

## A Sociolinguistic Study of Koreans in China: The ‘Language Socialization’ of Koreans in China\*

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The aim of this study is to shed light on the diversity of the language use and awareness of Koreans in China and the theoretical construct behind it by means of sociolinguistic methods. The results of a questionnaire survey conducted in three different regions (Yanji, Tonghua, and Dalian) and a statistical analysis demonstrate that there are differences in the language use and awareness of Koreans in China, depending on not only region but also gender. The medium of instruction, students’ backgrounds related to school admissions, and their attitudes and behavior can all be understood as some of the reasons these differences arose. This study explains this diversity uniformly through the idea of ‘language socialization’. Research on language socialization integrates discourse and ethnographic methods. Not only diachronic and microsocial research but also synchronic, macrosocial research, like in this study, can be regarded as ‘language socialization’. The results also clearly bring into focus the power dynamics between Korean, an immigrant language, and Chinese, the host language.

**Keywords:** Koreans in China, language use, language awareness, diversity, language socialization

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\* This paper is largely based on Arai et al. (2019). In contrast to Arai et al. (2019), however, this paper focuses on and discusses ‘language socialization’ as it relates to the diversity of language use and awareness of Koreans in China. And it devotes more space to theorizing.

## 1. Introduction

Koreans in China (Chaoxianzu) are descendants of Korean immigrants and one of the 56 ethnicities officially recognized by the Chinese government. Their total population was estimated at 1.83 million according to the latest National Population Census of China conducted in 2010.

They have been the focus of a large body of academic research and have been studied from the viewpoints of history, anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics, and so on. It has generally been found that this population not only has language ability in Chinese but also in Korean. Also, it seems that they have different language use and awareness compared to the Han Chinese, the largest ethnic group in China. But this does not mean that all Koreans in China have the same language use and awareness. Their language use and awareness can be influenced by their environment. Previous studies have tended to focus only on one region, the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, because more than 700,000 Koreans in China live there in collective communities.

In fact, there seems to be some diversity of language use and awareness even among Koreans in China. Therefore, this study attempts to shed light on the diversity of the language use and awareness of Koreans in China by means of sociolinguistic methods. It focuses on differences in regions and in genders. The regions investigated in this study are Yanji, Tonghua, and Dalian (see Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Yanji is the seat of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture and is associated with the collected residence of Koreans in China. In contrast, the residence of Koreans in the Tonghua region is more scattered. And Dalian has become a newer region of residence for Koreans. In addition to the regions, the differences between the male and female genders are focused on as a factor of diversity.

In addition, this study aims to explain the diversity uniformly from the viewpoint of ‘language socialization’. The final goal of this study is to demonstrate that there are facts behind tidy theoretical constructs.

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<sup>1</sup> This figure is based on location information provided by Google Maps: <https://www.google.com/maps/> (Accessed: 2019-05-01).



Fig. 1 The locations of Yanji, Tonghua, and Dalian

## 2. Previous studies

Koreans in China have been the focus of much published academic research. There are also many studies that address language use and awareness, which are also a focus of this study. But, as already mentioned, previous studies of Koreans in China have focused almost exclusively on those living in Yanbian. Among these previous studies, some have been comparative between different regions. Dewa (2002; 2017) found that Koreans in Changchun, a region of scattered residence, use the Chinese language more than those in Yanbian, a region of collected residence. Park et al. (2012) explored the diversity of language awareness and attitudes for different regions, genders, and generations, but detailed studies have not been completed.

This study aims to investigate the diversity among the language use and awareness of Koreans in China. In order to undertake a comparative study of different regions, it is necessary to first determine a common background context and methods. Therefore, this study surveys Korean schools, as the common background context, in Yanji, Tonghua, and Dalian, using sociolinguistic methods as the common methods. Koreans in China are said to be so eager in their education that they have established many Korean schools in various regions.<sup>2</sup> They can learn Korean language and culture there, in addition to the curriculum of Chinese schools. Therefore, not only Korean in China but also some Han Chinese go to Korean schools in order to get multilingual education even if the tuition fee of Korean school is more expensive than the one of Chinese. However, the degrees of balancing

<sup>2</sup> Though the official number of Korean schools cannot be discovered, there are said to be more than 300 Korean schools only in the north east region of China in 2009 according to Huang (2012).

