioned above, mostly people who were forced to come to Japan to work as labourers in coal mines or in armament factories, or for military service during the colonial period and their descendents. In 1905, when the Russo-Japanese War concluded, there were only 303 Koreans living in Japan, and when Japan annexed Korea in 1910, this number had grown to 790 – mostly students; but by May 1945 their number rose to 2.3 million (Zainichi, 1970; Kang & Kim, 2000). Thus, migration of Koreans to Japan began in earnest during the colonial period between 1910 and 1945.

The main periods in which Koreans came over to Japan are divided into four: the era of the Estate Investigation (T'ochi chosa saip), the era of the Campaign to Increase Rice Production (Sanmi ch'ungsan kyeboek), the era of the Japanese invasion of China, and the era of forced labour (Zainichi, 1970; Sŏ Yŏng-dal, 1987; Kang & Kim, 2000 etc.). In the first period, large parcels of land were designated as the national property of Japan or assigned to a small number of privileged landowners under the pretext of the Estate Investigation, which took advantage of an unestablished modern system for estate property (1910-1919). Land ownership was granted only to applicants who reported the relationship between themselves and the land. Therefore, it was the landowners who had paid taxes during the Chosŏn dynasty who ended up with ownership of most of the land, and not the farmers who actually cultivated the land; lands that nobody reported became 'national' (i.e., Japanese) property. This resulted in driving many farmers to become tenant farmers, to leave their lands or to become unemployed, and eventually pushed many of them over to Japan or elsewhere (e.g., Manchuria) for better employment opportunities. Second, as a result of the flow of people out of the countryside into cities during the First World War, the capacity for agricultural production within Japan rapidly decreased. Securing sufficient rice became an urgent problem and Japan found a solution by replenishing its supply of rice from Korea via the Campaign to Increase Rice Production (1920-1930). However, as quantities of rice greater than the actual increased yield produced in Korea were carried out

---

5 “Zainichi” refers to “Zainichi kankoku seinen dōmei chūō honbu (ed.) (1970)”.

6 Although Korean labourers in Japan were paid less than Japanese labourers, the wages were nonetheless higher than those paid to labourers in Korea. (Zainichi 1970: 5)
of Korea to Japan, many Koreans suffered from the resulting undersupply of rice and crossed over to Japan in order to earn a living. The total number of Koreans who migrated to Japan in this era is estimated to be about 270,000. Third, Korea played a role as a commissary base during the Japanese invasion of China (1931~1938). Accordingly, many Korean farmers moved to Japan as low-wage manufacturing labourers to facilitate the industrialization of war supplies in Japan, and the number of Koreans in Japan rose to about 800,000. On the other hand, while it is sometimes said that the influx of Koreans to Japan from 1910 to 1938 was “voluntary” in one sense – even though the impoverished conditions of the Korean rural communities were nonetheless directly triggered by Japanese colonization – the era of forced labour (1939~1945) was a period when Koreans were sent to Japan involuntarily and by force. During this era, approximately 1.6 million Koreans were mobilized to Japan for forced military service and labour for wartime industries in order to replace Japanese who were sent to the front during the Second World War, and also for forced sexual services as comfort women. As a result, the number of Koreans in Japan for 35 years between 1910 and 1945 reached as many as 2.3 million, comprising 3.28% of the total population of Japan in 1945.

After the unconditional surrender of Japan on August 15th 1945, the annexation of Korea came to an end and many Koreans in Japan rushed back to the peninsula. Nonetheless, some 600,000 Koreans remained in Japan. Kang & Kim (2000: 116-121) suggest two reasons for staying behind. One was the unstable social and political situation in Korea, occupied north of the 38th parallel by the Soviet Union and to the south by the United States, and suffering from continued uprisings against the Korean government established by elections conducted only in the south, and later from the outbreak of another devastating war, the Korean War, in 1950. The other was the restriction on the amount of money and freight which Koreans could bring back to Korea; they could take only a nominal sum of money – under 1,000 yen – and 250 pounds of freight or less with them. Because this meant that they would have to abandon the rest of their property in Japan, many decided to remain in Japan with their houses, property and small businesses. These Koreans who remained in Japan formed the basis of today’s Zainichi Koreans.
2.2. Zainichi Koreans today

Today, Zainichi Koreans are distributed widely throughout Japan. In particular, many have settled down in the larger metropolises, and Osaka is the largest area where the majority of Zainichi Koreans are residing. As of 1992, 183,322 Zainichi Koreans, which represented 26.6% of the total Zainichi population, were living in Osaka, and Tokyo was the second largest area with 95,955 Zainichi Koreans, representing 13.9% of the total.7 During the colonial period, Zainichi Koreans were mostly employed as factory hands, miners or day labourers on construction sites which required long working hours and involved hard physical labour, so it was only natural for Zainichi Koreans to concentrate in big cities where the demand for these kinds of jobs was plentiful (Kang & Kim, 2000: 65).

Some Zainichi Koreans possess South Korean nationality and others possess North Korean nationality, even though diplomatic relations between North Korea and Japan have never been established and there is no official North Korean representation in Japan. It is important to note, however, that the nationality of a Zainichi Korean does not necessarily reflect his or her political beliefs concerning communism vs. democracy or South vs. North Korea. On the grounds of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952, the Japanese government arbitrarily stripped Japanese nationality of Zainichi Koreans and recorded their nationality as Chosen, which denoted simply that the person originated from the Korean peninsula (Ryang, 1997). Since most Zainichi Koreans of the day believed that the partition of Korea was a temporary measure and because they did not recognize either one of the halves of the peninsula as their home state, many did not attach great importance to changing their nationality from Chosen to Kankoku (South Korea) when diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan were established in 19658. Furthermore, in the present day,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Osaka</th>
<th>Tokyo</th>
<th>Hyogo</th>
<th>Aichi</th>
<th>Kyoto</th>
<th>Kanagawa</th>
<th>Fukuoka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The total number</td>
<td>183,322</td>
<td>95,955</td>
<td>71,108</td>
<td>54,581</td>
<td>46,671</td>
<td>34,188</td>
<td>25,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The percentage</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 According to Kang & Kim (2000: 130-132), as of 1992, the seven largest prefectures where Zainichi Koreans were living were as follows:

8 As a result of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea in 1965, only Koreans who could prove that they were South Korean nationals received the right of permanent residence, since the Japanese government declared that it recognized only the South Korea government as the lawful government on the peninsula. Therefore, it is true that some Zainichi Koreans opted for South Korean nationality in order to attain wider welfare and social benefits in Japan and for travel abroad, whereas others maintained their nationality as Chosen (Ryang, 1997 and 2000).

5
with over half a century having elapsed since the partition of Korea and as second- or third-generation Koreans come to occupy the mainstream of the Zainichi Korean community, the status of their official nationality as either Chosen or Kankoku seems less and less relevant. Rather, it is their status of being Japanese or non-Japanese that has a far greater influence on their day-to-day lives in Japan. Ryang (1997: 5) states that many Zainichi Koreans pay a membership fee to both Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan which supports the North Korean government) and Mindan (the Korean Residents Union in Japan which supports the South Korean government), due to commercial or personal reasons. As well, “many Koreans with South Korean nationality send their children to the Chongryun-run schools, while some high-ranking officers of Chongryun have South Korean nationality because their parents chose this option for them when they were children” (Ryang, 1997: 5). Since the 1970’s, the movement to attain civil and social rights has been conducted under the leadership of informal groups rather than of nation-centered organizations such as Chongryun and Mindan (Pak II, 2005).

The internal constitution of Zainichi Korean communities has undergone important changes. Currently, the vast majority of Zainichi Koreans is Japan-born and first-generation Koreans are no longer officiating over the community. Kang & Kim (2000: 165) document that, as of 1974, Japan-born Zainichi Koreans already occupied 75.6% of the Zainichi Korean population and Ryang (1997: 128) also asserts that the proportion of first-generation residents was less than 10% of the total as of the 1990’s. Furthermore, since the 1952 treaty, many Zainichi Koreans have been continuously naturalized with Japanese nationality; over 200,000 Zainichi Koreans between 1952 and 1996 (Fukuoka, 2004: 233), and approximately 100,000 Zainichi Koreans between 1997 and 2006 were naturalized. Remarkable generational differences of view toward the homeland are also witnessed in recent years. Whereas first-generation Koreans are solidly tied to a homeland to which they thought they would eventually return, third-generation Koreans are relatively free from the relationship between themselves and the peninsula because of their awareness.

---

9 Zainichi Koreans have been discriminated against in terms of employment, university entrance, child care allowances, housing loans and so on, solely on the grounds that they are not Japanese nationals (see S6 Yongdal (ed.) 1987, Kang & Kim 2000, and Pak II 2005 for Zainichi Koreans’ social and legal status).

10 This is based on the information from the website of the Japanese Ministry of Justice (http://www.moj.go.jp).
that they will likely continue to live in Japan\textsuperscript{11} (Ryang, 1997: 196-198). In other words, younger generations focus on finding a “third way” to permanently settle in Japan as denizens with extension of civil and social rights and at the same time being respected for their own ethnicity, rather than belonging to either Korea or Japan (Pak Il, 2005).

2.3. Korean Ethnic Schools in Japan

Institutional support is an important factor in maintaining a minority language(s) from being swept away by dominant language(s) (Thomason, 2001: 4). In Japan, Korean ethnic schools have played a crucial role in maintaining the Korean language within Korean communities to date, in spite of ceaseless suppression by the Japanese government.

After liberation from Japan in 1945, Zainichi Koreans established Korean ethnic schools in order to teach the Korean language and history to their children, who were born in or came over to Japan at an early age and were not able to speak Korean. The primary purpose of this education was to prepare Korean children before they returned to their homeland by means of inculcating in them a Korean national consciousness and culture which was denied to Koreans for 35 years under the assimilation policy of Imperial Japan. The core groups responsible for establishing Korean ethnic schools were the League of Koreans in Japan (Chaeil chosönin ryönmaeng) established in October 1945 and known as the leftist group\textsuperscript{12}; the Chosun Foundation Promoting Youth Federation (Kon'guk ch'okjin ch'ongnyön tongmaeng) also created in 1945; and the New Chosun Building Federation (Sin chosön konsol tongmaeng) started in January 1946 and later renamed the Korean Residents Union in Japan (Chaeibon taehanmin'guk mindan) in October 1948 (O Man, 1993: 183). However, in October 1947, the civil information and education section of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) stipulated that Korean ethnic schools must comply with all Japanese directives, with the exception that Korean ethnic schools would be permitted to teach the Korean language outside the regular curriculum. Following this order, the Japanese Ministry of Education officially announced on January 24\textsuperscript{th} 1948 that school-aged Koreans were obliged to attend Japanese primary and secondary schools, and

\textsuperscript{11} See Ryang (2000) for the concept of North Korea as a homeland among Zainichi Koreans.

