

**Dual Developmental Mode: The Top-down
and Bottom-up Progress of Language
Change in the Korean Community of China
Since 1948**

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Statement of Originality

This is to certify that the content of this thesis represents my original work. This thesis has not been submitted, either in its entirety, or substantially, for any degree or qualification at any other University or institute of higher learning. I declare that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the intellectual content of this thesis does not contain any previously published material or work authored by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgments have been provided within the text.

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Abstract

In the modern world, encountering a language unaffected by language contact and lexical borrowing has become increasingly rare. Most modern languages have evolved into blends of various linguistic influences. However, the language change resulting from such outside contacts in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language possesses distinctive characteristics. Unlike studies of language contact and change in Western contexts, which often observe unidirectional contact-induced changes, the linguistic variation within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community, as examined in this study, reveals a distinct dual developmental mode. Ethnic Koreans in China have actively engaged with the Chinese language due to its sociopolitical dominance in China, resulting in significant top-down impacts on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. Conversely, the Korean language, particularly the South Korean variant, has exerted an increasing influence on Yŏnbyŏn Korean speakers in recent years through a bottom-up mode.

This study sheds light on the distinct dual developmental mode within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community, an area that has been under-researched by linguists and social scientists. The oversight not only pertains to this dual developmental mode but also extends to the scarcity of research on language data in Yŏnbyŏn Korean and methodologies for studying this phenomenon. Additionally, previous research on language change in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has predominantly centred on phonological innovations.

To address these gaps, this study explores the lexical, semantic, and structural dimensions of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. The study has three primary objectives. Firstly, to investigate linguistic changes in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, particularly in terms of lexical, semantic, and structural changes, resulting from the top-down influence of the Chinese language. Secondly, to explore linguistic changes in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language influenced by bottom-up developmental processes from the English language borrowed via South Korea. By differentiating between the two developmental modes, this study aims to gain insights into how various social factors have impacted the lexical, semantic, and structural variations of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language.

To achieve these research aims, this study relies on a self-constructed corpus. Due to limited availability of language data and challenges in digitising analogue data, this study needs to begin by creating a dedicated corpus for the research. Subsequently, the research incorporates corpus linguistic methods, including experimental design and sampling techniques, to select both analogue and digital language data for the Yŏnbyŏn Korean

language. These chosen language data sources are collected through a combination of fieldwork and computer-assisted methods, resulting in the development of a comprehensive Yǒnbyǒn Korean language corpus, covering the period from 1948 to 2020. Through employing corpus linguistic approaches such as sampling, language processing and analysis, this study aims to achieve three main findings.

The first finding reveals the evolving influence of contemporary standard Chinese on the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language in a top-down mode, leading to lexical, semantic, and structural variations in the usage of Chinese borrowings across three distinct temporal periods. The second finding underscores the increasing impact of South Korean and English language on the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language, characterised by a bottom-up mode and exemplified by the growing presence of English borrowings over the different temporal spans. The third finding emphasises the dynamic interplay between Chinese borrowing and English borrowing in the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language, with one diminishing in prominence as the other gains traction. This dynamic adaptation in the lexical composition of Yǒnbyǒn Korean consistently mirrors shifts in China's societal dynamics and its evolving global position. Collectively, these primary findings offer a multi-dimensional portrayal of the development of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language within the context of China and the broader global landscape.

This research argues that the evolution of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean, shaped by contact and influenced by social contexts, possesses a distinctive characteristic: it can potentially be redirected and contested by sociopolitical, sociocultural, economic, and other societal factors. This redirected process is observable in societies like China, where significant shifts occur in social dynamics. Two contrasting paths of language development have contributed to this redirected process of language change. Firstly, the sociopolitical landscape plays a pivotal role, exerting top-down influence stemming from contemporary standard Chinese. Secondly, sociocultural and economic factors, as experienced in the daily lives of ordinary Korean speakers, act as a bottom-up force, drawing influence from South Korean and English language.

This study offers insights into the intricate interplay of sociopolitical influences, sociocultural dynamics, economic forces, and individual preferences, by examining the dual developmental mode influenced by both top-down and bottom-up factors, driven by distinct social contexts and mechanisms. Furthermore, this research sheds light on the contact-induced changes that affect the lexical, semantic, and structural dimensions of this minority language. In addition, this study has made methodological contributions by establishing a specialised corpus containing language data from Yǒnbyǒn Korean spanning the period from 1948 to 2020, thereby effectively filling a substantial gap in data related to this minority language in China

that has been influenced by cross-border cognate languages and English. The dedicated corpus also fills a void in the fields of corpus linguistics and East Asian language studies, specifically addressing the lack of language data for the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, which has been significantly influenced by Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and English throughout its history. In addition, the study effectively employs the Open-source Korean Text Processor in conjunction with Part-of-Speech tagging to analyse the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, highlighting its appropriateness for studying the Korean language in the Chinese diaspora. Furthermore, it has contributed previously unpublished data analysis concerning the evolution and changes in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language since 1948.

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List of Abbreviations

The following are grammatical terms used in the study. Others are explained as they are presented.

ACC	accusative
ADD	additional
ALL	allative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunctive
DAT	dative
DEC	declarative
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
LOC	locative
MW	measure word
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PAST	past tense
PLU	pluractional
PROP	proprietary
TOP	topic marker

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The study of language contact explores the circumstances that bring speakers, and consequently their languages, into contact with one another (Hansen, 2020; Matras, 2020). This interaction can occur through various means, such as trade, colonisation, migration, or cultural exchange. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) in their work *Language Contact, Creolisation and Genetic Linguistics* explore the relationship between language change and social factors, specifically focusing on language contact situations. According to them (ibid.) and Coetsem (1988), language borrowing occurs when speakers of one language adopt words, phrases, or even grammatical features from another language into their own. Language change, on the other hand, refers to the process of innovation and evolution within a language (Aitchison 2013). It involves the creation and adoption of new linguistic features, such as new words, and phonological and structural elements. Labov (1994) examines language change as the result of individual innovation, a viewpoint shared by numerous scholars (Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Labov, 2010; Maclagan et al., 1999; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Nevalainen et al., 2011). Additionally, some researchers attribute language change to personal and individual factors such as ethnicity, occupation, gender, age, and other related elements (Boberg, 2004; Labov, 1963, 1990, 2006b; Sankoff, 2006).

However, when a minority community comes into contact with a dominant language, the contact-induced language change observed in the minority group is often linked to broader social contexts, such as political, cultural, and economic factors, rather than individual or personal motivations. In such cases, it is the social settings that drive the minority language to adopt linguistic elements from the dominant language and incorporate them into its own structure. Aitchison (2013) and Thomason (2007, 2008, 2011) observe that any language changes are the result of social and political transformations. Social settings create an environment where language change can occur and be reinforced. Chamoreau and Léglise (2012) consider contact-induced language changes are characterised by their dynamic and multifaceted nature, encompassing internal linguistic modifications as well as historical and sociolinguistic influences. Thomason (2008) and Winford (2013) highlight the stronger influence of social conditions on contact-induced language change compared to linguistic elements. One reason is that the dominant social language often holds a position of power and prestige, which can influence the borrowing process (Coulmas, 2014; Slembrouck et al., 2018).

The minority community may borrow linguistic elements from the dominant language to signal social status, access new concepts, or participate more fully in broader social, economic, and cultural domains (ibid.).

This study focuses on one of the minority languages in China, the Yǒnbyŏn Korean language. The development of the Yǒnbyŏn Korean language, influenced by language contact and the ever-changing social landscape, exhibits a unique quality: it remains susceptible to redirection and challenges from sociopolitical, sociocultural, economic, and other societal forces. This redirected process is particularly noticeable in societies such as China, where substantial shifts in social dynamics take place.

On the other hand, when considering individual contributions to language change, it is interesting to note that younger generations of ethnic Koreans in China demonstrate a significant degree of bilingualism and proficiency in the dominant language, Mandarin Chinese (Kim, 2010). However, the situation differs from the typical observation seen in many minority or subordinated languages within multilingual societies. In the case of the Yǒnbyŏn Korean language, it manages to preserve its distinctiveness but has received relatively less scholarly attention.

Labov (2006) asserts that over the past forty years, more sociolinguistic research has been dedicated to phonology compared to other linguistic levels, such as structural change. Similarly, the majority of research on language change in the Yǒnbyŏn Korean has primarily focused on phonological innovation (e.g., Ito, 2016; Ito & Feldman, 2022; Jin, 2012; H. Lee et al., 2020; M. Oh & Yang, 2013). In an effort to bridge this research gap, this study seeks to emphasise the contact-induced alterations in the lexical, semantic, and structural dimensions of the Yǒnbyŏn Korean language, providing insights into its linguistic variations across different social contexts.

Moreover, contrary to studies on language contact and change in Western contexts, which often observe unidirectional contact-induced changes (Sankoff, 2008), the linguistic variation within the Yǒnbyŏn Korean community observed by this study showcases a distinct dual developmental mode. This mode arises from the intricate interplay between languages, societies, and various factors such as culture and economy. The evolution of the Yǒnbyŏn Korean language has been influenced by two developing trends: one influenced by contemporary standard Chinese, and the other influenced by cognate Korean languages, with a particular emphasis on the South Korean language. These trends have evolved within different social contexts, each contributing to the language's transformation (refer to section 1.3). Furthermore, the language change in Yǒnbyŏn Korean, induced by contact and guided by

social settings, possesses a unique characteristic – it can potentially be redirected and contested by sociopolitical and other social factors. This redirected process is observable in societies like China, where social dynamics undergo significant shifts.

The Korean language in Yŏnbyŏn Korean Autonomous Prefecture, being one of the officially recognised minority languages of China, distinguishes itself from many other languages spoken by indigenous ethnic groups as it was formed through historic immigration waves. Despite enduring through various political eras in China and international changes, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community has developed a unique Korean language. The language evolution within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community of China is shaped by a dual developmental mode, involving sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors. This mode recognises the influence of official policies and institutional changes from the top-down, as well as the dynamic language practices and innovations from the bottom-up by community members. This study delves into the development and change of the ethnic Korean language in China since 1948, examining the impact of these multifaceted factors. The Yŏnbyŏn/Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP), housing approximately one-third of China's Korean speakers, serves as a representative case to explore this dual developmental mode. In the following sections, I will introduce the Chinese Korean community and the YKAP, including its history, population and the Korean language used in the region.

1.2 Background: The History and Present Situation of the Chinese Korean Community

China's total population was reported to be 1.44 billion, based on the seventh national census conducted in 2020. Out of this, the Han majority population accounted for 1.29 billion, comprising 91.11% of the total population, while the ethnic minority population was 125 million, representing 8.89% of the total population (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, 2021). Koreans, as one of the officially described fifty-five Chinese ethnic minorities, are widely distributed in the northeast China. In particular, the Jilin province is home to over one million Chinese ethnic Koreans, also known as Chosŏnjok/Chaoxianzu, with 796,524 residing in the Yŏnbyŏn/Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture as of 2012, making up approximately 35% of the regional population. In 1951, the Minister of Education at the time, Xulun Ma, gave a favourable evaluation of the Korean language, considering it a model among China's ethnic minorities. This sentiment was subsequently confirmed by official announcements of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and numerous media reports (Gao, 2010). While the Chinese government considers the

Yŏnbyŏn Korean community a model of coexistence and acknowledges their successful bilingual education (Lee, 2021; Tsung, 2014), the development of the Korean language in Yŏnbyŏn has been complex. It has been influenced by the shifting social dynamics in China since 1948 (see Section 1.3).

Figure 1. 1 Map: The Korean autonomous regions in China (*The Economist*, 23 August 2018)



The Economist

1.2.1 The History and Formation of the Chinese Korean Community

During the 17th century, the Qing court designated the northeast frontier land, which encompasses the present-day Yanbian/Yŏnbyŏn Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP), as a sacred region where public activities were strictly prohibited. As a result, this area became depopulated for about two centuries. Despite the agreement between the Qing and Chosŏn kingdom in 1627, known as *Jiangdu huimeng*, which aimed to prohibit immigration along the border rivers Tumen and Yalu, Korean settlers continued to cross into Qing territory for activities such as ginseng and traditional medicine collection, hunting, and timber felling (Kim, 2015). By 1816, as many as 81,217 residents were recorded in the area (ibid.).

The Korean community in China was generally formed by the immigration waves between the 1860s and 1940s. During the decade between 1860 and 1870, the influx of Korean

immigrants significantly increased, triggered by three severe famines in northern region of Korea that led people to flee in search of sustenance (Sun, 2002). In fact, after 1860, the Qing court expedited the opening of the previously forbidden northeast area due to two pressing reasons. Firstly, Russia's annexation of the neighbouring territory of the present-day YKAP from Qing had turned YKAP into China's frontier, attracting significant attention from both Russia and Japan. Secondly, the number of Korean immigrants had visibly increased since 1860, primarily because the northwest region of Korea was struck by a series of natural disasters, compelling thousands of Koreans to seek survival by crossing the Qing's border (Cao, 2010; Gomà, 2006; Kim, 2015). By the 1880s, the Korean population had become predominant in the northeastern borderland of the Qing empire, comprising over 70% of the population along the Tumen and Yalu rivers (Liu, 2001, p. 24). In 1881, the forbidden policy for the northeast region was finally abolished and nationality was granted to the Korean immigrants who applied, though the number of applicants was relatively small. In the next few years, the Qing court introduced new policies to encourage settlers in the area (Jiang, 2000; Yi & Fang, 2005). Shortly after, the Qing dynasty was overthrown, and the entire northeast region, along with the Korean residents, came under the rule of the Feng warlord group. By 1931, Japan had gained actual control over northeast China, leading to the establishment of Manchukuo (1932–1945) as a puppet state under Japanese influence. The development of railways between Manchukuo and Korea, coupled with immigration policies implemented by the Japanese colonial government, resulted in hundreds of thousands of immigrants moving from Korea to Manchukuo (Kim, 2015). The Korean immigration in Manchuria between 1936 and 1942 increased from 607,119 to 1,511,570 (Kim, 2010). By 1944, the number of Korean immigrants in China had reached 1.66 million (Kim, 2015).

During the Chinese second civil war between 1945 and 1949, the situation in northeast China remained highly unstable due to the fluctuating control of Manchuria between the rival parties, the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and KMT (Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party of China), causing distress among the population. The region faced lawlessness, with bandits and gangs wreaking havoc, particularly targeting Korean villages in the north (Shen, 2007). Amid this turbulent period, approximately 500,000 Chinese Koreans returned to Korea, primarily from north Manchuria (Lankov, 2007). In east Manchuria, especially in Yŏnbyŏn, the capital city Yŏngil/Yanji was occupied by Soviet troops four days after Japan's unconditional surrender, leading to the establishment of the temporary government of Kanto/Jiandao and later the Yŏnbyŏn Democratic League. Subsequently, within the next two months, the Yŏnbyŏn /Yanbian prefectural party committee of the CCP took charge and established the local

government (Choi, 1987). However, the situation soon changed when the KMT arrived in Yŏnbyŏn in spring 1946, and their presence was met with overwhelming negativity from the Korean population (Cathcart, 2010). Despite Koreans fighting alongside the Han campaigners against the Japanese in Manchuria, the Nationalists considered them as collaborators rather than allies (Choi, 2001). Consequently, the KMT failed to consolidate the support of Koreans into their ranks. In 1947, the KMT submitted to CCP power. Yŏnbyŏn subsequently became a firmly communist area, with the CCP maintaining control and influence (Cathcart, 2010).

Following the transfer of overall control from the KMT to the CCP, the new government brought forth the issue of national differentiation. Prior to the ethnic classification project of China in 1954 (Mullaney, 2010), the Yŏnbyŏn region had been a diverse multi-ethnic entity, with many minority groups residing within the area. The ethnic groups in China fall within the definition of an ethnic minority as per Joseph Stalin's criteria, which Beijing has followed since 1949 (Mackerras, 2003). According to Stalin's definition, as introduced by Mackerras (ibid., p. 2), an ethnic minority is "a historically constituted community of people with a shared territory, language, economic life, and psychological makeup", all of which manifest in a common culture. National Korean is one of the ethnicities that was recognised and acknowledged by the Communist Party at an early stage. Soon after, the Korean community was singled out by the party's new government as a model minority in China (Gao, 2010).

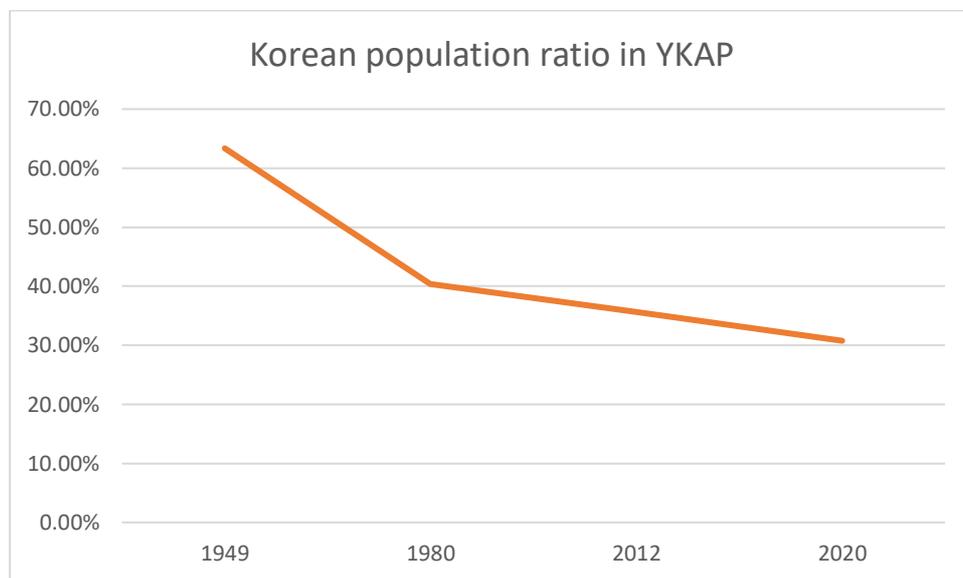
1.2.2 The YKAP and its Korean Population

Currently, there are approximately two million Koreans living in China, with around one-third residing in the eastern edge of Jilin province, known as the Yŏnbyŏn/Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP) (*Yŏnbyŏn chosŏnjok chach'iju* in Korean, *Yanbian chaoxianzu zizhi zhou* in Chinese), which shares borders with North Korea and Russia (refer to Figure 1.1). Initially, the Yŏnbyŏn/Yanbian Korean Autonomous Region was officially established in 1952 as a provincial-level region within China, but it remained under the jurisdiction of Jilin province. Later, in 1955, it was renamed as an Autonomous Prefecture. Researchers indicate that the proportion of ethnic Koreans in YKAP has decreased since 1949 (Bae et al., 2013; Kim, 2010). For example, the proportion of ethnic Koreans in Yŏnbyŏn decreased by approximately 1.71% between 1990 and 2000 (Kim, 2010). In contrast, major cities of China such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin saw an increase in the percentage of

ethnic Koreans, with figures reaching 9.4%, 18.7%, and 17.5%, respectively (ibid.). This could have a potential impact on the preservation and evolution of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language.

According to a report from the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP) and Korea Labour Institute (KLI), the ethnic Korean population in the YKAP accounted for 63.36% of the total population in 1949, but this number gradually declined to 40.41% by 1980 (Bae et al., 2013). Between 2000 and 2010, the Korean population in YKAP decreased by over 100,000 individuals, resulting in a ratio drop to 35.66% by the year 2012. The report also analyses how the career choices of the Korean minority in China during the previous two decades significantly influenced their language preferences, leading to a significant number shifting from Korean to Chinese language usage. Additionally, data from the 7th national population census of China in 2020 reveals that the Korean population in YKAP is 597,426, constituting 30.77% of the total population of the region (Statistics Bureau of the YKAP, 2021). Figure 1.2 illustrates the declining proportion of the Korean minority and the shrinking proportion in the YKAP from 1949 to 2020.

Figure 1. 2 The change of Korean population ratio in YKAP between 1949 and 2020



1.2.3 The Maintenance of the Korean Language and Culture in the YKAP

The Korean culture in the YKAP is a testament to the community's dedication to preserving its ethnic heritage, manifested through their unwavering commitment to maintaining their language and cultural practices. Language maintenance and education have always been of

significant importance for the Korean community in China, even dating back to their migration process a century ago. Liu and Sun (2013) highlight the dedicated efforts of early immigrant scholars in establishing educational systems for Korean families. As early as 1906, Korean schools in the Yǒnbyǒn region began to incorporate modern subjects into their curriculum, which included Korean and traditional Chinese languages, mathematics, geography, history, and more. One of the earliest educational organisations for Koreans was *Ruidian shushu*, founded by Seongok Lee and other intellectuals in Longjing city, a prominent centre of early Korean immigration in Yǒnbyǒn (ibid.; Kim, 2015). These schools played a crucial role in preserving Korean customs and ethnicity within the community, including the widespread usage of the Korean language (Gomà 2006). However, the progress of Korean educational initiatives faced challenges due to fluctuations in northeast Asian politics and changes within and outside China.

Kim (2010) highlights that the Korean migration to China between 1910 and 1945 was primarily driven by geopolitical reasons. Following Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, "Korean migration to Manchuria was carried out in a forced, collective" manner by the Japanese colonial government (ibid., p.98). This migration facilitated the preservation of the Korean language and cultural independence within the immigrant society. The use of Korean remained relatively unchanged until the era of popularising standard Chinese. Since the late 1940s, as the situation in Yǒnbyǒn stabilised, the language style of Yǒnbyǒn Korean underwent significant changes due to intense interactions with the contemporary standard Chinese.

Gao (2012) observes that, bilingual education was introduced in the Chinese ethnic Korean community in the early 1950s, along with the Uyghur and many other ethnic minority communities. However, China's bilingual language policies for ethnic minorities have varied over different periods since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. In the 1950s, China confirmed the bilingual educational system as part of national ethnic minority policies. Yet, between 1950s and 1970s, education that preserved the heritage language in minority regions, including the Korean, was significantly reduced (Zhou, 2001). This reduction was especially evident during the Great Leap Forward movement (1958-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) periods when unified Chinese-monopolistic language policies were implemented. According to Zhou (ibid.), in Korean communities during the late 1950s to the early 1960s, Chinese courses gradually replaced Korean courses as the main language course in primary and secondary schools, even though Chinese was already being taught as the second language. During the Cultural Revolution period in Dunhua County of YKAP, for instance,

around 45% of the Korean schools were merged into Chinese schools, and 23% of the Korean schools were closed (ibid., p.164).

By the end of the 1970s, there was a reversal in this trend, and some of the Korean language schools were restored by the 1980s. Despite the promotion of Chinese over Korean language for more than two decades, the usage of Korean language has not been completely interrupted in YKAP. Undeniably, standard Chinese has been widely disseminated during this period. As investigated by W. B. Kim (2010), within the Korean community of YKAP, the Korean language still maintains linguistic dominance among the senior generations, particularly those above the age of 60. For individuals in their 40s, most of them are proficient in both Korean and Mandarin. Additionally, the younger generations are completely bilingual and fluent in Mandarin. Presently, bilingual education is implemented in some public schools in YKAP. However, with the rise of the “monolingual market economy” (Gao & Park, 2012, p.545), Mandarin Chinese became more economically advantageous. The younger generation of Korean Chinese in Yǒnbyǒn tends to imitate and acquire proficiency in standard Chinese due to the perceived advantages and practical benefits it offers, which somewhat overshadows the importance of the Korean language. On the other hand, the Korean community in YKAP is deeply committed to preserving its ethnic heritage, which is evident through their dedicated efforts in bilingual education and the use of Korean language media in the region.

In addition to the impact of the political environment, language policies, and social dynamics, the presence of Korean language media within the community significantly contributes to the maintenance and preservation of the Korean language. Among these media, the Korean language newspaper has played a particularly prominent role in representing and influencing the language development. The following section will delve into the specifics of the Korean language newspaper in Yǒnbyǒn and the establishment of the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*.

1.2.4 Korean Language Newspapers in Yǒnbyǒn and the Foundation of the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*

Newspapers have been of utmost importance for minority languages since the civil rights movements of the 20th century. They serve as a vital medium for disseminating information in a minority or marginalised language, catering to a particular readership. This section will focus on the Korean language newspaper within the Yǒnbyǒn community.

After the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the YKAP in 1945, a significant number of Korean-language newspapers emerged. Notably, the *Yanbian People's News (Yǒnbǒn minbo)*, the *People's New Newspaper (Inmin sinbo)* and several others circulated between 1945

and 1948 (see Table 1.1), representing early Korean print media instructed by the Chinese Communist Party. Prior to 1948, Korean newspapers in Yǒnbyǒn underwent frequent changes. The establishment of the *Korean People's Daily (Hanmin ilbo)* in 1945 lasted for only two months before being replaced by the CCP's official newspaper, *Yǒnbyǒn People's News (Yǒnbǒn minbo)*, which marked the beginning of delivering the official news of CCP to the Korean speakers of the region. Over the next two years, *Jidong Daily (Gildong ilbo)*, *People's Daily (Inmin ilbo)*, and *Jilin Daily (Gillim ilbo)* successively played a role in disseminating the CCP's official news (Choi, 1987; Oh, 1997). Between 1945 and 1948, in addition to publications affiliated with the CCP, several other Korean newspapers emerged in China that were established by individuals or organisations. These included the *People's New Newspaper (Inmin sinbo)*, *The Ordinary People's Newspaper (Baeksong bo)*, and *Study and Fight (haksŭp kwa jǒnt'u)* (Zhou, 2020). Ultimately, in 1948, the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* emerged as the longest-standing Korean newspaper, surpassing its predecessors and maintaining its influence in the present day. Table 1.1 provides an overview of the various Korean newspapers issued in the Yǒnbyǒn region between 1945 and 1948.

Table 1. 1 Major Korean newspapers published in Yǒnbyǒn between 1945 and 1948

Newspaper	Issued date	Issued region
<i>Korean People's Daily (Hanmin ilbo)</i>	Sep, 1945 – Nov, 1945	Yǒngil (Yanji, the capital city of Jilin, China)
<i>Yanbian People's News (Yǒnbǒn minbo)</i>	Nov, 1945 – May, 1946	Yǒngil
<i>Jidong Daily (Gildong ilbo)</i>	May, 1946 – Sep, 1946	Yǒngil
<i>People's Daily (Inmin ilbo)</i> , Korean edition	Sep, 1946 – Mar, 1947	Yǒngil
<i>Jilin Daily (Gillim ilbo)</i> , Korean edition	Mar, 1947 – Mar, 1948	Yǒngil
<i>Yanbian Daily (Yǒnbǒn ilbo)</i>	1 st , Apr, 1948 to present	Yǒngil

With the transfer of overall control from the KMT to the CCP, the increasing dominance of the communist ideology in the northeast region led to the establishment of the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* as the CCP's long-standing platform for disseminating news. For over seventy years, the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* has served as the CCP's newspaper for the Chinese Korean community, making it one of the longest-running newspapers in China. The content of the

Yŏnbyŏn Daily, in general, was subject to CCP instruction and supervision. In 1948, nearly half of the reports directly sourced information from the CCP's central news bureau, the Xinhua news agency or *Xinhuashe*, particularly in areas related to politics, military affairs, and foreign affairs. The remaining contents predominantly focused on local agriculture and regional development in the early period.

Currently, there are at least twelve print media publications in Yŏnbyŏn that are published in the Korean language (Ma, 2004). In addition to *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, *Yŏngil Evening News* (*Yŏngil Manbo*), and *Gajung News* (*Gajung Shinmun*) are also available in both Korean and Chinese language (ibid., p.7). Furthermore, some national-level media outlets, such as *People's Daily* (*Renmin ribao*) and *Guang Ming Daily* (*Guangming ribao*), also publish content in various Chinese minority languages, including Korean.

1.3 The Yŏnbyŏn Korean Language

The development of the Korean language in different regions, such as North Korea, South Korea, and YKAP, has resulted in a linguistic gap due to their respective historical, political, ideological, and social contexts. Generally, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language maintained its basic linguistic consistency with Pyongyang Korean and Mandarin Chinese until the normalisation of diplomatic relations between Beijing and Seoul in 1992. Prior to the 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean showed lexical convergence with Mandarin Chinese, as it was the dominant language in the region, while its grammar remained generally consistent with the North Korean language. However, since the 1990s, increased communication with South Korea has brought about evident linguistic influences from Seoul Korean on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language.

The linguistic variation within Yŏnbyŏn Korean emerges from a complex interplay of sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors. These diverse social aspects intersect with language usage, ultimately shaping the trajectory of language change. The evolution of Yŏnbyŏn Korean's linguistic features is notably influenced by sociopolitical contexts, particularly under the influence of contemporary standard Chinese, the prevailing political landscape, and language policies and planning. However, a notable transformation has taken place since the 1990s, characterised by a growing impact of the cognate language, South Korean. This influence is propelled by sociocultural prestige and economic sway. These two aspects have subsequently interacted and collectively shaped the current development of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. This section will delve into how the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has come into contact with modern standard Chinese and the borrowing of Sino-Korean words,

as well as its interactions with the cognate Korean used in South Korea since the 1990s.

1.3.1 The Yŏnbyŏn Korean Language in Contact with Chinese Language

1.3.1.1 The Yŏnbyŏn Korean Language in Contact with Modern Standard Chinese

The Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has undergone significant influence from the modern standard Chinese language, particularly in its lexicon, semantics, and structure. However, it is essential to note that these contact-induced changes are not fixed during the language's development. The direction of language change is largely influenced by social settings. Sociopolitical contexts are principal drivers of contact-induced language change, as they bring about different patterns of contact and language choices within the minority community. The dominance of modern Sino-words, along with structural influences from Mandarin Chinese, indicate an initial convergence towards Chinese as the sociopolitical dominant language.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the use of the heritage language within the minority community was acknowledged and supported through national ethnic minority policies (Tsung, 2014; Zhou, 2020). However, from the 1950s to the 1970s, the development of minority languages, including Yŏnbyŏn Korean, faced challenges due to the sociopolitical climate. During the 1950s, the intensive lexical borrowing of Chinese words by the Chinese Korean community became a subject of interest for researchers, journalists, and policymakers. The topic of standardisation of the Korean language used in China emerged, and in the first half of 1957, *Yŏnbŏn Daily* dedicated a special column to discuss and advocate for the norm and standardisation of the Korean language within China. Among these discussions, the phenomenon of adopting a large number of Chinese words was brought to light (Cui, 2003; Tai, 2004). However, starting from the second half of 1957, these discussions faced a significant setback due to escalating social disturbances in the country (Zhou & Sun, 2004). The subsequent historical events, such as the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957–1959), the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962), the period of the People's Commune (1958–1983), and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), further diverted the focus from the development of the minority Korean language. Instead, the emphasis was placed on promoting monolingualism under the collectivist and Chinese socialist values.

Following the decline of leftist ideology within the CCP, the constraints on the Korean language have been eased since the late 1970s, granting the community more liberty to foster and nurture their own language. Since the era of monolingual tendencies that characterises the ideological mass movements has come to an end, there has been a renewed recognition of the

importance of promoting the Korean language in the Yŏnbyŏn region. This shift is reflected through various actions supported by national policies and local communities. In 1977, the “cooperation group of Korean language”, a government-supported organisation, created the initial version of the “Korean language specifications” (chosŏnmal kyubŏmjib) (Kim, 2017b). Since then, this official “group” has been responsible for regularly assessing and guiding development of the Korean language. Through the official recognition of the Korean language in China, efforts have been made to maintain and adjust the Korean language used in the Yŏnbyŏn and the broader regions.

In December 1978, the third Plenary Session of the eleventh Central Committee of the CCP was a momentous event that signalled a turning point in the country’s history. This meeting marked the initiation of China’s reform and opening-up policy, which brought about significant changes in the nation’s direction. During the Mao Zedong era, the minority Korean language had been suppressed, and the promotion of a unified Chinese culture was emphasised. However, with the third Plenary Session, a new era under Deng Xiaoping’s leadership began, characterised by economic reform and openness. The reform and opening-up policy not only brought economic changes but also had broader implications for cultural and social aspects, including language and minority rights. While the policy’s primary focus was on economic liberalisation, it also had effects on various cultural practices, including language policies.

On the one hand, the oppression of the Korean language has been eased, giving the community more room to develop their own language. On the other hand, however, the focus on promoting Putonghua (Standard Mandarin) and standardising the Chinese writing system as part of China’s reform and development has presented challenges for the maintenance and development of the Korean language. The efforts to advance Putonghua proficiency, especially in rural areas, and the nationwide promotion of Mandarin have the potential to overshadow minority languages like Korean. As Tsung (2014) emphasised, the elevated status of Mandarin as the de facto national language, established by the government, has further entrenched its dominance, making it more difficult for minority languages to thrive and be recognised. The Thirteenth Five-Year Development Plan of National Language Works, implemented in 2016, with its emphasis on strengthening Putonghua education in schools and promoting its use across the country, could impact the usage and preservation of minority languages like Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

In this context, preserving and advancing the Korean language within the YKAP community presents notable challenges as they balance the promotion of the national language and the conservation of their linguistic heritage. Balancing the two facets while respecting the

rights and cultural identities of minority communities remains an ongoing task for the Chinese government and policymakers.