Chinese education with Korean one are different depending on regions. Thus, the difference of language use and awareness among Koreans in China can be clarified by investigating students who get education and form language use and awareness in each Korean school. The study seeks to identify the types of diversity in language use and awareness and to explain them uniformly from the viewpoint of ‘language socialization’.

### 3. Survey

This section introduces the methods used in this study. Two surveys were administered in Korean schools: a questionnaire survey and an interview survey. There are many Korean Chinese students in each Korean school. Therefore, the diversity of language use and awareness among Koreans in China can be investigated through the comparative surveys of each Korean school. Moreover, we will argue that there is a uniform factor, ‘language socialization’, which explains the diversity, as students develop language use and awareness differently in each Korean school.

The questionnaire survey was conducted among 1,281 students in three regions, at one Korean school in each region. The content of the questionnaire concerned language use and awareness; it asked students how they use the Chinese and Korean languages in daily life. The questionnaire was written in both Chinese and Korean, and students could choose either one and answer in the language that each preferred. Table 1 shows the metadata for the surveys in the three regions. Table 2 shows the gender distribution of the survey respondents in each region.<sup>3</sup>

Table 1 Overview of questionnaire surveys

| Region      | Yanji        | Tonghua      | Dalian       |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Date        | 2017/03      | 2017/09      | 2016/09      |
| Respondent  | 891 students | 275 students | 116 students |
| Average Age | 16.76        | 15.94        | 14.48        |

Table 2 Gender distribution of questionnaire respondents

| Region  | Male       | Female     | Total       |
|---------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Yanji   | 313 (35.8) | 576 (64.2) | 889 (100.0) |
| Tonghua | 118 (36.5) | 148 (63.5) | 266 (100.0) |
| Dalian  | 42 (44.4)  | 73 (55.6)  | 115 (100.0) |

Following the questionnaire survey, interviews with respondent students were conducted only in Dalian. In addition, interviews with teachers were conducted in Tonghua and Dalian. Though some of the metadata for the interview surveys are shown in Table 3, this study

<sup>3</sup> The numbers inside ( ) are percentages. This notation is also used to indicate percentages in other tables below. The total number of responses in Table 2 does not correspond with 1,281, the total amount of respondents, because some students did not answer some questions. The other tables below may have a similar discrepancy with the total number of respondents.

will mainly consider the results of the questionnaire survey, as well as some quotes from the interview surveys, when necessary.

Table 3 Overview of interview surveys

| Region      | Tonghua    | Dalian                    |
|-------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Date        | 2017/09    | 2017/09                   |
| Respondents | 6 teachers | 6 teachers<br>12 students |

## 4. Results

The questionnaires had many questions, covering topics ranging from individual information to language and culture. This study focuses on the language choice of the questionnaire answers, the ratio of Korean use, and the respondents' self-assessments of their Korean ability, as they relate to language use and awareness. The data were analyzed using statistical methods.<sup>4</sup>

### 4.1. Language choice of questionnaire answers

Respondents could choose the language they preferred (Chinese or Korean) when answering the questionnaire. Table 4 shows the distribution of their language choices.

Table 4 Distribution of language choice

| Region  | Chinese    | Korean     | Total        |
|---------|------------|------------|--------------|
| Yanji   | 159 (17.9) | 730 (82.1) | 889 (100.0)  |
| Tonghua | 267 (98.2) | 5 (1.8)    | 272 (100.0)  |
| Dalian  | 99 (85.3)  | 17 (14.7)  | 116 (100.0)  |
| Total   | 525 (41.1) | 752 (58.9) | 1277 (100.0) |

The percentage of students choosing Korean was much larger in Yanji (82.1) than in Tonghua (1.8) or Dalian (14.7). More than 80% of Yanji respondents answered in Korean, while, in contrast, more than 80% of Dalian and Tonghua respondents answered in Chinese. This distribution is significantly different ( $\chi^2(2, N=1277)=657.508, V=.718, p=.000$ ) according to a chi-squared test. This suggests that there is a regional difference in terms of language use and awareness among Koreans in China.