\textsuperscript{12} Inokuchi (2000: 146) notes that because of the subordinate position of Korean residents in Japan, many Koreans were sympathetic to communist ideas, but the league's local branches included many non-communists.
charged prefectural governors to accredit those Korean ethnic schools that obeyed the law, which required Korean ethnic schools to apply for accreditation as private schools and to use only Japanese textbooks and the Japanese language (Zainichi, 1970: 331). Needless to say, many Koreans in Japan opposed this compulsory policy, engaging in a bloody fight against the Japanese government, but the League of Koreans in Japan (Ch‘anil chos‘önin ryōnamang) was dismissed under the pretext of being a terrorist group and most of the Korean ethnic schools were closed by force. On October 19th 1949, 92 Korean ethnic schools were ordered to close and 245 other schools had to re-organize within 2 weeks. As a result, 117 schools were involuntarily closed on the grounds of contravening the order, and of the 128 schools that applied for accreditation, only three schools – Paektu Korean School (a primary and secondary school) in Osaka, Higashi Secondary School in Kyoto, and Matsuyama Primary School in Matsuyama – were officially approved after a rigorous screening (Zainichi, 1970; Ryang, 1997; Li Wŏl-sun, 1999 etc.).

Subsequent to these conflicts, Korean ethnic schools have been authorized to be founded in Japan since the 1950's and presently there are 124 Korean ethnic schools nationwide in Japan: 4 schools run by Mindan (pro-South Korea), and 120 schools run by Chongryun (pro-North Korea). The Mindan schools include 4 high schools, 4 secondary, 3 primary and 2 pre-schools but only Kŭmgang and Paektu Korean schools were accredited as formal schools by the Japanese government as following the curriculum of the Japanese Ministry of Education, using authorized textbooks and employing licensed school teachers. For that reason, these schools operate Korean classes as an extra-curricular subject and thereby the students end up spending more time in classes compared to students in Japanese schools. The Korean classes are conducted three or four hours a week by authorized Korean teachers dispatched from South Korea, using textbooks published in

13 According to Kang Yŏng-u (1987: 141), this imbalance in school resources between Mindan-run and Chongryun-run schools resulted from the fact that after Korean ethnic schools were forced to close in 1949 by order of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Mindan lost the volition to reconstruct their schools, whereas Chongryun committed to rebuilding their schools in order to inculcate the ideology of communism following the establishment of Chongryun in 1955.

14 Kyoto Korean School runs a junior high school through high school; Tokyo Korean School oversees a primary through high school; the Educational Foundation Paektu Hakkwŏn oversees a pre-school through high school; and Kŭmgang (Diamond) Korean School likewise runs a pre-school through high school.

15 Two other schools, Tokyo Korean school and Kyoto Korean school were recognized as formal schools only by the South Korean government and as miscellaneous schools by the Japanese government.
South Korea for overseas Koreans\textsuperscript{16}. However, the other teachers who are either Japanese or Zainichi Koreans are not fluent enough in Korean and it is therefore a challenge to encourage the students to speak only Korean within schools (Maeda Tadahiko, 2005: 256-257).

Following the establishment of Chongryun in 1955 resulting from the dissolution of the League of Koreans in Japan, a great number of Chongryun-run schools were actively established throughout Japan, and in present-day Japan there is a four-year university in Tokyo, 12 high schools, 56 secondary, 81 primary and 3 pre-schools. Students in Chongryun-run schools were educated in the North Korean Chuch’e ideology (Kim Il Sung’s thought) on topics such as the “childhood of Father Marshal Kim Il Sung” and “revolutionary activities of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung” until the 1993 curricular reform\textsuperscript{17} (Ryang, 1997), in addition to learning the same curriculum taught in Japanese schools. All classes are conducted in Korean, except for the classes in foreign languages (for instance, English and Japanese), and students are compelled to use Korean not only in classes but also during break time, lunch and cleaning time (Kim Eleana, 1994; Ryang, 1997). Moreover, unlike Mindan-run schools, Chongryun-run schools use their own textbooks issued by Chongryun’s own Education Department and recruit the teachers from among graduates of the Chongryun-run university, Chosôn University. It is noteworthy, however, that the teachers in Chongryun-run schools are mainly second- or third-generation Koreans who were born in Japan and whose Korean language has been transformed or Japanized in many respects. In other words, the students — who were also born in Japan — have more opportunities to interact with this transformed Korean language of their teachers than with the standard language of North Korea which is supposed to be the model language for their Korean education. Considering that it is precisely these schools that serve as the primary vehicles through which the students hear and speak the Korean language, this educational circumstance must have had considerable influence on the students’ acquisition of the Korean language.

\textsuperscript{16}Korean textbooks published in Japan or authentic materials made by instructors are also frequently used (Maeda Tadahiko 2005).

\textsuperscript{17}In the 1993 new curriculum, the subjects of the ideological education were abandoned on the grounds of the clear understanding that the students are living in Japan and will not return to North Korea; rather, the aim has been to educate students on relevant matters outside the organization (Ryang, 1997).
However, it is a fact that the percentage of Zainichi children enrolling in Korean ethnic schools has been waning, which in turn relates to the declining percentage of Zainichi Koreans who are able to speak Korean. According to Kang Yŏng-u (1987: 142), as of 1981, already 82.59% of about 140,000 Zainichi Koreans’ offspring in primary school to university attended Japanese schools, whereas just 16.49% attended Chongryun-run schools, and 0.92% went to Mindan-run schools. There are no doubt various reasons why Zainichi Koreans steer their children toward Japanese schools, but one of the most significant factors is supposedly the discriminatory policy of the Japanese government against Korean ethnic schools. Most Korean schools are recognized as ‘miscellaneous schools’ or *kakushugakō* in Japanese, and not as formal schools. As a result, graduates from these schools are not qualified to take entrance exams to Japanese national universities unless they take an additional set of examinations which allows them to reach the same level of qualification as graduates of Japanese schools (Kim Eleana 1994; Maher & Kawanishi 1995a, etc.). Moreover, Korean ethnic schools are not qualified to attend sports competitions against other (Japanese) schools, and students at such schools could not receive a student discount on a commuter pass until 1994. Tuition expenses are likely another reason for Zainichi Koreans wavering on sending their children to Korean ethnic schools. Korean ethnic schools do not receive any financial assistance from the Japanese government owing to their accreditation as private schools, and thus the students in Korean ethnic schools pay more costly tuition fees than those in Japanese schools. For example, the tuition fees for primary and secondary school in the Tokyo Korean School are 309,600 yen and 217,500 yen per year, respectively (approximately 2,823 and 1,985 U.S. dollars), whereas Japanese primary and secondary schools are free of charge due to being compulsory education.

In theory, one measure to improve these difficult conditions that Zainichi Koreans face in maintaining their language would be to teach Korean in Japanese schools, but Maher & Kawanishi (1995a: 168) are skeptical that Japanese public schools can provide

---

18 Although some private Japanese universities have decided on their own to permit graduates from Korean high schools to take their entrance exams, national universities still close their doors firmly on them.  
19 Even though Kyoto Korean School was not accredited as a formal school by the Japanese government, the graduates from the school are qualified to take entrance exams to Japanese universities out of consideration for its long tradition and history (Pak Kap-su 1988: 38)
bilingual education for Korean children; "In fact, to even suggest the possibility of
government-sponsored bilingual education for the Korean community is unthinkable."
They document two reasons for the absence of a social consensus that supports the Korean
community in Japan. One is "the systematic attempt on the part of the Japanese during the
colonial era, both in Japan and in Korea, to eliminate the Korean language and culture," and
the other is "a still-prevalent obsession with racial homogeneity, uniqueness and racial purity,
and a fear that ethnic diversity will upset the social order (pp.168)".
3. Early Developments and Contributions

Although the immigration history of Zainichi Koreans now amounts to about a century, there are only a few notable studies on the language used by Zainichi Koreans (henceforth, Zainichi Korean language). The lack of studies on this topic can be attributed to at least two factors: a) the indifference of the Korean government toward Zainichi Koreans because of its preoccupation with ideological conflict on the peninsula, and b) the exclusion of Zainichi Koreans by the Japanese government because of its pursuit of a homogeneous nation—a process that renders Zainichi Koreans invisible in both Korea and Japan. To these factors must be added the fact that the exclusive Chongryun system has remained largely closed to the outside world, thus creating a significant barrier to collecting data on the language used by Chongryun Koreans. To observe Chongryun-run schools, it is necessary to receive permission from the central headquarters of Chongryun, a process that is virtually impossible for outsiders. Moreover, materials related to Chongryun, such as textbooks used in its schools, are limited in number and difficult to come by unless one is a member of the organization. Therefore, it was not until the 1990's that some scholars turned their attention to Zainichi Korean language and several important studies were published. As a rule, these studies have dealt with the following issues: a) the language awareness and choice of Zainichi Koreans, b) the Korean language used by the first generation, and c) the Korean language used by Chongryun Koreans.

3.1. Language awareness and language accommodation

Im Yong-ch'ol (1995) conducted research on the awareness and use of the Korean language among Zainichi Koreans and Korean immigrants in the United States through questionnaires. Referring to the case of Zainichi Koreans, he found that 31.8% of 432 respondents answered that they were either 'proficient' in the Korean language or 'a little proficient' and evaluated their Korean abilities in the following order concerning the four functions of language: listening (41.2%) > speaking (31.9%) > reading (30.5%) > writing (23.4%). In all of these functions, older generations evaluated their Korean abilities better than younger generations, which is a reasonable consequence considering the fact that the

---

20 In this study, I define Chongryun Koreans as Zainichi Koreans who are attached to Chongryun organizations (i.e. schools, work, or community groups).
majority of older generations were first-generation residents. Further, a greater number of female respondents than males answered that they had at some point in their lives studied the Korean language formally and evaluated their Korean proficiency higher in all four functions. According to Im (1995), this result indicates that women make a much greater effort to maintain and pass down the Korean language to the next generation. An identical result is found in Portes & Schauffler (1994), which examined data based on eighth- and ninth-grade Latin American children in Miami, and studied how family and individual characteristics such as the child's age, sex, national origin, etc., affect the children's proficiency in English, their knowledge of the parental language, and their overall linguistic preference(s). They reported that girls have a greater propensity for preserving the parental language than do boys of comparable characteristics and postulated that this outcome was attributable to girls' greater contact with their parents.