1.3.1.2 The Use of Chinese Writing System in Korean and Sino-Korean Words

The introduction of the Chinese writing system to Korea can be traced back to the Three Kingdoms period, which spanned from 57 BC to 668 A.D, or even earlier (Beckwith, 2010; Lee & Ramsey, 2011; Sohn, 1999; Song, 2005). The Chinese writing system was widely adopted and used as the primary writing instrument throughout Korean history for over a thousand years. During this time, Chinese characters were extensively utilised in various aspects of Korean society, including official documents, literature, and administration. They played a crucial role in shaping Korean culture and language. However, towards the end of the 19th century, significant changes occurred in Korea's writing system. A mixed script, combining Hangul (the modern Korean script) and Chinese characters, began to replace the exclusive use of classical Chinese as the formal writing medium.

During the long period of using Chinese characters in Korea, many Chinese words were borrowed into the Korean language. These borrowed words, known as Sino-Korean words (SK) or *hanjaŏ*, eventually became a significant part of the Korean lexicon. They often replaced existing Korean words, contributing to a distinctive lexical type in Korean. The Korean lexicon is composed of three main types: Sino-Korean words, native words (*goyuŏ*), and foreign words (*woelaeŏ*). Among these, SK words make up the largest portion of the Korean vocabulary. These words have similar pronunciation, format, and meaning to their Chinese counterparts in history.

However, the development of the three lexical groups underwent significant changes in modern times, particularly after 1945 (*ibid.*). With the end of the Japanese colonial era, the Korean peninsula was divided into North and South Korea, each forming its respective language policy. In North Korea, the government initially aimed to eliminate all Chinese characters from the writing system, including the use of SK words. Preference was given to native Korean words. On the other hand, in South Korea, Chinese characters continued to be used until the 1990s when they eventually faded away from print publications.

Today, while Sino-Korean words are still widely used in both North and South Korea, their frequency and significance in everyday language have changed due to evolving language policies and modernisation efforts in both countries. Native Korean words and foreign loanwords have continued to shape the Korean lexicon in North and South Korea. However,

Yŏnbyŏn Korean, in contrast to its cognate languages on the Korean peninsula, has maintained a distinct feature by persistently borrowing modern Chinese words, such as *pinkunong* (hired poverty farmers), *t'uchaengtaehoe* (denunciation meeting), and *minjutaetongmaeng* (the great democratic alliance). This ongoing borrowing from Chinese gives Yŏnbyŏn Korean a unique linguistic characteristic that sets it apart from other varieties of Korean spoken on the peninsula (refer to Chapter 4).

1.3.2 The Yŏnbyŏn Korean Language in Contact with the Cognate Korean Language

Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the frequency of contact between Yŏnbyŏn and the Korean peninsula decreased compared to previous levels. From 1949 to the 1980s, linguistic communications were primarily between Yŏnbyŏn and North Korea, as there were no diplomatic relations between Beijing and Seoul. During this period, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language remained generally consistent with North Korean in terms of grammar. An (2020) notes that under the influence of the “learn-from-North Korea” campaign advocated by Premier Zhou Enlai in 1963, Yŏnbyŏn Korean at that time was encouraged to align itself with the Pyongyang style. However, in 1992, diplomatic relations were established between China and South Korea, leading to increased communication between Yŏnbyŏn and South Korea. This brought about more interactions and exchanges between the two regions, but the linguistic influence from Pyeongyang remained limited. Consequently, the linguistic connections between Yŏnbyŏn and North Korea have further diminished over time.

Ever since China established official diplomatic relations with South Korea, there has been a discernible impact on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, primarily due to the growing economic and sociocultural influence of South Korea. This development had a significant impact on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, bringing in new vocabulary and linguistic influences from South Korea. As investigated by Seo (2005), the language usage among most people in Yŏnbyŏn region has traditionally aligned with that of North Korean. However, significant changes have been observed in their language usage since the mid-1990s. Notably, there has been an increase in the number of individuals using words and intonation similar to standard South Korean. This shift indicates a clear movement of the Korean language in Yŏnbyŏn region, with a pivot transitioning from North Korean to South Korean, facilitated by the influx of numerous South Korean words (ibid.).

A prominent development of Yŏnbyŏn Korean is the influx of English and Anglo-Korean words, predominantly borrowed from South Korea (Kim & Nam, 2019; Kim, 2017a).

The advancements in technology and the widespread use of smartphones and other internet-enabled devices have played a significant role in the dissemination of South Korean popular culture into Yŏnbyŏn. This has led to the adoption of new expressions and cultural elements from South Korea by the Yŏnbyŏnese. Moreover, since the 1990s, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community has experienced an influx of South Korean language, with a particular emphasis on English loanwords. This trend has triggered a noticeable surge in neoliberal compatriotic citizenship within the ethnic Korean community (Woo et al., 2020). The trend has been propelled by the emergence of a more interconnected and globalised society, fostering increased interactions with South Korea and the Western world. The rapid economic growth and market-driven globalisation in South Korea have been instrumental in facilitating this linguistic exchange. Additionally, the global spread of the Korean wave (*hanlyu*) since the beginning of this century has brought forth new cultural values and language items, particularly the Seoul style Anglo-Korean (AK) words, to the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community. AK words in the Korean language refer to that are either direct loanwords from English or have elements borrowed from English (Kiaer, 2017). These AK loanwords have rapidly emerged as cultural symbols in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language (refer to Chapter 5).

1.3.3 English Borrowing in Korean Language and in YKAP

1.3.3.1 English Borrowing in Korean Language

English was introduced to Korea in the enlightenment period. By the end of the 19th century, King Kojong established official English schools. While Korean phonology and syntax remained unaffected by the new culture and languages, the Korean lexicon underwent a transformation with the adoption of new words, primarily from English, a process that continues today (Kiaer, 2014). The coining and development of English words in Korean have followed the trajectory of Westernisation and globalisation.

Initially, a flood of English loanwords represented exotic cultures and new technologies, gradually becoming common in daily and academic expressions. As Kiaer observes, Japan played a crucial role as a conduit for understanding Western ideas in Korea, as Korea's opening to the West occurred relatively later compared to Japan and China. As a result, Korea had to depend on the work of Japanese and Chinese linguists for the adoption of new words in this context.

English borrowings in East Asia have been introduced in two different ways. Firstly, before the end of World War II, foreign ideas were typically adopted into the Japanese, Korean,

and Chinese language through loan translations. This means that the early loanwords were often created using Chinese characters that either captured the meaning of a foreign word or provided a phonetic equivalent (Daulton, 2007). This was possible because thousands of Chinese characters had been in use for centuries and were familiar to Japanese and Korean intellectuals, making it easier to create new expressions, such as 社會 (society, shakai in Japanese, sahoe in Korean, shehui in Chinese), 學位 (academic degree, gakui in Japanese, hakwi in Korean, xuewei in Chinese), and 關係 (relation, kankei in Japanese, kuan'gye in Korean, guanxi in Chinese). Kiaer (2014) and Chung's dissertation (2000) identified 5,466 newly created words in the era between the late 19th century and early 20th century. Among these, 3,573 words, accounting for 65.73% of the new creations, were Chinese-character words used in Korean, Chinese, and Japanese. As observed by Lee and Ramsey (2011), Japan began adopting Western culture earlier, and this linguistic practice became common in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean languages because it naturally aligned with the existing Sinitic lexica in these regions. In East Asia, since the enlightenment period, the slogans used to promote Westernisation in Japan, China, and Korea reflected a similar view among the three societies: to adopt Western skills and technology while preserving their own cultural essence. In China, the motto was *zhongti xiyong* (中體西用, Chinese essence, Western utilisation); in Japan, it was *wakonyousai* (和魂洋才, Japanese soul, foreign technology); and in Korea, it was *tongdosöki* (東道西器, Eastern principle, Western mechanism). Language played a crucial role in conveying Western technology and concepts, and this philosophy influenced the creation of new loanwords.

Secondly, since the early 20th century, both Japan and Korea had shifted their method of incorporating foreign words. Various direct English transliterations have been introduced into Korean through Japanese since Korea was annexed by Japanese dominion in the early 20th century, such as “metö (metre)”, “syawa (shower)”, “enerügi (energy)”. After WWII, both Japan and Korea mainly used direct English transliterations, also known as Anglo-Japanese and Anglo-Korean, instead of relying on Chinese characters. This change in the way loanwords were created marked a significant shift in their linguistic approach to embracing Western influences. For example, in Korea, “supermarket” is borrowed as *syup'ö mak'et*; “key” is *k'i*; and “taxi” is *t'aeksi*. Numerous Korean linguists acknowledge that English loanwords have become a vital component of South Korean vocabulary (Cho, 2017; Kiaer, 2014; Lee, 2006; Park, 2009; Park & Abelmann, 2004; Song, 2005). Today, there is nearly no linguistic barrier hindering the incorporation of English loanwords or AK words into the Korean language. This

is due to the well-established borrowing and transcription rules, as well as the widespread acceptance of English loanwords in South Korea.

1.3.3.2 English Borrowing in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean Language

The development of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean can be categorised into three periods. Before 1945, the usage of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean remained consistent with that of the Korean peninsula. However, between the late 1940s and the late 1970s, there was a period of limited borrowing of English loanwords. Since the 1990s, the practice of borrowing English loanwords has been reactivated in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language (refer to Chapter 5).

Prior to 1945, English loanwords were observed in media based in the Yŏnbyŏn region, such as the *Monsŏn Daily* (*Monsŏn ilbo*, meaning “Manchu-Korea Daily”), which was established in 1937 through the combination of two local Korean language newspapers. Example 1 illustrates the incorporation of English loanwords in the *Monsŏn Daily* in 1939, with these loanwords being highlighted in the exhibited news page below.

Example 1. A news page from *Monsŏn Daily*, 1 December 1939



As we can see from the news page in 1939 on *Monsŏn Daily*, nine English words are detected among the six articles of the news page, including *anaunsŭ* (announcer), *ratio* (radio),

nopel (Nobel) in the upper block; *rek'otŭ* (record), *nyusŭ* (news) in the second block; *ratiotŭrama* (radio drama), *nyusŭ* (news) in the third block; *sŭt'a* (star) and *ritŭ* (lead) in the lower block. That is, English borrowings in 1939 were not considered as an uncommon linguistic phenomenon, and the Korean people in the broad Yŏnbyŏn region could use English borrowings for their daily language.

However, from the late 1940s to the 1970s, the usage of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean was limited and remained at a low level. After the late 1940s, English loanwords became less common in Korean newspapers like *Yŏnbŏn Daily*. Borrowing and using English words were viewed as risky and unpatriotic actions until the late 1970s. Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China, direct exchanges with the Western world were interrupted, and closer relationships with the socialist bloc were fostered. These adjustments were described as “leaning to one-side” (*yibiandao* 一邊倒) in accordance with Chinese policies in diplomatic relations. Consequently, English came to be perceived as “a language of the enemy” (Hu, 2021, p. 25) during the three-decades. While borrowing English words became limited, China intensified its friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist bloc countries, leading to the incorporation of Russian words into the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. Examples of such Russian loanwords include *ttŭrakttorŭ* (tractor), *pjikkae* (match), and *hŭlrepsol* (a type of bread).

Nevertheless, during the 1970s, Chinese society underwent various social adjustments, including improved relations between the United States and China, symbolised by President Nixon's visit to China in 1972. This visit marked the gradual rebuilding of diplomatic relations between China and the West. These changing social circumstances provided a favourable condition for language contact between English and the languages in China. By the late 1970s, the shifting sociopolitical climate in China facilitated the borrowing and usage of English loanwords in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. From the late 1970s to the present, the usage of English loanwords has consistently grown (refer to Chapter 5).

1.4 The Purpose and Significance of this Study and the Research Questions

The Yŏnbyŏn Korean language in China has encountered contact with Mandarin Chinese and the related Korean language in North and South Korea during different periods (refer to Section 1.3). However, this language contact has been complicated by shifting social contexts. Language change in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community is firstly influenced by sociopolitical factors, including official language policies, language reforms, and educational initiatives

imposed by government authorities, as well as policy-conducting institutions and mass movements like the Cultural Revolution. The fluctuations in language policies and planning after the establishment of the People's Republic of China have had an impact on the development of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language and the influence from Chinese language on it (refer to Chapter 4). This contact with modern standard Chinese, influenced by sociopolitical contexts, is considered a top-down development mode. In other words, the language change in Yŏnbyŏn Korean is initiated and implemented from higher levels of authority or influence within the society or community. These developmental changes typically stem from language policies, institutions, or influential groups that possess the power and ability to shape language use and norms in the community. This study firstly aims to investigate the linguistic changes, particularly lexical, semantic, and structural changes, in Yŏnbyŏn Korean that have been influenced by top-down developmental processes. By examining the impact of language policies, institutions, and influential groups on language use and norms in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community, the study seeks to understand how these factors have shaped the language over time. By focusing on the top-down mode of language change, the research aims to provide valuable insights into the dynamics of language development and contact-induced changes in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language.

The second aim of this study is to explore the linguistic changes in Yŏnbyŏn Korean that have been influenced by bottom-up developmental processes. As language policies and international relations shift, and with development of globalised markets, Yŏnbyŏn Korean speakers are exposed to new languages and cultural influences, leading to the adoption of new vocabulary, language structures, and patterns based on their individual needs, preferences, and interactions with other communities and languages. This bottom-up language change is driven by the everyday language practices and choices made by the speakers themselves within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community. Notably, the adoption of English loanwords and AK innovations, especially in interactions with South Korea, plays a significant role in this linguistic variation (refer to Chapter 5). By investigating the bottom-up developmental mode in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, this research seeks to shed light on how grassroots language changes contribute to the language's dynamic evolution over time.

Additionally, through distinguishing the two developmental modes, this study aims to gain insights into how various social factors have influenced the lexical, semantic, and structural variations of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. The complex language contact across the Korean peninsula and the social dynamics in China have contributed to the evolving linguistic landscape of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. As a result, Chinese, along with South

Korean, has become interwoven in the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language. The study of language change in the Yǒnbyǒn Korean community sheds light on the intricate interplay between language, society, politics, culture, and economic forces.

Moreover, this research presents previously unpublished data on the development and changes in the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language since 1948, expanding the database of this minority language in China. These findings may also be valuable for future research on language contact, particularly within the context of East Asian languages.

Furthermore, this study offers an overview of the representational function of media language in reflecting the development of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language in diverse social contexts. The data used for this study is collected from the *Yǒnbǒn Daily*, a leading regional newspaper serving the Korean minority. The *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, as a prominent medium, has played a key role in representing and influencing the language change.

To comprehend the dual developmental mode influenced by various social factors, this study aims to address four research questions.

1. What is the impact of the contemporary standard Chinese on language change in Yǒnbyǒn Korean, as reflected in the Korean language newspaper *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, and how do social factors shape this change?
2. To what extent does the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language undergo lexical, semantic, and structural change influenced by the contemporary standard Chinese, as demonstrated in the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* across different periods?
3. How has Yǒnbyǒn Korean changed, as reflected in the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* due to contact with its overseas cognate language, South Korean since the 1990s, and how do social factors influence this change?
4. What are the lexical, semantic, and structural changes in Yǒnbyǒn Korean influenced by the South Korean and English languages, as observed in the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* across different periods?

The first two research questions aim to understand the role of sociopolitical factors in language change, as they exert top-down influence from the contemporary standard Chinese (refer to Chapter 4). On the other hand, the last two research questions seek to comprehend the role of sociocultural and economic factors as a bottom-up force, drawing influence from South Korea and the West (refer to Chapter 5).

1.5 Organisation of the Thesis

This study will consist of six chapters to explore the two developmental modes of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language influenced by various social factors. The first chapter serves as an introduction, providing an overview of the general social practices within the Chinese Korean community, including its history, population, geography, education, media, and language aspects. It specifically delves into the language contact situation of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language with standard Chinese and the cognate Korean languages. By examining the history, linguistic development, social contexts, and language contact of Yǒnbyǒn Korean, this chapter sheds light on the dual developmental mode of this minority language in China.

Chapter Two examines the existing literature that explores the intricate relationship between social factors, such as sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic forces, and their impact on language change, with a specific emphasis on the development and evolution of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language. Additionally, this chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the representational function of media language, highlighting how it reflects the development of the minority language in various social contexts. In this chapter, a comprehensive framework is presented to elucidate the process of language change, which is influenced by both power dynamics stemming from sociopolitical factors and sociocultural and economic influences. The framework delves into lexical, semantic, and structural changes that are driven by the standard contemporary Chinese language, under the influence of sociopolitical factors. Simultaneously, sociocultural and economic factors also play a significant role in motivating these lexical changes in Yǒnbyǒn Korean.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the methodology employed in this study, which adopts the approach of corpus, sampling, and language processing toolkits. The data for this study is collected through two processes, involving manual collection as well as assistance from computer programming language. The data is then categorised and analysed based on six divisions, including political, economic, civil issues, literature, sports, and recreational subject areas. This method allows the study to investigate how language variation and development have unfolded within the Yǒnbyǒn Korean community across different time periods and subject domains. The process of constructing the specific corpus for the current study is detailed in this chapter, encompassing data scope, data selection, and data collection. Considering the unique nature of Yǒnbyǒn Korean as a specific minority language in China, finding a representative corpus for this language is a challenging task. Currently available corpora do not cater to this specific language, and the required historical data is also scarce. As

a result, the researcher has constructed a small purpose-built corpus to explore contact-induced language change over the decades. While it is not a large-scale corpus, the self-constructed corpus effectively supports the research objectives and aids in understanding the language evolution within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community.

In Chapter Four, the thesis embarks on the analysis of the collected data, primarily sourced from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. This chapter focuses on examining the effects of social and political changes on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language in China, with a particular emphasis on the usage of modern Chinese borrowings reflected via Sino-Korean words. The study delves into how the use of these Sino-Korean words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has evolved since 1948. This year is chosen as the starting point for observing language change within the Korean community in Yŏnbyŏn due to significant historical events. In 1948, the CCP established stable governance in the region, which is home to a substantial ethnic Korean minority. This period also marks the notable influence of contemporary standard Chinese on the Korean language. From 1948 onwards, linguistic features of Yŏnbyŏn Korean underwent updates and changes in response to the impact of modern Chinese, propelling the language to a new stage (refer to Chapter Four). Moreover, Chapter Four also delves into the semantic and structural features of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language influenced by contemporary standard Chinese and how they have evolved across different social contexts. Through this analysis, the study aims to shed light on the complex interplay between language, society, and historical developments, providing insights into the language change dynamics within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community.

In Chapter Five, the study explores the development of English loanwords and AK words in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, taking into account the influence of shifting social contexts. With the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in 1992, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has witnessed an increasing integration of elements from South Korean, including English loanwords and the South Korean style Algo-Korean words. These loanwords, in particular, have become prominent in Yŏnbyŏn Korean since the 1990s, serving as symbolic capital for the language. The chapter delves into the significant role played by social factors, such as cultural prestige and economic models, in influencing language change. The chapter further investigates the sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors that direct this language change. Additionally, it examines the impact of the South Korean language on the spellings, semantics, and structures of these English borrowings, particularly since the 1990s.

In Chapter Six, the research provides an overview and concludes that the language change in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has occurred in three distinct stages: from the late 1940s to the

1970s, from the late 1970s to the 1990s, and from the late 1990s to the present. These divisions of language development are framed by various sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic settings. Under different social contexts, the language has evolved in different directions. In summary, the study explores how Yǒnbyǒn Korean has undergone significant changes over time, shaped by the interplay of diverse societal influences. The research highlights the importance of considering both top-down and bottom-up factors and developmental processes in understanding language contact and change within the Yǒnbyǒn Korean community. The study also sheds light on the intricate interplay between language, society, politics, culture, and economic forces, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of language contact-induced change in this unique minority language in China.

Overall, this thesis offers valuable insights into the contact-induced language change in Yǒnbyǒn Korean and contributes to the understanding of a dual-developmental language variation within minority communities. In this thesis, the research delves into the language contact and change experienced by the Yǒnbyǒn Korean community, exploring the complex interplay between linguistic, social, and cultural factors. The Yǒnbyǒn Korean language, as a minority language in China, presents a unique dual developmental mode, different from the typical unidirectional outcomes observed in most contexts. By examining the influence of various social settings on the language, the study seeks to understand how the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language has evolved over time. The research also enriches the database of this minority language in China, providing a foundation for future research on language contact in East Asian languages.

Chapter 2 Literature Review and The Framework of this Study

Since'tis nature's law to change.

Constancy alone is strange.

--John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester

2.1 Introduction

Language contact refers to the examination of linguistic phenomena that emerge when one language exerts influence on another, either in a specific moment (synchronically) or over an extended period (diachronically). Such contact can wield considerable influence over the languages involved, impacting aspects like vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, and the overall structure of the languages. Language change is a significant outcome of language contact and an intrinsic trait of any living language. Contact-induced language change frequently showcases an imbalanced association between a dominant and a subordinate language. The interplay between these languages is marked by an uneven distribution of power, wherein one language wields greater influence and prestige, while the other language assumes a subordinate or less dominant position. The contact-induced language change is moulded by interactions with other languages within a spectrum of factors, encompassing political, cultural, economic, and language policies and planning.

This chapter critically reviews previous literature on language change that examines the intricate relationship between these social factors and their impact on language development, with a specific focus on the development of the ethnic Korean language in China. Through a critical review of the literature, this chapter has identified that the progression of China's minority Korean language is intricately tied to specific social contexts, primarily encompassing political, economic, and cultural elements. The language development of the Chinese Korean minority language can be understood through two distinct modes. Firstly, the sociopolitical landscape plays a crucial role by exerting top-down influence from the contemporary standard Chinese language. Secondly, sociocultural and economic factors, as experienced in the daily lives of ordinary Korean speakers, act as a bottom-up force, drawing influence from South Korea and the West.

The subsequent section delves into the domain of language contact and change, exploring language change and the intricate relationship between dominant and subordinate languages, particularly focusing on the power dynamics at play. Section 2.3 investigates

language policy and planning for ethnic minorities, with a specific emphasis on China and its policies regarding domestic minority languages. This section examines the implications for the linguistic development of the ethnic Korean minority in China, particularly in terms of the influence exerted by Mandarin Chinese. The political landscape, acting as a potent driving force, shapes the development of the Korean language by imposing influence from the contemporary standard Chinese in a top-down manner. In Section 2.4, Bourdieu's concept of capital is reviewed as a conceptual framework to gain insights into the factors that shape the perception of the English language and the borrowing of Anglo-Korean (AK) words from South Korea. This section illustrates the linguistic influence on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean Language in a bottom-up fashion. Section 2.5 provides an in-depth analysis of language development and the preservation of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language in China. It emphasises the significance of safeguarding the Korean language within the Chinese Korean community and sheds light on the challenges faced in doing so. Meanwhile, it reviews the influence of the cognate Korean languages in the Korean peninsula, particularly the increasingly predominant impacts of South Korean language since the 1990s. Section 2.6 examines the relationship between ethno-minority language change and media language, discussing media functions, minority language media, and their role in the development of minority languages. Section 2.7 presents the four research questions and overall framework of the study, considering the two developmental directions driven by sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors. Lastly, the concluding section provides a summary of the reviews and concepts presented throughout the chapter.

2.2 Language Contact and Language Change

2.2.1 Language Contact and the Relationship between Dominant and Subordinate Language

Language contact refers to the examination of linguistic phenomena that occur when one language influences another, whether it is at a specific point in time (synchronically) or over an extended period (diachronically). Language contact can have significant impacts on the involved languages, influencing their vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, and overall linguistic structure. The field of language contact focuses on the study of situations where two or more languages come into contact and interact with each other. It occurs when speakers of different languages interact, leading to various linguistic phenomena such as borrowing of vocabulary, switching between languages within a conversation (code-switching), a change in language dominance within a community (language shift), combining elements from different languages (language mixing), fluidly using multiple languages in communication

(translanguaging), and the blending or merging of languages (language convergence). Scholars such as Weinreich (1953), Weinreich and Martinet (1979), Williamson et al. (1980), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Matras and Sakel (2008), Matras (2009), and García and Li (2014) have extensively discussed language contact across various domains. Language contact involves investigating the outcomes of language interaction, including cases where one language unidirectionally influences another. Language contact research also extends to linguistic areas, which explores the outcomes of contact between multiple languages within a particular geographic area or region (Yakpo & Muysken, 2017). The study of language contact provides valuable insights into the dynamics and consequences of language interaction and serves as a rich field of research within linguistics.

The nature of contact-induced language change often displays an unequal relationship between a dominant and a subordinate language. The dynamic between these languages is characterised by a power imbalance, where one language holds greater influence and prestige while the other language is subordinate or less dominant. This relationship is influenced by various factors such as politics, culture, and economics. Additionally, the attitudes of speakers within minority communities can also impact the cross-linguistic outcomes. In many cases, the dominant language is the majority language spoken by a larger population or the language associated with a dominant group within society. It typically holds higher social status, receives official recognition, and is more widely used in areas such as education, government, media, and business. Consequently, it is common for the dominant language to contribute its vocabulary to the subordinate language as the lexical donor. Conversely, the subordinate language is spoken by a smaller population or a marginalised group within society, assuming the role of the recipient language.

Prolonged contact and sociopolitical dominance between speakers of the source language and speakers of the recipient language play crucial roles in reinforcing language interference (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). Loveday (1996) proposes that communities can be categorised based on their level of bilingualism or multilingualism. This notion introduces six “archetypal” contact types that encompass various contact phenomena, forming a continuum ranging from predominantly monolingual to highly multilingual communities. Within this continuum, many situations are characterised by ongoing language shift, particularly among minority groups facing substantial social and cultural pressure from a dominant group. For example, Shin (2004) observed bilingual ethnic Korean children in an English-dominant society and concluded that linguistic minority students are more inclined to adapt to the majority language rather than their ethnic minority language once they begin

attending school. Brown and Bousquette (2018) have drawn the similar conclusion, highlighting the notable shift in heritage language use patterns over the lifespan. Through their observations, they emphasise that a significant number of immigrant children of monolingual heritage eventually become English-dominant adults in North America. Similarly, according to the report by Vorobyeva and Bel (2021), newly arrived immigrants under the age of 9 exhibited limited proficiency in their heritage language (Russian) and predominantly relied on the dominant language of Spain. Moreover, according to Mesthrie (2006), the two subordinate immigrant languages in Kwazulu-Natal have become endangered, primarily because the intergenerational transmission of these community languages has either ceased or become challenging due to internal and external realignment factors. Winford (2013, p. 54) states that bilingual individuals often exhibit uneven proficiency or balance in their use of the two languages, resulting in one language being more dominant; and for bilinguals who have resided in an environment where their second language (L2) is spoken for an extended period, the L2 may become “functionally more dominant”, particularly for specific “language processing tasks”. However, it is important to note that the relationship between dominant and subordinate languages is not static and can change over time.

2.2.2 Language Contact and Lexical Borrowing

When two languages come into contact, whether through direct personal interaction between speakers or indirectly through media exposure and social settings, a common result is the exchange of vocabulary and cultural elements across linguistic boundaries (T’Sou, 2001). Borrowing is defined as the process of transferring linguistic features from one language to another as a consequence of contact between the two languages (Aikhenvald, 2010; Heine & Kuteva, 2005). Coetsem (2016) highlights the “real-life” situation where individuals are exposed to the dominant language through direct contact with the environment. In such scenarios, effective communication takes precedence over acquiring an in-depth understanding of the target language. Utilising vocabulary from the dominant language proves to be an efficient way of rapidly assimilating knowledge from the dominant language. This phenomenon is especially prominent in communities of linguistic minority. Chambers (1992) suggests that, when analysing contact between two languages or dialects, the acquisition of lexical replacement occurs at a faster pace compared to the acquisition of pronunciation and phonological variants. Extensive word borrowing serves as an initial sign of linguistic influence from the dominant language, primarily due to the fact that vocabulary is deemed “less

stable and thus more amenable to change” (Winford, 2013, p. 46). According to Matras (2009), nouns have a high tendency to be borrowed, but he acknowledges that some languages also borrow verbs without significant formal adaptation. This means that verbs can be extensively borrowed as well, as seen in the borrowing of Chinese verbs in Vietnamese. In historical contexts, certain languages have served as donor languages to recipient languages, such as the extensive borrowing from Arabian in the Domari language (ibid.). Loveday (1996) suggests that after World War II, thousands of English loanwords entered the Japanese vocabulary. Recently, researchers have concentrated on understanding the impact of social factors on the incorporation of words or phrases from one language into another. Nagy (2011) investigates the correlation between age, gender, social class, and lexical variation in the Faetar and Celles languages. The study highlights how these social factors interact and influence the lexicon in these languages.

2.3 Language Change and Sociopolitical Factors: The Top-down Development Mode

2.3.1 Sociopolitical Factors, Language Policy, Language Planning, and Media Discourse

In recent years, the study of language change has transitioned from examining isolated linguistic features to studying language practices and their interaction within social contexts. This approach highlights the socially situated use of linguistic resources in communicative interactions. Notably, there has been a heightened interest in exploring governance and regulation in language management, specifically concerning language rights and legislative measures. This shift in focus reflects an evolving understanding of language change as a dynamic process influenced by social factors and the broader sociopolitical landscape (Ahmed, 2011; Ó Giollagáin & Caimbeul, 2021; Williams, 2013; Williams & Walsh, 2019). These developments have brought about a greater awareness and examination of issues surrounding effective governance and language regulation. As Spolsky (2012) defines, language policy or planning refers to a formally established framework of regulations and guidelines that govern the use and structure of language within a nation-state. Language policy is also viewed as a social process that is influenced by power dynamics, where policies can reflect certain beliefs about acceptable and unacceptable language forms and usage, thus shaping language status and usage (McCarty, 2014). Language planning, which involves implementing language policies, encompasses deliberate actions aimed at realising the ideas and objectives outlined in these policies. This can encompass various initiatives, such as standardising language and incorporating it into educational settings (Ali, 2022; Cooper, 1989; Rubin & Jernudd, 2019).

Aitchison (2013) and Thomason (2007; 2008; 2011) observe that any language change is the result of social and political transformations. According to Coulmas (2014, p. 1), the concept of language contact typically involves hierarchies that reflect “historical processes of adaptation and power relations” between different groups of speakers. Coulmas (ibid.) emphasises that in the context of writing, which is often overlooked in linguistic research, these power relations are just as crucial as they are in spoken language.

Sociopolitical factors, including language policy and planning implemented by governments, along with the social reaction and platforms engaging in the language policymaking process can significantly impact the availability, representation, and support for an ethnic language and the community. Investigating the relationship between sociopolitical factors and language development can help shed light on the challenges and opportunities faced by the minority language. In language policy and planning, language ideologies often exert a significant influence, as they are value-laden representations of how languages are structured and used in a given social context (Woolard, 2022). In particular, such representations refer to shared societal knowledge about languages, ethnicities, nationalities, and other culturally significant categories (Tollefson, 2015). In addition, the mass media actively engage in the language policymaking process by playing a role in representation and legitimisation (Gao & Shao, 2018). Within the media, actors involved in policymaking utilise these representations as part of their strategy, drawing upon the audience’s familiarity with these representations to garner public support for specific policies. Media discourse, hence, serves as an indicator of sociopolitical shifts within a society, making it a potent instrument in both upholding and challenging language ideologies (Abdullah, 2014). Within media discourse, even news headlines alone hold considerable sway in conveying ideologies. Apart from providing readers with an overview of an article’s content, headlines are crafted to grab attention (Kuiken et al., 2017), often becoming the sole element that readers will perceive and recall from an article (Dor, 2003). It is important to note that the specific roles and impacts of minority language media can vary depending on the sociopolitical context in which they operate. In Asia, for example, the emphasis on standard language and its significant influence on minority language media align with the emergence of nationalism and the development of a national identity (Chen, 2018).

2.3.2 Language Policy and Planning for Ethnic Groups in China

Linguists concur that language planning results in the creation of a language policy, yet these

plans often falter when confronted with the opposing forces of real demographic circumstances (Spolsky, 2012). Scholars exemplify this phenomenon by pointing to the cases in Central Asia and countries like Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in Central Europe, where language policies and planning proved ineffective following the release of the former Soviet Union Republics from the Russification imposed by the Soviet regime (Laitin, 1996; Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; Marshall, 1996).

Language policy and planning in China have faced comparable challenges, particularly concerning the suppression of ethnic minority languages in favour of the promotion of modern standard Chinese language. However, these policies have been subject to revisions in response to shifts in the sociopolitical landscape. Originally, the 1954 Constitution of PRC, under Article 3, ensured the freedom of ethnic groups to utilise and develop their own spoken and written languages, thereby acknowledging the value of linguistic diversity. Nevertheless, the usage of languages among Chinese ethnic minorities has undergone transformations across various historical periods since the establishment of PRC.

According to Zhou (2020, p.24), the usage of languages among Chinese ethnic minorities based on the different language policies and planning can be divided into four distinct periods. The first period, from 1949 to 1958, focuses on promoting the common language while allowing the use of minority languages. The establishment of the Writing Reform Committee of China in 1954 marked a significant development for promoting the Standard Mandarin (*ibid.*). This organisation then underwent a name change in 1985 and became known as the State Language Work Committee (*guojia yuyan gongzuo weiyuanhui*). The second period, between 1958 and 1978, witnesses limited use of minority languages. According to Zhou (*ibid.*), the second period is characterised by a significant influence of leftism within the CCP. In particular, the ethnic policies of the CCP are completely dismantled during the Cultural Revolution (1967-1977), leading to the cancellation of most initiatives and efforts related to ethnicity (*ibid.*). The second period also sees the emergence of an anti-local national chauvinism struggle in ethnic minority areas (Howland, 2011), leading to the closure of institutions, publications, and broadcasting organisations that focus on ethnic minority languages (Zhou 2001). Many people involved in the study and promotion of ethnic languages are adversely affected by social movements and sociopolitical settings. The third period, spanning from 1978 to 2000, aims at developing modernised language planning. Lastly, the fourth period, starting from 2000 to the present, emphasises the promotion of Putonghua, the national common language (Zhou, 2020). In these efforts, the State Language Work Committee plays a crucial role.