### 4.2. Ratio of Korean use

We surveyed the ratio of the students' use of Chinese, Korean, and any other language (if any) in daily life (outside school). Respondents provided their ratio of use for each of their languages, so that together they would add up to 100% in total. This study focuses on

<sup>4</sup> The statistical results in this study are based on the outputs of IBM SPSS Statistics 24.

the ratio of Korean use depending on regions and genders and tests the results with an ANOVA (analysis of variance) test.

Table 5 Statistics for the ratio of Korean use

| Region  | Gender | Me            | SD      | N    |
|---------|--------|---------------|---------|------|
| Yanji   | Male   | 56.498        | 24.1393 | 303  |
|         | Female | 63.529        | 23.8609 | 565  |
|         | Total  | <b>61.075</b> | 24.1782 | 868  |
| Tonghua | Male   | 16.422        | 16.7385 | 116  |
|         | Female | 24.514        | 16.0926 | 148  |
|         | Total  | <b>20.958</b> | 16.8359 | 264  |
| Dalian  | Male   | 19.564        | 19.5272 | 41   |
|         | Female | 31.118        | 23.0350 | 68   |
|         | Total  | <b>26.806</b> | 22.3948 | 109  |
| Total   | Male   | <b>43.108</b> | 28.8841 | 460  |
|         | Female | <b>53.314</b> | 27.9640 | 781  |
|         | Total  | 49.531        | 28.7324 | 1241 |

The statistics of the ratio of Korean use is shown in Table 5 above.<sup>5</sup> First, the Yanji region (61.075) had a higher average ratio of Korean use than the Tonghua (20.958) or Dalian (26.806) regions. These are significantly different according to an ANOVA test ( $F(2, 1235)=362.964$ ,  $MSe=500.550$ ,  $p=.000$ ). These results are very similar to those of the choice of language for the questionnaire answers. These findings suggest that Koreans in Yanji have Korean-oriented language use and awareness. In contrast, Koreans in Tonghua and Dalian have more Chinese-oriented language use and awareness.

Second, female students (53.314) had higher average ratios of Korean use than male students (43.108). This difference was significant according to an ANOVA test ( $F(1, 1235)=23.715$ ,  $MSe=500.550$ ,  $p=.000$ ). This suggests that there is a gender difference such that males have more Chinese-oriented language use and awareness while female students have more Korean-oriented language use and awareness.

#### 4.3. Self-assessment of Korean ability

This study investigated the respondents' self-assessment of their Korean abilities (speaking, listening, writing, reading) using a 4-point scale given as follows.

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Not good
4. Not good at all

Though this scale is ordinal, this study uses the total point score for the 4 skills, regarding it as an interval scale, and tests the average scores using an ANOVA. This means that the maximum score was 16 and the minimum score was 4. Lower scores mean as better self-assessment of Korean ability.

<sup>5</sup> 'Me' stands for the mean, 'SD' for the standard deviation, and N for the number of respondents. The other tables below may have the same abbreviation terms.

Table 6 Statistics of the Korean ability self-assessment scores

| Region  | Gender | Me            | SD      | N     |
|---------|--------|---------------|---------|-------|
| Yanji   | Male   | 6.0450        | 2.15479 | 311   |
|         | Female | 5.4193        | 1.77207 | 570   |
|         | Total  | <b>5.6402</b> | 1.93794 | 881   |
| Tonghua | Male   | 8.2000        | 2.48928 | 115   |
|         | Female | 6.7397        | 2.38401 | 146   |
|         | Total  | <b>7.3831</b> | 2.53262 | 261   |
| Dalian  | Male   | 7.6667        | 2.75617 | 39    |
|         | Female | 6.5139        | 2.67483 | 72    |
|         | Total  | <b>6.9189</b> | 2.74735 | 111   |
| Total   | Male   | <b>6.7140</b> | 2.48398 | 460   |
|         | Female | <b>5.7640</b> | 2.06812 | 781   |
|         | Total  | 6.1165        | 2.27730 | 1,253 |

The statistics of the self-assessment scores of Korean abilities are shown in Table 6. First, the Yanji region (5.6402) had a more Korean-oriented average score than the Tonghua (7.3831) or Dalian (6.9189) regions. These are significantly different according to an ANOVA test ( $F(1,1247)=75.214$ ,  $MSe=4.453$ ,  $p=.000$ ). There are more Koreans in Yanji who had better self-assessments of their Korean ability than in Tonghua or Dalian.