On the topic of expectations of having a good command of Korean among Zainichi Koreans, Im Yŏng-ch'ŏl (1995: 90) documents that 50.7% of the respondents gave positive answers and that the percentage rose as age increased, which means that the elderly feel a stronger obligation to hand the Korean language down to the younger generations. Likewise, Ogoshi (2005: 27), which is based on questionnaire data from children who were attending kŏn'gŭk secondary and high schools, one of the Mindan-run schools, and their parents, discovered that 60%-70% of respondents, regardless of their age – both children in the schools and their parents – replied that Zainichi Koreans should be proficient in Korean. In addition, 80% responded that it was advantageous to be proficient in Korean in daily life. These results seem to correlate well with the degree of connection between the respondents and Korean communities. Im (1995: 91) notes that the percentage of positive answers on the expectation of proficiency in Korean appeared to be higher in questionnaires of respondents who had a stronger connection with Korean communities, such as their residential districts or relationships with other Koreans.

Language accommodation according to places and people spoken to is also reported in early studies. Kim Mi-sŏn (2002) claims that when first-generation Koreans in Osaka talk with those who speak a different dialect or whose first language is Japanese (e.g., their grandchildren), their degree of using Japanese increases compared to when they talk to those from the same dialectal area. Im (1995) and Ogoshi (2005) show that, whereas the
respondents in their research speak Japanese to those who are about the same age or younger, they frequently speak Korean or mix Korean and Japanese to those who are older than themselves. In light of this finding, Ogoshi (2005: 38) assumes that using Korean is a means of not only communicating with each other but also of showing respect in the Zainichi Korean community. A similar finding was made in a different bilingual community, as well. Zentella (1997) observed that Puerto Rican bilingual children in New York communicated in Spanish to elders who spoke and understood more Spanish than English, while they spoke in English to their siblings, and reached the conclusion that the choice of Spanish honoured the community norm that they should speak the language that their addressee knew best.

Im (1995) and Ogoshi (2005) cite that Korean is used in formal places such as at an assembly in which Korean residents are the majority, while Japanese is used in places in which others besides Zainichi Koreans are greater in number. This implies that the Korean language plays a role as a language for social interaction and helps forge a sense of belonging or identification with Koreans (Ogoshi 2005: 43).

3.2. The Korean language of first-generation Koreans from Cheju Island

Bilingualism leads to massive code-switching (Sanchez 1989, quoted in Rodby 1992: 458) and “code-switching is the major mechanism by which contact-induced changes are introduced” (Thomason 2001: 131). Therefore, code-switching has been the topic of numerous books and innumerable articles across many different multilingual situations, and early studies on the language of Zainichi Koreans are no exception in this regard.

Kim Chŏng-ja (2002) notes that code-switching in the discourse of first-generation Koreans living in Osaka takes place for various elements such as morpheme, phrase, clause or sentence, and gives the following examples in which code-switching occurred for particles (Romanized Japanese shown in italics):

(1) o, ojisan i mata acvu otokomaе lako tonto manhi hakillay onna ga mak tsuineittekursune.

Women are attracted to him because he is also very handsome and makes a lot of money.
(2) kekise ce kōkō’l machye kaciko, Shimizutani kōkō tulekan kōkō’l machye kaciko…

I graduated from that high school there…I entered Shimizutani high school and graduated…

(3) Aiko, kodomo’n shiranya.

Children don’t know Korean.

Kim (2002) claims that based on these findings, the native usages of Korean particles are realized within code-switching of first-generation speakers without any accompanying change: the Korean subject particle –i, which follows consonant-ending nouns, is added after Japanese words with –n as in (1)21, and the abbreviation of Japanese words and Korean object or topic particles can be observed as in (2) and (3).

It is remarked that the Korean dummy-verb hata which means ‘do/be’ in English, attaches to Japanese nouns, verbs, adjectives or adjectival verbs and that the Japanese dummy-verb suru which also means ‘do/be’ in English, likewise attaches to Korean nouns, verbs or adjectives very often in the discourse of first-generation speakers, as in examples (4) to (9) below.

(4) sōsō, keki hatarakihayssta.

Right, I worked there.

(5) a, ku ttayn tonyō kakaru haynyang…

I suffered from diabetes at that time.

(6) shindōi henikka, yosumun manhi an hay.

I don’t do it so much because it is difficult.

(7) hankwuk kase kongpwu shitekita?

Did you go and study in Korea?

(8) manhi meke shiteru.

Please eat a lot.

(9) iken maywa suru.

This is spicy.

21 Kim (2002) considers the subject particle ‘GA’ which appears after Korean consonant-fixed nouns to be the Japanese subject particle ご.
Kim's (2002) interpretation is that *hata* functions to construe the Japanese nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adjectival verbs as loan words appropriate to the Korean grammatical system, and that this phenomenon is attributable to first-generation speakers' insufficient knowledge of the conjugation rules of Japanese inflected words. In other words, they have not fully acquired the conjugation rules for Japanese tense, mood or aspect and impose these grammatical functions on the Korean dummy verb, *hata*. On the other hand, she maintains that the Japanese verb *suru* is the verb with which first-generation Koreans have the most contact, and thus they overuse it by attaching it to Korean nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Kim Mi-sŏn (2002) also reports that this pattern, which takes the shape ‘base of Korean inflected word + infinitive -a or -e + *suru*’, was repeatedly discovered in her research data. Further, Kim Mi-sŏn (2002: 1159) demonstrates that first-generation speakers switch sentence-endings, adverbs or exclamations in order to convey their sentiments more effectively, as in (10) and (11):

(10) ku ohaknyen ccalika *na*.
    The fifth grade kid.

(11) *chikai tokyakara, tamani asobini oiden* key\(^2\).
    Come and visit me sometimes because it is close.

Finally, first-generation speakers switch their language to Korean for words that are related to Korean culture such as kinship terms, food, and Korean ritual terms (Tsukamoto & Kim, 1992; Kim Mi-sŏn, 2002; Kim Chŏng-ja, 2002). This could be considered the result of filling a lexical gap in the one language by means of adopting a word from the other language, as mentioned in Thomason (2001: 132). This tendency is observed in the Korean language of younger generations as well. Kim Yu-mi (2005) discovered that although they are not fluent in Korean, second- and third-generation Koreans used Korean words for kinship terms, food, and ritual terms with slightly altered phonology, such as *hammey* for *balmay* (grandmother).

The dialect used by first-generation speakers can serve as a valuable source for

\(^2\) According to Kim Chŏng-ja (2002), *key* in (11) is a Cheju dialectal sentence-ending.
studies to identify diachronic processes of dialect change due to relatively isolated linguistic circumstances compared to the home dialect in Korea. For instance, Kang Chong-hui (2002) suggests that the period when the first-generation Cheju dialect speakers immigrated is a significant factor in determining the time when the low back vowel $o$ ( jednocze) or 'arae a', (now completely lost in mainland Korean dialects but uniquely preserved in Cheju dialect until recently), started disappearing in word-initial syllables. With the Cheju '4.3 (April 3) uprising' in 1948, which was a conflict against the establishment of the separate government, and the Korean War in 1950, numerous Koreans from the mainland fled to Cheju Island where previously contact with mainlanders had been rare. The expansion of primary education and the diffusion of radio also increased contacts with the standard language and other mainland dialects. Consequently, Kang (2002) found that the first generations that migrated to Japan before the 1950s still have a stronger tendency to preserve the 'arae a' in word-initial syllables than those who migrated after the 1950s.

Paek Ung-jin (2002) also examined whether or not the 'arae a' is retained in the Cheju dialect spoken by first-generation speakers in Osaka. As a result, he found that the 'arae a' had disappeared already among speakers of Cheju dialect who were under eighty years of age and had been replaced with several different vowels, therefore making it difficult to find a convincing pattern in the changes. In addition, Paek (2002) investigated the system of monophthongs in Cheju dialect as spoken in Osaka. Hyon Pyong-hyo (1971) maintained that two different systems of monophthongs were used on Cheju Island according to age group – nine vowels (i, ey [e], ay [æ], u [i], e [ə], a, wu [u], o, a low back vowel $o$ (odega) or 'area a') among older generations, but seven vowels (i, ey [e], u [i], e [ə], a, wu [u], o) among younger generations due to the merger of ay [æ] with ey [e] and loss of 'arae a'; and anticipated that this seven-vowel system would eventually be solidified in Cheju dialect. However, Paek (2002) discovered that some Cheju dialect speakers in Osaka who had received secondary education on Cheju Island during the 1960's still preserved ay [æ], but

---

23 Martin (1992: 42) notes that "in non-initial syllables $o$ merged with its higher counterpart, the high back unrounded $u$" and in word-initial syllables $o$ merged with $a$ "but under certain circumstances in certain dialects $o$ was replaced by $wu$". This merger began in the 15th century and was completed during the 16th century except in Cheju dialect.
not ‘arae d’, and interpreted this as a result of contact with Seoul speech (which has maintained ay [æ] until recently) since the interviewees were able to speak the standard language of South Korea; in contrast, it seems fair to assume this retention was a result of a diaspora that is isolated from contact with other dialects.

3.3. The Korean language used by Chongryun Koreans

Ito (1989 and 1997) depicts the characteristics of the Korean language used by Chongryun Koreans (henceforth, Chongryun Korean language) based on interviews with two graduates from Chongryun-run schools and the “errors” that were indicated in a section by the name of “Let Us Correct the Wrong Word Campaign” in some textbooks published by Chongryun. First, with respect to phonology, Ito (1997) characterizes the Korean language of the interviewees as blurring the distinction between e [ɛ] and o and producing the rounded vowel u [œ] with weaker lip-rounding, typical features found in Korean spoken by Japanese native speakers. He also observed that the interviewees tended to avoid pronouncing contiguous consonants and replaced these by making the later consonants tensed, for example, Ḭejsx (렉사) for Ḭejsx (력사, history), Ḭissmjità (어씀니다) for Ḭissmjità (없습니다, does not exist or there isn’t/aren’t), and Ḭwújì (숙제) for Ḭhújì (숙제, homework).

Secondly, concerning the characteristics of the grammar, Ito (1989) classifies the research data into the categories of particles, aspect, negation, voice and conjunctions, and presents examples like those in (12) to (19), in which the given grammatical forms are used in different ways from the original usages in peninsular Korean:

(12)  Ṣey șisgy (→ka) toymyen kekise kitalikeyssé.

I will wait there when it becomes three o’clock.

(13) Nakọyà pweythe (→eyse) wasse.

---


25 Ito (1989) transcribed the examples with the Romanization of Kōno Rokurō (1955), but in this study, I present them with the Yale Romanization.
I came from Nagoya.

(14) OO tongmwu, cenhwa ko isse (→ wa isse).
Mr./Miss. OO, the phone is for you.

(15) salami cwukko issta (→ cwuke issta).
Somebody has died.

(16) kaci ahnta (→ anhnunta).
I won't go.

(17) mekkey sikhita (→ mekita)
Get somebody to eat something.

