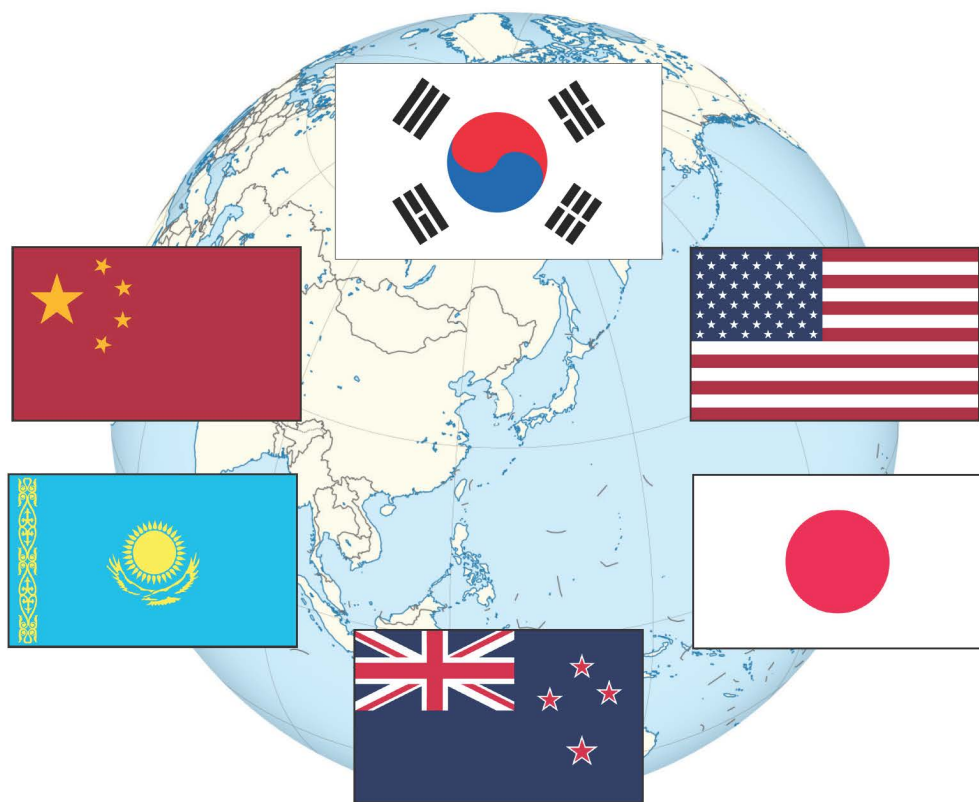


The Spread of the Korean Language

Through the Korean Diaspora and Beyond



Edited by Clare You and Yangwon Ha

TRANSNATIONAL KOREA 2

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March 2018

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Clare You
Berkeley, December 2017

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Clare YOU studied linguistics and information science at the University of California, Berkeley. She taught and coordinated the Korean program as well as served as chair of the Center for Korean Studies. You coauthored *College Korean* and *Intermediate College Korean* (University of California Press, 1992 and 2002). She has cotranslated modern Korean poetry and fiction into English, including *The Three Way Tavern* (University of California Press, 2006) and *I Must Be the Wind* (White Pine Press, 2014), and English works into Korean, such as *Things Fall Apart* (Seoul: Eastern Press, 1994). She is a recipient of the Order of Cultural Merit (Silver Medal) from the Government of Korea. More recently, she was awarded the Manhae Grand Prize in Korea (2017).

Introduction

CLARE YOU

Prelude

Ten years ago, I flew to Jilin City, Yanbian, China, for a forum. As I stepped into Changchun Longjia Airport in Jilin, I felt a strange feeling of familiarity permeating the airport, immigrations, and customs entry procedures as the memories of Yeouido Airport in Seoul I left behind some forty years ago rushed over me. It was not the outdated counters, old conveyers, and scattered baggage everywhere that were reminiscent of the old Yeouido but the familiar sounds of talk exchanged among the immigration and customs officers and baggage handlers. They spoke with a Chinese accent akin, I thought, to a North Korean accent; nevertheless, the ease of their communication caused me to let down my guard in the unfamiliar territory. As I drove to the hotel, I noticed that signs were often displayed in *Hanja* (Chinese characters) and *Hangul* (the Korean alphabet) side by side, sometimes with a third script in English: for example, “卡拉OK, 노래방,” and “karaoke,” respectively. Here was a living example of “linguistic diversity in space and time,”¹ which we will trace and record in this volume—the current state of the spread and change of the Korean language.