Second, the female students (5.7640) had a more Korean-oriented average score than the male students (6.7140). This difference was significant according to an ANOVA ( $F(1,1247)=39.228$ ,  $MSe=4.453$ ,  $p=.000$ ). This suggests that more female students had better self-assessments of their Korean ability than their male peers.

#### 4.4. Summary

This section has provided an overview of some of the results of the questionnaire survey. In general, the findings suggested that there is great diversity of language use and awareness among Koreans in China depending on regions and genders. These results are summarized in Figure 2. The Yanji region was found to be more Korean-oriented than the other two regions, and female students were found to be more Korean-oriented than male students.



Fig. 2 Diversity of language use and awareness among Koreans in China

## 5. Discussion

The findings have demonstrated that Koreans in China exhibit a diverse range of language use and awareness depending on regions and genders. But the question of how such differences arose has not yet been solved. The following section will consider the backdrop of this diversity, focusing on the medium of instruction, the students' background related to school admissions, and the attitudes and behavior of Koreans in China. It will be argued in the last subsection that these factors are all related to 'language socialization'.

### 5.1. Medium of instruction

First, this section considers the medium of instruction in each region or school. The medium of instruction differs across regions and schools, although they are all Korean schools, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7 Medium of instruction in each region / school

|         | Elementary | Junior High        | High |
|---------|------------|--------------------|------|
| Yanji   | Korean     |                    |      |
| Tonghua | Chinese    |                    |      |
| Dalian  | Korean     | Korean and Chinese |      |

The Yanji region uses Korean the most among the three regions: Korean is used as the medium of instruction consistently from elementary school to high school. The region in which Korean is used for instruction second most often is Dalian. Dalian junior high schools and high schools use both Korean and Chinese, though Korean is used in elementary schools. They use Korean in some courses but English and Chinese in elementary schools and use Korean and Chinese half and half after going to junior high school. In contrast, the schools in Tonghua use Chinese consistently. These findings are similar to those of the questionnaire study in the previous section in terms of the Korean-orientedness of the regions: Yanji is the most Korean-oriented, followed by Dalian, then Tonghua. This similarity suggests that the medium of instruction are related to the language use and awareness, or the differences among the regions. Ogoshi et al. (2018) surveyed Korean schools in Japan (in Tokyo and Osaka) and in China (in Yanji, Tonghua, and Dalian) and suggested that the medium of instruction at school influences the language use of students. Though there is the possibility that the regional difference of language use and awareness leads to the diversity of the medium vice versa, it can be concluded that the medium of instruction influences the language use and awareness and leads to the differences among the regions according to this survey and the previous study.



## 5.2. Students' background related to school admissions

This section focuses on the background related to school admissions as one of the factors leading to the diversity among regions and by gender. The previous section discussed differences in Korean-orientedness in terms of genders. In the interviews with teachers in Tonghua, one teacher said that the female students were doing better than the male students. In a previous study, Li (2016) found that female students learned physics better than male students in some Korean junior high schools, though it may be generally believed that men learn physics better than women. How did the difference in gender come about, different from the stereotypical expectation might have been? This study proposes that the differences in gender arose even before school admission.

China is a society of connections, so it is desirable for Koreans to make connections if they are trying to integrate into Chinese society. Therefore, it is desirable to send one's children to a Han Chinese school in order to make connections. Especially for families that have no financial power and who are pinning their expectations on the talent of their children, it is important for their children to attend Han Chinese schools and to make connections there. In contrast, in higher socio-economic classes, it is less essential for children to attend Han Chinese schools, because they will likely be able to live well outside the Han Chinese society of connections, even without a high degree of academic skills. Instead these children can attend Korean schools even if the school fee is expensive and learn not only Chinese but also Korean. They will thus have the opportunity to receive a multilingual education, and will have more options such as studying abroad. There is an actual example that students in Korean schools go to the universities in Korea, not the ones in China as soon as they graduated from high schools in China. Generally speaking, it is more important for men to have a network of social connections than for women, so male students need to attend Han Chinese schools as long as they can exhibit a certain level of academic skills. In contrast, female students are less obligated to attend Han Chinese schools than male students. Therefore, we speculate that, in Korean schools, the female students are better at academic skills than the male students even before admission, because their motivations for being admitted to the school are different. The female students are more willing to go to Korean schools in order to study Korean language and culture in addition to the curriculum of Chinese schools and are good at academic skills such as Korean language. On contrast, the male students are less willing to go to Korean schools. They tend to go to Korean schools because they do not have enough academic skills to make connections in Chinese high-level schools but have enough financial power to go to Korean schools. The circumstances of student admissions thus differ in terms of gender, and these differences in academic skills continue even after admission. Therefore, the female students are better in terms of Korean ability than their male peers. In other words,

the female students have more Korean-oriented language use and awareness than the male students.