(18) chaykui pilley patko siphsupnita (→ pilliko siphsupnita).
I want to borrow a book.

(19) samwusoey naka pomyen (→ poni) amwuto epsessta.
There was nobody when I went out from the office.

Thirdly, the Chongryun Korean lexicon was characterized by inappropriate word choice as in (20) and (21), by newly-coined words created by substituting Japanese words with the Sino-Korean pronunciations of the Chinese characters as in (22) and (23), and by combining Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese pronunciations of Chinese characters as in (24):

(20) kiga nophta (→ khuta)/ nacta (→ cakta). tall / short
(21) kkwumul poassta (→ kwuessta) I 'saw' a dream.
(22) thoykwuhhata (→ cilwuhhata) boring / be bored
(23) myenkanghata (→ kongpwuhhata) study
(24) kamsen (→ kamyem, infection), milyek (→ maylyek, attraction), ondan (→ onnan, warmth)

Based on these findings, Itō (1989 and 1997) concludes that these characteristics of Chongryun Korean language are derived from the influence of Japanese.

Other early studies also suggest certain characteristics of Chongryun Korean language even though they are not studies dedicated solely to Chongryun Korean language. Kim Eleana (1994) and Ryang (1997) illustrate that Chongryun Korean language is
restricted in the settings where it is used. That is, Korean is the language used in Chongryun public life while Japanese is the language used in private; students in Chongryun-run schools switch to Japanese outside of school, and even though their parents are also graduates of Korean schools, they speak Japanese at home. This discontinuity across home and school language gives rise to a certain asymmetry in Chongryun Korean lexical knowledge. Since their Korean language is used only for referring to North Korea, school and organization-related matters, the scope of their Korean vocabulary for daily life is limited and this vocabulary is remembered for their school examinations, but then subsequently forgotten. It is also remarkable that Chongryun Koreans deploy a restricted set of sentence endings in their spoken Korean, and that Plain Style (i.e., hanta-chey) written language versions like *ita* (to be) and *hanta* (to do/does) are used in speech. In addition, Kim Eleana (1994) and Ryang (1997) point out that Chongryun Korean language is Japanized in many respects, employing Japanese expression manners as in (17) and (18) (from Itō, 1989) and speaking with Japanese intonation; they also note that it is possible to distinguish between students from Tokyo and Osaka when they read Korean aloud because of their Japanese prosodic patterns.
4. Questions Raised by Earlier Studies

Despite the absence of abundant studies on Zainichi Korean language, the previous studies reviewed above are a valuable stepping stone for further studies. Nevertheless, it is also clear that there are some shortcomings which cannot be overlooked.

First, the previous studies are not elaborate in their methodology and as a result the reliability of the findings is questionable. Im Yŏng-ch’ŏl (1995) and Ogoshi (2005) both carried out their research through questionnaires. But is it really possible to judge, for example, others’ language abilities simply by asking a question like “how proficient do you think you are in Korean”? Given two individuals equally fluent in Korean, one might think that he/she is fluent enough in Korean while, by contrast, the other might think that he/she is not fluent at all. Furthermore, self-evaluation of language proficiency changes dynamically even in one individual from moment to moment according to external factors such as the degree of understanding of Korean dramas, travel to Korea and contact with native Koreans, or the grade on their Korean proficiency test. Morita (2004) reports that awareness of linguistic competence (i.e., English competence) of her research interviewees, six Japanese female students attending graduate school classes in Canada, varied dynamically according to the cultural, curricular, pedagogical and interpersonal context in classrooms, and asserts that the awareness of self-competence in languages is completely situated. Consequently, there is no sense in evaluating something as dynamic and fluid as language abilities and awareness with the oversimplified criteria given in questionnaires.

Secondly, previous studies do not provide sufficiently analytical accounts of the characteristics of Zainichi Korean language and unfortunately end up simply enumerating the data. For instance, Kim Chŏng-ja (2002) makes the notable observation, as shown above, that the first generation from Cheju Island frequently uttered forms in which the Korean verb *bata* was integrated with Japanese nouns, verbs, adjectives or adjectival verbs, and in which the Japanese verb *suru* was integrated with Korean elements. However, she failed to suggest a possible motivation for the interesting phenomenon whereby Korean *bata* was attached to the dictionary forms or the conjugated forms of Japanese verbs, adjectives, or adjectival verbs such as *sageru bāse* (さげる汉字), *oishii anibayto* (おいしい 아니해도), and *eyutta hanun* (ええゆった하는), whereas Japanese *suru* was attached to the
infinitive of Korean verbs or adjectives such as *tama suru* (닫아にする) or *pappa surukara* (바빠서다). In addition, the findings of Itō (1989 and 1997) are based on examples from just one aspect of Chongryun Korean language — the “erroneous” data section in textbooks — and thus do not satisfactorily answer a whole range of pressing questions. For example, if Chongryun Koreans use the progressive form, *-ko iss-* to express the resultant state in lieu of *-a/e iss-* — recall *salami cuukko issita* for ‘somebody has died’ in example (15) —, is it reasonable to assume that within Chongryun Korean language, the range of grammatical meaning of the progressive form has been expanding? Is *-a/e iss-* still in existence within the grammatical category of their Korean language? Or, if so, do the two patterns *-ko iss-* and *-a/e iss-* co-exist for the completely same meaning, partial or none?, etc.

Thirdly, previous studies grossly over-simplify the reasons behind changes in Zainichi Korean language. Kim Chŏng-ja (2002) links the reason for why the first generation switches between Korean and Japanese to a lack of Japanese words and grammar rules. But how can we conclude that the first generation is unfamiliar with the conjugation rules of Japanese predicates without seeing data showing their accuracy in conjugating Japanese predicates when they only use Japanese? Likewise, although it is doubtless that bilinguals often switch from one language into another language to compensate for their lack of knowledge in one language, it is also conceivable that for first-generation Koreans, code-switching is a means to display their identity as a Zainichi Korean when talking with other Zainichi Koreans; such is the case reported for Spanish as a hallmark of community membership for Puerto Rican bilingual children in New York (Zentella 1997: 92).

Itō (1989 and 1997) comes to the conclusion that the language changes in Chongryun Korean language are simply the result of interference from Japanese. But we should keep in mind that changes in the same language can result from contact with multiple languages: Weinreich (1954) suggests investigating situations of multiple contacts to improve studies on language contact. King & Yeon (1992) show that Koryŏmar or the language spoken by Koreans living in Central Asia, the former Soviet Union, is a sort of *Koiné* where several Korean dialects have converged. This phenomenon seems to be found in Zainichi Korean language, too. In Kim Yu-mi (2005), a second-generation Korean
whose parents were from the northern area of Kyŏngsang province and had never been educated in a Korean ethnic school, understood only the standard language for some vocabulary such as ojncok (left), cenyek (evening), and swutkalak (spoon), while on the other hand, she understood only the Kyŏngsang dialect versions for some vocabulary such as kasiok (scissors), nwuntwii (eyelid), imay (forehead), mwus (radish) etc. Moreover, the pronunciation of some Korean words was changed presumably due to the influence of Japanese, as in halwupaj for halpay ‘grandfather’.

Nor can social factors be overlooked in discussing language change. Thomason (2001: 77) emphasizes that linguistic factors “are important, but they are less important than social factors” and that “linguistic factors can be overridden by social factors pushing in an opposite direction.” Kim Eleana (1994) and Ryang (1997) indicate that Chongryun Koreans normally use certain written forms in speech, but lately there is a movement to teach colloquial Korean within the Chongryun organization. Ryang (1997: 57) states that the new version of textbooks revised in 1993 was dedicated to informal, spoken forms and replaced the written, Plain Style (hanta-chey) forms ita and hanta with the spoken versions, iyoo or iya and hayoo or bay. Consequently, some Chongryun-run schools began to correct children’s use of the written forms, and give prizes to children who were quick to switch to the spoken forms (Ryang 1997: 57). When I visited a Chongryun-run Korean primary school in Tokyo in summer 2007, I noticed that the teachers in the school commonly used the spoken forms during classes, and one teacher pointed out the mistaken use of a written form after a student made a sentence in hanta-style, which the teacher corrected to spoken bae. But the same teacher confessed during an interview with me that she too had to try very hard to use the spoken forms. That is, the new educational policy of the Chongryun organization is inducing a change in the Chongryun Korean language at present; we can suppose that other social factors such as increased contact with South Korean culture and people has accelerated reform of textbooks and the educational policy in Chongryun Korean communities and organizations.

In what follows, I will describe the characteristics of Zainichi Korean language, particularly focusing on Chongryun Korean language26 via a comparison mainly with the

---

26 Considering the fact that the majority of students attending Mindan-run schools came to Japan due to their
standard languages of North and South Korea and southern dialects that first-generation Koreans have likely spoken, since Chongryun Koreans have been exposed to the standard language of North Korea in schools and to the standard language of South Korea and Southern dialects in their communities. I will also attempt to examine the patterns of the linguistic changes therein and to present possible motivations for the changes. As a result, this study will help us identify the system of Chongryun Korean language in light of its orthography, lexicon, and grammar, and provide an opportunity to consider its socio-linguistic typology as well.

This study is based mainly on data from comic books that were published by a Chongryun-run publisher, Chosön Sinbo. They were titled ‘Flutter Toward the Sky’, Ch’anggong e narae ch’yōra, and are comprised of three volumes of comic strips originally carried by the newspaper Chosön Sinbo. The comic strips were published serially in the newspaper from April 27<sup>th</sup> 1989 through August 12<sup>th</sup> 1997, and after almost two years had passed since the last edition, a new series ran from October 1999 through September 2001. These are bilingual texts written in both Korean and Japanese and are a story about third- and fourth-generation Korean youths who attend a Korean primary school and are passionate about soccer. The author is a graduate of a Chongryun-run school who attended the school for 16 years, and has been working as a journalist at Chosön Sinbo since 1975. I was also able to obtain data through the recording of classes in a Chongryun-run primary school when I visited Tokyo, Japan in summer 2007, and will use these audio-recorded data as needed. The examples from the comic books will be presented in Korean Romanization and English translation, and the examples from the audio-recorded data will be marked as ‘audio-recording’.

parents’ work in recent years (Maeda Tadahiko, 2005), it is assumed that the majority of second- and third-generation Korean speakers among Zainichi Koreans are graduates of Chongryun-run schools.

27 The primary school is the ‘Tokyo Chosön Second Primary School’ (Tokyo chosön che 2 ch'ŏgpyŏ bakkyŏ) in Edagawa, Tokyo which was built in 1946 and is a small-scale primary school having approximately sixty students from the first grade to the sixth grade and seven teachers.