After the Third Plenary Session of the Party in December 1978, Beijing embraces a policy of opening up to the outside world and revitalising the domestic economy. The two periods also create a pressing need to enhance the standardisation and normalisation of languages and writing systems. In response to the requirements of the reform and opening up of the socialist market economy, China places significant emphasis on the promotion of Putonghua and the standardisation of Chinese writing system (Liu, 1987; Wang, 1995; Zhou, 2020). In 2016, the Thirteenth Five-Year Development Plan of National Language Works set forth policy goals such as improving Putonghua proficiency among individuals in rural areas, expediting the promotion of Putonghua nationwide, and enhancing Putonghua education in schools (Wang & Gao, 2023). Regarding Mandarin as the national common language (*guojia tongyong yuyan*), Article 4 of the 1982 Constitution of China affirms the promotion of Mandarin and its writing system. According to Tsung (2014), the elevated value and prestige of Mandarin stem from its status as the de facto national language, a position established by the government.

However, the 1982 Constitution also confirms the rights of Chinese ethnic minorities to use and develop their own languages (*People's Daily*, 2004). As highlighted by Zhou (2020, p. 48), there are currently 154 broadcasting organisations operating in China's autonomous ethnic regions that utilise ethnic languages. These organisations, including both central and local television stations, broadcast programmes in twenty-one different ethnic languages on a daily basis (*ibid.*). Recognising the significance of this domain, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission plays a crucial role in coordinating the formulation of the Plan for Work on Spoken and Written Ethnic Minority Languages (2016-2020) (Xuerong, 2022). This plan aims to establish safeguard measures for the development of spoken and written ethnic minority languages throughout the country over the next five years (*ibid.*).

2.3.3 Development and Maintenance of Minority Languages in China

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the maintenance of minority languages and bilingual education for minority people have been implemented in many autonomous regions of ethnic minority. Heritage languages are often included in formal education for children in ethnic minority communities, where Mandarin serves as a medium of instruction (Gao, 2012; Postiglione, 1999; Rehamo & Harrell, 2020). However, certain minorities, such as Dai, Dong, Jingpo and Yao, have limited use of their heritage language, while others such as Korean, Mongolian, Kazak, Tibetan, and Uyghur have implemented

bilingual education since 1949 (Zhou, 2000; Gao, 2012). It is important to note that these language policies have varied across different historical periods. From around 1958 and throughout the 1970s, particularly during the Great Leap Forward movement (1958-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), when unified Chinese-monopolistic language policies were enforced, bilingual education in China was significantly reduced to a minimum (Zhou, 2001). It was not until the 1980s that bilingual schools began to be reconstructed. However, as observed by Leibold and Chen (2013, p. 30), even with the implementation of localised teaching materials and bilingual instruction for ethnic minorities, these measures “remain on the periphery of curriculum development”, leading to increased assimilation and ethnic isolation. Xing (2002) highlights the disadvantages of bilingual education for the Yi ethnicity in Liangshan, Sichuan province. In the case of the Xinjiang Uyghur region, Rong (2007) argues that bilingual education tends to be more costly, and many parents prefer sending their children to remote boarding schools where Chinese is used as the medium of instruction.

Despite multiculturalism being widely accepted as a symbol of modernisation, Chinese society tends to lean toward a homogenous community with traditional thinking patterns rather than embracing multiculturalism (Beckett & Postiglione, 2013). Leibold and Chen (2013) argue that the concept of multicultural education, rooted in Western culture and modern liberalism, remains unfamiliar to Chinese educators. The national curriculum is designed to promote political ideology and foster a sense of national identity, targeting both ethnic minorities and the Han majority based on traditional culture and Chinese Communist characteristics. According to Leibold and Chen (ibid.), the national education system treats each ethnic community differently, aiming to achieve ethnic equality while simultaneously developing the so-called “backward culture” (*luohou wenhua*) within certain minority groups through a division of curriculum between mainstream education for Han students and specialised ethnic education for minority groups.

The national curriculum is a manifestation of the central government's efforts to establish a unified and multiethnic country, promoting the concept of “plurality within unity” (*duoyuan yiti geju*) (Fei, 1988). These efforts are reflected in history and geography courses that highlight the natural and long-term fusion of the Chinese land and its people (Leibold and Chen, 2013). Postiglione (2017, p. 43) summarises that “through state educational institutions, ethnic minority culture becomes transmitted, celebrated, transmuted, truncated, or in some cases eliminated.” While the existing research raises concerns about China’s current bilingual educational system, it is crucial to acknowledge the need for more extensive data, particularly regarding the linguistic aspect, to substantiate these perspectives.

2.3.4 Sociopolitical Effects and the Top-down Development Mode

The top-down development mode refers to the language development that is initiated and implemented from the higher levels of authority or influence within a society or community. These developmental changes typically come from language policies, institutions, or influential groups that have power and have the ability to shape language use and norms. In the context of language change in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community of China, top-down progress involves language reforms, official language policies, and educational initiatives imposed by government authorities or influential institutions. Since late 1945, the CCP had gradually assumed governing authority over Yŏnbyŏn, a region predominantly inhabited by ethnic Koreans. This change in political power directly impacted the language, resulting in the adoption of contemporary standard Chinese elements in the usage of Chinese borrowings or the Sino-Korean vocabulary. In particular, language policies and planning in China after the establishment of the People's Republic of China have undergone fluctuations throughout different historical periods (see Section 2.4.2). During times when unified Chinese-monopolistic language policies are implemented, there is a limit development of the Korean language and significant influence from Chinese to the Korean language, such as during the Cultural Revolution era (Zhou, 2001; Zhou, 2020).

In Yŏnbyŏn, two consistent trends can be observed regarding the development of the minority Korean language. Firstly, there has been an ongoing effort to promote Mandarin as the national language since the CCP gained control of the Yŏnbyŏn region in the late 1940s. The period between 1949 and 1976 is marked mass movements such as the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), which enforced a “unified Chinese-monopolistic language policy” (Zhou, 2001, p. 160). This policy promotes a monolingual environment, which results in increased exposure to the Chinese language and disadvantages to the minority Korean language during that time. In the period following the Cultural Revolution and the introduction of China's opening-up policy, significant sociopolitical changes have occurred, resulting in modifications to the development of the minority Korean language since the late 1970s. Since the early establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese government has considered the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community as a model of coexistence between the Han majority and ethnic minority groups. Bilingual education has played a pivotal role in promoting this narrative of harmonious coexistence. (Lee, 2021; Tsung, 2014). While ethnic Korean schools in Yŏnbyŏn region have offered bilingual education, there has been a recent practice of teaching subjects such as mathematics, science, and foreign

languages in Mandarin, not Korean as before (Chaguan, 2021). Zhang (2022) reports that since 2019, reforms have been implemented in ethnic Korean education, including the replacement of Korean textbooks with Mandarin ones.

However, language maintenance has consistently been of great importance for the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community. Especially in the context of increased communication with South Korea and the backdrop of economic globalisation, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has undergone a transformation in a new direction. This new direction is driven by sociocultural and economic factors, shaping the development of the Korean language. The subsequent section will delve into these aspects in further detail.

2.4 The Bottom-up Developmental Mode and Sociocultural and Economic Factors

2.4.1 The Bottom-up Developmental Mode

Linguistic variation within a community is the result of the complex interaction between sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors. The usage of language is influenced by various social elements, which ultimately shape its development. The bottom-up development mode refers to language changes that emerge from the grassroots level or from the speakers themselves. These changes are driven by the everyday language practices and choices made by individuals or groups within a community. Bottom-up progress occurs when language users adopt new vocabulary, language structures, or patterns based on their needs, preferences, or interactions with other communities and languages.

2.4.2 The Sociocultural and Economic Factors

Language serves as a symbolic indicator of an individual's social status, considering the incorporation of economic and cultural forms of capital into their language skills. By establishing a consensus regarding the social structures that sustain the privileges of the dominant class, symbolic power reinforces their position (Bourdieu et al., 2009). Reed-Danahay (2005) highlights Bourdieu's emphasis on the constraints imposed on human rights by culture and society in his writings. One example of this is the use of language as a cultural symbol, which showcases the restricted freedom in choosing and acquiring words. The widespread adoption of English education and the incorporation of English loanwords in many countries serves as an illustration of this phenomenon.

2.4.3 Symbolic Properties of English Language and the Influence in East Asia

In the era of globalisation, the significance of English as a lingua franca has grown increasingly crucial across various sectors of society, extending beyond business, trade, and education (Kiaer et al., 2021). “English fever” (Park, 2009) is observable in many countries. English as a lingua franca has resulted in noteworthy educational transformations across Asian countries (Hamid & Nguyen, 2016; Hu & McKay, 2012; Kirkpatrick, 2015; Sung, 2016). Chang (2011) claims that English serves as a gateway to the world in Asian countries such as Singapore, the Philippines, Malaysia, Japan, Korea and China. In this effort to open up to the global community, Asian English can fulfil significant roles, including accelerating national development through English education, promoting cross-cultural understanding, and facilitating international communication as a valuable tool in the globalised world (ibid.). Regarding the perception of the English language in Asia, it is a symbolic power that refers to the authority held by the ruling class to shape the perception of the use of language.

According to Kachru (1985; 1990), the global reach of the English language is classified into three distinct circles: the inner circle, encompassing native English speaking countries; the outer circle, comprising regions where English is used as a second language; and the expanding circle, referring to areas where English is used as a foreign language. East Asian countries, such as China, Japan, and South Korea, belong to the expanding circle. Despite English not being an official or historical language in these East Asian countries, it holds immense social value as a form of capital to enhances individuals’ competitiveness and positions (Kiaer et al., 2021). For China and South Korea, the use of English language is regarded as a symbol of one’s social status, considering the economic and cultural forms of capital incorporated in the language possessed by the individual.

English in South Korea, for example, is widely perceived as a gateway to enhanced career prospects and the ability to operate effectively at varied levels (Ahn, 2013; Choi, 2021; Jeon & Lee, 2017; Kiaer et al., 2021; Lim, 2020). It is acknowledged by many Korean linguists that English loanwords have become integral to the South Korean vocabulary (Cho, 2017; Kiaer, 2014; Lee, 2006; Park, 2009; Park & Abelmann, 2004). In particular, the organic development of English words in South Korea, as well as Japan, is an ongoing process that will create their own customised English vocabulary to align with specific registers, cultural contexts, and communicative requirements (Kiaer et al., 2021).

In China, Li (2020) argues that since the end of the 1970s, English has acquired prestige and garnered broad social recognition. Bourdieu (1986) posits that the core essence of cultural

capital lies in its embodiment, which refers to the esteemed cultural abilities and skills that are deeply ingrained within an individual's being or rooted in their habitus. Furthermore, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1994) suggest that linguistic capital, similar to other forms of cultural capital, has a greater chance of transforming into economic capital when it is legitimised through educational qualifications or recognised by government regulations and laws. The usage of the English language serves as a reflection of this phenomenon for ethnic Korean speakers in China. As bilingual individuals, Koreans have experienced substantial advantages within the Chinese market economy, as they have been able to secure employment in companies that have received investments from South Korea (Tsung, 2014). Bourdieu (1977) links the linguistic value with the economic advantages, in which employment advantages and social prestige will be influenced by the "linguistic market". For the Korean language used by the ethnic Korean minority of China, there has been a noticeable increase in the incorporation of English loanwords into the language (see Chapter 5). This phenomenon reflects the cultural prestige of the English language. The English words in the ethnic Korean language often serve as cultural symbols, representing "a practice or a property to function as a sign of distinction" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013, p. 297). Language usage is often seen as an indicator of an individual's social standing, taking into account the economic and cultural capital associated with their linguistic skills. As economic globalisation has progressed and China has opened up to the world in recent years, the proficiency in the English language in China has been increasingly recognised as a means of bridging social classes or ensuring one's position within them.

Language simultaneously embodies and shapes cultural realities. According to Bourdieu (2002), cultural capital, closely tied to social class, encompasses the capacity to demonstrate "cultured" behaviour by adopting the language, accents, and other elements associated with the privileged class. Cultural capital encompasses the collection of cultural assets, the worth of which is subjective and shaped by historical circumstances (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). English words in South Korea, Japan, and China are closely linked to modern lifestyles and cultural uniqueness, both of which are highly esteemed. Proficiency in English is considered a sign of potential career advancement and the language itself is regarded as a symbol of elevated social standing in East Asian countries. In the cases of China and South Korea, the incorporation of English words into the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language serves as a symbol of cultural capital, representing a recognition of the cultural assets associated with the English language.

On the other hand, the extensive adoption of English has potentially caused ambiguity regarding the connection between particular languages and cultures (Risager, 2006). This has

resulted in assertions that English as the lingua franca is inherently linked to British or American culture, akin to the strong forms of linguistic relativity proposed by Whorf (2017). When loanwords originating from countries like Britain and the United States are incorporated into the language of a nation, such as South Korea or China, they tend to gain significant symbolic influence (van Dijk, 2003). An examination of the fluctuations in English education in China reveals the hierarchical nature of cultural values, illustrating that the value ascribed to the English language is context-dependent, socially, and politically constructed, and intricately linked to the specific environment in which it is cultivated (Li, 2020). While Bourdieu et al. (2003) underscore the inseparable relationship between language and symbolic power, this study expands the scope to encompass interactions with sociopolitical dimensions. It delves into the variations within the process of borrowing English words in the ethnic Korean language of China, examining how these fluctuations interact with the evolving sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic landscapes. The *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* serves as a platform for representing English loanwords, AK borrowings, as well as Chinese borrowings within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. In the subsequent section, the relationship between language development and media language is examined, specifically focusing on how the media language influences and reflects changes in minority languages.

2.5 Minority Languages in Media

The language of the media has played an important role in the interplay and representation of linguistic change. This section aims to provide an overview of how media language, including writing and print media, as well as new digital media, reflects the development of a minority language in various social contexts. In situations where the promotion of a common language and national unity is prioritised, minority media language tends to reinforce the influence of the socially dominant language. On the contrary, in contexts where recognition and preservation of minority ethnic identity are stressed, the language of minority media plays a role in highlighting the distinctiveness of the minority language.

2.5.1 The Relationship between Media and Language

The relationship between media and language is intricately intertwined, as media both reflects and shapes language in various ways. The media serves as a conduit for language, operates within the realm of language, and contributes to the evolution of language. Research on the relationship between media and language investigates the intricate connections and influences

between the two domains. Scholars often explore how media, including various forms such as print media, television, radio, digital platforms, and social media, contribute to the processes of linguistic change. Research on the relationship between media and linguistic change examines the ways in which media usage and exposure impact language variation, language use, and language evolution over time. This field investigates phenomena such as media-driven language innovations, the spread of new linguistic forms through media channels, the influence of media on language norms and standards, and the adoption of media-influenced language features in everyday communication. In the book *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* Aitchison and Lewis (2013) contend that media language is a significant catalyst for language change. They propose that the ability of the mass media to rapidly and widely spread new words and phrases contributes to their adoption by a larger population.

Additionally, the field of language and media explores the social, cultural, political, and technological factors that shape the dynamic relationship between media and language, shedding light on the complexities of how media platforms both reflect and shape linguistic practices and patterns. In the early part of this century, many research works paid little attention to the significant role that media played in social and linguistic development. Prominent publications such as *Language Myths* (Bauer & Trudgill, 1998), *Sociolinguistics and social theory* (Coupland et al., 2001), *Sociolinguistic Theory* (Chambers, 2003), and *Principles of Linguistic Change* (Labov, 2006a) were representative of this trend, as they did not give much consideration to the impact of media on sociolinguistic transformations. In recent years, there has been significant exploration of the relationship between media and language use. Livingstone (2009, p. 1) asserts that we are transitioning from a society where the mass media held a position among various institutions of modern life to a stage where “everything is mediated.” In this context, no social process can be comprehensively understood without considering the role and influence of both traditional and new media. According to Stuart-Smith and her colleagues (2013), they argue that television dramas play a significant role as an additional catalyst in the rapid diffusion of language changes.

Kristiansen (2014) provides an in-depth analysis of the differentiation between mediation and mediatisation, aiming to theorise the direct and indirect impacts of media on daily language. Mediation, as he defines it, refers to the written representation of a language, while mediatisation pertains to the broader process of language becoming entangled within the power dynamics and value hierarchies associated with mass media technologies and institutions. Androutsopoulos (2014) further extends the theoretical framework surrounding mediation and mediatisation. In her research (ibid., p. 99), she offers a comprehensive

definition of “mediated language” as language use that relies on technological means, enabling the transmission and construction of meaning to transcend the limitations of direct face-to-face interaction. In particular, she analyses that written texts, such as newspapers, exemplify instances of mediated language. Drawing upon the example of media language, particularly in the context of writing and printing, Androutsopoulos (ibid.) in this research explores the impact of established norms for written communication on everyday conversations in Denmark and Norway. This influence can be examined through two distinct aspects. Firstly, it entails examining the impact of the writing norm, particularly in terms of orthography, on the spoken variety it is believed to represent. Secondly, it involves considering the role of the written norm in relation to the various non-standard varieties of language in Denmark and Norway. She summarises that mediated language in writing and printing does not directly impact spoken language immediately, but rather influences it through the coding and maintenance of orthography and through how the relationship between writing and speech is perceived and taught in educational settings.

Language plays a crucial role in the formation and preservation of ethnicity, as well as in maintaining group unity, which Reah (2008) defines as establishing relationships within the group. Duranti (1997, p. 49) also argues that language plays a significant part in culture, which can be understood as socially learned patterns of behaviour and interpretive practices. The media serves the purpose of disseminating information through language, and the choice of language reflects the connection between the media and its target audience. This aspect is also explored in the book *Scottish Newspapers, Language and Identity*, which examines the impact of lexical features on ethnic identification within the Scottish language press. Douglas (2022) in this book highlights that analysing the language used in newspapers can reveal underlying ideological stances, as language usage serves the purpose of relating to readerships. By using familiar and comfortable language, newspapers facilitate the identification of readers as part of a unified and distinct community. Furthermore, the book investigates how Scottish newspapers employ ethno-lexical features to maintain Scottish identity. However, the linguistic analysis in the book is not extensively discussed.

For several decades, media research has predominantly dedicated itself to critically examining and analysing the various dimensions of media, communication, and their societal implications. Recently, there has been a growing emphasis on exploring ethnicity, race, class, and popular culture within the realms of media and language. Progress in the field has resulted in the emergence of dedicated studies focusing on ethno-linguistic media, thereby enhancing recognition and understanding of this significant research area. However, the study of minority

languages in media research has been relatively overlooked, as noted by Moring (2000, 2007) and Kymlicka and Patten (2003).

2.5.2 The Study of Minority Language Media

The terms “ethnic media”, “ethno-linguistic media”, or “minority language media” encompass media that are specifically created for a particular linguistic or ethnic community (Matsaganis et al., 2011). Research on ethno-linguistic media examines the role and impact of media in relation to specific ethnic and linguistic communities. This area of study investigates how media platforms and content are shaped by, and in turn shape, the cultural, linguistic, and social dynamics of these communities. Ethno-linguistic media research explores topics such as representation, identity formation, language preservation, community engagement, and the intersection of culture and politics within media spaces. It also examines the challenges and opportunities faced by minority language media in terms of access, visibility, and sustainability.

Although languages spoken by minority groups often face challenges such as reduced speakers, dominant language influence, and limited resources, the media can play a crucial role in their empowerment and preservation. The role of minority language media in presenting minority languages has been a topic of debate among researchers for decades. Some argue that minority language media play a meaningful and beneficial role in maintaining and developing the language (Cormack & Hourigan, 2007), while others suggest that the increasing influence of lingua franca, partially driven by mass media, contributes to language shift among ethnic minorities (Busch, 2001; Fishman 1991; Moring, 2007; Riggins, 1992). In fact, between complete assimilation and complete cultural preservation, minority language media can be seen as a middle ground, taking into account the social contexts and specific political environment. (Chen, 2020; Cormack, 1998; Cormack & Hourigan, 2007; May, 2013). According to Guyot (2007), the political and technological shifts in Europe since the 1970s have led to increased representation of minority communities in media and educational policies, symbolising their advancement in countering discrimination, marginalisation, and invisibility. Cormack (1998) argues that it is crucial to direct attention towards specific contexts, particularly the political environment. This emphasis highlights the significance of the political landscape and its impact on various aspects of ethno-linguistic media.

However, research on minority language media is a relatively recent development. Riggins (1992) firstly put forward the issue in his collection and focuses mainly on media of

minority communities in developed countries, including Western Europe, North America, and Australia. Husband (1994) in his edited collection also reviews the minority media in six countries: Australia, France, The Netherlands, Norway, the UK and USA. Many research works in this field have primarily concentrated on regional contexts, often in Europe or the Western world (see, e.g., Alia & Bull, 2005; Crisell et al., 2012; Mansfield-Richardson, 2014; Ó Giollagáin & Caimbeul, 2021; Riggins, 1992; Zabaleta et al., 2014; Zabaleta & Xamardo, 2022). Alia and Bull (2005) explore the significance of language, culture, identity, and media within movements for liberation and the formation of novel political entities, while also analysing the practice of the minority communities in Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Northern Europe, the UK, and USA. The main focus put on Europe and America is also applied in *Minority Language Media: Concepts, critiques and case studies* (Cormack & Hourigan, 2007), where the scholars investigate various enquiries pertaining to minority languages, including the media requirements specific to the European languages, the role of media in preserving language vitality, and the influence of digital media.

As research on minority language media continues to develop, it has gained global attention, leading to an increasing number of researchers exploring this field and studying minority language media within their respective regions. Smith (2006) discusses indigenous media in Mexico, while Tshabangu and Salawu (2022) review indigenous language media in Africa. Chen (2020) investigates Hakka language radio stations in Taiwan. These studies aim to highlight new case studies within indigenous or minority language media in various regions.

In general, research on how minority language media foster linguistic innovation and adaptation highlights the dynamic nature of languages and the role of media platforms in shaping their development. It underscores the importance of the media in providing spaces for linguistic creativity, experimentation, and integration of the minority language into contemporary contexts.

2.5.3 Minority Language Media and Contact-induced Language Change

The language change resulting from the influence of a socially dominant language on an ethnic minority is known as contact-induced language change. Minority language media play a significant role in this process, as they often shape, disseminate, and reshape language usage changes. Patzelt (2011) examines the linguistic impact of English on Spanish through media coverage in America. Using a small corpus of Spanish-language newspapers published in America, she posits that there is deliberate control over the incorporation of lexical anglicisms,

while an incidental and seemingly unexplained influx of English can be observed at the morphosyntactic level (ibid.). Patzelt employs a practical methodology that includes comparative assessments of newspapers, encompassing both national and regional Spanish publications. Through this comparison, she reaches the conclusion that the proliferation of “Spanglish” morphosyntactic features contributes to the emergence of a new, US-specific variety of Spanish over time (ibid.). Her database of Spanish-language newspaper articles published in the USA is innovative and illustrative. Furthermore, her analysis covers various aspects, such as categories and frequencies of morphosyntactic calques, providing valuable insight in this emerging linguistic field. However, given that this academic field is still in its early stages with limited research conducted thus far, the findings, including the data, assessments, and conclusions, are not without limitations. For example, although Patzelt concludes that morphosyntactic anglicisms and the background of the reporters are highly relevant, the exact reasons behind this connection are not explicitly stated. Furthermore, the database used for the analysis comprises a total of 240 articles from Spanish-language print media, indicating the need for more data and further theoretical and empirical work.

2.5.4 Newspapers for Ethnolinguistic Minorities

Newspapers have been one of the most important media for minority languages since the civil rights movements of the 20th century. Today, more than 100 such newspapers are listed by the European Association of Daily Newspapers in Minority and Regional Languages (Browne & Uribe-Jongbloed, 2013). Newspapers serve the purpose of disseminating information through language, and the choice of language reflects the relevance of the newspaper to a specific readership. Vincze and Holley (2013) utilise the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) to emphasise the significance of minority language newspapers for ethnic groups. By interviewing journalists (ibid., p. 65), they argue that the “internal differences between minority and majority language newspapers imply content-related differences.” The findings reveal that the construction of the minority ethnolinguistic group largely depends on the attitudes and perceptions of journalists toward the majority group.

According to Kiely et al. (2006), the connection between national identity and individuals’ perceptions and consumption of print and broadcast media is a central yet largely untested assumption in studies on nationalism. Douglas (2022) explores the case of the Scottish language press to understand the extent to which lexical features impact ethnic identification. Douglas highlights that examining language usage in newspapers can reveal underlying

ideological stances, demonstrating that newspaper language is a powerful tool for connecting with readers. Additionally, the author investigates how Scottish newspapers employ ethno-lexical characteristics to maintain Scottish identity. However, the book lacks sufficient discussion regarding the linguistic analysis conducted. In a similar vein, Reah (2008) draws attention to the role of language in representing and identifying the readership of Australian newspapers, focusing on the usage of the lingua franca, which is English. Reah (*ibid.*, p. 55) emphasises that language carries its own emotional and cultural significance, influenced by the nature of the culture or subculture in which it is used. The book provides many examples from Australian newspapers to illustrate this point. However, the involvement of minority languages is lacking in the discussion.

Upon reviewing the available literature, it becomes evident that research investigating the link between print media and the development of minority languages lacks comprehensive data collection, robust methodologies, and broader participation from various ethno-linguistic media sources. The study of ethno-linguistic media, particularly in relation to minority languages, is still in its early stages. Many minority languages, including China's minority media, have received limited attention from scholars.

2.5.5 Section Summary

The research work in the field of minority language media analyses is currently far from sufficient. The theoretical frameworks linked to this field are especially scarce, and not many can be highlighted. Much more of the research work considers the issue of the impacts of media on a minority language from the perspective of ethnic identity than from the angle of linguistic factors. Additionally, many linguists discuss this issue through small and pilot-study-like corpora. Therefore, most of the databases are left to be further developed and enlarged. For example, the corpora that Patzelt establishes for the investigation and comparison of the Spanish-language newspapers mainly focus on the context of the newspaper articles, and not many interviews with the journalists or readerships are involved in the study. In fact, in addition to the impacts from the print media, some influential factors on language change that may be created by ethnic minority people are scarcely considered. On the other hand, some scholars, such as Douglas or Reah, highlight the functions of readership or journalists, while the contextual discussions in their books are not satisfactory. Also, the data applied by the above research are not adequate due to the limited data samples. Finally, many corpora about media analyses of minority language are preliminary and established in recent years, and sometimes

they are not sizable enough for appropriate results; thus this field not only requires many more corpora but also needs the relevant data to be further expanded.

2.6 Research Questions and Framework of This Study

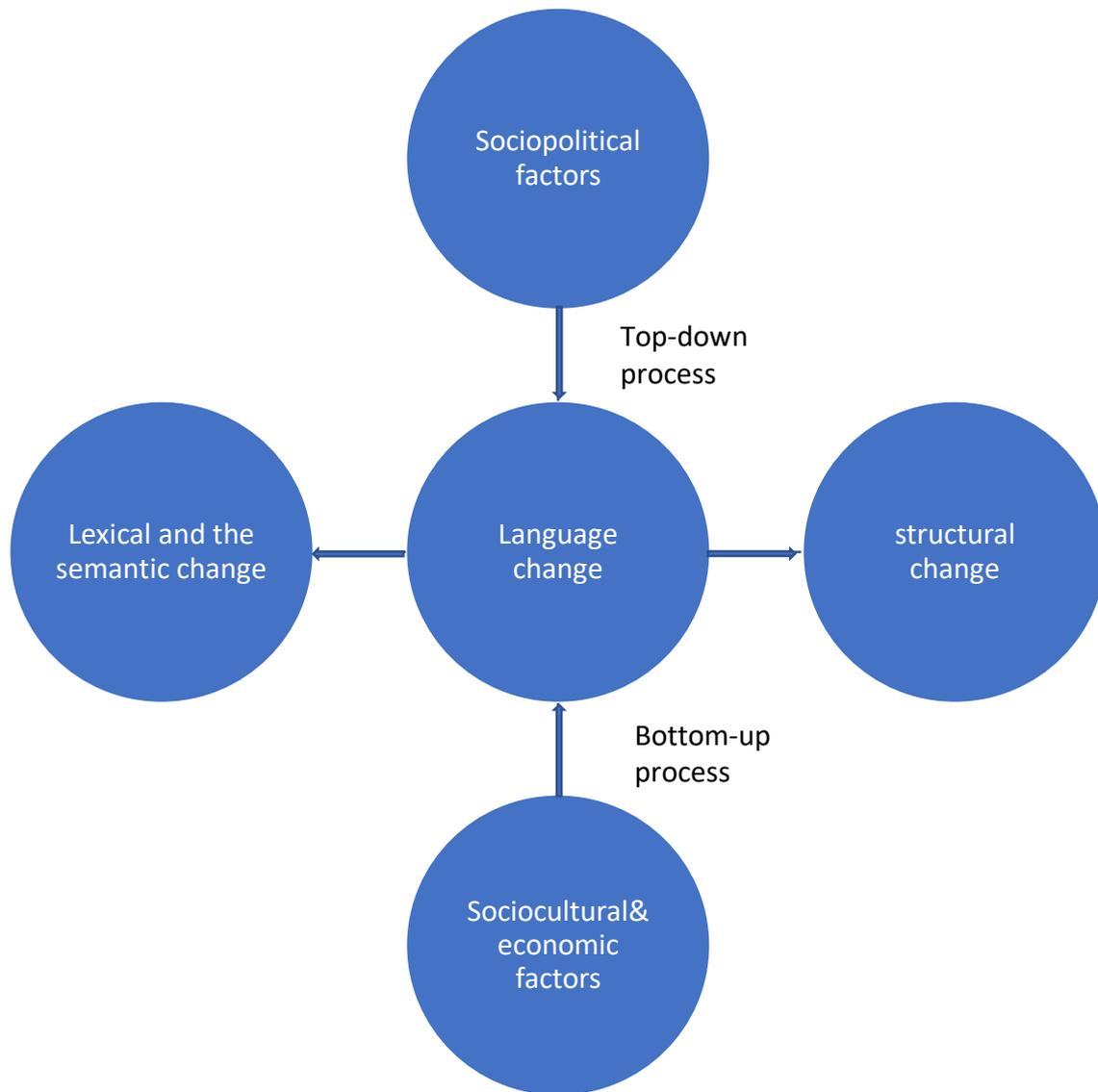
2.6.1 Research Questions of This Study

The political environment holds significant sway through top-down influence from the Chinese language, while everyday sociocultural and economic dynamics, as encountered by regular Korean speakers, exert a bottom-up impact, drawing inspiration from South Korea and the West. This study seeks to investigate four research questions grounded in the unique dual developmental mode of the Korean minority language within China's Yǒnbyǒn Korean Autonomous Prefecture:

1. What is the impact of the contemporary standard Chinese on language change in Yǒnbyǒn Korean, as reflected in the Korean language newspaper *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, and how do social factors shape this change?
2. To what extent does the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language undergo lexical, semantic, and structural change influenced by the contemporary standard Chinese, as demonstrated in the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* across different periods?
3. How has Yǒnbyǒn Korean changed, as reflected in the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* due to contact with its overseas cognate language, South Korean, since the 1990s, and how do social factors influence this change?
4. What are the lexical, semantic, and structural changes in Yǒnbyǒn Korean influenced by the South Korean and English languages, as observed in the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* across different periods?

2.6.2 The Framework of this Study

Figure 2. 1 The framework of this study: the top-down and bottom-up dual directions of development of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language



The process of lexical borrowing is influenced by both power dynamics arising from sociopolitical factors, and sociocultural and economic influences. In the case of the Yǒnbyŏn Korean language in China, this study observes lexical-semantic and lexical-structural changes influenced by the standard contemporary Chinese, driven by sociopolitical factors. Simultaneously, sociocultural and economic factors also serve as motivations for lexical change. The perceived prestige, cultural influence, and economic standing of a language can lead to the adoption of words and phrases from that language. Borrowing from prestigious languages can elevate social status, signal cultural sophistication, or showcase economic influence. In the context of the Yǒnbyŏn Korean language in China, the increasing presence of English and AK words reflects these sociocultural and economic influences, resulting in lexical-semantic and lexical-structural changes.