Introduction

From ancient times, geographic borders have not always signaled the limits of the language spoken in each state or by each ethnicity. In the current age of global migration, fluidity of language is prevalent in many parts of the world. Language as a manifestation of cultural identity often goes along with people induced voluntarily or forcibly to migrate from their homeland

¹ This phrase is borrowed from J. Nichols’s original book *Linguistic Diversity in Space and Time* (1992). Nichols maps prehistoric human movement in space and time through the linguistically inherent features of the world’s language groups such as word order and morphology. In this volume, we trace the spread of Korean language through human movement—migration, either forced or voluntary.

to a foreign soil, contributing to the linguascape (i.e., language landscape) of the new land. The Korean language is an example. Notwithstanding the fact that each region that received Korean emigrants has a unique history, they share the Korean language in common, transplanted and propagated with different goals and means by the various peoples of Korea.

In a collaborative study of the Korean language diaspora, encompassing the significant Korean population settlements, namely, China, Japan, the United States, New Zealand, Kazakhstan/Russia, and Hong Kong, the contributors to this volume examine each region into which the Korean language has spread, looking at the historical background and present state of affairs with reference to the effects of economy, politics, education, and society, and considering what the future might hold. Furthermore, we examine the Korean government's role in the spread of the language and its policy in recent decades.

The nine chapters herein on the Korean language diaspora highlight not only the Korean people's history of migration but also the way Koreans have taken root in foreign soil, seen through the spread of the Korean language and Korean-language education in each country or region. Language education signifies self-awareness of the people who want to learn and teach the language for numerous reasons—historical, cultural, economic, political, pride of identity, or simply for convenience. This study is one of the few focusing on the Korean language diaspora and serves as a stepping-stone on the path to a global scope. Needless to say, this study represents only a small portion of the worldwide phenomenon, since learning and teaching Korean has been mushrooming in numerous countries in recent years.²

The significance of this study rests with the data gathered on the current state of affairs in Korean language and education at the beginning of the twenty-first century as Korean globalization proceeds in all walks of life, especially in culture, art, entertainment, education, and intellectual pursuit. The chapters in this volume frequently cite Internet sources. Once viewed askance by scholars, modern resources, including Wikipedia, newspapers, periodicals about TV shows and movies, e-books, and even YouTube, are here to stay as a part of academic research. These tools have

² The Korean diaspora consists of roughly seven million people, both descendants of early emigrants from the Korean Peninsula, and more recent émigrés from Korea. Nearly four-fifths of expatriate Koreans live in just three countries: China, the United States, and Japan. Other countries with greater than 0.5% Korean minorities include Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. All these figures include both permanent migrants and sojourners. If one focuses on long-term residents, there were about 5.3 million Korean emigrants as of 2010 (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korean_diaspora, accessed January 20, 2015).

ONE

The Establishment and Development of the Korean Language in China

KIM KUANG-SU

Introduction

Koreans began to immigrate to China starting in the mid-nineteenth century. Initially, they constructed the grounds of their new life in Northeast China, mingling with minorities such as Manchus, Hans, Huis, and Mongolians. When Japan invaded China in 1937, the Korean immigrants were at the forefront of the war. With the ending of the war upon Japan's defeat in 1945, China carried out land reform for all peoples of northeastern China, including Korean Chinese.

Korean Chinese have lived in Northeast China for a century and a half. Consequently, they have created their own unique culture, which is distinct from the Han culture (of the majority of the Chinese population) and from the culture of the Koreans on the Korean Peninsula. The immigrants have had to adapt to political, economic, social, and cultural changes in addition to geographical and climate differences. All these factors of the new environment are reflected in the language of the immigrants, and the immigrants' Korean carries a set of linguistic characteristics different from the original Korean language.