28 I recorded approximately ten hours of lectures on various subjects such as Korean, Sociology, Science, and Geography classes, and will examine the data thoroughly in future research.
5. The Korean Language of Chongryun Koreans

5.1. Orthography

After Liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 and until 1948 when two separate governments were officially declared in North and South Korea, the North and South had adopted the same orthography, the Unified Han’gul Orthography (Han’gul maich’umpop tongiran) published by the Korean Language Society in 1933 (Yi Ün-ch’öng, 1989; King, 1997). However, as a result of the fact that North Korea subsequently revised its orthography four times29, whereas South Korea revised it only once since the 1948 division, there are currently noticeable differences between North and South Korean orthography30.

The most salient feature of the orthography of Chongryun Korean is that it mainly follows the North Korean spelling system. Below are some examples collected from Flutter Toward the Sky with differences in the orthography from the South Korean orthography noted in parentheses.

(25) olha, ku seccok ulo kamyen eti lo kalkka? (ROK: kalkka?)

Right, if we go to the west, where will it lead?

(26) layil (ROK: layil) pwuthe achim hwunlyen ul hanta.

We will do training in the morning from tomorrow.

(27) haksayng siki nun Ceng Seng-ta myen nyetongmwu (ROK: yetongmwu) tul i kamanhi issci anhassnutney.

During school days, female students would not leave you (Ceng Seng-tay) alone.

Following the North Korean orthography, Chongryun Korean language spells initial consonants following the -(u)l endings like -(u)lka, -(u)lsonya, -(u)lko, etc. as plain sounds as in (25), even though they are pronounced as tense unaspirated; by contrast, the South

29 North Korea revised its orthography in the following years (Cho, Kim, & Pak, 2002: 89).
(1) January, 1948: the Korean New Orthography (Chosŏn nuevo sŏnch’öch’ap’op)
(2) September, 1954: the Korean Orthography (Chosŏn ch’öch’ap’op)
(3) June, 1966: the Korean Language Norms (Chosŏnmal kyubŏm’ip)
30 However, the sharing of the same source system and basic spelling principles stipulated in the Unified Han’gul Orthography (i.e., morphophonemic spelling and word-based spacing) have inhibited extreme discrepancies between them (Sohn Ho-min, 1999: 146).
Korean orthography stipulates that in interrogative endings, the consonant following (n) should be spelt as pronounced: e.g., -(n)/kkka, -(n)/ssonya, -(n)/kkka, etc.. In addition, Chongryun Korean language pursues the principal of the North Korean orthography which allows word-initial l and n before i and y in Sino-Korean morphemes like those in (26) and (27). However, South Korean orthography drops Sino-Korean word-initial l and n before the vowel i and the semivowel y.

(28) Saitama uy mencechaki lo hwupancen i sicaktoyessta (ROK: sicaktoyessta)
The second half of the game has started with a kickoff by Saitama.

(29) Saitama senswutul un cenghakhan lyenlak ulo kongkyek ul tilitayessya
(ROK: tilitayessta)
The players of Saitama delivered an attack with precise passing.

(30) huhuhu...Yeng-chel, ikes i eceypam (ROK: eceyspm) uy maynghwunlyen. uy seng kwaya.
Huhuhu...Yeng-chel, this is the result of the hard training last night.

(31) konghwakwuk kipal (ROK: kispal) i hwinnliko isse.
The flag of the Republic is flapping.

Chongryun Korean language spells the infinitive ending as -ye after vowel stems ending in i, oy, ey, oy, wi, or uy as in examples (28) and (29), and eliminates 'Saisiol' ('intercalary 'A') in compound nouns as in (30) and (31), again in keeping with North Korean orthography. By contrast, in South Korea it is proper to spell the infinitive ending as -e after verb stems ending in any vowel except for a and o, and to write 'Saisiol' in compound nouns consisting of two Korean native words or a Korean native word and a Sino-Korean word, and in six Sino-Korean compound nouns (i.e., koskan, seyspang, swusca, chaskan, thoykskan, and boyswu). Considering the fact that South Korea hews more closely

31 North Korea abolished the 'Saisiol' in the 1954 Korean Orthography and adopted instead the 'saip' [''] ('between-mark') at the end of the preceding vowel-final noun. However, in the 1966 Korean Language Norms, this device was abolished except when it was needed for pronunciation education. Since then, it is omitted everywhere, aside from when the preceding element is interpreted as a prefix. (Sohn 1999: 148, Cho, Kim, & Pak 2002: 110).
32 In South Korea, the 'Saisiol' is used when the preceding noun in compound nouns ends in a vowel; otherwise it is left out.
to the principles of the original 1933 Unified Han’gul Orthography in relation to the orthography explained above, it is reasonable to surmise that these characteristics found in Chongryun Korean orthography were formalized after the division of the Korean peninsula through language education in Chongryun-run schools.

In Chongryun Korean language, some words maintain etymological spellings unlike words in South Korea:

(32) swullecapkimeye heyyemchiki (ROK: heyemchiki), paykwu, yakwu, longkwu
tungul cacwu hakito hayssta.
They often played hide-and-seek, swimming, volleyball, baseball, and basketball.

(33) yey, kyeysipnita. camkan (ROK: camkkan) kitalye cwusipsio.
Yes, he is. Wait a moment please.

Lastly, examples (34) and (35) contravene both North and South Korean orthography:

(34) a-, pin supheysu (→ supheyisu) hyanghay Pak Sul-ki senswu cwungang tolphata-!!
Ah! Pak Sul-ki is going to break the middle of the empty space.

(35) a, ani!! misu khikkhu (→ misu khik) inka?
Oh, no! Was it a miss kick?

In (34) and (35), supheysu (space) and misu khikkhu (miss kick) appear to have been spelled in accordance with the Japanese phonology of supe-su and misu kikku. In South Korea, the proper spellings are supheyisu and misu khik; ditto in North Korea, which spells supheysu and misu khik according to the norm of orthography for foreign words in North Korea.
5.2. Lexicon

One of the conspicuous features of Chongryun Korean lexicon is the fact that, as in its orthography, it is influenced particularly by the North Korean lexicon. After Liberation in 1945, both North and South Korea encouraged movements to promote exclusive Han’gul orthography and eliminate Japanese lexical remnants and Chinese-character words in order to reestablish Korean subjecthood and promote Korean ethnic nationalism (King, 1997; Cho, Kim & Pak, 2002). However, it seems fair to say that North Korea has devoted greater efforts to ‘language purification’ than has South Korea, due in no small part to its official language ideology whereby language is conceived of as a tool or weapon for communization and for fostering national autonomy. As a result, North Korea has replaced many foreign words with preexisting Korean native words and created new native words for novel concepts, whereas South Korea has mostly borrowed the equivalent words from foreign sources. Moreover, since the mid-1960s North Korea has promoted language standardization based on Pyŏngyang dialect, whereas South Korea has pursued standardization on the basis of Seoul dialect, a fact that provides another source of lexical divergence between North and South Korea. The following examples are North Korean words found in our research data.

(36) elumkwaca (ROK: aisukhulim) ka naomyen te cohkeyssnutey.

It might be better if we had ice cream.

(37) chanehki (ROK: syus) na tahn hwunlyen un an hapnikka?

Won’t we practice shooting or other training?

(38) caknyen ey chwukkwu soco (ROK: sekhul/tongali) ka mwuecyesseyo (ROK: mant ulecyesseyo)\(^33\).

The soccer club was finally created last year.

(39) acha, ku cokkomayngi (ROK: kkomayngi) ka...

Ah! That little kid...

Interestingly enough, however, there was one word in the data which has its origin

---

\(^{33}\) Sin Hyŏn-suk (1989: 304) notes that mwuta in North Korean corresponds to mvukkta in the standard language of South Korea.
in a Southern dialect (although it appeared only once):

(40) heyhey-, ipeneynun com te kasey ey cha cwe!
    Hehe-, kick the ball more into the corner next time.

In (40), kasey (corner) is Kyŏngsang province dialect from the south-eastern area of the peninsula.\(^\text{34}\) This is a significant piece of evidence showing the likelihood that dialects spoken by first-generation Koreans have been passed down – if only partially – to the next generation, and that Chongryun Korean language is influenced not only by the official ~ standard North Korean language but also by regional dialects spoken by the older generation in Zainichic communities.

Whereas in Chongryun Korean language we find words in which no changes have occurred compared to the corresponding words used in North or South Korea, we also encounter words which, although identical in form with North or South Korean words, have acquired new meanings in Chongryun Korean:

(41) ppayltheynyen ppaypwal (~ppaye nakapwal)
    If you think you can pass me, go ahead.

(42) Yeng-chel, Kitaosaka uy him chapwunhi (~ceytaylo) poye cwuma!!
    Yeng-chel, I will show full strength of Kitaosaka.

(43) kyewu (~tutie)chwukkwu sensayngnim kkeyse osyesskwuna.
    A soccer coach finally came!

(44) wulika issumyen pal ul tangkinikka (~panghay ka toynikka)...
    Because we are in the way if we are here.

According to the North and South Korean dictionaries, ppayta in (41) mainly means ‘to pull out, remove, or subtract’. Yet it is employed in example (41) to mean ‘pass an opponent’, judging by the context. In (42), adverb chapwunbi, derived from adjective chapwunbata, is used with the meaning of ‘thoroughly or fully’ and not the original meaning of ‘calmly or quietly’.

\(^{34}\) p’yoju kug jasa[ion] [Standard Korean dictionary] (1999) spells it as kasey.
as defined in both North and South Korean, and the adverb *kyewu* in (43) is used for the meaning ‘finally’, and not the original meaning of ‘barely’. Additionally, the expression *pal ul tangkita* in example (44) expresses the meaning ‘be an obstacle or be in the way’ although it does not present this meaning in standard peninsular Korean; it means literally ‘pull sb’s legs’ in North and South Korea. That is, these words have extended or shifted the range of their original lexical meanings. I denominate such words as Semantic Shifts and distinguish them from Non-Semantic Shifts, i.e., those used without any accompanying semantic changes.

So what led to the semantic shifts within the Chongryun Korean lexicon? A first or foremost conceivable factor is influence from Japanese. As noted above, there is no such expression as *pal ul tangkita* in (44) for ‘be an obstacle or be in the way’ in North and South Korea, but Japanese uses the expression *ashbi o hipparu* for this meaning, besides the literal sense of ‘pull out legs’. In addition, whereas the Korean verb *ppayta* in (41) does not have the meaning ‘pass or go ahead of’, the corresponding Japanese *nuku* has such a meaning in addition to the meanings of ‘to pull out, remove, or subtract’. Therefore, it is assumed that the meanings ‘be an obstacle or be in the way’ in Japanese *ashbi o hipparu* and ‘pass or go ahead of’ in *nuku* have transferred to ~ been calqued onto the Korean expression *pal ul tangkita* and the verb *ppayta*. Namely, when two different languages come into contact and word A in the minority language (e.g., Korean) and word B in the dominant language (e.g., Japanese) overlap partially in their meanings, the non-shared meaning in word B is susceptible to transfer to word A.