2.7 Summary of the Chapter

In the modern world, it is rare to find a language that has not undergone contact with other languages. Consequently, many languages have become a fusion of different linguistic influences (Jespersen, 2013). However, the lexical borrowings observed in the ethnic Korean language of China exhibit distinct characteristics. As one of the officially recognised minority languages in China, Korean has firstly been influenced by Chinese, which is the socially dominant language. The influence of Chinese on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has evolved over time, corresponding to language policies, planning, and social movements. The transformation of the language is significantly influenced by these sociopolitical forces, as demonstrated by the impact of contemporary standard Chinese on Yŏnbyŏn Korean (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in 1992, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has increasingly incorporated elements from the South Korean language, including English loanwords and Anlgo-Korean words (see Chapter 5). English loanwords, in particular, have gained prominence in Yŏnbyŏn Korean since the late 1990s, serving as symbolic capital for the language. Sociocultural factors, such as cultural prestige and economic models, exert a crucial influence on the language change. The dynamics of the transformation in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language are vividly captured through the lens of media language from 1948 to 2019. This chapter delved into relevant literature, exploring the intricate interplay of these social factors and their impact on language development, particularly in the context of the development of Yŏnbyŏn Korean. The goal is to enhance understanding of the relationship between the minority language, the social environment, and the role of media as a platform for presenting such linguistic changes.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As elucidated in Chapter 2, the dynamics of language borrowing and change stem from a convergence of power dynamics inherent in sociopolitical factors, alongside the impacts of sociocultural and economic influences. Within the context of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language in China, this study delves into alterations within lexical, semantic, and structural dimensions, driven by both the standard contemporary Chinese and the cognate Korean language. Simultaneously, sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic determinants emerge as significant catalysts for the lexical transformation. To comprehend the intricate process of lexical change in Yǒnbyǒn Korean, the utilisation of a matched database and the methodology applied to it become pivotal components. Methodology is the practical application of research, differentiating it from theories, which are purely conceptual (Meter, 1994). In this chapter, the focus shifts to the implementation of the approach, the actual steps taken for this study.

This chapter elucidates the employed methodology and outlines the concrete research procedures undertaken for this study. The next two sections delve into the utilisation of a corpus for this study, followed by an exploration of the process involved in constructing a specialised corpus for the study. These sections collectively aim to elucidate the rationale behind applying a corpus to this study and the justification for creating a corpus tailored to the objectives of this research. Section 3.4 offers an in-depth analysis of the criteria employed for data selection, encompassing the reasoning behind choosing written language and the selection of the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* as the primary source. Section 3.5 provides an overview of the establishment of the data scope, elaborating on its dual-layer nature. The subsequent Section 3.6 delineates the comprehensive process of data collection, which encompasses both the acquisition of analogue data and digital data. The language data is gathered through both fieldwork endeavours and the extraction of digital information available online. Furthermore, Section 3.7 then provides an outline of the self-built corpus, including its subsets and individual files. Within this section, there is also a concise summary of the process involved in crafting the project-specific corpus, tailored to the specific research objectives. Section 3.8 outlines the details of data processing and analysis, all of which are based on the corpus constructed for this study. The final section presents a concise overview of the methodologies employed in this study, all of which contribute to achieving the research goals. Ultimately, this study seeks to unearth insights into

the way various social factors have exerted influence on the lexical, semantic, and structural variations present within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language in China.

3.2 Corpus Linguistics and Constructing a Korean Language Corpus

3.2.1 Reviews of Corpus Linguistics

Corpora consist of collections of naturally occurring language, extensively gathered for the purpose of analysing and identifying language patterns (Sinclair, 1991). A corpus consists of “naturally occurring examples of language” collected and compiled for analysis (Hunston, 2002, p. 2). It can span from concise expressions to extensive collections of both written and spoken texts. Baroni and Evert (2009, p. 777) characterise corpora as limited samples drawn from the boundless set that constitutes a language in its expansive context. As a methodology, corpus linguistics offers functional techniques for exploring language phenomena in recent generations.

According to Hunston (2002), corpora have revolutionised the field of language research. Corpus linguistics employs an empirical methodology for language analysis, utilising a representative sample of the target language stored in an electronic database commonly known as a corpus (Biber et al., 1998). The exploration of corpora predominantly centres on the analysis and identification of distinct language patterns. In accordance with Biber et al. (ibid., p. 4), corpus linguistics diverges from traditional linguistics through the following means: it adopts an empirical approach, concentrating on scrutinising actual language usage patterns within authentic texts; it relies on a corpus, a comprehensive and systematically curated language collection; it extensively employs computer technology for analysis; and it draws upon both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques. Corpus linguistic research frequently entails sifting through extensive language data, delving into millions of words within sizable corpora. Scholars in this field heavily depend on software and other computer-assisted methodologies for gathering and processing the data.

3.2.2 Constructing a Korean Language Corpus

This study is dedicated to employing corpus-based approaches to delve into the language change and the detailed linguistic features of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. The investigation centres on mapping the development of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language within present-day China, influenced by its interactions with the predominant social language, Chinese, along with

other relevant Korean languages originating from the Korean peninsula, particularly South Korea. The research hinges upon a robust corpus that documents the diachronic linguistic realities of the Korean minority in China. In essence, a suitable dataset corpus comprised of well-matched linguistic elements forms the foundation of this research. However, regrettably, a suitable corpus is not readily accessible.

In this study, the adoption of a corpus-based methodology is pivotal. There are seven compelling reasons to employ a corpus for the analysis of language phenomena impacted by linguistic interaction with distinct language groups within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community. First, a corpus offers an extensive reservoir of authentic language data, capturing linguistic usage across diverse contexts and genres. This comprehensive dataset equips the study with the capacity to scrutinise linguistic shifts across varying situations and among different Korean speakers. Second, corpora encompass historical texts, affording the study the ability to trace the evolution of language over time. This historical vantage point facilitates the comprehension of how linguistic changes have unfolded and the factors that have contributed to these transformations. Third, corpora provide language data rich in contextual information, enabling an exploration of language alterations within specific social frameworks. This context-driven analysis sheds light on how language changes are intertwined with distinct social circumstances. Fourth, corpora are rooted in a multitude of real-world language usages, mitigating the risk of bias or misinterpretation inherent in data elicited through controlled methods. Fifth, a corpus grants access to a representative sampling of language use within a defined timeframe, yielding insights into overarching language trends and patterns. This concept, also referred to as sampling, will be further elaborated upon in the subsequent section. Sixth, the utilisation of a corpus streamlines the processes of data collection and analysis, enhancing efficiency in the examination of large volumes of language data. Lastly, corpora facilitate quantitative analysis, enabling the study to quantify the frequency of linguistic features, track variations in language, and pinpoint patterns of change. The corpus utilised in this study is a self-constructed dataset of limited size. The forthcoming section will elucidate the notable significance of small-sized corpora in linguistic analysis.

3.2.3 The Significance of a Small Size Corpus for Linguistics

In contrast to large-size corpora, which provide comprehensive coverage of a language and encompass an extensive collection of texts, often spanning millions or even billions of words, a smaller-size corpus contains a more limited dataset, typically ranging from thousands to tens

of thousands of words. Despite their scaled-down nature, these smaller corpora hold significant value for targeted research objectives, particularly when analysing specialised or niche language usage. Some corpus linguists, such as Anthony (2017), advocate for the management of smaller corpora as a viable approach. This methodology enables researchers to compare and analyse linguistic features within specific contexts, avoiding the complexities of handling the entirety of a language's extensive data. The notable advantage of this approach lies in the fact that the analysis and interpretations are grounded in highly pertinent and focused data. The pursuit of smaller-scale data through a small corpus becomes necessary when the data within existing large-scale corpora fail to align with the specific requirements of particular studies. As highlighted by Anthony (*ibid.*, p. 83), corpus designers often “make assumptions about the target users”. If these assumptions do not accurately reflect the actual users, it can lead to an unsatisfactory interface experience and search inaccuracies.

This study employs a small-size corpus due to the limited availability of language data and challenges related to digitisation. Creating or utilising a large-size corpus for this research presents substantial difficulties for several reasons. Firstly, existing large-scale corpora do not align with the research objectives, which focus on observing language data of Yǒnbyǒn Korean used in China since the late 1940s. While some may consider borrowing large-scale corpora from South Korea, it is crucial to recognise that the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language and South Korean language are distinct entities, necessitating the creation of dedicated representative corpora specifically for Yǒnbyǒn Korean. Secondly, as Yǒnbyǒn Korean is a minority community language characterised by restricted accessible linguistic data, amassing extensive resources to create a sizable corpus presents a considerable challenge. Thirdly, the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language experiences swift evolutions, notably in its vocabulary, as numerous linguistic elements transition from North to South Korean. Additionally, language alterations occur through interactions with modern standard Chinese. Therefore, compiling a comprehensive corpus that includes all these language elements is not feasible. The subsequent section will delve into the specifics of constructing the small-size corpus for this study.

3.3 Constructing the Corpus of this Study

This section presents the rationale behind the construction of a project corpus. Among the existing corpora, there is no suitable option that encompasses the wide-ranging language data required for this study. This project necessitates a corpus that not only captures the usage of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language in China between 1948 and 2020 but also aligns with distinct

social contexts, including lexical origins, category-sensitive analysis, and period-based divisions. The project corpus is curated to interconnect language evolution with corresponding societal settings.

Given the specific focus of this study on a minority language in China, the existing corpora and commonly employed computer software tools like Claws Post-tagger and MAXQDA prove to be ill-suited for application. This stems from two primary factors. Firstly, the research demands the creation of a corpus due to the limited availability of language data. Unfortunately, the currently available corpora provide only a restricted amount of language-related information, and the application of software tools specific to the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language in China, particularly for data predating 2005, is limited. Consequently, the creation of a self-constructed corpus and the application of specific programming language, as opposed to commonly employed software, become the only viable option. Secondly, the widely used language-analysis software tools are challenging to implement in this study. The difficulties stem from the digitisation obstacles faced with respect to the collected Yŏnbyŏn Korean language data. The language data under scrutiny spans historical and contemporary language documents, encompassing low-quality print broadsheets from the period between 1948 and 2005. The intricacies of digitising this information present notable hurdles. Thus, a manual approach is undertaken to develop a segment of the corpus encompassing language data preceding 2005. Concurrently, computational methods are utilised to systematise and retrieve information from the period after 2005. This section provides a comprehensive understanding of the logic and methodologies employed in the corpus development, structured into three segments. The first segment delineates the rationale and motivations that drive the construction of the corpus for this research, encompassing the creation of the corpus to acquire suitable data and establish a connection between the data and societal contexts. The ensuing part highlights the sampling methodology and rationale behind employing random sampling in the creation of this corpus. Finally, Section 3.3.3 encapsulates the rationale underpinning the construction of the project corpus.

3.3.1 Rationale of Constructing a Project-specific Corpus

Corpus studies introduce a revolutionary perspective for comprehending language evolution. In contrast to relying on pre-existing corpora, this project sets out to construct its own corpus, a decision prompted by the insufficiency of currently available corpora to meet the research objectives. The rationale behind formulating a project-specific corpus is manifold. First

foremost, this corpus is tailored to observe the evolution of the Korean minority language within contemporary China. Given the scarcity of existing corpora that furnish language data concerning the Korean language in China, constructing a project-specific corpus becomes imperative. Secondly, the utilisation of pre-existing corpora would pose challenges in correlating data with the shifting social contexts. This study is dedicated to delving into contact-induced modifications within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, under the evolving societal dynamics of China. Notably, these societal settings, as opposed to linguistic elements, wield a more profound influence on language transformation. This research contends that shifts in language development can be instigated by evolving social contexts. To align with this research objective, the project corpus is designed to establish connections between social contexts and language shifts.

3.3.1.1 Constructing the Corpus for Obtaining Appropriate Data

Creating a corpus lays the crucial groundwork for this study. Given the data-intensive nature of this research, a robust corpus serves as the cornerstone upon which the entire study is built. The principal aim of this study is to procure a corpus that faithfully captures the language patterns of the Korean minority in China. However, the currently available corpus resources that precisely match this specific domain are limited. The Korean corpora accessible at present predominantly centre their focus on language usage within South Korea. While a handful of corpora do extend their coverage beyond South Korea – notable examples being the government-sponsored Sejong Corpora and the Korean National Corpus – their data collection methods are confined to computer-based extraction techniques (Kim et al., 2007). Consequently, this approach excludes historical language data from areas outside South Korea, such as the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language used in China. To provide further clarity, widely employed corpora like the Sejong Corpora and the widely popular text corpus Sketch Engine do not encompass the essential language data pertinent to this study. As a result, the currently accessible corpora fail to provide a comprehensive insight into the utilisation of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language in China since 1948.

Furthermore, the applicability of software tools designed to streamline the aggregation of digital data into a corpus is not feasible for this study. The research focuses on exploring contact-induced modifications within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language across a span of more than seven decades, ranging from 1948 to 2020. However, it is essential to acknowledge that the digitisation of the Korean language as used in China has only become achievable in recent

times. Specifically, texts originating from digital sources before 2005 are largely inaccessible. As a result of this constraint, software solutions commonly embraced by corpus linguists, such as Antconc, Web Anno and the UAM corpus tool, cannot be enlisted for the creation of the corpus. In order to align the amassed data with the research objectives, the construction of a smaller-sized corpus emerges as a viable and practical alternative.

3.3.1.2 Constructing the Corpus for Connecting Data with Social Contexts

This study is dedicated to the exploration of contact-induced change in the Korean language within the evolving social landscape of China. It emphasises that the transformation of the language is primarily shaped by shifts in social dynamics rather than inherent linguistic elements. The researcher posits that changes in language development can be redirected due to the influence of updated social contexts. To align with the research objectives, the project corpus is designed with specific aims in mind. Its purpose is to establish a cohesive link between social contexts and language data. The initial step involves the categorisation of data into distinct time periods, contingent upon the prevailing social milieu in China. Additionally, the corpus data is further organised based on relevant news subjects. This categorisation proves invaluable in unveiling the sequence and magnitude of language evolution, particularly in response to contact with neighbouring languages. According to this categorisation, language use in domains like sports and popular reports exhibits a more substantial influence from Seoul Korean (see Chapter 5), while the Chinese language exerts a more pronounced impact on language used in political and social reportage (see Chapter 4).

3.3.2 Sampling and the Random Sampling for Constructing This Corpus

Due to the constrained availability of texts for the corpus, the concept of sampling assumes vital importance in facilitating the efficacy of a small-sized corpus to adequately represent the entire dataset and facilitate effective study. Sampling entails the selection of a subset from a population for observation, aiming to draw conclusions about the entire population (Thompson, 2012). For instance, examining all texts within a community language might be unfeasible; hence, representative text samples are chosen to observe the linguistic attributes and other facets of the language prevalent in that community.

This research follows specific guidelines for data selection, ensuring the use of consistent, standardised, and representative language information pertaining to Yŏnbyŏn Korean in China, covering a corresponding timescale. To accomplish this, a process of random

sampling from the same newspaper spanning the years 1948 to 2020 has been established. Random sampling is a technique employed to select a subset of individuals or items from a larger dataset in a manner that ensures every element within the dataset has an equal opportunity of being included in the sample. This methodology ensures that the selected sample accurately reflects the entire dataset, enabling researchers to make valid conclusions and extend their findings to the complete dataset as a whole.

Considering this perspective, the corpus utilised in this study is representative but of modest size. Despite its compactness, the corpus holds value for the particular research objectives. This approach enables the research to conduct manual comparisons and analyses of linguistic features within a specific context, avoiding the necessity of handling the extensive dataset of an entire language. The benefit of employing this method is that the analysis and interpretations are rooted in exceptionally pertinent and focused data. The upcoming section will outline the criteria for data selection and the scope of data encompassing the self-constructed corpus.

3.3.3 Section Summary

In summary, the foundational step towards investigating the evolution of the minority Korean language is the creation of a dedicated corpus. In reality, numerous distinct projects would lack merit without the existence of such a purposefully constructed corpus. This project corpus is designed to be specific to its intended target and sensitive to the contextual nuances. The strategies employed to define the scope and outline the data selection process will be elucidated in the following section.

3.4 Data Selection

This section elucidates the criteria used for data selection. In order to observe the diachronic linguistic characteristics of Yŏnbyŏn Korean, this study specifically emphasises written language as the primary source of language data. When compared to oral data, written language offers greater stability, enabling the observation of language development over time. Notably, the ethnic Korean population is recognised as a model minority with high levels of literacy proficiency. Consequently, written language is deemed representative and well-suited for analysing this specific language.

Data selection is also guided by the criteria to ensure that linguistic information is characterised by uniformity, standardisation, temporal alignment, and representation of the

Korean population in China. Within this context, the spotlight turns to newspaper language, which exhibits stable and standardised attributes, making it an ideal focal point. Additionally, the process of collecting historical data from newspapers is notably straightforward, further emphasising its suitability for this study's objectives.

Among the available sources, language derived from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* is selected as the designated data supply for the corpus. This choice is justified by the fact that the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* systematically documents diachronic, consistent, and representative language usage within the Korean community. Functioning as a reservoir of Korean language, the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* exclusively contributes language data to this research. Figure 3.1 provides an illustration of the process involved in selecting language data for this study. The following sections will provide a comprehensive explanation of the intricate process involved in selecting the corpus data.

Figure 3. 1 The process of selecting the corpus data



3.4.1 Criteria of Data Selection

The project focuses on examining the evolution of the *Yŏnbyŏn* Korean language within the context of the Chinese society's adaptations over the past seven decades. To delve into the language transformation, the project compiles diachronic, coherent, and indicative linguistic elements of the Korean minority. The three defining attributes – long-standing, consistent, and representative/indicative – are employed as criteria for data selection.

Initially, the corpus gathers data that exemplify the uninterrupted use of language throughout the years. This implies that the language information can be traced back to the late 1940s, coinciding with the ascent of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the subsequent shaping of contemporary Chinese society. Subsequently, the language data must maintain consistency in linguistic styles across the decades. Diachronic data with stable linguistic styles help mitigate potential errors in data analysis. For instance, the quantity and utilisation of loanwords might vary across different literary genres, significantly impacting lexical analysis.

Lastly, the corpus assembles language content that is representative of the Korean community. This ensures that the linguistic data collected accurately reflects the characteristics of the Korean minority group in Yŏnbyŏn.

3.4.2 Rationale of Selecting Written Language

This research necessitates a consistent and chronological accumulation of language data to thoroughly investigate the evolution of the Korean language in China. In the process of scrutinising accessible written and spoken materials ranging from the 1940s to the present day, the researcher prioritises written texts as the principal wellspring of language data. Written language, due to its inherent durability, emerges as the most suitable repository for acquiring diachronic language data. Unlike historical spoken language information, which is challenging to preserve, written language stands out as the ideal reservoir for maintaining language data over extended periods, owing to its lasting nature.

Nevertheless, within the realm of traditional linguistic research, written language has often been given limited attention when compared to studies focusing on spoken language. The inclination to overlook the significance of written language as a linguistic entity traces back to the early stages of the modern linguistic field. Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), one of the pioneers of modern linguistics, points out that the sole purpose of writing is to represent spoken language. He contends in the field of linguistics that the focus of study is not a fusion of written and spoken language; rather, the subject is exclusively centred around the spoken language itself (Saussure, 1993). This perspective is echoed by Leonard Bloomfield, who regards the written form as a means of recording rather than a manifestation of language itself (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 21).

While modern structuralists emphasise the precedence of spoken language over written, researchers such as Coulmas (1989) and Marfany (2010) contend that written language holds a more extensive reach within a community than its spoken counterpart. Coulmas (2013) goes further by drawing comparisons between written and spoken language, ultimately asserting that written language mirrors the standard linguistic code of a society. In other words, written language represents the “standard” and “elaborated code”, while spoken language reflects the “dialect” and “restricted code” (ibid., p. 57). Johanson (2013) highlights the crucial role of written texts in the realm of language evolution, particularly when dealing with historical languages. In contrast, oral vernacular is often sourced from diverse individuals, resulting in an unstable linguistic code. As Coulmas (2013) argues, no two individuals speak in exactly the

same manner, and, even for the same speaker, consistent linguistic uniformity is challenging to maintain. In contrast, written language mitigates the influence of code variations inherent in spoken language.

Written language is embraced by members of a community through shared usage and practice. Written data serves as a structured record that embodies the stable and uniform linguistic code of a community. Given that this project delves into the evolution of the Korean language over decades, written language stands out for its stability, consistency, and reliability. Furthermore, the ethnic Korean society stands out due to its commendable literacy rates. As a model minority, Korean speakers in China predominantly engage in reading and writing within their language(s). As a result, linguistic codes within written language are notably representative of the community. In essence, written language offers consistency, endurance, and a reflection of the standard language code. Consequently, written data has been selected for the corpus to facilitate the observation of the language development and change of Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

3.4.3 Rationale of Selecting News Texts

In terms of selection criteria, this project places its data focus on news texts originating from a local newspaper of Yŏnbyŏn with a well-established historical background. The data selection adheres to specific criteria to ensure linguistic information is uniform, standard, temporally aligned, and representative of the Korean population in China. Newspaper language, thus, becomes the focus due to its stable and standardised attributes, as well as the ease of collecting historical data. Firstly, newspaper language, as a formal register, maintains a relatively stable and consistent linguistic style and lexical usage. For instance, syntactic structures and formal lexicon remain consistent within media language. In contrast, data sourced from individual writings, such as fiction and poetry, are not deemed consistent sources for observing language development, given the diverse styles and vocabulary used by different writers. Even a single writer may evolve different styles over time. Secondly, newspaper language is considered a benchmark for standard language usage. It tends to be more formal and less variable, utilising a consistent lexical repertoire within a specific timeframe. Thirdly, historical language data can be accessed through archived newspapers, enabling the collection of language data from the desired timeframe. This becomes particularly significant when the research aims to trace language development over several decades. Newspaper language forms the foundational

scope for the corpus. The subsequent step involves identifying a newspaper that aptly represents the linguistic characteristics of the Korean community in China.

3.4.4 The Selected *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*

After exploring various Korean language newspapers in China, the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* (known as *Yŏnbyŏn ilbo* in Korean, or *Yanbian ribao* in Chinese) has been chosen as the preferred option. This decision is primarily driven by factors such as its extensive historical lineage, uninterrupted and consistent newspaper distribution, consistent linguistic style, and its prominent position within the Korean community. Among the range of domestic Korean language media outlets, *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* stands out as the oldest and most enduring, having documented the language usage of the Chinese Korean minority since 1948. Operating in the Yŏnbyŏn region, this publication caters to the largest Korean readership in China.

There are several Korean language newspapers in China, classified into three distinct groups based on their active periods. The first group encompasses newspapers that ceased publication following Japan's defeat in China. Examples include *Manchu-Mongol Daily* (*Manmong ilbo*), *Kando Daily* (*Kando ilbo*), and *Manchu-Korea Daily* (*Mansŏn ilbo*). Language used in these newspapers differs significantly in linguistic style from that of later periods, characterised by mixed language codes and succinct expressions. Given that this study examines linguistic attributes and transformations in contemporary China, the language data from the first group is not within the data scope.

The second group of the Korean language newspapers in China comprises newspapers that emerged after the Manchukuo era. Notable examples include *Korean People's Daily* (*Hanmin ilbo*), *Yanbian People's News* (*Yŏnbyŏn minbo*) and *Jidong Daily* (*Gildong ilbo*). These newspapers had relatively short circulation durations and were often regarded as official print media during the transitional phase of the Communist Party. However, due to the absence of comprehensive and consistent data spanning the past seven decades, this group is excluded from the data scope.

The third group encompasses newspapers that are currently active and were established following the stabilisation of communist governance. Included within this group are *Korean newspapers of Killim* (*Jilin chaoxianwen bao*), *Korean newspapers of Ryonnŏng* (*Liaoning chaoxianwen bao*), *Hŭkryongkang News* (*Heilongjiang xinwen*), *Chosŏnjŏk Junior News* (*Zhongguo chaoxianzu shaonian bao*), and *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* was inaugurated in 1948, notably earlier than the other newspapers. Its temporal framework aligns with the

research focus, rendering data extracted from it highly relevant for exploring Korean linguistic attributes and transformations in the contemporary Chinese context.

Upon thorough exploration of different Korean language newspapers in China, the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* has emerged as the optimal choice. This decision is primarily based on the following key considerations:

Firstly, the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, established in 1948, stands as one of the earliest newspapers in the history of the People's Republic of China. It has consistently published its daily newspaper for decades, with a brief interruption during the Cultural Revolution period. Its enduring presence is in part due to its recognition as the official newspaper of the CCP within the Yŏnbyŏn region. Operated under the guidance of the prefecture committee of the CCP, *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* serves as a local media outlet. It holds a position of significant influence and authority, particularly among the Korean minority, given its extensive and widespread circulation. This circulation extends both domestically and internationally, with *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* being published in North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Canada, and the United States.

Secondly, as highlighted in Chapter One, the Yŏnbyŏn/Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP) in China represents the largest inhabited area for the Chinese Korean minority. It holds the unique distinction of being the only provincial-level region inhabited by Koreans. In this context, *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* functions as an indispensable daily newspaper for the region and the Korean community. Consequently, the Korean language presented within *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* is deemed representative data for the Chinese Korean minority.

Given the alignment of active periods and the language's stable, consistent, and representative nature, the data scope of this study exclusively draws language from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. To assess the representativeness of linguistic features within *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, language from *Killim News*, another Chinese Korean newspaper established since 1985, is collected as reference data. However, *Killim News* is only utilised as supplementary information for testing or referencing the language extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*.

3.5 Data Scope

3.5.1 The Data Scope and its Initial Layer

A substantial portion of the content within *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* remains in non-digitised form and is not amenable to optical character recognition (OCR) by computers. The project-specific corpus is hence categorised into analogue and digital datasets. The analogue texts from hard copies cannot undergo OCR. Consequently, the analogue set is mainly collected and analysed

manually. The data selected from analogue documents up to the year 1999 is managed as analogue files. These files form the traditional collection organised within the first dataset. On the other hand, the data extracted from the periods between 2006 and 2020 compose the digital collection for the second dataset. Manually extracting the vast amount of information from the documents is both impractical and unnecessary. Therefore, establishing an appropriate data scope for the corpus becomes of paramount importance. This research adheres to specific guidelines for defining the data scope, with the primary objective of ensuring the inclusion of consistent, standardised, and representative language information pertinent to Yǒnbyǒn Korean within the Chinese social contexts. Moreover, this scope encompasses a timeframe that corresponds to the research focus. To achieve this, the data scope is constructed through a combination of experimental design and random sampling techniques. This approach is vital to ensure that the selected data for the corpus accurately captures the linguistic features of Yǒnbyǒn Korean and meets the research objectives, while considering the limitations posed by the non-digitised nature of the source material.

The initial layer of the data scope employs an experimental design approach. The application of experimental design serves to define a comprehensive scope, taking into account the evolving Chinese social context. The study seeks to address two fundamental inquiries: the impact of contemporary standard Chinese on Yǒnbyǒn Korean language and the changes induced in the Korean language due to contact with the cognate Korean language. Both aspects are deeply influenced by societal elements such as the sociopolitical climate, language policies and planning, cultural choices within the community, economic factors, and the power dynamics between the official language and the community language. These social factors significantly shape language development in the different periods.

Applying experimental design within the first layer of the data scope necessitates a meticulous evaluation of relevant factors to identify a suitable variable for data selection. The choice of a valid variable for selecting both analogue and digital data is slightly nuanced. Specifically, in the context of *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* and the evolving societal landscape of China, the variable selected for analogue data extraction centres on intervals of roughly a decade. To be more precise, sample data is extracted from each decade starting from 1948. This entails collecting analogue data from the years 1948, 1959, 1969, 1979, 1989, and 1999. The starting point is set at the year 1948, coinciding with the establishment of stable governance by the Chinese Communist Party in the Yǒnbyǒn region. This marks a significant time when the linguistic style of modern Chinese began exerting influence on the Korean language. Subsequently, with an interval of approximately a decade, China underwent another significant

nationwide movement, the Great Leap Forward campaign in the late 1950s. By the late 1960s, the society was deeply impacted by the Cultural Revolution movement (1966–1976), which brought about shifts in language and news publications. The movement concluded in the late 1970s, coinciding with China’s initiation of opening-up policies. This led to updates in newspaper language, which in turn shaped the development of the Korean language in response to these social adjustments. The end of the 1980s and 1990s are identified as two distinctive periods included within the data scope due to their profound social adaptations, both within China and on the international stage. The 1980s also saw the implementation of new language policies supporting the use of minority languages in China. In 1992, Beijing and Seoul established formal diplomatic relations, a pivotal time for the Korean minority with regards to contact with South Korea and particularly Seoul-style language.

In addition, the application of experimental design in the first layer of the data scope involves a meticulous assessment of relevant factors to establish a valid variable for selecting digital data. It is important to note that the valid variable for selecting analogue and digital data slightly differs. Notably, the influence of Seoul Korean on Yŏnbyŏn Korean has gained substantial momentum since the 2000s, resulting in evident lexical changes, including the incorporation of English loanwords. This linguistic shift has significantly impacted the trajectory of Yŏnbyŏn Korean language development in China. To ensure consistency with the established time intervals, the years 2009 and 2019 are designated for inclusion. Furthermore, given the rapid evolution of Yŏnbyŏn Korean post-2000, additional observing years between 2006 and 2020 are included to yield more representative findings. As a result, digital data from the years 2006, 2009, 2013, 2016, and 2019 are gathered. It is noteworthy that because of the restricted availability of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*’s digital news content for the year 2006, the digital files amalgamate the articles from both 2006 and 2007, resulting in a unified file. In addition, language data from 2020 to 2022 is also incorporated as reference data within the data scope, aiming to monitor the ongoing evolution of Korean language in China.

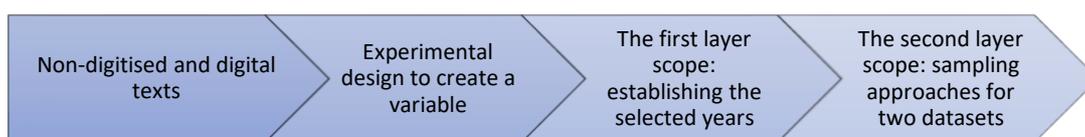
3.5.2 The Second Layer of the Data Scope

The second layer of the data scope builds upon the foundation established in the first layer. In this context, language information is chosen from specific years as specified by the first-layer scope. To shape the data scope for the second layer, sampling techniques are employed. The sample corpus method is utilised to craft a balanced and representative dataset within a defined timeframe (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). Unlike extracting every text chosen in the selected

years, the second-layer scope encompasses a portion of language information from each of the selected years within the first-layer scope. To determine the precise sections of certain years in the newspaper, simple random sampling techniques are employed. As Thompson (2012) states, the simple random sampling method involves selecting a subset of individuals or items from a larger dataset in a manner that ensures every element within the dataset has an equal opportunity of being included in the sample. This approach guarantees that the selected sample genuinely mirrors the entire dataset. By employing this method, researchers can draw reliable conclusions and extrapolate their findings to the entire dataset. To create the data scope for the second layer, a random extraction of continuous pages from the chosen years is implemented as the selected approach.

The project-specific corpus is categorised into analogue and digital datasets. The methods for selecting language data within these two sets exhibit slight differences due to their unique characteristics. For the analogue set, a random extraction of forty continuous pages is applied for the selected years ranging from 1948 to 1999. In contrast, the digital set comprises language data randomly extracted from the years between 2006 and 2020. The analogue set consists of forty-page segments, equivalent to approximately ten days of systematic news reports from each selected year. These reports encompass a wide range of subjects including political, economic, social, cultural, recreational, lifestyle, health, and sports. Similarly, the digital set includes articles covering various news topics such as cultural events, economics, recreation, global affairs, food, health, literature, politics, social issues, and sports. Many of these news subjects are further divided into sub-categories on the official website of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. For instance, under the broader category of “sports”, sub-categories include “sports in daily life”, “general sports”, “soccer”, “Olympic events”, and “the World Cup”. The data selection for the digital set encompasses diverse subjects from the chosen years, including 2006/2007, 2009, 2013, 2016, 2019, and 2020. A cumulative sum of 26,019 articles has been gathered from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*’s official website, constituting the digital set. Figure 3.2 depicts the procedure of creating the dual-layer data scope of the study.

Figure 3. 2 The process of creating the dual-layer data scope



3.5.3 The Dual-layer Data Scope

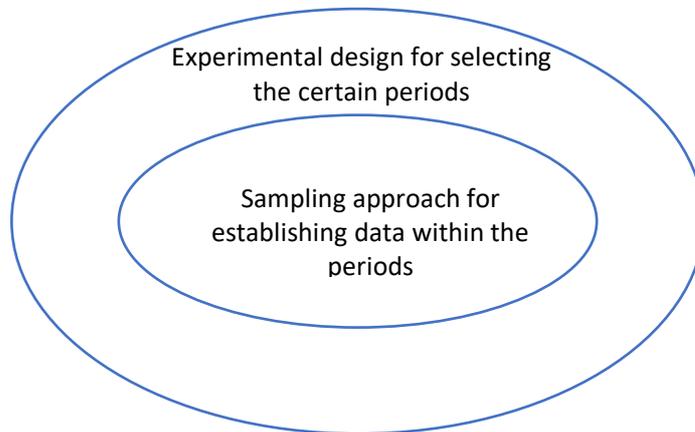
This section elucidates the methodology behind establishing the data scope for the project, which is comprised of two layers. A combined approach of experimental design and sampling techniques is employed to construct the two-layer data scope.

The initial layer of the data scope is designed in alignment with the research objective of investigating language change prompted by evolving social contexts. This is achieved by considering social factors within Yŏnbyŏn after 1948. Experimental design is a method that considers relevant elements for establishing valid variables in designing the data scope. In this layer, data segments are identified at reasonable intervals to effectively represent the entire spectrum of language phenomena. The use of experimental design involves creating a time interval framework for selecting representative data. This interval is structured in accordance with the evolving Chinese societal landscape over the span of seven decades. Given the dynamic changes within Chinese society occurring roughly every decade, the first layer of the data scope involves language selection from each decade. The evolution of Yŏnbyŏn Korean language post-1948, in parallel with the changes in Chinese society, has experienced shifts in various dimensions including the sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic environment of China. These altered societal conditions have subsequently prompted adjustments in cultural choices and dominance relationships between languages. The first layer of the data scope is strategically designed to select specific periods that accurately capture the language affected by these evolving social factors.