### 5.3. Attitudes and behavior

Last, we will focus on the attitudes and behavior of Koreans in China. The results of the interview survey indicated a gender difference in terms of attitude. In the interviews in Dalian, some teachers reported that female students were more interested in language education than male students and that female students were more capable of using language than their male peers. The differences in motivation to learn the language, especially Korean, seem to lead to the differences in terms of language use and awareness. Because female students have more motivation to learn Korean than male students, they are more willing to learn Korean and have more Korean-oriented language use and awareness.

The results also showed gender differences in terms of language behavior. Some Dalian teachers said in the interviews that female students used Korean more than male students because they talk to their mothers more than to their fathers. And Dalian students expressed the opinion that the parents tend to talk to the male students in Chinese, while the parents tend to talk to the female students in Korean. It is interesting that opinions relating to language behavior were identified from both students and teachers. Our findings suggest that the difference between genders in terms of the languages used for communicating with parents has led to the gender difference in language use and awareness among Koreans in China.

Another difference of behavior was observed to be a potential factor. The results of the interviews with students in Dalian indicate that although male students use Chinese in video games, in sports, and outside school, female students use Korean due to the influence of ‘Hanryu’ (the ‘Korean Wave’ phenomenon). It is thought that young women have more aspirations for Korean as they are more interested in the Korean culture. Therefore, they have more Korean-oriented language use and awareness than their male peers. We speculate that these differences in attitudes and behavior have led to the diversity of language use and awareness among Koreans in China.

This study has considered the medium of instruction, students’ background related to school admissions, and their attitudes and behavior as factors contributing to diversity in the language use and awareness of Koreans in China. These factors are summarized in Figure 3.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> This figure is just the image. The position and size of the factors do not mean any matters.

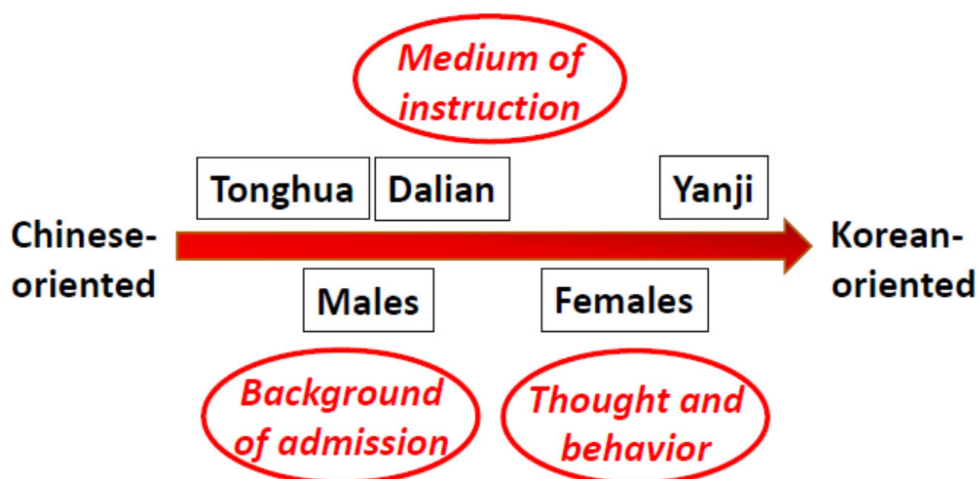


Fig. 3 Factors contributing to diversity in the language use and awareness of Koreans in China

#### 5.4. Language socialization

In the previous sections, we have overviewed three factors that contribute to the diversity in language use and awareness among Koreans in China. But we have not yet considered the relationship between these factors. This study attempts to apply the theoretical construct of ‘socialization’ in order to explain these factors uniformly.