Nonetheless, it should be noticed that not all the semantic shifts can be explained as the result of Japanese influence.

---

35 It is reasonable to use the term “extension” when the indigenous meanings of the words are preserved and new meanings are added to them. Therefore, a large amount of data will be needed in future research to examine whether or not the meanings of the words found in our data are extended alongside their original meanings or whether the original meanings have shrunk or been discarded in favor of the innovative meanings.

36 Haugen (1969: 390-391) defines “semantic loan” as a borrowing which acquires a new meaning. Thus, this term is limited to words whose new meanings have been borrowed from other languages. However, semantic shift in this study embraces all words whose meanings have changed from their inherited meaning, regardless of the causes.

37 Weinreich (1974: 48) states that “if two languages have semantemes, or units of content, which are partly similar, the interference consists in the identification and adjustment of the semantemes to fuller congruence.”
(45) ilpon hakkyo ey tanil ttab lay dass tus yasuten (➞ wu wu lhasstten / etwuwessten)
oyatul i myenglanghaycin key wayyo? Wuli hakkyo eyes paywukey toymyense
pwutheci.
Why do you think the boy who was so quiet in a Japanese school became so outgoing? He has changed since he came to our school (Korean ethnic school).

(46) ku (➞ ce) ayn wenlay yakhayse kekceng i manhasssupnita.
I was worried a lot about her because that kid has been weak since she was born.

For instance, chimchimbata in (45) is used for ‘(one's personality) be dark, gloomy and quiet’, a meaning it never had in Korean; it is originally restricted to ‘(light) be dark and gloomy or (sight) be blurred’. This change can be regarded either as contact-induced via Japanese or as an internally motivated change. In other words, the innovative meaning of chimchimbata can be taken as a transfer of the meaning of Japanese kurai, which also refers to darkness of individuals’ personalities besides light, but also as a transfer of the meaning of its synonym etwupsta in Korean which is also used for both light and human personality. In (46), the pre-noun ku (that) is used to indicate a girl who is standing at a position distant from both the speaker and the listener. However, normally in Korean, ku is used to indicate something or someone distant from the speaker, but close to the listener, while ce is used to indicate something or someone distant from both speaker and listener. Thus, ce would be more appropriate in the context of example (46). In Japanese, as well, these concepts are represented with separate words; sono corresponds to ku and ano corresponds to ce. Hence, there is no way to explain the shift of meaning in ku as caused by Japanese influence. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that ce has not been lost within the lexical system of Chongryun Korean language and coexists with ku in the same meaning, although the sense of ku is extended to encompass the meaning of ce$^{38}$.

The lexicon of Chongryun Korean language is also characterized by emerging words or expressions non-existent in peninsular Korean:

(47) ya, Swun-chel, na cykey tassyu silhichima.

$^{38}$ Aitchison (1995: 2) notes that there is a time when a new form coexists with an older form in stages of language change and before the new form gradually pushes out the older one.
Hey Swun-chel, do not make me dash.

(48) a-, cey 10 pinch! Ah!
The No. 10 School is in a pinch!

(49) 5/1 (hwa) pom wencok
5/1 (Tue) Spring picnic

(50) Hahah... topal ey kellyesstan palici...
Haha... you have responded to the challenge for a fight, right?

The underlined forms in (47) and (48) are words reborrowed from English-derived Japanese loanwords into Chongryun Korean language. tassju in (47) is borrowed from the phonemic shape and meaning of Japanese datshü for ‘dash’ and pinchi in (48) is from Japanese pinchi for ‘pinch’. In (49) wencok 39 for a ‘picnic’ is borrowed from Sino-Japanese 遠足, but not with the phonemic shape; thus, this is a graphic loan whereby Sino-Japanese 遠足 is borrowed with its Sino-Korean pronunciation40. Topal ey kellita in (50), representing the sense of ‘respond to a challenge for a fight’, is must be modeled on the Japanese expression, chōbatsu ni noru; but it is reproduced with a somewhat deviated result since the Japanese verb noru corresponds primarily to the Korean verb thata (ride), and not kellita as in (50)41.

These words are distinguished from the words discussed before (i.e., non-semantic shifts and semantic shifts) by the fact that they do not exist as lexical items in either North or South Korea. Hence, the lexicon of Chongryun Korean language is largely divided into Pre-Existing Lexicon and Innovatory Lexicon according to whether or not it is used on the peninsula, and the existent lexicon are subdivided into Non-Semantic Shifts and Semantic-Shifts according to whether or not the meaning of the words has been changed42.

39 This word was written on a blackboard in the Chongryun-run primary school.
40 wencok appears to have been used on the peninsula during an earlier period — probably the colonial period since it is registered in the South Korean dictionary or P'yojun hugo taisugun (1999) as a word designated for purification.
41 As Korean verbs corresponding to Japanese noru, the Japanese-Korean dictionary (1973) presents thata (get/ride on), silita (be reported), wuwawubesaya (feel proud of), maum i naykbita (feel favorably inclined toward), etc.
42 In the data, there was one word for which I cannot find the origin:
<ex> chatollinkongicwungkansenulnepnepnepsta!! (The kicked ball passed the half line!!)
It seems that it is a mistake of the North Korean word nemnata meaning ‘go over and back’ or ‘overflow’ (cf.
Pre-existing Lexicon: words and expressions that exist in/inherited from peninsular Korean

Non-Semantic Shifts: words and expressions without any occurring semantic changes compared to the original meanings

Semantic Shifts: words and expressions which show changes compared to the original meanings
(e.g., chapwunhi (calmly) for ‘fully or thoroughly’, chimchimbata (light) be dark) for ‘(one’s personality) dark’, etc.)

Innovatory Lexicon: words and expressions that do not exist in peninsular Korean (e.g., tassyu for ‘dash’, pinchi for ‘pinch’, etc.)

5.3. Grammar
As Kim Eleana (1994) and Ryang (1997) point out, one of the distinguishing characteristics of Chongryun Korean grammar is that written forms are frequently used in speech. Korean is characterized by a system of six speech styles according to the degree of esteem or intimacy: plain, intimate, familiar, blunt (also referred to as ‘authoritative’), polite, and deferential represented mainly by changing the endings on the verbs (Sohn Ho-min, 1999: 413). However, these days in (South) Korea, the blunt-level forms -(t)o (for declarative and interrogative) and -(u)o (for imperative) have been disappearing from daily usage (Sohn Ho-min, 1999; Noma, 2002) and are increasingly discovered only in (older) written texts. By contrast, it is remarkable that ‘blunt’ forms can still be found in Chongryun Korean language as in the following examples:

(51) kulena ku nun haysstan maliyo! ocik chwukkwu lul hako siphtanun ilnyem ulc...

But, he didn’t quit soccer! Only with a whole heart to want to play soccer.

Hyŏndae chosŏnmal sajŏn ,1991), but is reinterpreted as ‘go over’ or ‘go across’. 
(52) **ku ppwun ikeyssso.** *kkok usung hayyaci usung ul!*
We must not only enter for the finals, but win the championship.

(53) **nan yocum casin i sayngkyessso.**
I became more confident lately.

(54) **sensaynim layil pwute citohay cwusio.**
Coach, please train us from tomorrow.

(55) **sensayngnim, towa cwusio.** [audio-recording]
Teacher, please help me.

(56) **ponco tongmwu kkili tap macchwuki hay posio.** [audio-recording]
Please, check your answers with your group members.

Ryang (1997: 36) asserts that using written forms is the result of two things: 1) the teaching method in schools which emphasizes how to read and write correct sentences, and 2) the lack of contact with colloquial Korean. However, considering the possibility that the blunt forms were used in speech during the colonial period and for several years after the 1945 liberation, it is also conceivable that Chongryun Koreans maintain the usage of blunt forms in their speech as a kind of archaism; Kim Chong-ho (2005) presents blunt forms used in dialogues of 1920's fiction, and blunt forms are also found in dialogues from a Korean textbook for Zainichi (Chongryun) Koreans published in 1950⁴³ (Pak Kyong-sik, 2000). Yet another possibility is influence from the regional dialects spoken by first-generation Koreans; in the southern Cholla and Kyongsang province dialects, -so/-yo is used for declarative and interrogative⁴⁴ (Ko Kwang-mo, 2001: 156-158, Ko Tong-ho, 2007: 194-195). That is, it is feasible that this form in southern province dialects was passed down to the next generation Koreans' language.

On the other hand, it is also intriguing that the blunt forms appeared in discourses between children as in (53), and also from students toward teachers as in (54) and (55) (albeit accompanied by honorific marker -(u)si-), regardless of the fact that in peninsular

---

⁴³ Below is the example found in the textbook:
<ex> nej, komapso. tongmwu to mom kenkanghani tahaygyiyo. yosayn mwuel hako issso?
Yeah, thank you. It is good you are also doing well. What have you been doing these days?
⁴⁴ Ko Tong-ho (2005: 194-195) states that in Cholla dialect, -usiyo or -uso is used for imperative, and in Kyongsang dialects, -usyo, -isyo, -usiyo or -uso is used according to the speech level.
standard Korean, both North and South, the blunt forms are considered primarily as a speech style used by a lower status speaker toward a higher status hearer between adults (Kwahakwôn 1961; Sŏ Chŏng-su, 1996). However, the usage of the blunt forms from students toward teachers seems to violate the discourse norms of Chongryun Korean language; I was able to observe in the Chongryun-run primary school that after a student uttered the sentence as in (55), the teacher corrected it to the formal style honorific form -(u)sipjo as in tówa cwsusipjo. This use of blunt forms by children, then, may be the result of children mimicking their school teachers' Korean.

The use of uncontracted forms as in examples (57) to (59) was often witnessed in our research data, whereas in South Korea such forms are used in general for formal register and/or written language.

(57) mwues i...mwues i isessnal?
What...What was it?

(58) Hung, swipsali cemswu nun mos cwuel
Hmph, I won't let you score so easily.

(59) yeph tongmuwu hako poa cwuseeyo. [audio-recording]
Please, look at it with the person beside you.

Secondly, Chongryun Korean language is characterized by the use of a limited set of grammatical forms compared to those used by peninsular speakers. In peninsular Korean, both of the mood forms, -keyss- and -(u)key, can express a first-person's intention/decision/promise in the immediate future (Sŏ Chŏng-su, 1996; Hideki, 2002), but within our research data, there was not even a single example of -(u)key and only one with -keyss-, as in (60) and (61). Likewise, apperceptive sentences were found in abundance, codified by the endings -kwuna and -kwuman as in (62) and (63), but only two exclamatory

---

45 Sŏ Chŏng-su (1996) points out that the blunt forms cannot be used toward an extremely high status hearer and that they are often used by a higher status speaker to a lower status hearer.