The second layer is nested within the first layer and serves to ensure the validity of sampling extractions within the established segments. This study categorises language data into two groups: analogue and digital. Both groups exclusively source their language information from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. The data extracted from the period spanning 1948 to 1999 constitutes the analogue set, which necessitates manual processing due to the inability to use OCR. Conversely, language data from post-2005 is automatically collected and organised as the digital dataset. For analogue data, the second layer of the data scope is adjusted to entail the random

extraction of forty continuous pages from each of the six specific years: 1948, 1959, 1969, 1979, 1989, and 1999. These continuous pages encompass at least one week or predominantly ten days of comprehensive reports covering various news subjects. This selection strategy aims to mitigate language usage imbalances and stylistic variations stemming from diverse subjects. The dataset encompassing the years 2006 to 2020 constitutes the digital collection. Unlike the structured format of the print version newspaper, the online documentation of *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* is organised around individual articles. Each webpage represents a distinct article categorised under various subjects within the newspaper. These subjects encompass political, economic, social, cultural, opinions, international affairs, sports, pictures, plans, serial stories of CCP history, and the *Chǒngdo (qingdao)* channel. Among these subjects, the central subjects that mirror the language data in the analogue set of the corpus include political, economic, social and civil issues, literature, recreation, and sports. A total of 26,019 digital articles, each originating from a separate webpage, are extracted to form the digital dataset. These six focal categories correspond to the news subjects found within the analogue data, thereby limiting data inconsistencies arising from unmatched lexical genres. The process of creating the dual-layer data scope is further illustrated in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3. 3 The establishment of the dual-layer data scope



In summary, the data scope follows an experimental design to pinpoint specific historical periods, forming the first layer of the scope. Taking into account the evolving social contexts within contemporary Chinese society, eight years are selected from each decade. Sampling techniques are employed to determine the precise range from each of these eight years, constituting the second layer of the data scope. Given that the news documents are

categorised as analogue and digital data, distinct selection methods are applied for each type. For analogue texts spanning from 1948 to 1999, the data scope involves randomly extracting forty continuous pages from each of the six selected years. These forty-page extractions from the analogue data encompass comprehensive news reports covering various subjects within the newspaper. Regarding the digital group between 2006 and 2020, the data scope encompasses the random selection of continuous webpages from six key news categories: political, economic, civil issue, recreation, literature, and sports. This selection strategy considers the availability of digital news from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* online. The chosen webpages collectively form the digital data subset for this study.

3.5.4 The Two Datasets of the Self-constructed Corpus

The data scope for the analogue texts covers the years 1948 to 1999, involving the random extraction of forty consecutive pages from each of the six selected years. These extracted pages from the analogue data encompass comprehensive news reports, spanning a wide array of subjects found within the newspaper. The article count within each of the analogue files varies, ranging from 198 to 420. On the other hand, the count of digital articles gathered from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*'s online platform depends on the availability of its digital news content. Due to limited access to *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*'s digital news for the year 2006, the digital files combine the articles from both 2006 and 2007 into a single file. In this combined file, 221 texts are extracted from 2006, and 1851 texts are extracted from 2007.

The first dataset consists of six files, each containing forty pages of language data dated between 1948 and 1999, forming the analogue set. Additionally, another six files constitute the digital set, encompassing a variety of news subjects that largely correspond with those found in the analogue set. The alignment between these sets helps ensure consistent representation. A detailed overview of the data scope is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3. 1 The datasets of the self-constructed corpus

Analogue dataset	Digital dataset
40 continuous pages of <i>Yŏnbyŏn Daily</i> in 1948	2072 digital articles of <i>Yŏnbyŏn Daily</i> in 2006/2007
40 continuous pages of <i>Yŏnbyŏn Daily</i> in 1959	2927 digital articles of <i>Yŏnbyŏn Daily</i> in 2009

40 continuous pages of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 1969	2382 digital articles of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 2013
40 continuous pages of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 1979	5349 digital articles of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 2016
40 continuous pages of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 1989	6628 digital articles of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 2019
40 continuous pages of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 1999	6661 digital articles of <i>Yǒnbyǒn Daily</i> in 2020

3.5.5 Section Summary

This section outlines the process of defining the data scope for the corpus. The data scope is structured in two layers, each serving a specific purpose. The first layer is determined by the application of experimental design to select particular years. The second layer is then established within the range of the years selected in the first layer, using sampling techniques. The data extraction from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* follows an interval of approximately a decade, forming the first layer of the data scope. The second layer of the data scope consists of two parts: firstly, for the analogue portion, forty continuous pages from the selected years between 1948 and 1999 are randomly chosen; secondly, a total of 26019 webpages or articles encompassing various news subjects constitute the data scope for the digital set. This selection encompasses subjects such as political, economic, civil issues, recreation, literature, and sports.

The established data scope is a reflection of the evolving Chinese social contexts in modern history. As social factors undergo adjustments, various aspects such as sociopolitical environment, language policies, dominance relations between languages, and cultural choices can change accordingly. These social factors play a pivotal role in language contact and subsequent change, particularly in the context of language interaction between a dominant language and a minority language. The upcoming section will provide an overview of the data collection process for both the analogue and digital datasets of the corpus.

3.6 Data Collection

This section provides an overview of the data collection process in alignment with the established data scope. The study classifies data into analogue and digital types based on their compatibility with optical character recognition. The collection methods differ for each type, with automated text collection and on-field collection being employed for digital and analogue data, respectively. Automated text collection involves computer-assisted methods for gathering digital data. This approach is efficient, instantaneous, and cost-effective, making it the primary

method for acquiring digital text. The subsequent section provides a comprehensive overview of the language data collection process for this study. Section 3.6.2 outlines the process of collecting and extracting online text copies and utilising programming language and software tools for this purpose. Due to the limited availability of digital data in Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, analogue data collection becomes the alternative method. For analogue data, which is difficult to automate or recognise by computers, on-field photocopy recording is utilised. The collection process for analogue data involves various steps depending on the source and time period. Section 3.6.3 highlights the process of on-field data collection during interstate field trips in Canberra to acquire language data issued between 1948 and 1992. Section 3.6.4 elaborates on the international collection efforts to fill the data gap for the years 1993 to 1999, with a focus on Yŏngil/Yanji, the capital city of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP). Throughout these steps, primary language data from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* is collected for the project corpus. In addition to the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* data, the research also retrieves language information from newspapers in Chinese, South Korean, and North Korean languages to serve as supplementary reference data. Sections 3.6.5 and 3.6.6 provide insights into the two-step procedure used for collecting the supplementary reference data from these languages. Section 3.6.7 summarises the five-step data collection process for the project corpus, encompassing both primary language data from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* and supplementary reference data from other languages and sources. Table 3.2 outlines the specific timeline for the collection of the language data.

Table 3. 2 Data collection timetable

Time	Location	Tasks	Results
2017–2022	Sydney, Australia	Collecting digital data of Yŏnbyŏn Korean	71836 articles between 2006 and 2022
2017	Canberra, Australia	Fieldwork for collecting analogue data	240 pages between 1948 and 1992
2018	Yŏngil, China	Fieldwork for collecting analogue data	240 pages between 1993 and 2008
2019	Sydney, Australia	Collecting digital data in Chinese language	240 pages between 1948 and 1999

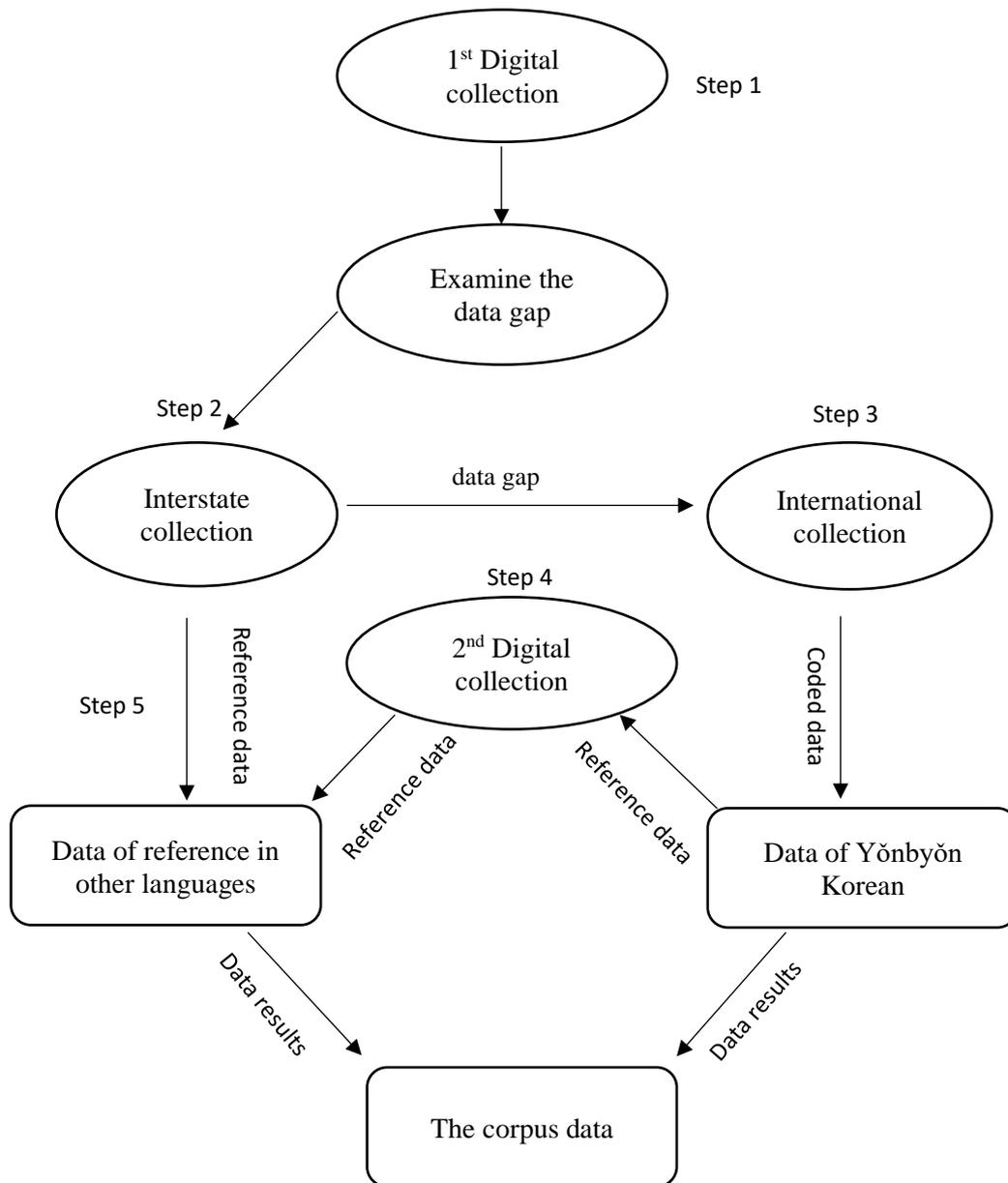
2021	Canberra, Australia	Fieldwork for collecting analogue data in North and South Korean language	440 pages between 1948 and 2019
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3.6.1 An Outline of the Language Data Collection Process

This section is dedicated to outlining the five essential steps involved in collecting language data. The approach varies based on the type of data, employing methods such as automated collection and on-field collection. Automated text collection pertains to digital data, acquired from the internet through computer-assisted methods. Conversely, analogue data collection entails physically gathering documents from field trips conducted both within the country and internationally.

Digital data, extracted from online sources, is particularly suitable for data post-2005. Due to the unavailability of digital documents before 2005, the alternative method of collecting analogue texts is employed. The process begins with a field trip to Canberra, where paper-version newspaper copies are accessible, covering a portion of the data range. However, this collection strategy does not cover language texts beyond 1992, creating a data gap between 1992 and 2005. To bridge this gap, diligent searches among libraries and institutions pinpointed the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* news agency in Yŏngil/Yanji, China, as the only viable location. An international field trip was organised to Yŏngil, the capital city of the YKAP. This trip enabled the collection of data that fills the temporal void and completes the language data for observation. Considering the influence of intercultural language contact, particularly with Chinese and language from the Korean peninsula, the collection also includes a set of reference language data. These contrasting reference data are obtained from Chinese and North/South Korean newspapers. Chinese reference data are sourced from the internet, while Korean references from Seoul and Pyongyang Korean languages are collected via field trips to Canberra. The entire process of collecting language data for the corpus is summarised in Figure 3.4, illustrating the comprehensive journey through five distinct steps.

Figure 3. 4 Process of collecting data of the corpus



3.6.2 Step 1: the Digital Data Collection

The process of digital data collection is divided into two distinct steps: step 1 and step 4. The initial step revolves around acquiring language data between 2006 and 2022 from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, which serves as the primary component of the project corpus. Conversely, step 4 is centred on gathering language data from written sources in Chinese, North Korean, and South

Korean languages. This collection of data serves as supplementary reference material, intended for comparison with the Yŏnbyŏn Korean data.

In the first step, digital data for Yŏnbyŏn Korean is extracted from the official website of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. This website has been consistently updating its daily news articles since 2005. The online articles are categorised into various news subjects, encompassing politics, economics, society, culture, opinions, international affairs, sports, pictures, plans, serial stories of CCP history, and the Chŏngdo channel. Each of these subjects, except for the Chŏngdo channel, further contains sub-classifications. For example, under the political subject, there are sub-categories such as political general, CCP and related issues, government and governance, People's Congress, and Political Consultant Committee. Similarly, under the economic subject, there are divisions like economic general, industry, agriculture, IT, real estate, tourism, automobiles, and consumption. Society-related sub-categories include society general, people's livelihood, education, environment, and accidents. The culture subject is divided into cultural general, *haerangang* (the river of *haeran*), entertainment, books, fashion, and health, with *haerangang* primarily focusing on literature texts. The sports subject includes divisions like sports general, football, daily sports, sports stars, and Olympic/World Cup events. Figure 3.5 provides an illustration of one of the sub-classifications within the Sports subject, sourced from the official website of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. It is important to acknowledge that these subcategories have undergone changes over time. While these diverse categories have existed during different periods, the most enduring and representative ones within the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* for decades include political, economic, civil issues, recreation, literature, and sports. To maintain consistency in language data between the digital and analogue sets within the corpus, the collection process for digital documents specifically targets the political, economic, civil issues, recreation, literature, and sports categories.

Figure 3. 5 A sub-classification within the Sports subject of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*



2023년 7월 28일 금요일 문화 평론 국내·국제 스포츠 사진·영상 기획 연재

스포츠 스포츠일반

메일루타이트, 10년 만에 세계선수권 여자 평영 100미터 정상 탈환
의신 2023-07-28 08:37:25
두타 메일루타이트(26살·리드바)가 10년 만에 세계수영선수권대회 여자 평영 100미터 정상을 탈환했다.

브라운, 보스턴과 5년 3억 400만달러 계약...NBA 사상 최대 규모
의신 2023-07-28 08:37:25
미국프로농구(NBA) 보스턴 셀틱스의 가드 케일런 브라운이 5년간 3억 400만달러에 5년 계약을 맺었다.

메시, 마이애미 이적 후 2경기 연속골
의신 2023-07-28 08:37:25
'축구의 신' 리오넬 메시(36살)가 미국프로축구 메이저 리그사커(MLS) 인터 마이애미 데뷔전 득점포에 이어 두번째 경기에서도 맹활약했다.

2023 제1회 '영웅의 아들딸'컵 향미원조 승리 70등 경축전국 청소년축구 초청경기 펼쳐진다
리필린 기자 2023-07-28 08:37:25
27일, 주체육국에서 피로한 데 따르면 2023 제1회 '영웅의 아들딸'컵 향미원조 승리 70등 경축 전국 청소년

'보편적보석'컵 민속장기 공개경기 원만히 결속
리필린 기자 2023-07-25 08:37:29
22일, 연길시문화관에서 주최하고 연길시조선족민속장기협회에서 주관한 '보편적보석'컵 민속장기 공개경기가 연길시에서 결속됐다.

항주 아시아경기대회에 선수 1만 2500명 등록...력대 최대
신화넷 2023-07-25 08:37:29
9월 23일 개막하는 항주 아시아경기대회에 역대 최대인 1만 2500명의 선수가 출전할 전망이다.

성도 하계세계대학생경기대회오는 28일부터 11일간 펼쳐져
신화넷 2023-07-21 08:43:21
성도 하계세계대학생경기대회가 개막을 앞두고 있다.

김민재, 바이에른 뮌헨과 5년 계약
의신 2023-07-21 08:43:21
한국의 김민재(26살)가 '아시아 선수 역대 최고 이적료'를 갱신하며 독일 프로축구 분데스리가 '최고 명문' 바이에른 뮌헨에 입단했다.

국제청소년축구초청경기 통정서
금사진 김홍희 기자 2023-07-21 08:43:21
제1회 '성요연번, 드림'컵 국제청소년축구초청경기가 지난 15일부터 18일까지 나흘간 연변북보이훈련중심에서 펼쳐진 가운데 이번 대회에는 실양, 연변 등 지역

양남, 아시아육상경기연맹부주석으로 선출
신화넷 2023-07-18 08:41:28
일전 타이 방콕에서 열린 아시아육상경기연맹 제25차 선거대표대회에서는 세바스티안 코 세계육상경기연맹 회장, 달란 아시아육상경기연맹 회장, 슈구 사무총

니자월드컵에 나서는 32개 팀 최종 명단 확정
의신 2023-07-18 08:41:28
2023 국제축구연맹(FIFA) 오스트랄리아-뉴질랜드 여자 월드컵에 나서는 32명의 선수 명단이 최종 확정됐다. 이 중 최연소 선수는 미국인 아버지와 한국인 어머니

맨체스터 유나이티드 주장 교체...매과이어, 3년 만에 퇴진
郑恩赫 2023-07-18 08:41:28
잉글랜드 프로축구 프리미어리그(EPL) 맨체스터 유나이티드(맨유)가 3년 6개월 만에 해리 매과이어의 주장

웨일스 축구대표팀 주장 램지, 사우디아라비아 부리치고 고국 카디프로
의신 2023-07-18 08:41:28
웨일스 축구국가대표팀의 주장 에런 램지가 사우디아라비아를 제외한 부리치고 고국의 최정팀 카디프 시티FC

오정옥, 세계태권도연맹 선수위원회 공동위원장에
신화넷 2023-07-14 08:34:54
세계태권도연맹에 따르면 올림피 챔피언인 오정옥 중국태권도협회 부주석이 최근 세계태권도연맹 선수위원회 공동위원장에 선출됐다.

전달레광장 동쪽 경기광장스케이트보드 열풍 '후끈'
郑恩赫 2023-07-14 08:34:54
젊은이 상징이자 점점 많은 사람들이 찾고 있는 스케이트보드운동, 이 운동이 많은 이들이 즐길 수 있는 스포츠가 될 수 있었던 매력은 과연 무엇일까?

연면일보 추천기사

- 1 '미육원풍' 공익양성활동 특속 마무리
2 중국작가협회 "향촌진흥 이야기 절해야"
3 나이값하기 6 회 북
4 '문물잡고'서 러행 탐방 지도 금부상
5 빙수로 즐기는 시원한 여름의 맛
6 승급평 확보자인담당 주석 훈연에게 축전
7 아름다운 힐링을 건설하고 민족부흥을 위해 기여하리다 - 승급평 주석의 최신 향향에서 강렬한 반향 불리요커
8 상반기 황금 생산량과 소비량 모두 증가
9 리강, 국무원 상무회의 주제
10 장정 2호 정형 운반로케트로 요검 36호 위성 3개를 동시에 발사

많이 본 사회사

- 1 김봉길 감독, "여름 이적시? 시 선수 보장 없을 것"
2 김봉길호, 흥장서 자본 없 드라마 연출
3 두 자 (의 9수) 6 박병선
4 미국은 키신지의 외교적 지를 되살려야 할 것
5 G7 정상회의, '안보'인가 패권인가?
6 영·중, 경제 무역에서 모두 이익 얻어
7 미국, 우크라이나 군사지원 8 정
8 유엔아동기금, 수단 충돌로 8 지 어린이 권리 크게 침해받
9 일본은 독단적 행동 말아야
10 연길시 공립유치원 7월 26일부터 원생 모집

Figure 3.5 presents a screenshot of an indexing page containing general sports articles within the Sports subject of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. For this study, a total of 71836 articles have been downloaded from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*'s website. Notably, each news article on the website occupies an individual webpage, ensuring independent access. These articles were published between the years 2006 and 2022, covering six distinct categories as outlined in Table 3.3. Each article's extraction process involves gathering information such as the subject, publication date, author, title, and content. In order to comprehensively explore language changes at the textual level, reflecting the evolving social contexts, the project corpus is designed to capture not only full articles but also specific text components within each subject, such as titles or main texts, corresponding to specific time periods.

Table 3. 3 The collected six distinct categories

Category	Source
civil issue	문화일반 (cultural general)
civil issue	멋 (stylish)
civil issue	반도뉴스 (Korean news)
civil issue	중국의 창 (the window of China)
civil issue	교육 (education)
civil issue	겨레의 창 (window of the nation)
civil issue	민생 (civil issue)
civil issue	사건·사고 (incident, accident)
civil issue	사람들 (people)
civil issue	사회일반 (social general)
civil issue	사랑한마당 (field of love)
civil issue	환경 (environment)
economic	경제일반 (economic general)
economic	농업 (agriculture)

economic	부동산 (real estate)
economic	소비 (consumption)
economic	자동차 (automobile)
economic	산업·건설 (industry)
literature	책 (book)
literature	해란강 (hailan/haeran river)
literature	우리력사 바로알기 (getting to know our history)
literature	조선족혁명투쟁사 (the Chinese Korean history of revolution)
political	<사서>해석 (editorial)
political	정부·행정 (government and administration)
political	정치일반 (political general)
political	인대·정협 (National People's Congress, CPPCC)
recreation	연예 (entertainment)
recreation	맛기행 (taste journey)
recreation	세계는 지금 (the world now)
recreation	천하만사 (all things under heaven)
recreation	건강 (health)
sports	스포츠스타 (sports stars)
sports	생활체육 (sports for daily life)
sports	스포츠일반 (sports general)
sports	우리축구 (our soccer)
sports	올림픽·월드컵 (Olympic, World Cup)

As displayed in Table 3.3, the digital *Yonbyon Daily* presents a comprehensive array of 36 sub-divisions across various subjects. The table reveals that these sub-divisions are amalgamated into six distinct categories in the self-constructed corpus, namely civil issues,

economics, literature, politics, recreation, and sports. The breakdown elucidated in Table 3.3 shows that the civil issues category encompasses a total of twelve sub-categories, while economics comprises six sub-divisions. Likewise, both literature and politics are subdivided into four distinct components each. Additionally, the recreation and sports categories both encompass five sub-divisions.

Within the scope of this study, a cumulative count of 71836 articles has been acquired from the digital repository of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, encompassing each year between 2006 and 2022. The distribution of news articles extracted from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* for each specific year within the range of 2006 to 2022 is presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4. The distribution of extracted news articles from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*

Published Date	Articles extracted from the <i>Yŏnbyŏn Daily</i>
2006	221.0
2007	1851.0
2008	2674.0
2009	2927.0
2010	2914.0
2011	2315.0
2012	1498.0
2013	2382.0
2014	3865.0
2015	4850.0
2016	5349.0
2017	5668.0
2018	5774.0
2019	6628.0
2020	6661.0
2021	9037.0

2022	7222.0
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3.6.3 Step 2: the Interstate Collection of Analogue Data

The *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*'s digital newspaper does not encompass data prior to 2005. As a result, language information spanning from 1948 to 1999 is acquired through on-site collection efforts conducted at two distinct locations. The initial site for gathering analogue data is the National Library of Australia in Canberra, where physical copies of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* are archived as hardcopy broadsheet documents in the Korean language. These archives lack digital accessibility and portability. In line with the established data scope, the analogue data for this period is divided into five segments, each consisting of forty consecutive pages randomly selected from the newspaper editions of the years 1948, 1959, 1969, 1979, or 1989. These five segments are collected over multiple visits to the library, with each visit focusing on the language information from specific years.

Nevertheless, the archives of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* at the National Library cover the years up to 1993, leaving a data gap within the corpus. The last decade of the 20th century is particularly crucial for observing the evolution and transformation of Yŏnbyŏn Korean, with the pivotal year 1999 being absent from the collection. Regrettably, no alternative method is available to obtain the necessary data from this time period. Hence, an international field trip becomes imperative to address this gap.

3.6.4 Step 3: the International Collection to Fill the Data Gap

The planned overseas fieldwork had faced prolonged delays due to various constraints. However, with the guidance and support of my supervisor, the fieldwork was ultimately accomplished. The selected destinations for this endeavour were Jilin City and Yŏngil (also known as Yanji in Chinese), the capital of the YKAP. Both cities are situated within Jilin Province, a major residential area for the ethnic Korean population in China, constituting nearly half of the total Chinese Korean demographic (Bae et al., 2013). The initial step of the field trip took me to Jilin City, where I visited the Jilin Korean Newspaper agency (JKN), responsible for producing the *Jilin News* (*Gillim sinmun*). This publication served as a valuable reference to complement the primary data sourced from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. With the assistance of the agency staff, I gained access to the original Korean version of *Jilin News* (*Gillim sinmun*

in Korean, *Jilin xinwen* in Chinese) despite some equipment limitations. During this visit, I successfully collected original language data from *Jilin News* spanning from 1994 to 2008.

The subsequent part of the fieldwork led me to Yǒngil, the capital city of YKAP. After a two-hour train journey, I arrived at Yǒngil station, the starting point of my exploration in the city. Adjacent to the station's exit was a garrison, and behind it stood a prominent bilingual slogan. Finally reaching the culmination of my journey, I arrived at the Yǒnbyǒn news agency, which housed *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, *Yǒnbyǒn Net* (*Yanbian wang*), and the *Chinese Korean Children's Periodical* (*Zhongguo chaoxianzu shaonian bao*). This comprehensive agency serves as a pivotal media outlet for the local community. Although I encountered some restrictions in terms of equipment and access, I managed to collect data from the original newspaper within the specified target period.

Through these visits, I was able to fill the data gap that existed between 1993 and 2005, particularly for the crucial year 1999. In total, over 700 individual documents were collected from Jilin and Yanji, providing substantial support for the long-term goals of this study.

3.6.5 Step 4: the Supplemental Reference Data Collection: Chinese

This study offers a perspective through which we can observe the impact of contact and change in the development of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language in China. In order to comprehend the influence of the contemporary standard Chinese language, the research acquires language data from the Chinese language version of the *People's Daily* (*renmin ribao*), aligning with the scope of the collected analogue data from the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*. The newspaper articles gathered from the *People's Daily* span the period from 1948 to 1999, following an approximate decade-long interval. In other words, data is extracted from newspaper texts published in the years 1948, 1959, 1969, 1979, 1989, and 1999 to facilitate a comparison with compatible language data from the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*. For each of these six specific years, an approximate 200 articles are randomly extracted. The language data is sourced from an online archive called *laoziliaonet*¹. This digital repository contains news articles from the *People's Daily* published between 1946 and 2003, organised based on their publication dates.

¹ <https://www.laoziliaonet.net/rmr/b/>

3.6.6 Step 5: the Supplemental Reference Data Collection: Cognate Korean

In addition, the evolution of the Korean community's language is also influenced by interactions with languages from the Korean peninsula, particularly from South Korea, especially since the 1990s when formal diplomatic relations were established between Beijing and Seoul. In order to provide a contrasting reference, two sets of data were collected from the *Rodong sinmun* (North Korea) and the *Chosŏn ilbo* (South Korea), respectively. These collections were acquired through several field trips to the National Library of Australia. The *Rodong sinmun* archive at the National Library of Australia covers the period after 1978. For this purpose, forty consecutive pages are photocopied from the *Rodong sinmun* for the years 1979, 1989, 1999, 2009, and 2019, following a random selection process. Similarly, compatible analogue data was gathered from the *Chosŏn ilbo* for the years 1949, 1959, 1969, 1979, 1989, and 2009. However, data for the years 1999 and 2019 of the *Chosŏn ilbo* and pre-1978 of the *Rodong sinmun* was not collected due to the absence of newspaper archives for those specific years.

3.6.7 Section Summary

This section outlines the comprehensive data collection process, which consists of five distinct steps. The data is initially categorised into digital and analogue types, with priority given to digital data collection for its efficiency, immediacy, and cost-effectiveness during the initial stages of constructing the project corpus.

Step one involves the collection of digital data through downloading targeted language information from the World Wide Web. Utilising a programming language developed for this project, language data spanning from 2006 to 2022 is extracted from the digital version of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* newspaper. Since the digital archives are only available from 2006 onwards, an alternative approach is employed for the collection of analogue data.

Step two entails a field trip to Canberra, where the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* is preserved in the form of broadsheet paper-documents dating back to the years between 1948 and 1993. In accordance with the predetermined data scope, five files of language data are obtained by photocopying relevant texts from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* archives.

However, a gap in the collected data becomes evident beyond the year 1993. Step three focuses on bridging this gap by collecting language data from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* news agency in *Yŏngil*, China, through an international field trip. This step ensures the completion of the primary data collection process within the specified scope.

The subsequent step involves the collection of language data in Chinese, serving as a reference for discerning language contact between the dominant language and the minority Korean language.

Lastly, the collection process encompasses the acquisition of two additional sets of reference data extracted from the *Rodong sinmun* and *Chosŏn ilbo*, enabling the observation of language contact and its influence from the Korean peninsula, particularly the impact of Seoul Korean since the 1990s.

3.7 The Project-specific Self-constructed Corpus

This study delves into the dynamics of language contact and transformation within the Chinese Korean community through the lens of a self-constructed small-scale corpus. The development of this corpus was undertaken by the researcher to facilitate a comprehensive observation of the evolution of the minority language over the span of approximately seventy years. Instead of relying on existing corpora, a custom-tailored corpus was devised specifically for this project, owing to the absence of suitable pre-existing resources. Currently available corpora fail to provide sufficient data pertaining to the Korean minority language, particularly over such an extensive temporal range.

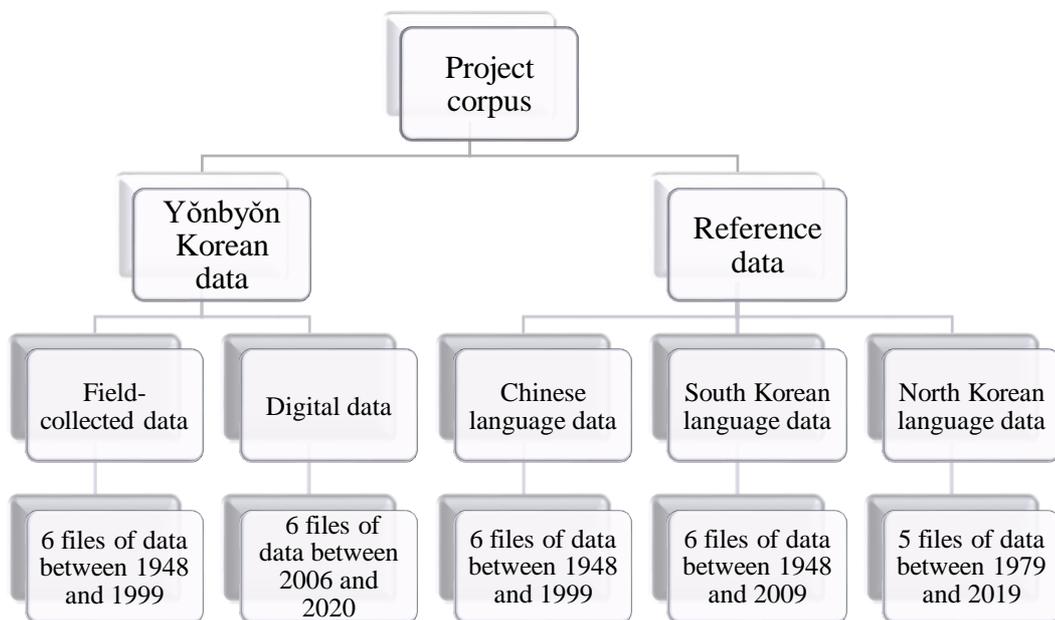
This research employs a blend of traditional and technology-assisted methodologies to establish a purpose-built, compact corpus. Within this corpus, six distinct files constitute the analogue dataset, capturing language information sourced from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* editions published in the years 1948, 1959, 1969, 1979, 1989, and 1999. Each of these six files encompasses a continuous sequence of forty pages featuring news articles from the respective years. These saved documents within each file encapsulate week-long or up to ten-day coverage of the newspaper's reports.

Complementing the analogue dataset, an additional six files constitute the digital dataset, encompassing language data derived from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* issues spanning the years 2006 to 2022. These digital files collectively comprise a substantial collection of 71,836 articles, categorised across six prominent news subjects. These carefully selected subjects mirror the thematic domains encapsulated within the analogue news texts. Aligned with the data scope of this study, the specific years earmarked for data extraction include 2006/2007, 2009, 2013, 2016, 2019, and 2020. Each of these selected years contributes to the formation of an individual file within the digital dataset. This approach ensures a comprehensive

representation of language data within the digital corpus, effectively mirroring the intricate dynamics of linguistic development over this specified time frame.