A language conveys its speakers' history, culture, customs, and collective consciousness. By studying the language used and developed by Korean Chinese, we can understand their community structure and collective mental framework and make comparisons to other groups of people. Researchers used to study language as an independent subject, taking a "siloeed" approach, but in modern linguistics, comprehensive research is conducted in conjunction with several other disciplines. When a holistic approach is taken, when a language is studied along with history, literature, social science, and education, a better understanding of the substance can be gained.

TWO

How Korean Language Education Spread in Shandong, China

JIN ZHE AND JIN JIAOLING

Introduction

This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Korea and China. The development of the relationship between the two countries is quite impressive given the complex international circumstances of the time period. It is expected that the two countries will continue to collaborate in the future, based on the frequent and fruitful interactions in politics, economics, and culture that they have exhibited over the last two decades. In this friendly atmosphere, Korean language education has flourished in China to an unprecedented degree.

The beginning of systemized Korean language education in China is rooted in Korean classes offered by the Department of Foreign Languages of Peking University in the 1940s.¹ This Korean program helped establish the status of Korean (Chosun/Joseon) people in China. The curriculum was very different from today's because it was designed to teach North Korean idioms and expressions. However, this early Korean language education in China, prior to diplomatic relations with South Korea, secured resources for the better programs teachers would eventually create.²

In August 1992, the two countries broke out of their forty-year-old ideological conflicts of the Cold War. As they initiated diplomatic relations,

¹ The Korean language education in China started in Nanjing in 1946. The National Tong-bang Language School moved to Chongqing via Kunming in 1945 and then president Yao Nan founded the Korean language program. In the following year, 1946, the school moved to Nanjing and first enrolled Korean language students, which marks the start of formal Korean language education in China.

² Before the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea, the universities that had Korean language programs were Beijing University, the University of International Business and Economics, Minzu University of China, Luoyang PLA Foreign Languages Institute, Beijing International Studies University, and Yanbian University.

THREE

The Spread of Korean Language Education in Hong Kong

HYEWON KANG KIM

Introduction

Hong Kong is a free port that thrives on free trade and is also one of the four major financial centers in the world, together with New York, London, and Singapore. Hong Kong was a British colony for over 150 years, from 1841 to 1997. Although British sovereignty over Hong Kong was transferred to China in 1997, Hong Kong society still largely relies on British systems, including the British educational system. English remains one of Hong Kong's official languages, along with Chinese. For this reason, Hong Kong is often seen as the gateway to East Asia by people from other parts of the world, particularly Westerners, and is considered the most Westernized territory in the region by East Asians.

Hong Kong and South Korea have maintained strong economic relations for more than half a century, with ties dating back to the early 1960s, when Korea experienced rapid economic growth through export-oriented industrialization. Since then, Hong Kong has become a strategic bridge for Korea for banking, trade, and shipping to the rest of the world. According to the Korea International Trade Association, in 2015 Hong Kong was one of Korea's four largest export partners, together with the United States, Japan, and mainland China, while Korea is Hong Kong's sixth largest trading partner, after China, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, and the United States. The annual bilateral trade volume between Hong Kong and Korea has reached up to US\$30 billion since 2011 (Korea Trade Association 2015; Korean Consulate 2015).

The recent increase in tourism also indicates active interaction between Hong Kong and Korea. Hong Kong is one of the most popular destinations for Korean tourists. Around 1.25 million Koreans visited Hong Kong in 2014, a 15.5% increase over the previous year. More than half a million

FOUR

From a Diaspora Language to a Language Diaspora: The Social Implications of Korean Language Education in Japan

NAM SUN SONG

Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive illustration of language use among Korean residents in Japan, as well as the Korean language education system there. Koreans residing in their former suzerain state have constantly been subject to the direct influence of politics on the Korean Peninsula, in Japan, and between these two nations. These geopolitical conditions have given Koreans living in Japan certain inherent characteristics that are most apparent through observing the process of Korean community formation in Japan. The majority of resident Koreans in Japan continued living in Japan as resident aliens by their own resolve or simply because there was no other choice.