46 'Kwahagwôn' refers to 'Chosŏn minjujuji innin konghwaguk kwahagwôn (1961)'.

47 One of my Chongryun Korean friends told me that the blunt form -(u)je is normally used when a teacher commands or requests a student to do something.

48 In the South Korean dictionary, p'ujum kwaj tasaqjon (1999), -kwuman is explained as an 'incorrect' form of -kwumen, but in the North Korean dictionary -kwuman is registered as the 'correct' form.
examples were found in the -ta form of the same adjective as in (64).

(60) kulem, emenim onul un kakeysseyo.
    Then, mother, I will go back today.

(61) emeni, layil pwuthen 7si ey nakakeysseyo.
    Mother, I will leave home at 7 tomorrow morning.

(62) Chwukkwu kong kwa tallase elyepkwuman.
    It is difficult because it is different from a soccer ball.

(63) (after drinking a beer) masisskwuna.
    It’s delicious!

(64) a-, aswipta.
    Too bad!

It is also notable that the conjunctive suffix -(u)jyemyen (the abbreviated form of -(u)jekeo bamyen), appeared in the data only once (ex. 65) whereas -camyen, the abbreviated form of -sako bamyen, appeared in eleven examples (ex. 66), both of which express the sense of ‘if someone intends to do’. Besides, Sohn Ho-min (1999: 341-342) states that in Korean there are three different levels of vocative form; (i) plain -a (after a consonant)/-ya (after a vowel), (ii) intimate -i (after a consonant)/ZERO (after a vowel) and (iii) hyper-deferential -i(s)⁴⁰, yet in Chongryun Korean language, the intimate forms (-i ~ zero) as in (67) and (68) are by far more common than others:

(65) ilpon hakkyo eyes chwukkwu lul hayse mewl hana. chwukkwu lul halyemyen wuli hakkyo eyes hayyaci.
    It’s meaningless to play soccer at Japanese school. You should play soccer at our (Korean) school if you want to.

(66) laynyen cwungang tayhoy lul ciyanghayse saylowun thim ul kwulicamyen ppalun kesi cohciyo.
    Earlier is better if you want to arrange a new team for next year’s tournament.

⁴⁰ The hyper-deferential vocative form “is not used to address living people in face-to-face situations”. (Sohn Ho-min 1999: 342)
Thirdly, in Chongryun Korean grammar just as in the lexicon, there are some grammatical forms influenced by North Korean usage:

(69) Sul-ki nun hakkyo eyes tolaoca palamulo (ROK: tolaocamaca) cip kunche ey issnun kongwen eyes honca kong ul chako issessta.
As soon as Sul-ki came back from school, he was kicking a soccer ball alone at a park nearby.

(70) tutiye kyelsung! pilok inwenswu nun ceketo Saitama mosci anhkey ungwenhacayo.
(ROK: ungwenhapsita or ungwenhayyo)
Finally the finals! Let’s cheer them on as much as Saitama although our numbers are small.

(71) iceymacimak uло (ROK: í) toyl kesipnita.
This will be the last play.

For instance, the conjunctive suffix –ca palamulo (as soon as) for “immediate sequence (Martin 1992: 245)” in (69) and the polite-style ending -cayo (let’s) for proposition in (70) are grammatical forms prescribed only in North Korea. Additionally, it was noticed in the data that a compliment of the verb toyta (to become) was marked with the directional instrumental particle (u)lo as in (71) in addition to nominative particle -i/ka. Although this usage is not indicated in the North Korean grammar books or Chosŏn munpŏp 1 and 2 (Korean grammar 1 and 2), examples (72) and (73) from North Korean written materials lead us to suppose this can be attributed to North Korean grammar; in South Korea, the compliment of toyta is marked only by nominative -i/ka (Nam Ki-sim & Ko Yŏng-kŭn 1985, 1993: 264).

(72) kulentey <salami> nun <chakchwihanun> ey tayhaye cwue lo royko issumye
However, <people> is a subject of <exploiting> and the <people> is a complement of <exploiting>.

Our language is becoming/turning into...a powerful weapon in every sphere.

Fourthly, parallel with our findings concerning the lexicon, some grammatical forms in Chongryun Korean language have been shifted or have extended the range of their functions:

(74) olunccok ey (→ulo) hoycensikhimyen kongki uy cehang ul pata olunccok ey (→ulo) tolko oynccok ey (→ulo) hoycensikhimyen oynccok ey (→ulo) tolakaci. A ball curves to the right if you spin it to the right, and it curves to the left if you spin it to the left because of air resistance.

(75) kong ul patumyen Yeng-chel iwa Sul-ki eylo (→eykeylo or hantheylo)! Pass to Yeng-chul and Sul-ki if you get the ball.

(76) Yeng-chel imyen pantusui ku mwuciki pwuthe (→eykeyse or hantheyse) tukcem hal swu isso! Yeng-chel will definitely score a goal on him!

Korean, like Japanese, uses grammatical case particles after nouns to indicate grammatical relations in a sentence. For instance, the direction in which a subject or an object in a sentence moves is marked by -(u)lo if the preceding noun is inanimate, and by -eykey(lo) or -hanthey(lo) if the preceding noun is animate. Also, the source from which an object is obtained is marked by -eye if the preceding noun is inanimate, and by -eykeyse or -hantheyse if the preceding noun is animate. However, in Chongryun Korean language, direction can be also marked by the static locative -ey as in (74) after an inanimate noun and by -eylo
(toward)\(^{30}\) after an animate noun as in (75), and the source can be marked by -\textit{punthe} (from) as in (76), which is usually used with time expressions like \textit{eeey punthe} (from yesterday) in peninsular Korean.

\begin{align*}
(77) & \text{cwumoktoynun i sihap ettehkey cenkay toynunci} \rightarrow \text{cenkaytoylci} \ldots \\
\text{What drama will unfold during this important game?}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(78) & \text{etten cisi, etten cacceen ul phyenunci} \rightarrow \text{phyelci} \text{ ese pokol siphsupnita.} \\
\text{I look forward to seeing what kind of direction and strategies will be played out.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(79) & \text{cengtapilako (ssuko issnun)} \rightarrow \text{sse issnun} \text{ cangsoey sse cwuseyyo.} \\
\text{[audio-recording]} \\
\text{Please, write your answer where it says “answer”.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(80) & \text{man kati toyko isseyo} \rightarrow \text{toye isseyo}. \text{[audio-recording]} \\
\text{It is like a gulf.}
\end{align*}

Also, the conjunctive suffix -\textit{(u)lci} denoting “uncertain fact whether it will be/do” is replaced with -\textit{nunci} denoting “uncertain fact of doing” (Martin 1992: 723, 855) as in (77) and (78), and the resultant state pattern in -\textit{a/ë iss-} shares its grammatical function with the progressive pattern in -\textit{ko iss-} as in (79) and (80). I will designate these grammar forms with changes in their original functions/usages as \textbf{Functional Shifts} and distinguish them from those which have no changes as \textbf{Non-Functional Shifts}.

However, again, it is hard to single out one lone or decisive factor behind these functional shifts from among various possibilities. The shifted functions of -\textit{punthe} in (76) and of -\textit{(u)lci} in (77) and (78) are presumed to be a Japanese influence because Japanese -\textit{kara} is used for both time expressions and source, and Japanese does not have distinguishable modifiers for future and present tense and subsumes both under the -\textit{ny} form\(^{31}\). Yet, regarding the use of the static locative particle -\textit{ey} for the direction in (74),

\(^{30}\) In North Korea, when the inanimate preceding noun is not a place noun, direction is marked by -\textit{eylo} to distinguish from other functions of -\textit{lo} (Kwanghwan 1961: 163):
\textbf{ex:} sahojwuy eeylo kanun kil (The road towards socialism)

\(^{31}\) Weinreich (1974: 39) notes that “if the bilingual identifies a morpheme or grammatical category of language A with one in language B, he may apply the B form in grammatical functions which he derives from the system of A,” and this results from a formal similarity or a similarity in preexisting functions.
while it can be considered the result of Japanese influence since the Japanese particle -ni partially shares its grammatical functions with -ey,\(^{52}\) it is also assumed that -ey is overgeneralized to contexts where these conditions are unsatisfied since -(u)lo and -ey can be replaced with each other when accompanied by a place noun and a verb of movement such as hakkyo ey/hakkyo lo kata (go to school) (Jin 1996: 17). Likewise, it is supposed that in Chongryun Korean language, the grammatical functions for progressive and resultant states are converging into -ko iss- as in (79) and (80) not only because the Japanese pattern in -te iru expresses both the progressive and resultant state, but also because some Korean verbs (e.g., reflexive verbs) represent both the progressive and resultant state with -ko iss-, and thus -ko issa is overgeneralized to the resultant state.

(81) hoyolisyus poki cohkey nehe cwu-
    Get a goal using a whirlwind shot!

(82) Yeng-chel, ikey cwu! wul uy moks kkaci ssawe cwe.
    Yeng-chel, please win this championship. Do it for us all.

(83) mathkye twu-!
    Trust me!

(84) wuli lul cengchal hale on kes ani?
    Didn’t he come to scout us?

(85) tochakhamyen kyengki nun ta kkutnako issnun key ani?
    Won’t the game be done when we get there?

Finally, it is observed that certain obligatory grammatical features in peninsular Korean occasionally disappear in Chongryun Korean language. In Korean, imperatives are made by adding -a/ela for the plain style or -a/e for the intimate style to verb stems, but interestingly enough, in Chongryun Korean language, we find some examples of what appear to be verb stems without any endings functioning as imperatives as in examples (81)

\(^{52}\) Japanese -ni corresponds to Korean -ey when it expresses ‘adhesive point’, ‘arrival point’, ‘time’, and ‘reason’, but it corresponds to Korean -(u)lo when it expresses ‘result’ and ‘destination’ with noun cok (side) as in (74) (Son Jeong-hye, unpublished)
These forms are probably the result of dropping the imperative endings -a/ela or -a/e; alternatively, they represent blunt style forms in wu- ← o considering the fact that Chongryun children use the blunt forms in speech, as seen earlier. In (84) and (85), the interrogative endings have been omitted; the omitted endings can be either plain style -ni, intimate style -ya, or the blunt form -fy/o. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this appears only with the negative form of the copula. I am tempted to call this phenomenon temporally Omission.