Furthermore, the corpus incorporates three supplementary reference data files. The Chinese reference data aligns broadly with the established scope of the analogue data sourced from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. Language information from the Chinese version of the *People’s Daily* between 1948 and 1999 is included. The reference data for South Korean language consists of texts gathered from the *Chosŏn ilbo*, spanning from 1949 to 2009. Correspondingly, reference data for North Korean language is extracted from the *Nodong sinmun*, covering the years 1979 to 2019. All three sets of reference data in different languages are harmonised with the scope of the language data extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. Figure 3.6 visually illustrates the organisation of the self-constructed corpus, delineating the interplay between its constituent elements.

Figure 3. 6 The project-specific corpus and its sorted data



3.8 Data Processing and Data Analysis

3.8.1 Data Processing

The language data obtained from the online categories is subjected to processing through a software tool known as the Open-source Korean Text Processor (OKT).² The OKT serves as a specialised toolkit designed for automating the processing and analysis of Korean language data. It handles tasks such as normalisation and tokenisation of Korean language data. Normalisation involves the standardisation of informal expressions and phrases, while tokenisation is the segmentation of words into distinct word classes and grammatical roles, such as nouns, particles, verbs, and adjectives. These fundamental procedures enable the research to perform part-of-speech (POS) tagging on the article text, allowing for the extraction of all Korean words present. The toolkit further conducts tokenisation and POS tagging on the texts using OKT. POS tagging involves annotating morphemes within a given text. This toolkit leverages the capabilities of the OKT tool within the KoNLPy Python package.³ The extracted plain texts with POS tagging are incorporated in the digital set of the project corpus, ranging between 2006 and 2020.

All downloaded articles within the digital language dataset exhibit consistent HTML code patterns. This uniformity allows the study to extract various elements such as category, author information, publication date, titles, and article-body from the HTML structure (refer to Figure 3.5). The study employs POS tagging to extract content words from both the article titles and the article body in the Korean texts. POS tagging involves marking morphemes in a given text. To conduct this process, the study utilises the OKT tool within the KoNLPy Python package. Once all the word-level data is extracted, the study proceeds to cross-reference each of the extracted Korean words with Korean dictionaries to gather additional information.

3.8.2 Data Analysis

The language data contained in the analogue dataset is predominantly handled using manual techniques, with Microsoft Excel serving as a tool for the organisation, categorisation, and documentation of the acquired findings. By utilising the functionalities of Microsoft Excel, this study compiled statistical data to record the utilisation of Sino-Korean (SK) words and English loanwords spanning from 1948 to 1999. Additionally, it amassed analytical data pertaining to the occurrence frequencies of semantic keywords and the prevalence of compounding and other

² Open-source Korean Text Processor (OKT) <https://github.com/open-korean-text/open-korean-text>

³ <https://konlpy.org/en/latest/>

structural alterations within this time frame (see Chapter 4 for further details). Furthermore, the study organises and categorises analytical data concerning both identical and distinct spellings of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean and the South Korean language, as discussed in Chapter 5. Utilising the analogue dataset covering the years from 1948 to 1999, as organised and sorted within Excel files, allows the study to analyse the features of English loanwords during this specific period in which few digital data is available.

On one hand, to analyse the evolution of SK words, English loanwords, and their respective semantic and structural changes, this study employs Microsoft Excel to organise and record analogue data spanning from 1948 to 1999. On the other hand, for the analysis of SK words, AK words, and their evolution and changes from 2006 onwards, the study utilises the OKT tool within the KoNLPy Python package. AK words refer to Korean vocabulary that either entirely mirrors or contains fragments of English language (Kiaer, 2017).

To determine the origin of each tagged Korean word (e.g., Sino-Korean, Anglo-Korean, or native Korean), the research consults three authoritative Korean dictionaries: the Standard Korean Dictionary, the Korean (*koryŏ*) University Dictionary, and the open-type Korean language dictionary provided by the National Institute of the Korean Language. These dictionaries, along with other pertinent resources, are accessed through the Naver⁴ database. After cross-referencing the origin of the tagged words with the information found in these dictionaries, the study classifies them into three different categories: SK words, AK words, and native Korean words. Any words that do not fall into these three categories are designated as “others”. The study then calculates the dynamic percentage of these three lexical categories and tracks their changing trends since 1948 (refer to Chapter 5 for in-depth insights). For clarity and a more comprehensive understanding of this attribution process, Figures 3.7 to 3.9 are included to elucidate the intricacies involved in determining the origin of each extracted Korean word obtained from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*.

Figure 3. 7 Attributing the Chinese origin to an extracted Korean word from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*

⁴ <https://dict.naver.com>

어학사전 '정식' 

국어사전 단어 1-5 / 60건 The Chinese root shows this is a Chinese-root Korean word

정식¹ (正式)  **★★**
 [명사] 정당한 격식이나 의식.
 [유의어] 공식¹, 본격, 본식

정식⁴ (定食)
 [명사]
 1. 식당에서 일정한 반찬을 배정해 놓고 기본으로 파는 음식. 제공되는 반찬의 수와 종류에 따라 가격에 차이가 ...
 2. 식당이나 여관 따위에서 때를 정하여 놓고 먹는 끼니때의 음식.

정식³ (定式)
 [명사] 격식이나 방식을 일정하게 정함. 또는 그 격식이나 방식.

정식⁵ (定植)
 [명사] [농업] 온상에서 기른 모종을 밭에 내어다 제대로 심는 일.

정식⁸ (程式)
 [명사] [수학] 표준이 되는 방식.

[국어사전 더보기 >](#)

Figure 3. 8 Attributing the English origin to an extracted Korean word from Yŏnbyŏn Daily

어학사전 골든 

국어사전 단어 1-5 / 46건 The English root indicates this is an English-root Korean word

골든아워 (golden hour) 
 [명사] 라디오나 텔레비전 방송에서 청취율이나 시청률이 가장 높은 시간. 대개 오후 7시부터 10시까지이다.

골든 웨이브 (golden wave)
 [식물] 국화과의 한해살이풀 또는 두해살이풀. 줄기는 높이가 30~60cm이며, 잎은 마주나고 길게 갈라진다. 6~8월에 노란 두상 화가 줄기와 가지 끝에 하나씩 핀다. 관상용으로 길가에 널리 식재하며 북아메리카가 원산지이다.

골든 디스크 (golden disk)
 [음악] 100만 장 이상 팔린 레코드. 또는 100만 장 이상 팔린 레코드에 대하여 상으로 주는 금빛 레코드.

골든게이트교 (Golden Gate橋)
 [명사] [지명] 미국의 샌프란시스코와 마린반도를 연결하는 강철로 된 현수교(懸垂橋). 1937년에 완성하였으며, 샌프란시스코의 명물로 이름이 나 있다. 길이는 1,280미터.

골든 글로브상 (Golden Globe賞)
 [영상] 할리우드의 외국인 기자 협회가 그해 최우수 영화의 각 부문과 남녀 배우에게 주는 상.

[국어사전 더보기 >](#)

Figure 3. 9 Attributing the Korean origin to an extracted Korean word from Yŏnbyŏn Daily

국어사전 단어 1-5 / 15건

No root shown in the result
shows this is a Native-Korean
word

된다

[자동사] 동사 '되다¹'의 활용형. 어간 '되-'에 종결 어미 '-다'가 붙어서 이루어진 말이다. 해라체의 평서형으로 쓰인다.

되다¹

[동사]

1. 새로운 신분이나 지위를 가지다.
2. 다른 것으로 바뀌거나 변하다.
3. 어떤 때나 시기, 상태에 이르다.

[유의어] 닥쳐오다, 닥치다¹, 닿다¹

되다⁴

[형용사]

1. 반죽이나 밥 따위가 물기가 적어 딱딱하다.
2. 줄 따위가 단단하고 팽팽하다.
3. 일이 힘에 벅차다.

[유의어] 고단하다¹, 고되다, 단단하다

되다²

[동사] 말, 되, 흙 따위로 가루, 곡식, 액체 따위의 분량을 헤아리다.

되다³

[동사] [농업] 논밭을 다시 갈다.

Following the methods illustrated in Figures 3.7 to 3.9, this research also computes the occurrence of three distinct lexical types based on their origins within various sections of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, encompassing political, economic, and recreational segments, as well as literature, sports, and civil topics. The research assesses the mean ratio of SK, AK, and native Korean words within a specific section for a given year. To determine the proportion of SK words within a particular section for a given year, the study divides the count of SK words by the total word count in a text. This calculation is performed for each text within a specific section and year. Consequently, the average proportion of SK words is derived as indicated by the following equation:

$$\text{SK Average Proportion} = (\text{SK Proportion of Article 1} + \text{Proportion of Article 2} \dots + \text{Proportion of Article N}) / N$$

In the equation, “N” represents the total number of texts within a specific division for a given year. The average proportion of SK words within a particular division for a given year

is computed by dividing the sum of each SK proportion by the total article count. Likewise, the average ratios of AK words and native Korean words within a specific division for a given year can be calculated using the same method (see Chapter 5 for further details).

3.9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter expounds on the rationale and the methodology employed in constructing a dedicated corpus for the study. Rather than relying on an existing corpus, this endeavour involves the creation of a small-size corpus, driven by the fact that currently available corpora are scarcely aligned with the research objectives. The language data compiled for this project pertains to written Korean language usage in China. The selection of written language as the sample is motivated by its status as a standardised, enduring, and reliable representation of linguistic usage. Within the realm of written genres, newspaper language, being a formal register, is regarded as an exemplar of standard language usage with a consistent structure. Given the study's focus on observing language development across a seventy-year span, the targeted source language is a minority Korean language newspaper in China that has been established early enough to cover the extensive period under scrutiny. The *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, a longstanding newspaper in China, catering to the largest ethnic Korean community for decades, fulfills this criterion. Among the various Korean language newspapers in China, the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* stands out due to its established history, consistent publication, and prominence within the local region. The data selection process from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* aligns with the research objectives.

The scope of this study is crafted to address two key inquiries: the impact of Chinese and the cognate Korean language on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean, and the transformative effects induced by language contact on the minority Korean language. Both dimensions are moulded by a complex interplay of social factors, including sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic contexts, and the power dynamics between a dominant official language and a minority language. The intricacies of these social settings hold a paramount sway over language contact and subsequent changes. Therefore, the data selection process is attuned to capture the evolving landscapes of Chinese society. It entails a careful curation of language samples that effectively depict the dynamics of language contact and evolution during fluctuating time periods. The evolving social factors lead to distinct trajectories of language development, creating discernible differences between adjacent time frames. In order to meticulously gather the data

for the corpus, a combination of experimental design and simple random sampling methodologies is employed.

Following the established scope, the data collection process involves five distinct steps. The initial step entails automated text collection from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, facilitated by computer-assisted methods. This phase extracts data from the years between 2006 and 2020 through online sources. Due to the unavailability of digital data for pre-2005 documents, the second step involves the collection of analogue texts, spanning the years 1948 to 1989, through interstate field trips. The third step focuses on obtaining language data from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* for the period between 1992 and 2005, sourced from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* news agency. Recognising the impact of intercultural influences on the Korean language in China, the last two steps involve collecting contrasting reference data from Chinese, North Korean, and South Korean languages. This includes retrieving information from Chinese newspapers, as well as field trips to gather reference data from the Seoul Korean and Pyongyang Korean languages.

In data processing and analysis, by harnessing the capabilities of the OKT tool within the KoNLPy Python package, the procedure of POS tagging is executed automatically and seamlessly. The plain texts that have been extracted and subjected to POS tagging are subsequently integrated into the digital subset of the project corpus, encompassing the years from 2006 to 2020. Conversely, language data between 1948 and 1999 contained within the analogue dataset is predominantly handled manually, aided by the use of Excel, to organize, sort, and record the outcomes.

In summary, the project corpus serves as a lens through which to explore language contact and change within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean context. The data primarily sourced from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* offers valuable insights into the development of Korean language in China, influenced by interactions with both Chinese and the cognate Korean language. Reference data from sources like the *People's Daily*, *Chosŏn ilbo*, and *Nodong sinmun* further enriches the research pool. With this comprehensive data collection, the study aims to analyse and depict the evolution of the minority Korean language, as it encounters the official language of standard Chinese and the culturally influential South Korean language.

In the subsequent two chapters, the study will delve into the results of my data analysis, focusing on the domain of contact-induced language change within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. The study will examine how this phenomenon manifests itself across various aspects, including lexical changes, shifts in semantics, and alterations in linguistic structures. This comprehensive investigation is facilitated by the curated corpus established for this research.

Chapter 4 The Impact of Chinese on the Korean Language Change

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reports findings based on the analyses of social and political changes and their effect on minority Korean language in China, with particular focus on using Sino-Korean words, also known as Chinese-character words. Sino-Korean (SK) words are borrowed from the Chinese language, and can be expressed using Chinese characters. As Aitchison (2013) and Thomason (2007, 2008, 2011) have observed that any language changes are the result of social and political transformations, and significant language changes have occurred in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. At the end of 1945, the CCP gained control of Yŏnbyŏn, a region populated mainly by ethnic Koreans. The shift of the political sovereignty in Yŏnbyŏn brought about a direct linguistic influence of modern standard Chinese in the transformation of Chinese borrowings and Sino-Korean word use. My analysis of the language data reveals that borrowing of Chinese vocabulary is greatly impacted by social and political events. The usage of Sino-Korean words, their semantic features, and structures are all altered in response to these changes. Findings show that the influence of the Chinese language on Yŏnbyŏn Korean can be categorised into three distinct periods, as outlined below.

Period 1: From the late 1940s to the 1970s, Chinese words overwhelmingly influenced vocabulary borrowing, semantic characteristics, and structural usage.

Period 2: From the late 1970s to the 1990s, there was a resurgence of the cognate Korean influence, accompanied by a decline in Chinese borrowing and the associated semantic and structural prominence.

Period 3: From the late 1990s to the present, South Korean and English words gained preference, leading to a diminishing reliance on Chinese borrowings and the associated impacts they had on semantics and structure.

For the next three sections, this chapter will report findings from data analysis about how the use of Sino-Korean words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has changed over the past seven decades, as well as summarising how Sino-Korean words have evolved, transitioning from a position of dominance to a state where their advantage is no longer unparalleled. In Section 4.2, this chapter will examine the research question of how the use of Chinese words in

Yŏnbyŏn Korean has changed and how social and political environment have impacted its usage since the late 1940s. Section 4.3 will explore the semantic features of contemporary Chinese influence and how they have evolved over the three different periods. Section 4.4 will analyse the changes in structural patterns due to intensive contact with the contemporary standard Chinese. Finally, the last section will provide a summary of the findings and draw conclusions from this chapter.

4.2 Evolution of Sino-Korean Vocabulary Usage in Yŏnbyŏn Korean throughout Three Distinct Eras

4.2.1 Period 1: Predominant Usage of SK Words between Late 1940s and 1970s

The influence of Chinese on the Korean Language is evident in the adoption of Sino-Korean words. My research findings indicate that the period between 1948 and 1976 marked a significant phase of extensive Chinese borrowing, with a predominant use of SK terms in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. During this timeframe, Yŏnbyŏn Korean heavily relied on incorporating and assimilating vocabulary from Chinese. Contemporary standard Chinese expressions such as *ryŏngto panjŭ* (領導班子, leading bodies), *hyŏkmyŏng kyŏngsaek* (革命形勢, revolutionary situation), *ttachŭpo* (大字報, the Great Proletarian Newspaper), *syap'ang* (下放, decentralisation), *hyŏkmyŏng taeso* (革命隊伍, revolutionary ranks), *ttamyŏng ttap'ang* (大鳴大放, the great tumult), and *saengsan yŏljo* (生產熱潮, upsurge of production) were swiftly borrowed from Chinese and incorporated into Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

The substantial influx of Chinese lexical elements is evident in the data I collected from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* (see Example 1 and 2). The patterns and subjects of Chinese vocabulary adoption closely aligned with China's national political movements, such as the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957–1959), the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962), the era of People's Commune (1958–1983), and the Cultural Revolution Movement (1966–1976). The lexical borrowing within the Korean language mirrored the expansion of Chinese-only monolingualism under the banner of collectivist ideology and Chinese socialist and political values.

Data collected from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* reveals that in the first period more than 80% of the vocabulary used in the newspaper is SK words. For many headlines, the ratio of the SK words can be more than 90% or even completely SK words. Between the late 1940s and 1970s is the stage when borrowing from Chinese is prevalent and SK words are predominantly used. Table 4.1 exhibits the high proportion of the SK words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* between 1948 and 1975.

[Xinhua News Agency, Jin-Sui, 29th day, by telegram] On the 23rd day, the Jin-Sui Liberation Army recaptured Uok county of Yanbei. The troops defended here fled outside the Great Wall. Since March of last year, all counties in Yanbei that were occupied by Fu's bandits have been recaptured. Now, the bandits to the west of the Tongbao Line and to the south of the Great Wall have disappeared.

[Xinhua News Agency, Su-Lu-Yu-Wan front line, 29th day, by telegram] Yan-Cha news, on the evening of the 7th of last month, a certain unit of the Liberation Army launched a surprise attack on the enemy troops who pretended to retreat upon hearing the news in Woyang City in the northern part of Anhui Province. Eventually, our army recaptured the eastern city.

B). Replacement of the Chinese words from Hangul (the Korean written system) to Chinese characters:

晉綏、蘇魯豫皖我軍

三個省先後收復

【新華社華東二十九日電】(Our) 魯中地方兵團-TOP 二十四日 沂水城-ACC 收復-DEC 慌張-GEN 蔣匪-TOP 臨沂-ALL 逃亡-DEC.

【新華社晉綏二十九日電】晉綏解放軍-TOP 二十三日 雁北-GEN 右玉縣-ACC 收復-DEC (defended) 傅匪-TOP 長城 (outside)-ALL 逃亡-DEC. (Since) (last) 年三月 傅匪-LOC 佔領-PAST 雁北各縣-TOP 全部 收復 (completed) 即今 同包線西-COM 長城以南-TOP 匪軍-PLU-GEN 蹤跡 (became vanishing).

【新華社蘇魯豫皖前線二十九日電】雁察消息 解放軍某部隊-TOP (last)七日 (night) 安徽省北部-GEN 渦陽城-ACC 襲剿-COM jik'itōn (defended) 敵-TOP 消息 (heard)-COM 逃亡(pretended however) 東城-TOP (finally) Our 軍-LOC 收復-DEC.

Example 2. News text from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 17 September 1969

중화인민공화국성립 20주년경축구호

1. 위대한 중화 인민 공화국 성립 20주년을 경축하자!
2. 20년래 사회주의 혁명과 사회주의 건설의 위대한 승리를 경축하자!
3. 무산 계급 문화 대혁명의 위대한 승리를 경축하자!
4. 중국 공산당 제9차 전국 대표 회의의 위대한 승리를 경축하자!
5. 전국 각민족의 공인 계급, 인화중용, 홍위병, 혁명적 간부, 혁명적 지식 분자들에게 경의를 드린다! 사회주의 조국을 열어나는 모든 사람들과 해외 포로들에게 경의를 드린다!
6. 영웅적 중국 인민 해방군에 경의를 드린다!
7. 투쟁, 비판, 개혁을 참답게 잘하자! 무산 계급 전정을 진일노 공고리 하자!
8. 혁명적 태비관을 단단히 틀어쥐자! 사회주의 혁명을 끝까지 진행하자!
9. 고도로 열의를 높여 앞장서기에 힘쓰며 많이, 빨리, 좋게, 절약하면서 사회주의를 건설하자!
10. 혁명을 틀어쥐고 생산을 촉진하며 공작을 촉진하며 전지 준비를 촉진하자!
11. 전쟁에 대처할 준비를 하며 재화에 대처할 준비를 하며 인민을 위하자!
12. 경각성을 높여 조국을 호위하자! 침입하여오는 원썩을 섬멸할 준비를 수시로 하자!
13. 대만을 꼭 해방하자!
14. 전 세계 무산계는 연합하자!
15. 전 세계 무산 계급과 피압박 인민, 피압박 민족은 연합하자!
16. 미제국주의를 하도하자! 소련 수정주의 사회 제국주의를 하도하자! 각국 반동파를 하도하자!
17. 영웅적 알바니아 인민의 한계, 반수 투쟁을 견결히 지지한다!
18. 영웅적 칠남 인민들이 항미, 구국 투쟁을 끝까지 진행하는것을 견결히 지지한다!
19. 미제국주의와 유대 복국주의를 반대하는 팔레스티나 인민과 아랍 각국 인민의 정의의 투쟁을 견결히 지지한다!
20. 아세 아주, 아프리카주, 라틴아메리카주 각국 인민의 해방 투쟁을 견결히 지지한다! 선구 라파, 북아메리카, 대양주와 세계 각국 인민의 혁명 투쟁을 견결히 지지한다!
21. 각국의 진정한 맑스-레닌주의 형제 양과 형제 조국에 경의를 드린다!
22. 전 세계 인민들은 단결하여 제국주의, 사회 제국주의가 발동하는 모든 침략 전쟁을 반대하며 투기는 원자탄을 무기로 하는 침략 전쟁을 반대하여야 한다! 이런 전쟁이 발생되면 전 세계 인민은 혁명 전쟁으로 침략 전쟁을 소멸해야 하며 지금부터 준비 되어있어야 한다!
23. 모 주석의 무산 계급 혁명 로선 승리 만세!
24. 위대한 중화 인민 공화국 만세!
25. 중국 각국 인민의 대단결 만세!
26. 전 세계 인민의 대단결 만세!
27. 위대하고 영광스럽고 정확한 중국 공산당 만세!
28. 필승불패의 맑스주의, 레닌주의, 모택동 사상 만세!
29. 위대한 영수 모 주석 만세! 만세! 만만세!

【북경 16일발 신화사 통신】

Translation in English:

Slogan for the 20th Anniversary Celebration of the Establishment of the People's Republic of China.

1. Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the Great Establishment of the People's Republic of China.
2. Celebrating the great victory of the socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past 20 years.
3. Celebrating the Great Victory of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.
4. Celebrating the Great Victory of the Communist Party of China in the 9th National Congress.

5. Saluting the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals of all nationalities in the country! Saluting overseas compatriots who love the socialist motherland!
6. Saluting the heroic People's Liberation Army of China!
7. Fighting, criticising, and reforming faithfully. Further consolidating the struggle of the proletariat!
8. Grasp tightly the great criticism of the revolution. Carry the socialist revolution through to the end!
9. Increase enthusiasm greatly, strive to build socialism abundantly, quickly, well, and efficiently!
10. Promote revolutionary production, promote wartime preparedness!
11. Make preparations for the people to cope with war and disasters!
12. Let us increase our alertness to defend our country! Let us be ready at all times to eliminate invading enemies!
13. Let us absolutely liberate Taiwan!
14. Let the proletarians of the world unite!
15. Let the proletarians of the world unite with the oppressed peoples and nations!
16. Overthrow US imperialism, overthrow Soviet revisionism and social imperialism, overthrow the reactionary forces of all countries!
17. Firmly support the heroic Albanian people's anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle!
18. Firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people to carry out the struggle to the end in the anti-American and patriotic war!
19. Firmly support the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the people of Arab countries against US imperialism and Zionist imperialism!
20. Firmly support the liberation struggle of the people in various countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America! Firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people in West Europe, North America, Oceania and all countries around the world!
21. Salute to the true Marxist-Leninist brother parties and organizations in all countries.
22. People of the world unite and oppose all aggressive wars of reactionary imperialism and social imperialism! In particular, we should oppose aggressive wars with atomic weapons. From now on, we should prepare for the revolutionary war of the people of the world to eliminate all aggressive wars!
23. Long live Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!
24. Long live the great People's Republic of China!
25. Long live the great unity of the people of all ethnic groups in China!

26. Long live the great unity of the people of the whole world!
27. Long live the great, glorious, and correct Communist Party of China!
28. Long live the invincible Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought!
29. Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live! Long live forever!

As evident in the highlighted SK words found in the two articles extracted from *Yōnbōn Daily* in 1948 and 1969, respectively, it becomes clear that over 80% of the vocabulary employed in these articles consists of SK terms that can be equated with Chinese words (refer to Part B, Example 1). The SK terms within the Korean language predominantly correspond to words used in the Chinese language. These terms are borrowed from Chinese and closely align with the evolving contexts of Chinese society, adapting in response to shifts in the social and political landscape.

In Example 1, the news from 1948 reveals that out of a total of 86 words, 71 have been highlighted as Sino-Korean. This means that 82.56% of the vocabulary in this text consists of SK words. Remarkably, even the headline of the news is entirely composed of SK words or SK arranged in a structure similar to Chinese. Among the highlighted SK words, many are direct copies of Chinese terms from that era, including *pyōngtan* (兵團, regiment), *sūpjyō* (襲剿, surprise attack), *changpi* (蔣匪, Jiang's bandit), *haepangkun* (解放軍, People's Liberation Army), and all the place names. However, as social and political contexts have evolved, certain new borrowings that once embodied the spirit of the era have now become obsolete, such as *sūpjyō* (surprise attack), *changpi* (Jiang's bandit), and the specific place names.

The article provided as Example 2, extracted from *Yōnbyōn Daily* in 1969, is predominantly composed of SK words, with the headline consisting entirely of SK words and following the same syntactical structure as Chinese. Out of the total of 299 words in the article, 246 of them (82.3%) are SK words, as highlighted in the text. Many of these words were borrowed from the Chinese language of that time, such as *pinhajungnong* (貧下中農, poor, lower, and middle (class) peasants), *hongwipyōng* (紅衛兵, Red Guard), *kongjak* (工作, work), *jaehwang* (災荒, famine), *pansu* (反修, Anti-Revisionism), *ryōngsu* (領袖, leader), and *kyōnkyōl* (堅決, firm, with determination). These newly borrowed words reflect the distinctive characteristics of the period.

The language used in *Yōnbyōn Daily* during the late 1940s to the 1970s primarily relied on Chinese words as the predominant mode of expression. This era marked a period when the development of the Korean language was actively discouraged, and the promotion of a unified

Chinese culture was prioritised. This transition involving the extensive adoption of Chinese vocabulary clearly demonstrates that the assimilation of the Chinese language had reached its zenith. During this time, individuals living in Yŏnbyŏn were increasingly inclined to forsake their native language in favour of using Chinese vocabulary, ultimately leading to the abandonment of their Korean language. This transformation aligned with the objectives of the government to achieve greater national unity and widespread adoption of the Chinese national language.

4.2.2 Period 2: Decrease in the Utilisation of SK Vocabulary from the Late 1970s to the 1990s

The period between the late 1970s and the 1990s marked a time of rapid transformation and expansion in China. During this era, China transitioned towards a market-oriented economy and increased its global economic engagement, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Data from this period indicates a rise in the use of South Korean and English words but a decrease in the incorporation of Chinese borrowings. Since the late 1970s, the practice of intensive borrowing from the Chinese language within Yŏnbyŏn Korean has been evolving in tandem with shifts in the social and political landscape. The utilisation of Sino-Korean words has become more moderate, a change attributed to the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution and the initiation of China's economic reforms. These developments have influenced the national preference for anti-linguistic assimilation policies and have also shaped the evolution of the purity of the Korean language.

My data reveals a notable decline in the usage of SK words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, dropping from an average of 81.86% in 1975 to 74.1% in 1979, further decreasing to 72.4% in 1989, and reaching 67.8% in 1999 (see Figure 4.1). Examples 3–5 comprise headlines extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in 1979, 1989, and 1999, clearly illustrating a reduced incorporation of SK words during this period. Conversely, there was a noticeable surge in the incorporation of native Korean words, accompanied by a heightened adherence to standard Korean language structures. The native Korean words are highlighted in bold in the provided examples.

Example 3. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 4 October 1979

yangsam jaepae myŏnjŏk **nŭlinta**

洋參栽培面積-**nŭlinta**

foreign ginseng cultivation area-**increase**

American ginseng cultivation increased

Example 4. A headline from Yŏnbyŏn Daily, 21 February 1989

yangrowŏn-ŭl **ch’at-ŭn tu** kongsangho

養老院-ŭl ch’at-ŭn tu 工商戶

retirement home-ACC **seek-TOP two** commercial household

two businessmen seeking a retirement home

Example 5. A headline from Yŏnbyŏn Daily, 1 January 1995

pom-ŭl aptangki-nŭn saram-tŭl

spring-ACC hasten-TOP people-PLU

people (who are) hastening (the arrival of) spring

In the late 1970s, there was a significant decrease in the use of Sino-Korean words in headlines, marking a departure from the previous period when they predominated. This decline was primarily attributed to the increased adoption of native Korean words in a more standardised Korean linguistic structure, which are indicated by bold font in the provided examples. From 1979 to 1999, the frequency of Sino-Korean words in headlines continued to dwindle, as demonstrated by the examples. Example 3 and 4 contained 75% and 50% native words, respectively, while Example 5 exclusively featured native Korean words.

In this period, native Korean, encompassing both content words and function words, witnessed a resurgence, leading to a decreased usage of SK words. Additionally, there was a greater inclusion of grammatical particles and function words, such as the accusative case particle *-ŭl/-lŭl* in headlines, resulting in a more standardised Korean structure.

4.2.3 Period 3: Evolution in the Prestige of Chinese words from 1990s to the Present

Since the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Beijing and Seoul in 1992, a discernible “neoliberal” trend, as identified by Woo et al. (2020), has emerged within Yŏnbyŏn Korean. This trend, which began brewing in the 1990s and continued to develop until recent times, reflects a preference among Yŏnbyŏn speakers for borrowing loanwords from South Korea. Consequently, there has been a concurrent decline in the usage of Sino-Korean words.

Since the late 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean has been undergoing development along two opposing trajectories. On the one hand, Chinese words continue to be borrowed, primarily for

political and official purposes. On the other hand, words borrowed from South Korea have gained popularity, especially in non-official and non-political contexts.

During the third period, words borrowed from modern Chinese were primarily utilised for formal language and official documents, with the political division exhibiting the highest proportion of Sino-Korean words among *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*'s categories. My data indicates that over the past decade, the average ratio of Sino-Korean words in the political division stood at 75.24%, while in the sports division it was only 58.43%. Furthermore, in the entertainment news division, the proportion of Sino-Korean words between 2014 and 2022 consistently remained below 50%, fluctuating between 44.2% and 49.0%. This trend suggests that when it comes to non-official, non-political, or recreational information, such as sports and entertainment news, there is often a diminished preference for employing Chinese borrowings.

This transformation can be attributed to China's increased interaction with South Korea and the West following the establishment of a market-based economy and an open policy. In *Yŏnbyŏn*, the Korean community shifted its focus from an ideology of national integration during previous times to one that emphasises local development and market demand in this period. Particularly after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea, *Yŏnbyŏn* Koreans began to value and adopt new words from overseas, notably from the English language. In this latest phase, there was a notable influx of new English loanwords borrowed from South Korea, resulting in a reduction in the usage of Chinese words. Examples 6-8 illustrate this further decline in usage during this period. The English loanwords in Examples 7 and 8 are highlighted in bold.

Example 6. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* 1 April 1999

hyŏngsik-e hŭrŭji- ank'o siljil-jŏkŭro
形式-e hŭrŭji-ank'o 實質-jŏkŭro
format-DAT run-NEG practical-ALL
not following the format but the practice

Example 7. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 12 October 2009

onrainsyop'ing sinsetae jŏnyongmulmanŭn anita
onrainsyop'ing 新世代 專用mulman-ŭn anita
online shopping new generation exclusive use only-TOP-NEG
online shopping (is) not just for the new generation

Example 8. A headline from Yŏnbyŏn Daily, 30 December 2019

syup'ŏputŭ-ro jumokpat-nŭn p'onio

syup'ŏputŭ -ro 注目pat-nŭn p'onio

super food-ALL attention receive-TOP fonio

the attention received super food, fonio

Example 6 is a headline from the political division in 1999, featuring two Chinese terms that align with the prevailing political trend of opposing the formalism of Chinese society during that time. The remainder of the language in this headline is in Korean. In contrast, Examples 7 and 8 are drawn from non-political divisions and more closely resemble the contemporary language style of Yŏnbyŏn Korean. These headlines, from 2009 and 2019 respectively, address topics related to technology and food. During this phase, Chinese borrowings have progressively declined in usage for coining new words in fields other than politics and official information. The two examples highlight this trend, with SK words accounting for only 33% and 20%, while English loanwords constitute 33% and 60%, respectively. This shift towards a preference for English loanwords over SK words will be further explored in the upcoming chapter.