Koreans in Japan have devoted themselves to promoting Korean ethnic education and maintaining the Korean language even while facing the suppressive policies of the post-Pacific War period and the discriminatory ignorance toward them as a social group. Korean language education for and by resident Koreans in Japan has been characterized by linguistic nationalism on the part of both Japan and Korea.

The Composition and Population of Koreans in Japan

In Japan, there is a community of people who are referred to as *Zainichi*, meaning “being in Japan,” or *Zainichi Chosenjin/Kankokujin*, meaning “Koreans in Japan.” By 2004 there were approximately 610,000 Koreans in Japan, including 460,000 Koreans with “special permanent resident status,”

The Perishing Language of Diaspora: The Case of *Koryomal* in Kazakhstan

GERMAN KIM

Foreword

The language of the Korean diaspora in Kazakhstan is radically different from the literary languages of South and North Korea. During the more than 140-year-long residence of Koreans in the predominantly Russian-language environment there appeared *Koryomal*—the language of the Korean diaspora based on two patois of the North Hamgyong Province dialect. Korean settlers moved to the Russian Primor'ye (Maritime region) mostly from Hamgyong Province, which borders Russia's Yuzno-Yssuriiskiy krai; therefore, the language they spoke was a dialect used in everyday life. At the same time, from the prerevolutionary period until the collapse of the Soviet Union, a version of the Korean language close to the North Korean standard language was taught in schools and universities. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Korea and post-Soviet states, and the development of economic and cultural trade along with educational ties, the North Korean variant gave place to the South Korean literary language. Today, in all schools and universities of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Russia, the Seoul standard language is taught; textbooks and dictionaries compiled in South Korea are used, and teachers are native speakers delegated from the Republic of Korea.

Koryomal has attracted the attention of a number of linguists in the Soviet Union, post-Soviet states, and abroad; however, it has not been studied properly or comprehensively so far. Certain aspects of *Koryomal* are described in the works of O. M. Kim, R. P. King, Kho Song Moo, Kwak Chung Gu, and N. S. Pak, who used in their research written sources published in Korean and Russian at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, as well as recordings of Yukchin and Myenchon-Kilchu dialect speakers (O. M. Kim 1962, 87–93; Kho 1987, 262; King 1987, 223–277; N. S. Pak 2005, 303).

Korean Language Spread and Korean Language Education in New Zealand, with Comparative Notes on Australia

INSHIL CHOE YOON

Korean language education in the New Zealand education system is undergoing significant rejuvenation. Among several recent positive developments, initiatives by the New Zealand government are remarkable in that they affect primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Prior to this unprecedented momentum for growth at all levels, there existed generous and tireless efforts by Korean individuals and institutions to create and maintain Korean language classes. Before the exponential growth of Korean immigration around the turn of the third millennium, there was a considerably long period of time when there was only a tiny Korean presence in this faraway country.

Koreans in New Zealand: An Overview

Korean migration to New Zealand is commonly recognized as a phenomenon that started in the late twentieth century. Most Koreans living in New Zealand are migrants who arrived in the 1990s or later. However, contact with Korea was initiated long before this: the earliest record of people born in Korea living in New Zealand dates to 1945, when there were four males who had been born in Korea residing in New Zealand (Kim Young-Sung 1994, 19). A 1961 record indicates that three people born in Korea resided in New Zealand prior to 1931 and one entered New Zealand before 1911. Of the fifty-two people born in Korea in the 1961 record, forty-two were presumed to have been Korean sailors (Kim Young-Sung 1994, 19). Sailors were the single most numerous group of Koreans to visit New Zealand regularly until 1989, with their number reaching as high as 480 in 1979 and 491 in 1988, as seen in table 1. This

On the Korean Language in Diaspora— Focusing on the Western United States

CLARE YOU

Introduction

Early on, Korea lay in the shadow of China's cultural dominance in East Asia and lacked its own writing system; instead, the government and literati used Chinese characters exclusively. Although Korea gained a unique writing system, *Hangul*, in 1446, people did not accept *Hangul* as the national script for another few hundred years—not until the early 1900s, when Korea became a colony of Japan. At the turn of the twentieth century, the soul of the Korean people was awakened by such elite men as Ju Si-gyeong, Choe Hyun-bae, and Park Seung-bin. Ju and Choe, revered promoters of the Korean language, contributed to systematizing the grammar of Korean and educating the Korean people in their own language, followed by Park, who advocated the full use of *Hangul*, which he described as nothing less than “the nation and the people.”¹