Socialization, a term mainly used in sociology, refers to the process of developing oneself and acquiring styles of behavior appropriate to a society (group) through interactions with others (Miyajima 2003). It is possible that the differences in region and gender identified in this study could be explained uniformly by applying the construct of socialization to the Han Chinese society, the majority society of China.

Generally speaking, men are pressured to fit into the Han Chinese society more than women, although both husbands and wives work in many families in China. Because Korean men in China are pressured to fit into the Han Chinese society more than women, they tend to go to Han Chinese schools and get accustomed to Chinese-oriented attitudes and behavior. In contrast, women tend to go to Korean schools and get accustomed to Korean-oriented attitudes and behavior. And these different tendencies (including students’ background related to school admissions) leads to gender differences in terms of language use and awareness.

As for the regional differences, Yanji is in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, which is not a typical Han Chinese society. Students at Yanji seem to be less pressured to fit into the Han Chinese society than at Tonghua and Dalian. Students at the Korean schools

in Tonghua and Dalian feel more pressure for their education to fit into the Han Chinese society than at Yanji. The Korean school in Yanji therefore conducts Korean-oriented education, using Korean as the medium of instruction, while Tonghua and Dalian do not. This regional difference can be explained from the viewpoint of socialization, just as the gender difference could also be accounted for in this way. Socialization, the process of adapting oneself to the Han Chinese society, can uniformly account for the differences in gender and region among Koreans in China.

There are many kinds of socialization, for example, family socialization, religious socialization, and so on. Language socialization is the process of socialization into language through language and its use in interaction (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). The socialization referred to in this study can be considered a type of language socialization because language use and awareness in Korean schools are derived from language and its use in interaction by students. However, research on language socialization has integrated discourse and ethnographic methods to “capture the social structurings and cultural interpretations of semiotic forms, practice, and ideologies that inform novices’ practical engagements with others” (Ochs and Schieffelin 2014). Previous studies on language socialization have primarily used qualitative analysis within small groups (of individuals); these studies have been conducted in the areas of discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology, language education, language acquisition, and so on (see Duranti et al. 2014). However, we can widely categorize all such studies as the study of ‘language socialization’, which uses questionnaire surveys like this sociolinguistic study. Also, although previous studies have tended to address mainly linguistic forms, including grammar, lexicon, phonology, and so on, we can expand our investigation to include language use and awareness as part of this new field of language socialization. In particular, in this case, Korean students are developing their language use and awareness through their language use and its use at their schools.

This study has also shown that there are regional and gender differences in this language use and awareness. We can explain these differences uniformly from the viewpoint of ‘language socialization’. Male students have more Chinese-oriented language use and awareness than female students as they feel more pressure to fit into Han Chinese society. Yanbian students are more Korean-oriented than those in the other two regions because Yanbian is not a typical Han Chinese society, so students there are not pressured to fit into that type of society. Chou (2016) found that Koreans in Beijing regarded both English and Chinese as important, as a result of survey data. As is commonly known, Beijing is the capital of China and a typical Han Chinese society. Koreans in China are thought to be pressured to learn Chinese in order to fit into Chinese society; thus it follows that there is an even higher degree of pressure for the ‘language socialization’ into the Han Chinese society in Beijing. As in this study, ‘language socialization’ offers a uniform account for

the differences in language use and awareness among Koreans in China. There are differences in the language use and awareness of Koreans depending on their region and gender. Yoon (2005) has found that Koreans with higher academic backgrounds tend to use Chinese more. The present study was not able to consider academic background as a factor because the surveys were conducted at only one Korean school in each region. But academic background can be viewed a type of indicator of socialization. This difference in language use depending on academic background can also be explained uniformly from the perspective of ‘language socialization’. As we have found, we can regard the diversity of language use and awareness in schools as one type of ‘language socialization’. And we have been able to expand the research territory—and develop the study—of language socialization.

To sum up, previous studies of language socialization have tended to focus on temporal changes of pragmatic aspects within one individual’s language and its use. These previous studies tend to address only small communities, like friends, families, and so on. They have generally been diachronic and microsocial. In contrast, this study has focused on the spatial variance of sociolinguistic aspects of the language use at three schools. We have examined schools and large communities, comparing these with each other. Our study can be viewed as synchronic and macrosocial. Not only the diachronic and microsocial types of socialization, but also the synchronic and macrosocial types of socialization, like those examined in this study, can be regarded as ‘language socialization’.