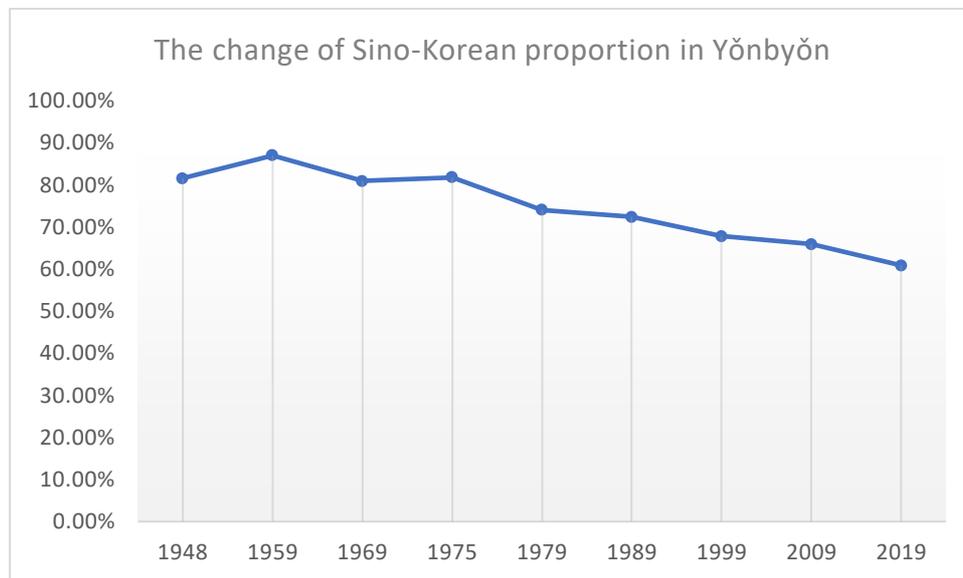
4.2.4 Section summary

The usage and adoption of Sino-Korean words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean have undergone significant shifts over the decades, with the late 1940s to the 1970s marking a period of their highest prevalence in the newspaper. However, with the relaxation of ideological constraints and the cessation of linguistic suppression, SK words are no longer employed to demonstrate compliance with the national policy of Chinese assimilation. Consequently, the utilisation and incorporation of Chinese words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean have experienced a consistent decline since the late 1970s. This transformation can be attributed to changes in the social and political landscape, which have allowed for the incorporation of more internationally oriented words and a broader range of choices in lexical borrowing.

Furthermore, the diminishing use of SK words can be ascribed to a heightened appreciation of the Korean language's value and the increasing presence of the younger generation, who are more attuned to the globalised world. These shifts in social and political contexts have rendered many Chinese words obsolete in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. The growing influx of new lexical borrowings is less likely to originate from Chinese and more likely to come from

South Korea, especially in non-political and non-official categories. This downward trend in the usage of SK words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean since 1948 is visually represented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4. 1 The changing proportion of Sino-Korean words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* between 1948 and 2019



Data on language usage has been systematically collected from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* headlines and article-level text spanning the years 1948 to 2019. The statistics have been derived by averaging two-day data from each selected year between 1948 and 1999. Starting from the year 2000, digital data has been gathered directly from the official website of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* and processed using OKT tool within the KoNLPy Python package, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 4.1 provides a visual representation of the declining utilisation of Sino-Korean words since the late 1970s. From 1948 to 1975, the percentage of SK words exhibited fluctuations within the range of 80.93% to 87.01%. However, this figure experienced a noticeable decline, dropping to 74.1% in 1979 and further to 72.4% in 1989. The trend continued with a decrease to 67.8% in 1999 and a further reduction to 60.9% in 2019.

An examination of the usage of Sino-Korean words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean reveals three distinct periods. First, from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s, there was a consistent high usage of SK words, many of which were borrowed from contemporary standard Chinese, hovering at around 80%. Next, from the late 1970s to the 1990s, there was a gradual decrease of approximately 10% in the utilisation of SK words. Finally, since the late 1990s, there has been an additional 10% decline in the use of SK words.

The semantic and structural features of Chinese words have developed due to the changing Chinese usage, taking into account the updated social and political contexts. This chapter will look at how these changes have impacted the semantic features and structural patterns of the Korean language.

4.3 The Changing Semantic Features of Sino-Korean Words in the Three Periods

This section reports findings from analysing distinctive semantic features of Yŏnbyŏn Korean, which reveals the influence of contemporary standard Chinese under different social and political environments in the three periods. This can be seen in the key semantic features of Sino-Korean words, which have been reshaped by the changing contexts. The following sections report semantic changes in the emotionally charged, collectivist, and militaristic features, and vague expressions.

4.3.1 Between late 1940s and 1970s: Emotionally Charged, Collectivist, and Militaristic Features

From the late 1940s to the 1970s, Sino-Korean words that were characterised as militaristic, collectivist, and emotionally charged were prevalent. This period is referred to as the first period. *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* employs a variety of Chinese borrowings in this period to convey an emotionally charged, collectivist, and militaristic discourse. These include emotional lexicon such as *yŏllyŏl* (熱烈, ardent), *kyŏnkyŏl* (堅決, determined), and *kwakam* (果敢, brave and courageous). Additionally, the use of the lexeme *yŏl* (heat, fever) to indicate wholehearted and devoted meanings is explored further in the following section. Semantically collectivist Sino-Korean words refer to terms that denote collectivism. These words can be divided into three categories: holistic nouns, distributive prefixes, and subgroups of people (refer to Table 4.1). Militaristic Sino-Korean words, on the other hand, refer to words with military rhetoric. They are used to create determined, powerful, controlling, and highly motivated connotations, even when discussing topics such as agriculture or factory work. Examples of militaristic Sino-Korean words include *tŭlkyo* (突擊, make a sudden attack), *chinkyok* (進擊, attack), and *punchŏn* (奮戰, fight bravely). These words were frequently observed in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in the 1960s, but their usage decreased drastically after the 1970s.

A. emotionally charged characteristic

The emotional words among Sino-Korean words convey positive, determined, and spirited attitudes when expressing emotions in this era. These emotional words are often used as modifiers, such as *yöllyölhi* (熱烈地, ardently), *kyönkyölhi* (堅決地, with determination), *sesedaedaero* (世世代代地, from the generations to generations), and *maenglyölhi* (猛烈地, fiercely). These words emphasise the statement by evoking positive energy, determination, and a strong will to achieve a goal. Furthermore, the emotional lexicon is also used to highlight the positive aspects of a statement and to express admiration, such as *jönghwakhi* (正確地, correctly), *sinsokhi* (迅速地, swiftly), *söngdaehi* (盛大地, magnificently), and *yonggamhi* (勇敢地, bravely). Considering the examples below:

Example 9. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 2 April 1948

saengsanyölcho

生產熱潮 (production fever waves)

waves of enthusiasm of producing (products), production boom

Example 10. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 4 February 1959

kunjung losönül kyönkyöli kwanchölhakessta

群眾路線ül 堅決地 貫徹hakessta

mass line-ACC firmly implement will

will firmly implement the mass line

Example 11. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 26 September 1969

kwakamhi tujaeng

果敢地鬥爭 (courageous fight)

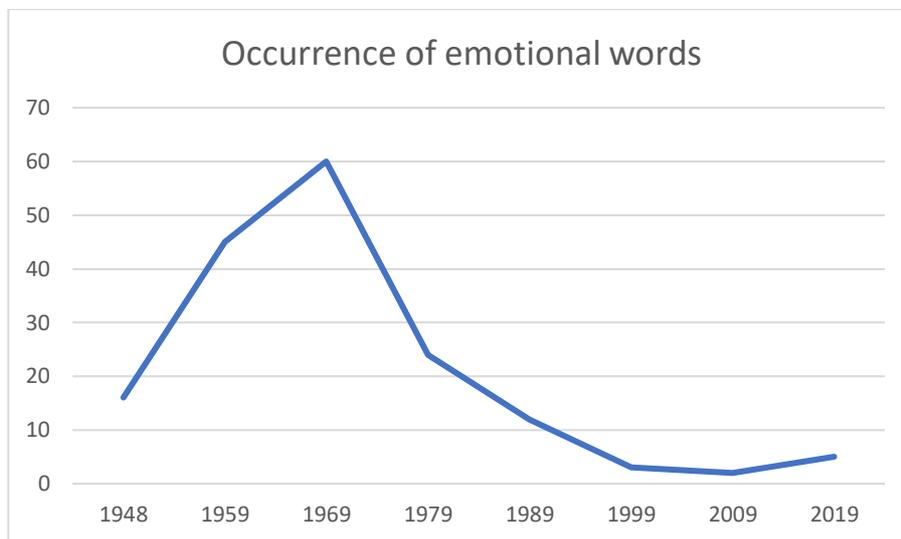
fight bravely and courageously

In Example 9, the term *yölcho* (heat waves) metaphorically signifies people's enthusiasm, portraying it as widespread and intense, akin to the intensity of heat waves. The utilisation of the lexeme *yöl* in Sino-Korean words to convey dedication and passion is further analysed in Figure 4.3. Examples 10 and 11 are used to highlight the emotional words *kyönkyölhi* (*jianjuede* 堅決地, with determination) and *kwakamhi* (*guogande* 果敢地, bravely and courageously), which are used to emphasise the spirit and display the devoted attitude. The Sino-Korean term *kyönkyölhi* in Example 10 conveys a resolute determination and

perseverance in upholding an official principle. Meanwhile, *kwakamhi* in Example 11 indicates a decisive action with courage, which conveys admiration and praise for the behaviour and its attitude.

The use of emotionally charged Sino-Korean words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has been impacted by the Chinese during this phase. This feature was especially prominent during the Cultural Revolution, reflecting the specific spirit of the era. Figure 4.2 illustrates the shifts in the usage of these emotionally charged words from 1948 to 2019. It demonstrates a peak in their role as emotional enhancers during the 1960s.

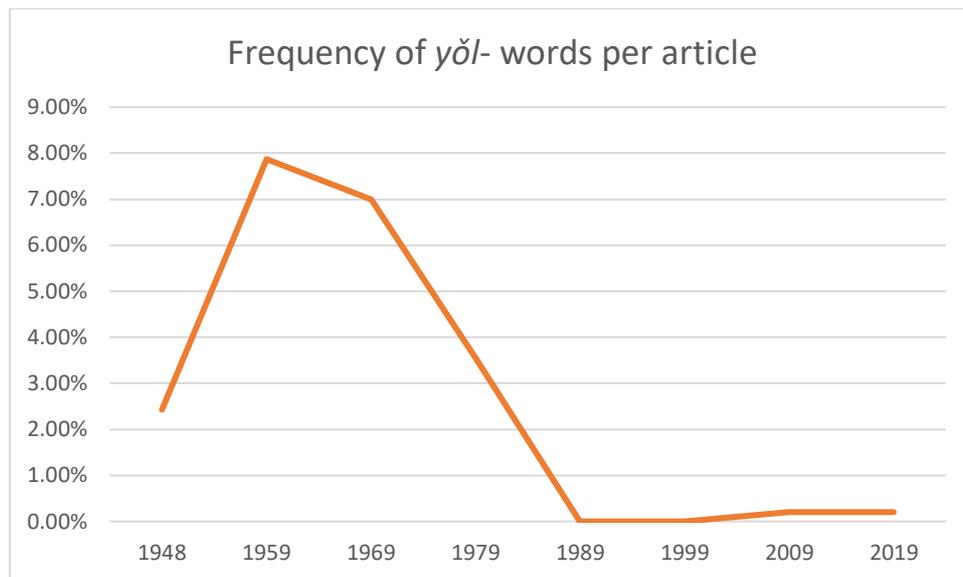
Figure 4. 2 Occurrence of emotional words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* between 1948 and 2019



The chart shows that the utilisation of Sino-Korean words with emotionally charged connotations has been increasing in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 1948 to 1969. The language data from forty consecutive pages of headlines on *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in each of the listed years is used to evaluate the figures. Data analysis indicates that the occurrence of the emotional vocabulary was three times per page on average in 1969. Since 1979, there was a sharp decline in the utilisation of these words, and by 1999 they had become virtually unobservable in the language.

The lexeme *yŏl* has been an important part of emotionally charged Sino-Korean words in the 1950s and 1960s, featuring in words such as *yŏllyŏr* (熱烈, passionate), *yŏlsŏng* (熱誠, earnestness), *yŏlcho* (熱潮, passion waves), *yŏljŏng* (熱情, passion), *yŏlŭi* (熱意, enthusiasm), and *yŏlae* (熱愛, deep love). Figure 4.3 displays the frequency of using the *yŏl* in emotional words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 1948 to 2019.

Figure 4. 3 The frequency of *yŏl* words for emotional expressions between 1948 and 2019



The diagram illustrates the extensive utilisation of the *yŏl* wording group between 1959 and 1969, primarily to convey enthusiasm and excitement. To quantify this, language data was extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* headlines, encompassing forty consecutive pages for each of the specified years. It is evident that the usage of *yŏl* words reached its zenith during the late 1950s and early 1970s, with 1959 and 1969 recording a frequency of 7.87% and 7% per headline, respectively. Subsequently, this proportion declined to 3.54% in 1979 and nearly disappeared by 1989. The use of *yŏl* words served as a reflection of the era, mirroring the prevailing political atmosphere and language habits of that time.

The emotionally charged vocabulary borrowed from Chinese is products of its time. In the first period, Sino-Korean words are often used to express positive emotions and to emphasise a statement with determination and spirit. This emotionally charged vocabulary is used to show admiration and appreciation for a particular action or statement, lending it more power and making it more impactful. This type of language was a product of its time in the social and political settings.

B. collectivist

The Chinese words were used to create a collectivist context in which people acted as a unified whole since the late 1940s. This was accomplished through the incorporation of three types of Sino-Korean words into the language: holistic nouns, distributive prefixes, and

subgroups of people. These words were copied from Chinese and used to signify a collective mindset. Common words such as *inmin* (*renmin* 人民, the people) and *kunchong* (*qunzhong* 群眾, the masses) are frequently used during this period. People are also referred to as subgroups, such as *nongmin* (*nongmin* 農民, the farming population), *kunmin* (*junmin* 軍民, army and people), and *simin* (*shimin* 市民, the townspeople). Another terminology used often is the distributive prefix *kak* (each, every) such as in *kakji* (*gedi* 各地, everywhere). These collectivist words are widely used in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* between the late 1940s and 1970s to show that people are connected in the shared destiny of a collective. Table 4.2 provides an overview of the three types of semantic collectivism with examples.

Table 4. 2 Three types of semantic collectivism among Sino-Korean words

Types of collectivist words	Examples
Holistic nouns	<i>kunchong</i> (<i>qunzhong</i> 群眾, the mass of people), <i>minchong</i> (<i>minzhong</i> 民眾, the public), <i>inmin</i> (<i>renmin</i> 人民, the people), <i>taechong</i> (<i>dazhong</i> 大眾, the masses)
Sub-groups of people	<i>pinhachongnong</i> (<i>pinxiazhongnong</i> 貧下中農, the poverty-stricken farming population), ‘ <i>kongin</i> ’ (<i>gongren</i> 工人, workers), <i>jisik chŏngnyŏn</i> (<i>zhishi qingnian</i> 知識青年, educated youth), <i>nongmin</i> (<i>nongmin</i> 農民, the farming population), <i>simin</i> (<i>shimin</i> 市民, the townspeople), <i>kikuanpudae</i> (<i>jiguanbudui</i> 機關部隊, the government and troops)
The distributive prefix	<i>kakji</i> (<i>gedi</i> 各地, everywhere), <i>kakjiku</i> (<i>gediqu</i> 各地區, every region)

a) Holistic nouns

The use of Sino-Korean words such as *kunchong* (the masses) and *inmin* (the people) is common in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, expressing the idea of semantic collectivism. The term *inmin* has been employed widely since the late 1940s to identify the Chinese people as a collective, in the context of rising nationalism and the battle against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. Meanwhile, *kunchong* is often used to refer to the ordinary people as a group in comparison with the ruling elite of China. Mao Zedong, for instance, highlighted the

importance of mobilising the *kunchong* to take part in the revolutionary activities during the Cultural Revolution. Examples 12 and 13 demonstrate the collectivist connotations present in the texts.

Example 12. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 2 February 1959

paelki kongsantang chǒngch'ikuk wiwǒn **inmin**-tǔl-eke hoso

Belgium 共產黨 政治局 委員 人民-PLU-DAT 呼訴

Belgium Communist-Party Political-Bureau Secretary people-PLU-DAT appeal

an appeal to the people (by) the Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Belgium Communist Party

Example 13. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 7 February 1959

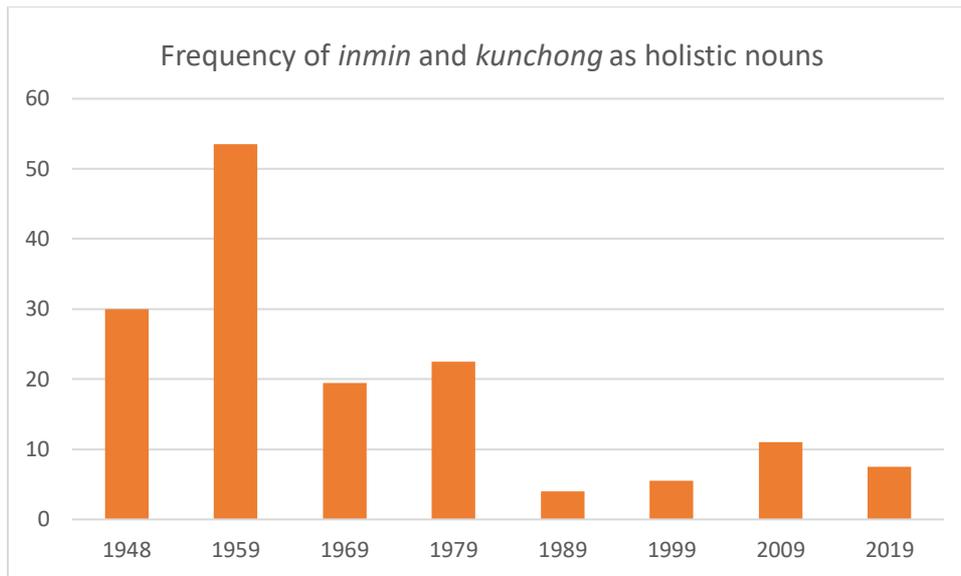
sawǒn kajǒng bangmun **kunchung** lyǒnkye kanghwa

社員家庭訪問 群眾連結加強 (member families visit people connection strengthen)

visiting members' families to strengthen the connection with people

Example 12 shows that the term *inmin* carries a potent political meaning, suggesting the notion of a nation's population as a whole. Similarly, Example 13 demonstrates that *kunchong* carries a similar meaning, referring to those who are not part of the ruling class and may have little political power. This term is often used to express the idea that the ruling elite and the people are inseparable. Figure 4.4 reveals that there was a greater usage of the collective nouns *inmin* and *kunchong* from the late 1940s to 1970s than in the later years.

Figure 4. 4 Frequency of *inmin* and *kunchong* as holistic nouns in two-day news texts of *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* between 1948 and 2019



As illustrated in the diagram, the usage of the words *inmin* (the people) and *kunchong* (the masses) in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* dramatically increased from the late 1940s to the 1970s, peaking at 53.5 occurrences on average in 1959 for a two-day language corpus. The usage of the two words relatively dropped in the decade that followed, with 19.5 and 22.5 occurrences in 1969 and 1979, respectively. During the Cultural Revolution period (1966–1976), the words *inmin* and *kunchong* were used less than in the 1950s, whereas sub-groups like *pinhachongnong* (the poverty-stricken farming population) and *kongin-tŭl* (workers-PLU) were used more frequently. This is because the political context of the period emphasised the attributes of social classes, and groups such as “the poverty-stricken farming population” and “workers” were seen as a unified force in opposition to the overthrown bourgeoisie. After 1979, the use of holistic nouns to denote collectivism decreased due to the changing social and political environment. The data was derived from two-day language samples taken from the newspaper in each of the years indicated. The usage of collectivist words is shaped by the social and political circumstances.

b). The sub-groups of people

Through the lens of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, we can observe that since the late 1940s, individuals have been categorised into various groups. For instance, based on their identities, they can be classified into *punyo* (婦女, women), *haksaeng* (學生, students), *nongmin* (農民, the farming population), *kunmin* (軍民, army and people), and *simin* (市民, the townspeople). Depending on their localities or administrative units, they are further divided and identified by

the region or populace they belong to, such as *kikuanputae* (機關部隊, the governments and troops) or *tongpukkakji* (東北各地, each region of the northeast).

During the Cultural Revolution period, Mao Zedong identified the impoverished farming population and workers as potential supporters of the revolution. Additionally, the term *jisik chǒngnyǒn* (educated youth) gained prominence, referring to young intellectuals or educated youths who were dispatched to rural areas. They were expected to become the “red guards” tasked with challenging traditional Chinese culture and social order. In Example 14, the term *jisik chǒngnyǒn* is highlighted in bold. From the late 1940s to the 1970s, the use of these sub-groups to underscore collectivism was widespread in the newspaper.

Example 14. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 26 September 1969

jisik chǒngnyǒn-tül-kwa hamkke kukkyǒngjǒl-ül soenta

知識青年-tül-kwa hamkke 國慶節-ül soenta

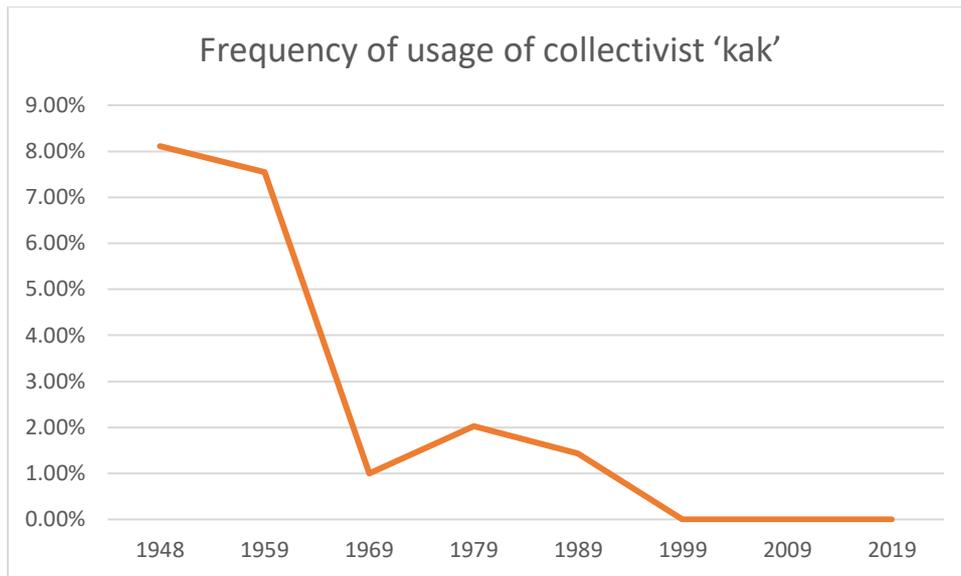
educated youths-PLU-COM together National Day-ACC celebrate
to celebrate the National Day together with educated youths

The “educated youths” are given special attention in the example, seen as a distinct social group among the others, like *nongmin* (the farming population) and *kongin* (workers). They are another collectivist sub-group to participate in the Cultural revolution.

c). The distributive prefix

This collectivist type is incorporated in distributive prefixes like *kak* (*ge* 各, each) in *kakjiku* (*gediqu* 各地區, every region), to indicate the involvement of each individual part as a uniformity. Figure 4.5 illustrates the alteration in the utilisation of the distributive prefix *kak* for collective expressions from 1948 to 2019.

Figure 4. 5 Frequency of using prefix *kak* for collectivism in headlines of *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* between 1948 and 2019



As the chart illustrates, the usage of Chinese borrowings with the prefix *kak* to convey collectivism was notably prevalent from 1948 to 1959. The data indicates that these *kak*-prefixed wording units constituted 8.11% in 1948 and 7.54% in 1959, respectively. However, this percentage rapidly declined to 1%, 2.02%, and 1.43% in 1969, 1979, and 1989. After 1990, these Chinese borrowings with the *kak* prefix for collectivist connotations were largely not seen. This data was derived from the headlines of forty consecutive pages for the specified years in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. During the period spanning 1948 to 1959, the *kak* prefix combined with Chinese lexemes conveyed a strong sense of collectivism within society. However, from the 1960s onward, a militaristic spirit began to overshadow the collectivist atmosphere, becoming another prominent characteristic among Sino-Korean words.

C. Militaristic

The Sino-Korean words of the minority Korean language has been greatly influenced by modern Chinese, which is reflected in the use of militaristic words. Such words imply determination, strength, vigour, control, and ambition. Between the late 1940s and 1970s, military spirit was glorified in Chinese discourse, with the popularisation of the “people’s war”. This highlighted the importance of mobilising the masses to fight both foreign and domestic enemies. During this period, militaristic words were frequently used, such as *tŭlkyo* (突擊, make a sudden attack), *chinkyok* (進擊, attack), *tucheng* (鬥爭, battle), *punchŏn* (奮戰, fight

bravely), and *jönsŭng* (戰勝, defeat). These words were commonly seen in newspapers, as exemplified by examples 15–17.

Example 15. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 1 April 1948

nongkujejak-ech'ongtolkyök
農具製作-e 總突擊
farming tools produce-DAT total raid
to work hard (raid) on producing farming tools

Example 16. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 1 February 1959

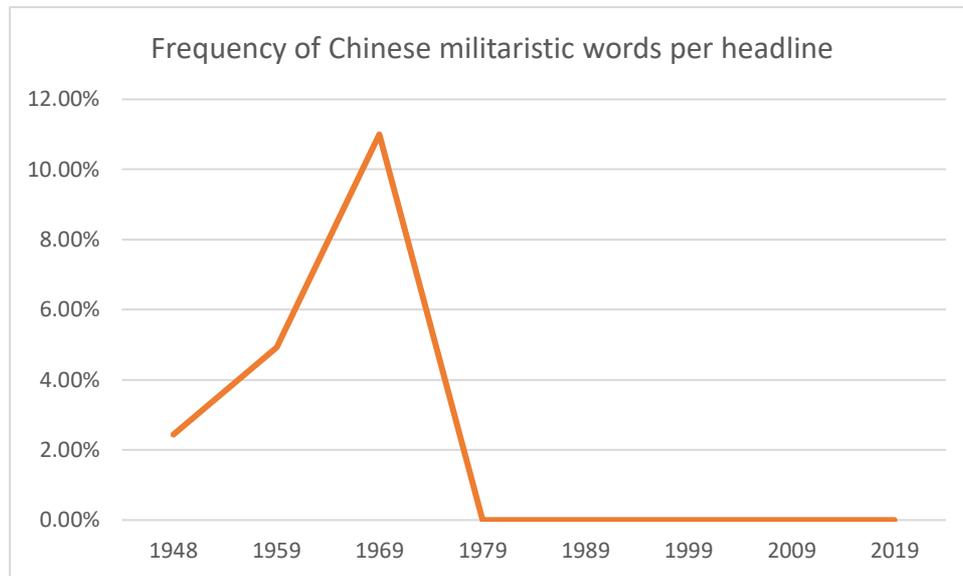
yangjunghyön-ün jönt'u nap'al-ül ulryössta
陽中縣-ün戰鬥喇叭-ül ulryössta
Yangjung county-TOP battle trumpet-ACC (is) sounded
the trumpet of battle is sounded in Yangjung county

Example 17. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 19 September 1969

widaehan t'ujaeng-ül kküt'kkaji jinhaenghalkös-ül kyölsim
偉大的鬥爭-ül kküt'kkaji 進行halkös-ül 決心
great battle-ACC to the end carry on-GEN determination
the determination of carrying on the great combat to the end

Examples 15, 16, and 17 demonstrate the use of militaristic language to bring energetic and powerful implications to the statements. These words metaphorically alter the context of non-military activities. The “total raid” in Example 15 is meant to increase production of farming tools, while the “sounding of the battle trumpet” in Example 16 is used to refer to the goal of achieving agricultural advancement. The “great battle” in Example 17 is a metaphor for a series of ideological challenges, such as imperialism and (Soviet) revisionism. This demonstrates that military words can be used to metaphorically represent non-military activities, such as agriculture, production, and ideology. Figure 4.6 shows a stark contrast in the frequency of utilising militaristic words for non-military topics between 1948 and 2019. The usage of these words reached its peak during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. However, with changes in Chinese society in the late 1970s, the use of these militaristic words quickly decreased and most of them have become obsolete in Yönbyön Korean after that time.

Figure 4. 6 Frequency of Sino-Korean militaristic words used for non-military topics between 1948 and 2019



The statistics reveal that the use of militaristic language in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has experienced a dramatic decrease in the last half-century. Data extracted from headlines of forty consecutive pages in each of the years between 1948 and 2019 shows that the frequency of militaristic words metaphorically used for non-military topics was 2.43% and 4.92% in 1948 and 1959, respectively. This figure increased to 11% by 1969, with at least one militaristic word used in every ten headlines. Since the late 1970s, however, the use of militaristic language in Yŏnbyŏn Korean declined due to a shift in Chinese society and the political environment towards a more conciliatory attitude towards the “enemies”, like “rightists” and “foreign agents”. China began to focus more on economic development and improving relations with the West than on a militaristic foreign policy. As a result, militaristic words like *jŏntu* (fighting) are rarely used in news and are almost imperceptible in the language today.

The use of militaristic, collectivist and emotionally charged features in Chinese-character words from the 1940s to the 1970s was an effective way of conveying political messages to the Chinese Korean community, as the news was indistinguishable from its Chinese version, enabling accurate dissemination of these messages.

4.3.2 Between the Late 1970s and 1990s: Transitional Period and Semantic Vagueness

Since the late 1970s, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has significantly decreased the use of emotionally charged, collectivist, and militaristic words. During this period of economic and

social reform initiated by Deng Xiaoping, Chinese news utilised vague language to provide information without confronting uncertain issues or expressing negative opinions. It is also during this time when the vague feature among Chinese borrowings became more noticeable in Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

The usage of Sino-Korean words with semantic vagueness has been observed in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, mainly being copies from the Chinese of the time. This type of vagueness is defined as linguistic units expressing implicit and context-dependent meanings and is accepted as a language strategy (Burnett, 2011; Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Cheng, 2007; Cheng & Warren, 2022; Gassner, 2012; Powell, 1985; G. Zhang, 2011; Q. Zhang, 1998). It is widely accepted in both written and spoken form (Channell, 1994; Cutting, 2015; Ruzaitė, 2007). Biber and Gray (2010, 2019) have also investigated how written and formal language especially in academic writing has become increasingly vague in the last two centuries. Semantic vagueness, seen through the typical Chinese borrowings, is highlighted in this section. This section examines vagueness stemming from semantic uncertainty, which is characterised by an unclear or uncertain meaning of language created by Sino-Korean words. Downtoners and *kŏnsŏl* nominal compounds fall into this vague category. The vagueness of these words is primarily reflected in the absence of a definite concept or information.

A. Semantic downtoners

The use of downtoners is performed to create semantic uncertainty. These terms are borrowed from Chinese language to make a less direct statement, or to indicate that the statement is uncertain or unsure. For example, the term *ch'objŏkŭro* (初步上, the first step toward) is used to signify a beginning phase of a topic. However, in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, it is often used to modify a completed aim or finalised action. This blurs the nuances of the aim or accomplishment of the topic, as the precise aim or degree of completion is uncertain. By adding a downtoner, usually in an adverbial form, the tone of the statement can be softened, conveying more vague information, as seen in the examples below.

Example 18. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 15 December 1988

kyŏngje paljŏn jung-ŭi ilbu isanghyŏnsang taso kaebyŏn

經濟發展中-ŭi 一部 異常現象 多少 改變

economic development in-GEN part abnormal phenomenon more or less change

A part of abnormalities in economic development more or less change(d)

Example 19. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 10 January 1989

kisulsijangmang ch'opojöküro hyöngsöng

技術市場網 初步-jöküro 形成

technology market network in the first step form

technology-market network (is) initially formed

Example 20. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 23 May 1989

sisutokongsa jökkükjökjin joch'i kangku

市水道公司 積極-jökjin 組織搶修

city waterworks company positively organise rush-repairs

Examples 18, 19, and 20 illustrate how downtoners can change the meaning of a statement into an unclear one. In Example 18, the downtoner *taso* (多少, more or less) indicates an uncertain degree of the change. The statement modified by the downtoner *taso* makes the accomplishment of the “change” unclear, as it can range from a substantial change to no change at all. The ‘*ch'opojöküro*’ (in the first step) in Example 19 also creates uncertainty in the meaning of the statement, as it could be in any stage between completion and incompleteness. The *jökkükjökjin chochi kangku* (be active in organising rescue) in Example 20 demonstrates the semantic vagueness from exhibiting a modifier-topic disagreement. The telic action of “organising rescue” should either be carried out or not, but the inserted downtoner *jökkükjökjin* (be active) refers to an open status, which is atelic. As a result, the meaning of the statement is unclear. As the examples show, downtoners modify the certainty of the text’s meaning. In the 1980s and 1990s, downtoners such as *pudanhi* (不斷地, constantly), *hyokwajöküro* (有效地, effectively), *kwahakjöküro* (科學地, scientifically), and *jönmyönjöküro* (全面地, comprehensively) were frequently seen in *Yŏnbyŏn* news. These downtoners follow the Chinese style in terms of meaning, semantic tone, and structure, indicating the intercultural influence of the Chinese language during this period.