In the same vein, over a century of Koreans in America resulted in a diverse and strong Korean-language teaching and learning environment. Starting in Hawai'i and moving on to the West Coast, I will show how the Korean language became a thread, albeit a minor one, of the multicultural fabric of the United States. This chapter also looks into the funding sources

¹ Ju Si-gyeong (1876–1914), born in Hwang-hae Province, was the most important proponent of the modern Korean language; he standardized Korean and strove to educate the people in their own language. Choe Hyun-bae (1894–1970), also known as Oe Sol, was an educator and a linguist who published *Uri mal bon*, a comprehensive book on Korean grammar and phonology, in 1937. Park Seung-bin (1880–1943), a lawyer trained in a Japanese university, strove to regain his country. His independence movement was based on the belief that his goals could be achieved through a language that equates nation and people, according to Mitsui Takashi (2012). Park's belief in the trinity of nation, people, and language appeared as early in 1907.

EIGHT

The Korean Language Diaspora, with a Special Focus on the Eastern United States

HYE-SOOK WANG

Introduction

The United States is second only to China in the size of its Korean diaspora. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, over two million overseas Koreans (called *dongpo*) lived in the United States as of 2009, accounting for approximately 30 percent of the worldwide Korean diaspora.¹ Since the first cohort of Korean immigrants landed in Hawai'i over a century ago, in 1903, the Korean diasporic community has expanded considerably.² Among the places Korean immigrants made their new home, the metropolitan area of New York remains the center of the Korean community on the East Coast, as does the metropolitan area of Los Angeles on the West Coast. In fact, New York and surrounding states, which include New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, are the second largest in terms of Korean population in the United States, following the southern California metropolitan areas, which include Los Angeles and Orange County. New York City, in particular, is the center for business, education, culture, and finance in the United States, as is Washington, DC, for politics. The 2010 U.S. Census reveals that approximately 150,000 Koreans lived in New York, another 100,000 in New Jersey, 120,000 in Virginia and Maryland, and over 60,000

Note on romanization: The National System of the Republic of Korea (2000) was used for the romanization of Korean throughout this chapter. Personal names have been romanized according to individual preference except when unknown.

¹ According to 2009 statistics from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2,102,283 Koreans lived in the United States, second to China, where 2,336,771 Koreans lived.

² For more details about the historical background of the immigration, see Clare You's chapter herein.

Language Spread Policy in Korea

YANGWON HA

Introduction

The Korean language has spread, gaining unprecedented international recognition and popularity since the early 1990s. Such expansion poses a compelling research question about how Korean has become so popular over only two decades. Rather than explicating the phenomenon of language spread itself, I examine the Korean government's development and implementation of external language spread policy, key components for understanding the expansion of the Korean language abroad. Whereas numerous research reports have been published for the purpose of policy planning, a comprehensive study of language spread policy itself within Korea's social and historical context is lacking. This chapter will provide a background for approaching the phenomenon of the expansion of Korean.

The Current State of Korean Language Spread

Multiple records suggest that the Korean language and Korean language education are gaining heightened international recognition and interest. For one, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in 1990 established the King Sejong Prize,¹ which is awarded to individuals or groups that have successfully promoted literacy worldwide. *Hunminjeongeum* (The correct [or proper] sounds for the instruction of the people), a historical book describing *Hangeul*, the native script of the Korean language, was subsequently listed in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register in 1997 (Korea Tourism Organization n.d.). Furthermore, in 2007, the World Intellectual Property Organization unanimously approved the inclusion of Korean in the Patent Cooperation Treaty (National Digital Science Library 2007).²

¹ King Sejong was the fourth king of the Yi dynasty. He is said to have created *Hangeul*, the Korean alphabet, in 1446.

² The decision to adopt Korean was based on Korea's positive position in international