The diversity in the language use and awareness among Koreans in China is influenced by several factors, which can be accounted for uniformly using the theoretical construct of ‘language socialization’, as illustrated by Figure 4. Language socialization can serve as an efficient construct for theorizing this diversity.

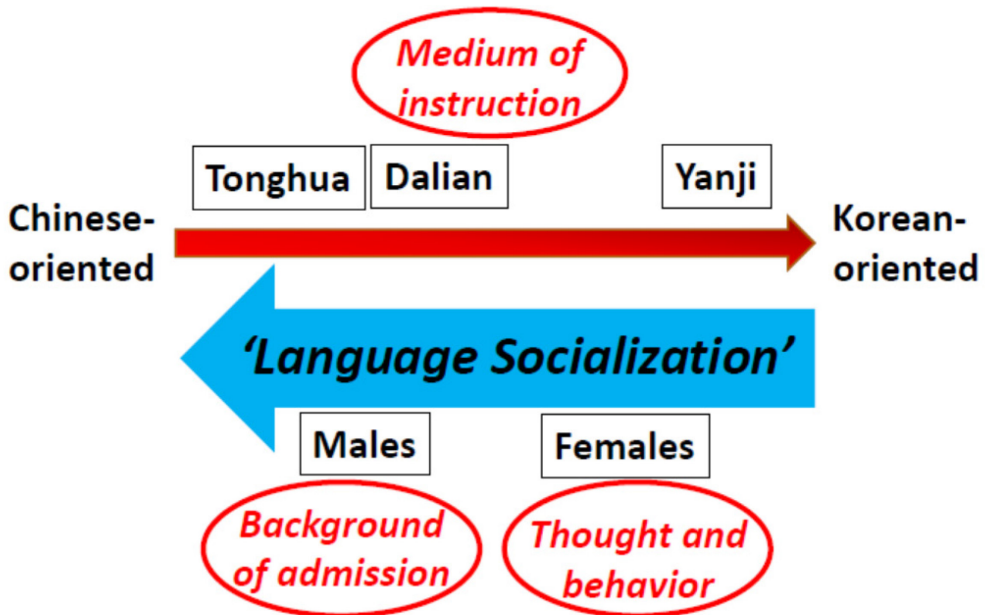


Fig. 4 The 'language socialization' of Koreans in China

This sociolinguistic study found that Koreans in China may feel pressured to fit into the Han Chinese society differently depending on region and gender. Though Koreans in China are generally thought to be able to use Korean in addition to Chinese, they are pressured to use more Chinese than Korean depending on their degree of 'language socialization'. The degree of Korean-orientedness that Koreans in China are expected to have has a negative correlation with the degree of 'language socialization' in China. The lens of 'language socialization' clearly brings into focus the power dynamics between Chinese, the host language, and Korean, the immigrant language.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to shed light on the diversity of language use and awareness among Koreans in China using sociolinguistic methods. Both region and gender differences in language use and awareness were identified through a questionnaire survey of Korean schools. Koreans in the Yanbian region have more Korean-oriented language use and awareness than those in the Tonghua and Dalian regions. And male students have more Chinese-oriented language use and awareness than female students. We have suggested that these differences are caused by several factors: the medium of instruction, students' backgrounds related to school admissions, and their attitudes and behavior. Moreover, we have argued that these factors can be accounted for uniformly using the theoretical construct of 'language socialization'. And this theoretical viewpoint clearly illuminates the power

dynamics of the languages in Chinese society. Chinese, the host language, has greater social prestige than Korean, the immigrant language.

This paper has expanded the possibilities of language socialization studies by incorporating sociolinguistic methods. This move may be criticized from the perspective that it is an overgeneralization to apply this theoretical construct to the sociolinguistic diversity of language use and awareness. But the aim of this paper is to clearly shed light on the diversity by using the common idea, although it may seem paradoxical. Descriptive studies and theoretical studies are both needed. Developing both types of studies will help to deepen our understanding of not only the diversity among Koreans in China but also the diversity among immigrant communities.

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