Table 5.2 Chongryun Korean Grammar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Functional Shifts: grammatical forms without any changes in their functions compared to peninsular Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Functional Shifts: grammatical forms with changes in their functions compared to peninsular Korean (e.g., static locative –ey for direction, progressive pattern -ko iss- for resultant state, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission: Cases where obligatory grammatical forms in peninsular Korean are omitted. (e.g., nebe cuw for imperative and ...ani? for interrogative.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

53 I could confirm from my Chongryun Korean friend that she used to use this form frequently throughout her school years.
6. Conclusions: Zainichi Korean Language as an Emigrant Language

In this study, I have delineated the characteristics of Chongryun Korean language based on written materials published by a Chongryun publisher and audio-recorded data from a Chongryun-run primary school. As a result, it was ascertained that Chongryun Korean language is not a language which can trace its origins in a straightforward fashion as 'inheritance' from a single standard language or regional dialect on the Korean peninsula. Although Chongryun Koreans have been educated in the Korean language along the model of the North Korean standard language in schools, their Korean language comprises not only official North Korean features but also southern dialectal features presumably transmitted from first-generation Koreans. Moreover, some lexical items and grammar forms in Chongryun Korean are used with meanings and functions different from the sources in peninsular Korean (i.e., what we have termed 'semantic shifts' and 'functional shifts'), some peninsular forms disappear altogether in some cases (i.e., what we have termed 'omission'), and we can observe coinages and calques influenced by Japanese (i.e., innovatory lexicon).

This study suggests that some sub-systems are unique to Chongryun Korean language. First, in Chongryun Korean language, ku and ce overlap semantically in that they can both denote something/someone distant from both the speaker and hearer whereas in peninsular Korean, the demonstratives i, ku, and ce are thoroughly demarcated in terms of the range of their uses. Second, Chongryun Korean language has (on the surface, anyway) a different imperative system from peninsular Korean. Whereas peninsular Korean has two imperative forms (-e/ala and -e/a) for plain and intimate style, Chongryun Korean language has three forms: -e/ala, -e/a and Zero; but these Zero-marked imperatives are all auxiliary verbs ending in final wu, which strengthens our suspicion that they are in fact truncated examples of Blunt Style cunnu cunwo, with raising of final o to wu. Third, in Chongryun Korean, the pattern in -ko iss- which can representing resultant states in peninsula Korean with a limited set of verbs (e.g., reflexive verbs) has extended this function to verbs that only allow -a/e iss- in peninsular Korean.
Table 6.3 Demonstratives, Imperative, and Aspect in Chongryun Korean Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peninsular Korean</th>
<th>Chongryun Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demonstratives</strong></td>
<td><strong>Demonstratives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ‘st’ or ‘sb’ close to the speaker</td>
<td>• ‘st’ or ‘sb’ close to the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ <em>i</em></td>
<td>→ <em>i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ‘st’ or ‘sb’ close to the hearer</td>
<td>• ‘st’ or ‘sb’ close to the hearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ <em>ku</em></td>
<td>→ <em>ku</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ‘st’ or ‘sb’ far from both position</td>
<td>• ‘st’ or ‘sb’ far from both position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ <em>ce</em></td>
<td>→ <em>ku</em> or <em>ce</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Plain → -e/ala</td>
<td>• Plain → -e/ala (or Zero)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Intimate → -e/a</td>
<td>• Intimate → -e/a or Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspect</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aspect</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Progressive state</td>
<td>• Progressive state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ -ko iss-</td>
<td>→ -ko iss-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resultant state</td>
<td>• Resultant state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ -ko iss- with reflexive verbs</td>
<td>→ -ko iss- and -a/e iss-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ -a/e iss- with others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, there are some studies that attempt to define the socio-linguistic typology of Zainichi Korean language. Tsukamoto & Kim (1992), based on data from first-generation Koreans speaking the Cheju dialect in Osaka, define their Korean language as a pidgin, while Kim Ch’ông-ja (2002) discusses code-switching in the Korean language of first-generation Koreans from Cheju Island as a stage prior to pidginization. Ito (1989 and 1997) and Sin Ch’ang-su (2005) simply call Chongryun Korean a variety of Korean. Yet, Zainichi Korean language, regardless of whether we are speaking specifically of Chongryun Korean language or Korean used by first-generation Zainichi Koreans, has a number of key characteristics which distinguish it from pidgins in significant ways. Rather, I believe that a more fruitful avenue of discussion would be to focus on the fact that Chongryun Korean evinces a number of typical properties found in “emigrant languages,” where “emigrant language” is defined as a language “learned as a first language in a monolingual setting, used later in a linguistically alien environment, and acquired and used by succeeding generations in the same emigrant setting” (Gonzo & Saltarelli, 1983: 181).

In general, pidgins have been defined as a language newly emerged in a new contact situation between groups speaking different languages to serve as a medium of
communication for limited purposes such as trade (Thomason, 2001; Garrett, 2004). For instance, Pidgin Delaware was developed for communication between Native Americans (speakers of varieties of Delaware) and Europeans (Dutch, Swedish, and English speakers) on the Middle Atlantic Coast of North America during the colonial period (Goddard, 1996), and Ndyuka-Trio pidgin was spoken between Bushnegroes (Ndyuka speakers) and natives (Trio speakers) in Suriname for trade (Huttar and Velantie, 1996). That is, pidgins are developed for an instrumental purpose (i.e., intergroup communication) and thus are “nobody's native languages: pidgins are always spoken as second languages (or third, or fourth, or...). (Thomason, 2001: 159)” However, in contrast with pidgins like these, Zainichi Korean language is a mostly in-group language used within the Korean diaspora in Japan – Japanese has consistently been the common language between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese– and is primarily used for integrative purposes (Gonzo & Saltarelli, 1983: 193) such as an emblem of ethnic identity; recall that Zainichi Koreans mainly use the Korean language with members who can speak it and do so in limited places such as Korean schools or formal assemblies where they are the majority.

To be sure, both pidgin languages and emigrant languages are characterized by simplification in grammar, but the grammar in emigrant languages remains more complex than in pidgins, because emigrant languages change gradually through transmission from one generation to the next, whereas pidgins develop fairly quickly for immediate communication (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983). Decamp (1971: 15) lists among the characteristics of pidgin grammars the elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, as well as the drastic reduction of redundant features. However, as seen in many examples presented above, Zainichi Korean language (although this study is based on only Chongryun Korean language) still preserves numerous grammatical features like case, aspect, mood and tense. Furthermore, the linguistic changes found in our data are compatible with what is normally observed in emigrant languages. For example, Clyne (1982: 94) distinguishes the forms of lexical renewal in emigrant languages (“immigrant languages” is used in the original) created in Australia into three; semantic expansion,

---

54 On the other hand, creoles tend to be defined as languages that transform pidgins into full-fledged languages and serve as either a native language or a primary language of a community (Thomason, 2001; Garrett, 2004).
neologism and transference from another language. Semantic expansion refers to words with meanings extended from their original meanings (i.e., what we have termed ‘semantic shifts’ in this study), neologisms to newly created words based on existing morphological devices in the language, and transference to words where both the form and meaning are transferred from another language (i.e., what we have termed ‘innovatory lexicon’ in this study). Therefore, regarding the functional and linguistic characteristics of Zainichi Korean language, it is more reasonable to conclude that Zainichi Korean is an emigrant language, and not a pidgin.

Although some earlier studies suggest that Zainichi Korean language has changed in many respects compared to peninsular Korean and emphasize the necessity of research, no studies to date have provided detailed descriptions based on in-depth analysis and thus end up being rather short studies (e.g., Itô, 1989 and 1997; Kang Chong-hūi, 2002; Kim Mi-sŏn 2002 etc.). Hence, in this study I have attempted to analyze data from various angles through a comparison with the standard languages of North and South Korea, Korean regional dialects, and Japanese. As a result, I suggest that Zainichi Koreans have constructed a unique form of the Korean language with features influenced by North Korea, southern dialects, and Japanese, and that Zainichi Korean language can be defined as an emigrant language. Nevertheless, it is also true that this study is limited in presenting more diverse characteristics of Zainichi Korean language and the correlation between social sources and language change, since it is based on a restricted data set in terms of the speakers and places from which the data were collected; Clyne (1982: 94) indicates that the nature and degree of language change in emigrant languages largely depends on “the individual speaker’s activities and life style as well as on his or her experience” in the different relevant languages. Consequently, further research on the basis of additional data collected from various circumstances is necessary in future. Moreover, a discussion of language maintenance and restoration firmly grounded in consideration of the political, social and ideological under currents is needed, and could be elaborated through further research.
Bibliography


Cho, O-Hyŏn, Kim, Yong-kyŏng and Pak, Tong-gŭn (200) Nambukhan ónó ŭi ihae [Understanding of the Korean language in North and South Korea]. Seoul: Yŏklak.


Im, Yong-ch’ol (1995) Haeo han gatgin ui sahoh önôhak-bôk yôn’gu [Sociolinguistic study of Koreans living in Japan and America]. Seoul: Chungang University Press.


Kim, Eleanna (1994) Chôsen sôren no chôsengo kyôiku: komyuniti zaiseisan no tekunoroji


Kim, Mi-sŏn (2002) Chaeil Korean ū ŏnō chŏpch’ok hyŏnsang: Osaka-si Ikumoku ūi sarye lŭl t'onghayŏ [Language contact of Korean residents in Japan: through the instance of Ikunoku, Osaka]. *Che 1-boe segye han’gukhak/chosŏnhan/kosiahak taehoe nonmunjip* [Proceedings of the First World Conference on Koreanology]. pp. 1152-1158.

Kim, Min-su (1985) Pukhan ūi kuqo yŏn’gu [A study of the Korean language in North Korea]. Seoul: Korean University Publisher.


Kwahak paekkwasajŏn ch’ulp’ansa (1983) *Chosŏnŏhak kaerun* [Introduction to Korean linguistics]. Pyŏngyang: Kwahak paekkwasajŏn ch’ulp’ansa

Kwahagwŏn ŏnŏ munhak yŏn’guso (1960, 1963) Chosŏnŏ munpŏp (1) and (2) [Korean grammar (1) and (2)]. Tokyo: Hakuosŏpang.


Paek, Ung-jin (2002) Cheju pangŏn ŏlmama saengjonhalkka? [How long will the Cheju dialect survive?]. Che 1-boe segye han'gukbakhosŏnbak/holabak taeboe nonmun-jip [The first proceedings of the World Conference on Koreanology], pp. 1137-1151.


Son, Jeong-hye (unpublished) Ilbon 'ni' kyŏk e taeŭngdoenŭn han'gugŏ ūi kyŏk – tanŏ kyŏhŭp ūl kwantchŏm esŏ [The Korean case particles corresponding to the Japanese 'ni': from the point of view of word combination]. unpublished research paper.

Sŏ, Yŏng-dal (1987) Kankoku, chōsenjin no genjŏ to shōrai [Discrimination against the


Dictionaries