B. Nominal compounds typically by the *könsöl* group

Since the late 1970s, nominal compounds that use the Chinese word *könsöl* (建設, construction, build) have become more common. This verbal word, which refers to the action of building or constructing, is now used more frequently as a nominal word to express concepts of uplift, development, improvement, undertaking, establishment, and more, depending on the context. This process of nominalisation of *könsöl* has allowed it to become more flexible in its denotations. The phrase *munhwa könsöl* (文化建設, cultural uplift) is a coined compound borrowed from Chinese which implies the improvement or development of culture. The term *könsöl* in this phrase is broad and does not provide a concrete definition, allowing it to be interpreted in many different ways, such as development, support, establishment, uplift, and more. Consequently, the phrase *munhwa könsöl* can be understood in many different ways, depending on the context and how it is interpreted. This is seen in the use of *könsöl* in compounds during the period. For example:

Example 21. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 13 October 1979

nongt'okibonkönsöl

農土基本建設(farmland basic construction)

basic construction of farmland

Example 22. A headline from *Yönbyön Daily*, 28 February 1989

munmyöngtanwikönsöl

文明單位建設 (civilisation unit construction)

construction of the model of civilisation

The denotation of the word *könsöl* has become increasingly ambiguous from 1979 to the 1990s. In Example 21 from *Yönbyön Daily* in 1979, the word is nominalised and conveys the basic sense of “constructing”, yet it allows for a broader interpretation of formulating policies and regulations when viewed in relation to other elements, such as different soil types. Since the late 1970s, the use of the nominal structure *könsöl* has become increasingly popular, with the suggested meanings being vaguer and more flexible. In Example 22, the nominalised *könsöl* expresses a more abstract concept than in Example 21. This causes the meaning of the compound “construction of the model of civilisation” to be uncertain and unclear. This semantic uncertainty is usually expressed through the Chinese borrowings. The peak in usage of such *könsöl* nominal groups occurred in the 2000s (refer to Figure 4.7).

4.3.3 From the Late 1990s to the Present: Development of Semantic Vagueness

The vagueness of Chinese borrowings due to semantic uncertainty and generality will be discussed in this section. The vagueness arises when the Chinese words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean do not precisely define a concept. More and more nominal compounds with *kŏnsŏl* as well as Chinese-character words ending with the suffixes *-hwa* (化, ‘-isation’) and *-sŏng* (性, -nature) indicate this type of vagueness.

A. The *kŏnsŏl* compounds since the late 1990s

Nominalised compounds with *kŏnsŏl* have been further demonstrated in the past two decades, showing semantic uncertainty and generality. The use of *kŏnsŏl* compounds are in contexts such as the following since the late 1990s:

Example 23. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 1 April 1999

kyŏngjekŏnsŏl

經濟建設

economic construction

Example 24. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 16 February 2009

kyotongŏnsŏl

交通建設

traffic construction

Example 25. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 29 September 2019

minjoktankyŏljjinbokŏnsŏl

民族團結進步建設 (ethnic unity progress construction)

construction of solidarity and progress of ethnicities

Example 23, 24, and 25 demonstrate that the term *kŏnsŏl* has abstract and imprecise meanings in a variety of nominal groups. For example, in *kyŏngje kŏnsŏl* (economic construction) and *kyotong kŏnsŏl* (traffic construction), *kŏnsŏl* conveys non-specific values and has uncertain boundaries. It may refer to the development or management of social services or resources, or the implementation of economic or transport policies. The *kŏnsŏl* compounds

denote a range of broad and conceptually diverse meanings such as development, establishment, progress, planning, undertaking, improvement, and management. Figure 4.7 discloses the frequency of such *könsöl* usage in nominal compounds in *Yönbyön Daily* from 1979 to 2022.

Figure 4. 7 Frequency of using the nominal *könsöl* compounds between 1979 and 2022 on *Yönbyön Daily*

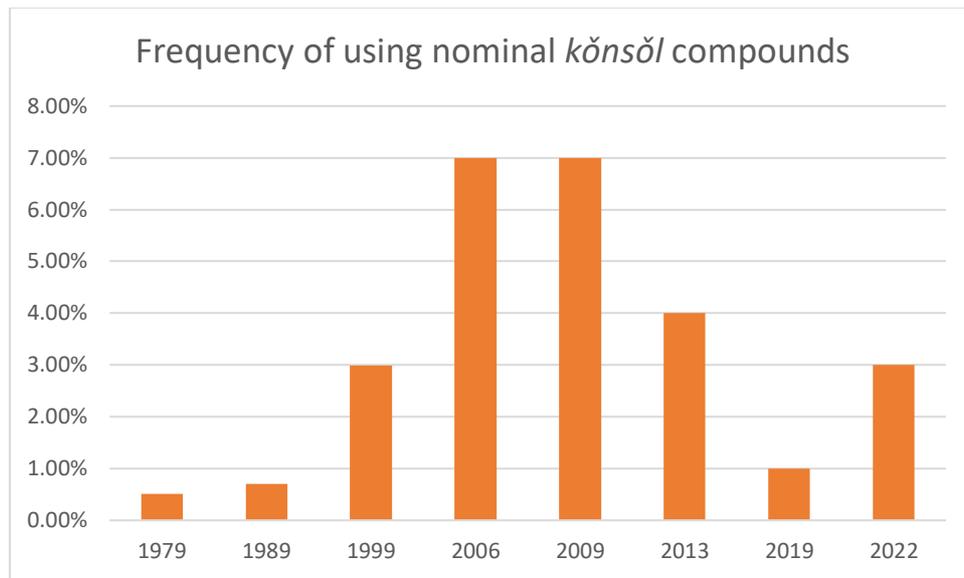


Figure 4.7 shows that the usage of the nominal *könsöl* has experienced an upward trend since 1979, reaching its peak in the 2000s. This data was collected from the titles and subtitles of *Yönbyön Daily* from 1979 to 2022, with only title-level language being taken into consideration to avoid repeated entries. In 1979, the *könsöl* nominal compound was present in only one out of 198 headlines in forty consecutive news-pages. In 1989, it was seen in three out of 420 headlines and by 1999 this figure had risen to eight out of 268 titles. The 2000s saw a rapid increase in the usage of *könsöl*, with 16 occurrences among 221 headlines in 2006, 137 occurrences among 1854 headlines in 2007, 192 occurrences among 2678 headlines in 2008, and 207 occurrences among 2927 headlines in 2009. During the second half of the 2000s, the frequency of using nominal *könsöl* remained at around 7%. The *könsöl* compounds usage decreased to between 1% and 4% in the 2010s. The *könsöl* compounds, which have been borrowed from Chinese in this phase, are widely used in *Yönbyön* Korean. This provides a linguistic insight into some of the major events and trends in Chinese society since the late 1970s.

B. Chinese borrowings combining with suffix *-hwa* and *-sǒng*

In the past two decades, the usage of Sino-Korean words created with the suffixes *-hwa* (化, ‘-isation’, a process toward) and *-sǒng* (性, -nature) has been on the rise. These Chinese-character words have similar attributes to their Chinese counterparts, such as meanings, semantic tones, and structure. Two examples are *muhae-hwa* (無害化, the process of becoming harmless) and *kwangbǒm-sǒng* (廣泛性, the nature of broadness), both of which demonstrate their vagueness in expression. The meaning of these words is contingent on the context and lacks precise interpretation, and they are frequently used to convey a wide range of definitions to show semantic generality.

a). Sino-Korean words with the suffix *-hwa*

The vague feature is seen among Chinese-character words with the suffix *-hwa* (化, ‘-isation’, a process toward). For example, *kikehwa* (機械化) indicates a process towards mechanisation. The word *kyumohwa* (規模化) suggests a process toward a larger scale. And *kyubǒmhwa* (規範化) indicates a process or efforts of standardisation. The suffix *-hwa* points to the meaning of tendency, process, development, efforts, and more. Considering its semantic extensiveness, the *-hwa* words often convey imprecise and abstract meaning. The *kyubǒm-hwa* can be defined as a tendency, process, or efforts towards a larger scale. According to the principles of semantic features noted by Lieber (2004, 2011), these *-hwa* words give nonmaterial, unbounded, and flexible meaning, such as the following examples:

Example 26. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 10 April 1999

haprihwakǒnǔi

合理化建議

rationalised suggestion

Example 27. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 5 May 2009

toenjanganǒb-ül ch’ekyehwa, kyumohwa, sijanghwa

toen-醬 產業-ül 體系化 規模化 市場化

fermented soybeans paste industry-ACC systematisation, scal-isation, marketisation

Example 28. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 25 January 2019

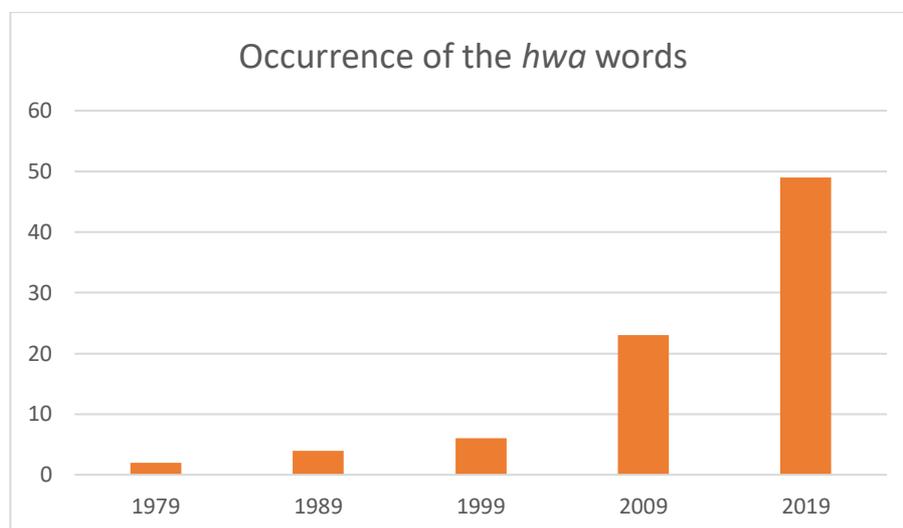
sepunhwa tayanghwa-wa takihwa toe-nŭn tawŏnhwa sitae

細分化 多樣化-wa 多極化 toe-nŭn 多元化 時代

subdivision-isation diversification-COM multipolarisation becoming-TOP pluralisation era

Words with the suffix *-hwa* in *Yŏnbyŏn* Korean language are dynamically created and demonstrate a process, trend, or goal of becoming a new situation. For instance, *haprihwa* (Example 26) suggests the goal of rationalisation; *ch'ekyehwa*, *kyumohwa*, and *sijanghwa* (Example 27) indicate the trend of systematisation, scalisation, and marketisation, respectively. These words are conceptually imprecise and describe boundless goals and situations. In Example 28, *sepunhwa* refers to the process, trend, or goal of segmenting into more divisions. Since the goal or the process of segmenting is undefinable, the word *sepunhwa* denotes abstractly and vaguely. The growth of the *hwa* lexical group is influenced by Chinese. The increase of *hwa* lexical usage, particularly after 2000, is demonstrated by Figure 4.8

Figure 4. 8 The occurrence of *-hwa* words used between 1979 and 2019 in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*



Since 1979, the usage of Sino-Korean words with the suffix *-hwa* has been increasing, as demonstrated by the diagram. The data was taken from the titles and subtitles of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in each of the mentioned years, and duplicates were removed in data processing. It is clear from the diagram that the use of *-hwa* words has been increasing since the 2000s. In 1999, only 6 words were found with the *-hwa* suffix; however, by 2009 and 2019, this number had

risen to 23 and 49, respectively. These words generally follow the Chinese style and often have an ambiguous meaning.

b). Sino-Korean words with the suffix *-sǒng*

In Yǒnbyǒn Korean, words with the suffix *-sǒng*, which denote the nature or character of, also show semantic generality. This type of words became more prevalent in texts from the 2000s. The suffix *-sǒng* is usually added to a Sino-Korean word to represent an attribute, quality, or value in Yǒnbyǒn Korean. For instance, the words *chawǒnsǒng* (資源性) and *kyǒngyǒngsǒng* (經營性) stand for “the character of natural resource” and “the nature of business” in the phrases *chawǒnsǒng sangpum* (resource commodities) and *kyǒngyǒngsǒng kichosisǒl* (business infrastructure). The suffix *-sǒng* carries the abstract denotation of “with the essence/character of”, thus transforming concrete words such as *chawǒn* (resources) and *kyǒngyǒng* (operation) into abstract and context-based meanings. Consider the following examples:

Example 29. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 5 March 2009

chǒngch’aeksǒng nongǒbpohǒm

政策性農業保護 (policy-nature agricultural protection)

policy-based protection for agriculture

Example 30. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 17 March 2009

sipǒmsǒng intosǒng yǒkhal-kwa jitokǒmsasaǒp-ǔi pilyosǒng

示範性 引導性 役割-kwa 指導檢查事業-ǔi 必要性

model-nature, guidance-value functions-COM leading examination undertaking-GEN
necessity

The role of demonstration and guidance along with the necessity of leadership and inspection

Example 31. A headline from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, 7 May 2019

kachang k’ǔn kunch’esǒng jǔngkwǒnpunjaengsakǒn

kachang k’ǔn 群體性 證券紛爭事件 (most big mass-character stock dispute incident)

the largest collective securities dispute case

Example 32. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 5 July 2019

kwahaksŏng, kyupŏmhwa, chetohwa-lŭl ch'ujinhako

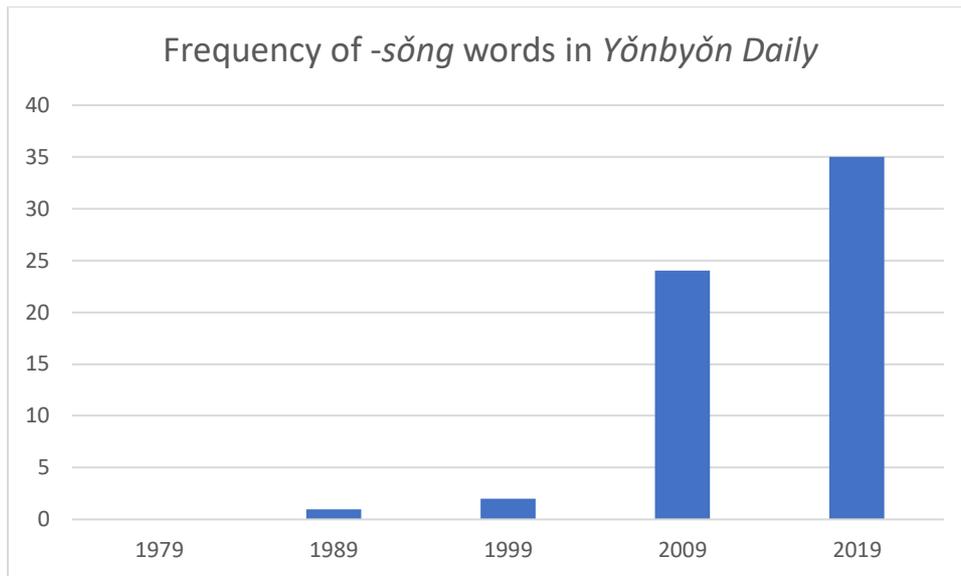
科學性 規範化 制度化-lŭl 促進-hako

science-spirit, standardisation, systematisation-ACC promote-COM

promoting the scientificity, standardisation, and systematisation

As the examples show, the meaning of a *-sŏng* word is malleable, depending on the context. In Example 29, *chŏngch'aek-sŏng* (policy-nature) can be interpreted as “with the character of policies”, or “policy-oriented”. This is because the denotation and connotation of the word is not fixed. Similarly, in Example 30, the words *sipŏm-sŏng* (model-nature) and *into-sŏng* (guidance-nature) signify “character and function of model” and “character and function of guidance”, both of which are conceptually unclear. The *kunch'e-sŏng* (collective-nature) in Example 31 suggests the “features of a collective event” in order to distinguish it from a single occurrence. The “character or nature of a group” is not clearly articulated and the concept behind the *kunch'e-sŏng* is quite abstract. Similarly, the *kwahak-sŏng* (science-nature) in Example 32 emphasises “the nature of science”, which is also quite vague and conceptual. From these examples, words with the suffix *-sŏng* offer abstract and unclear meanings that cannot be accurately defined. Since the 2000s, the *-sŏng* lexicon in *Yŏnbyŏn* Korean has experienced a rapid expansion, and is consistent with the style used in Chinese. Figure 4.9 reveals this growth of *-sŏng* words on *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, which is an example of linguistic influence from the Chinese.

Figure 4. 9 The frequency of *-sŏng* words used between 1979 and 2019 in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*



The data was extracted from the titles and subtitles of *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* for each of the specified years between 1979 and 2019, with duplicates eliminated during data processing. The chart clearly indicates a significant upward trend in the usage of words with the *-sǒng* suffix, particularly since the 1980s. In 1999, only two such words were identified; however, by 2009 and 2019, this count had surged to 24 and 35, respectively. These words typically adhere to a Chinese style and often possess ambiguous meanings.

4.3.4 Section Summary

The semantic features of Yǒnbyǒn Korean language have undergone changes over time due to shifts in social and political settings since the late 1940s. The analysis of data collected from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* reveals that there was a dramatic change in semantic features of Yǒnbyǒn Korean since the late 1970s, which marked a departure from the themes of militaristic, collectivist, and emotionally charged language of the past. Since the late 1970s, Yǒnbyǒn Korean has shown a greater preference for vague words. Downtoners are largely used between the late 1970s and 1990s to demonstrate the semantic vagueness and reflect influence of Chinese language. From the late 1990s, the *kǒnsǒl* (construction) nominal compounds keep developing, and words ending with the suffix *-hwa* and *-sǒng* are increasingly used to make statements more abstract and less direct. This allows the Korean language to provide news and express opinions without explicitly stating the whole story, similar to the manner of the Chinese newspapers. The utilisation of these Chinese-character words with semantic vagueness akin to

those found in the Chinese language has become a hallmark of Yŏnbyŏn Korean from the late 1970s.

4.4 Chinese Influence in the Structure of Yŏnbyŏn Korean Distinguished by Three Periods

This section reports findings from analysing structural features of Yŏnbyŏn Korean regarding influence from contemporary Chinese language. Two typical facets are examined for the structural level. Korean language is typically of an object-verb (O-V) structure. However, since the late 1940s, there has been an increase in verb-object (V-O) structure among Chinese-character words, which were borrowed from modern Chinese. The Chinese-character words with V-O structure were mainly borrowed between the late 1940s and 1970s, when the Chinese government started its national integrated ideology and Chinese assimilation became more widespread. Another feature influenced by Chinese is the compounding structure. Since the late 1970s, there has been a growth in long nominal compounding, a structure widely used in Chinese newspapers, particularly for expressing the political and official information. This type of compounding has increased significantly since the 1990s. Long compounds are typically nominal groups consisting of Chinese words and often convey meanings in a vague way. This section goes into further detail in examining both structures.

4.4.1 Structural Influence between the Late 1940s and 1970s: The V-O pattern

Results from analysing structural features of Yŏnbyŏn Korean show that it has been heavily influenced by contemporary Chinese language. This is especially evident in the verb-object (V-O) structure, which is borrowed from Chinese. The Sino-Korean words with V-O structure were mostly adopted between the late 1940s and 1970s, when the national integrated ideology and monolingual inclination became dominant. The V-O structure in Yŏnbyŏn Korean is similar to that of Chinese, as the verb comes before the object, which is the opposite of the structure in standard Korean. This indicates that Yŏnbyŏn Korean has been significantly impacted by the Chinese language at a structural level. Korean follows the SOV (subject-object-verb) pattern, while Chinese is a SVO language. The modern calques in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, influenced by Chinese, however, use the V-O structure to create new words, placing the verb before the object. Examples of words that follow this pattern include *pŏnsin* (翻身, to turn-over body, to be free), *paejŏn* (備戰, to prepare for war), and *saengkŭp* (升級, to go up-level).

The V-O calques of the time carry a sense of solidarity and national identity, reflecting the monolingual trend before the late 1970s. These calques provide a microcosm of the historical period, with words relating to farming and rural life, military life, ideology, and political life. For instance, *paejong* (配種, match-breeds), *jökpi* (積肥, gather-compost), *jüngsan* (增產, increase-production), *pangyö* (防疫, prevent-plague) demonstrate the importance of agriculture, while *lokun* (勞軍, greet-soldiers) and *chamkun* (參軍, join-army) glorify military life. Meanwhile, *pansin* (翻身, turn over-body, free from oppression), *jöngtang* (整黨, rectify the Party), *hahyang* (下鄉, go to-countryside, sent-down), *pakong* (罷工, stop-work, go on strike), *holo* (護路, protect-road-staff), and *pantanpbaninmin* (反黨反人民, oppose-the Party and oppose-people) reflect the ideological and political climate of the time.

In the post-1970s era, Chinese society moved towards a more market-driven and globalised system, causing many V-O calques to become outdated in the new social and political contexts.

4.4.2 Structural Influence from late 1970s to the Present: Lexicalisation of the V-O Calques

Since the late 1970s, many V-O words have become obsolete due to the shift in social and political contexts. However, some have remained active and have even become versatile in transforming between V-O and the nominalised structure. For instance, the V-O word *chönöp* (to change career) is integrated into a nominal compound *chönöpkinin* (轉業軍人) to refer to military personnel who have changed to another career, usually after completing their service. This accretive entity of the lexical unit is considered to be a type of lexicalisation. The *chönöp* (V + O) has been converted into *chönöpkinin* (N + N), whereby the verbal expression has been lexicalised into a nominal entity with a new, concrete meaning. To put it another way, the change is from *chönöp* (V) to *chönöp* (N). Lexicalisation is the process of assimilating coined or existing words into the conventional rules of the lexicon, resulting in a new lexical entity in the language (Blank, 1999; Brinton & Traugott, 2005; Himmelmann, 2004).

In the process of lexicalisation, agglutinative languages often replace the original lexical unit (Zhiqun Xing, 2020). However, when it comes to minority Korean language in China, which is an agglutinative language, the process of lexicalisation is not the case. The lexicalised V-O words reflect the same features of Chinese language. That is, the lexicalised entities are accretive rather than substitutive. The V-O words are assimilated into new nominal

structures, but the V-O entities remain in use. As can be seen in Extracts 1–4, both the V-O pattern and the nominal one are active in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, just like in Chinese language.

Extract 1

A. Extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* 27/Mar/2008

‘punkong’ (distribute-work) in V-O pattern
chaekimül punkonghayössümyŏ
responsibility-ACC divide (V.) (up)-PAST-CONJ
...while divided the responsibility up

B. Extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* 26/Nov/2018

‘punkong’ (distribution) in nominal structure
immupunkongül sepunhwahaeya hanta
task division (N.)-ACC triplicate-DEC
(we) must triplicate the task division

Extract 2

A. Extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* 27/Jun/2018

‘ch’osaeng’ (recruit-students) in V-O pattern
ibhak kwanripangpŏpe ttara ch’osaenghapnita
school entrance management regulations-DAT following recruit students (V.)-DEC
following the school entrance management regulations to recruit students

B. Extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* 25/Jun/2018

‘ch’osaeng’ (students’ recruitment) in nominal structure
ch’osaeng insunŭn myŏtmyŏnginkayo
recruitment (of) students (N.)-number-TOP what number is-INT
What is the number of students to be admitted?

Extract 3

A. Extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* 16/Nov/2018

‘sŭngkŭp’ (increase-level) in V-O pattern

hwankyŏngi kaesŏntoeku putaesisŏlto sŭngkŭphamyŏn
conditions-NOM improve-CONJ extra facilities-ADD upgrade (V.)-COND
if conditions are improved and extra facilities are upgraded

B. Extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* 7/Jan/2019

‘sŭngkŭp’ (upgrade) in nominal structure
sŭngkŭp kongsalŭl t’onghae
upgrading (N.) work-ACC through-CONJ
through the upgradation

Extract 1 reveals that the V-O pattern *punkong* (distribute-work) is lexicalised as an action word meaning ‘to distribute, to divide’, with the object *kong* (work) being semantically omitted. With the incorporation of *kong* into the action *pun* (to divide), this two-syllable word is ready to be used as a root in a new combination. As illustrated by Example B, the word *punkong* is lexicalised to a nominal concept, ‘division, distribution’, as in ‘task division’. Both the verbal and nominal forms are actively used in the language. The term *ch’osaeng* in Extract 2 illustrates how the object *saeng* (students) and the verb *ch’o* (to recruit) have been combined to form an assimilated word, which has been lexicalised to mean ‘recruitment’. The *sŭngkŭp* (increase-level) from Extract 3 indicates the omitted object *kŭp* (level) with the meaning of ‘upgrading’ or ‘increasing’. This is reflected in the examples A and B, where both the verbal and nominal forms are actively used, not substituted for one another.

4.4.3 Structural Feature since the Late 1990s: Long Compounding

Since the late 1990s, the compounding structure, which consists of long compounds formed by SK words, has been developed. These nominal groups often contain five or more words, conveying an integrated yet vague concept. The influence of the Chinese language on Yŏnbyŏn Korean is evident in the use of multi-lexeme compounds, which has become more prevalent since the late 1990s. Scholars posit that compounding is the main method for forming words and phrases in the Chinese language (Ceccagno & Basciano, 2007; Xing, 2006; Zhou et al., 1999). Many such compounds in Yŏnbyŏn Korean are adopted unchanged from Chinese, which is known as “global copying” (Johanson, 2002, p. 291). This means that the structure and function of a unit from the model language is copied in its entirety. For instance, the compound *sŏngjiksokikwanbudae* (省直屬機關部隊) is such a global copying of the Chinese

language. This compound points to the authorities and the army directly under the provincial government. The predicate *so* (subordinated to) in the Korean language works in the same way as in Chinese. These Chinese-character words are arranged in the same way as they are in Chinese, making it easier to correspond to the Chinese structure. Since the late 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean has seen the absorption of long, complex compounds, which have become increasingly longer and semantically vaguer over time. The Chinese-style compounds in Yŏnbyŏn Korean are composed of Chinese-character words, often in a nominal structure, and are usually lengthy and intricate to express abstract and ambiguous ideas. Examples from 1999 to 2019 illustrate this trend.

Example 33. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 6 April 1999

hankuksangp'umtomaejipsanji

韓國商品倒賣集散地 (Korean commodity trading distributing centre)

the distributing centre of trading Korean commodity

Example 34. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 29 March 2009

juminjoktankyŏljinpomopŏmjiptanch'angchojaengch'wisaŏpjitosochohoeŭi

州民族團結進步模範集團創造爭取事業指導小組會議 (state ethnic unity progress model collective creating gaining work leading group meeting)

guidance group meeting of creating and winning the model of state ethnic unity and progress

Example 35. A headline from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 26 September 2019

sŏngch'ŏngnyŏnkwahakkisulinjaepongsasilch'ŏnkiji

省青年科學技術人才服務實踐基地 (provincial youth scientific technological talent service practical base)

provincial base of practical service for youths with scientific and technological talent

Since the late 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean has been adopting the structure of longer and longer multi-lexemes compounding from Chinese. As my language data reveals, very long compounds have become increasingly common on *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* after the late 1990s. My analysis of examples 33–35 shows that these mega compounds are usually nominal groups, which usually lack clear semantic meaning. For instance, in Example 34, it is almost impossible to define the key theme of the meeting when twelve Chinese-character words are combined

and modified. Furthermore, the incorporation of Chinese-character words such as *saõp* (undertaking, work, business, project, policies, etc.) and *kõnsõl* (construction, development, building, upholding, promoting, creating, improving, etc.) into complex compounds is a frequent occurrence, which further adds to the vagueness of their meanings.

4.4.4 Section Summary

This section examines the diffusion of Chinese structures to Yõnbyõn Korean, as seen in the V-O pattern, and long nominal compounds. The compounding pattern demonstrates that sections of Chinese language can be adopted into Yõnbyõn Korean as wholes. Compounds have grown longer and vaguer especially from the late 1990s, with more than four words being combined in one unit. The vagueness is compounded by further blended Chinese-character words like *saõp* and *kõnsõl*. The V-O pattern, wherein words are formed by following the Chinese language structure, is another example of structural diffusion. V-O calques were most borrowed during the transition to a monolingual system between the late 1940s and 1970s. Some of these calques are still used today and can be expressed in both V-O and nominalised formats.

In summary, Chinese language has had a significant impact on the formation of Yõnbyõn Korean words, both in terms of compounding units and the V-O pattern. The compounding structure is becoming increasingly commonplace due to the language contact with Chinese. On the other hand, many of the V-O calques are no longer used as social and political settings have shifted. Both compounding structure and V-O pattern reflect the social context of their respective eras.

4.5 Chapter Summary and Discussion

This chapter discusses how the Yõnbyõn Korean language has evolved through close interaction with contemporary standard Chinese, primarily due to language assimilation policies in place between the late 1940s and 1970s, followed by shifts in sociopolitical contexts. The development of the Korean language has been profoundly influenced by these changing social and political landscapes, resulting in distinctive linguistic manifestations across various contexts. By analysing the evolution of Sino-Korean words in Yõnbyõn Korean from 1948 to 2019, we can observe a consistent influence of the Chinese language as a dominant linguistic force. However, this influence has undergone significant adjustments in three distinct periods to accommodate the impact of social and political events and policies.

During period 1, spanning from the late 1940s to the late 1970s, we can pinpoint three significant transformations in the Korean language. Firstly, Yŏnbyŏn Korean underwent a significant incorporation of Chinese vocabulary due to pressure from the language policies and shifted sociopolitical atmosphere, even though national policies permitted the use of minority languages in ethnic communities when the CCP government was newly established. This resulted in the Korean lexicon incorporating over 80% SK words, many of which were recent borrowings from modern Chinese. Secondly, the extensive use of these SK words imbued the overall semantics of Yŏnbyŏn Korean with strong militaristic, collectivist, and emotionally charged characteristics. Thirdly, the Korean language, which typically follows an O-V (Object-Verb) structure, exhibited clear evidence of heavy influence from contemporary standard Chinese at the structural level, primarily due to the prevalence of V-O (Verb-Object) patterns in newly borrowed Chinese words.

Between the late 1940s and the late 1970s, mass movements such as the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) led to the implementation of a “unified Chinese-monopolistic language policy” (Zhou, 2001, p. 160). This policy created a monolingual environment that significantly increased contact with Chinese, resulting in a substantial influx of Chinese loanwords with structural integration during this period. These Sino-Korean words carried characteristics of militarism, collectivism, and strong emotional charge, as well as adopting the V-O structural format, reflecting the prevailing ethos of that era. The use of these Chinese borrowings effectively conveyed political messages to the Chinese Korean community, as the news became nearly indistinguishable from its Chinese counterpart. This made it possible for these messages to be accurately disseminated and understood within the community.

In period 2, there was a noticeable reduction in the use of Sino-Korean words. From 1979 through the 1990s, the proportion of Sino-Korean words fluctuated around 70%. Moreover, the semantic attributes of these words shifted away from their previous militaristic, collectivist, and emotionally charged connotations. Many of the Chinese borrowings that were once employed to express aspects of farming life and military spirit in Yŏnbyŏn Korean became obsolete. During this phase, the Korean language evolved in a more ambiguous manner in terms of semantics. Sino-Korean downtoners began to adopt a more Chinese-style approach, introducing semantic ambiguity. This semantic vagueness became more pronounced in Chinese borrowings as compound words grew longer and less precise. Furthermore, there was a decline in the borrowing of V-O pattern words, and previously borrowed V-O words

gradually transformed into nominal structures. Words that once conveyed a “revolutionary” way of life through V-O patterns became less prevalent during this period.

The most significant shift in the linguistic characteristics of Yŏnbyŏn Korean occurred in the late 1970s, aligning with the changing social and political landscape of the time. Following the third Plenary Session of the eleventh Central Committee of the Party in November 1978, China began a gradual transition toward a market economy and a more open society. This transition brought about a considerable influx of new words, which replaced the old discourse system. Simultaneously, there was a relaxation of restrictions on the Korean language, allowing the community more freedom to develop their own linguistic identity. Moreover, the emergence of a more open and internationally oriented society increased contact with other languages, notably English, further influencing the evolution of Yŏnbyŏn Korean during this period.

In period 3, there has been a consistent decline in the use of Sino-Korean words, reaching a low point of approximately 60%. This decline has led to a dual evolution of Yŏnbyŏn Korean from the late 1990s to the present. On the one hand, the language continues to incorporate words from Chinese. On the other hand, language from South Korea is gaining prominence. Interestingly, in areas involving non-official, non-political, and recreational information such as sports and entertainment, Chinese borrowings are often not the preferred choice. In addition, the influence of the Chinese language is evident in the semantic vagueness of Chinese borrowings from the late 1990s to recent years. This is particularly notable in nominal compounds featuring *kŏnsŏl*, Sino-Korean words ending with *-hwa* and *-sŏng*. Additionally, during this period, the Korean language has developed a structure of multi-lexemes compounding influenced by Chinese, especially in the political category and official documents.

To sum up, the Chinese language held a significant sway over the minority Korean language, making it the sole choice of learning for the community from the late 1940s to the 1970s. However, as the community’s focus shifted towards local development and economic demands after the late 1970s, the dominance of the Chinese language began to wane. This shift allowed the Korean community to have multiple options for their language use and borrowing. It marked a transition from a monolithic language environment to one with diverse linguistic choices, effectively reducing the primacy of Chinese borrowings. Since the establishment of full diplomatic ties between Beijing and Seoul in 1992, there has been a noticeable rise in neoliberal tendencies in Yŏnbyŏn. This shift has seen the Korean community’s focus pivot towards economic demands and local development. Consequently, there has been a surge in

loanwords borrowed from South Korea, resulting in a reduced reliance on Sino-Korean words. During this phase, Yŏnbyŏn Korean has been evolving in two contrasting directions. On the one hand, it continues to borrow Chinese words and structures, such as lengthy compounds, primarily for political and official language purposes. On the other hand, words borrowed from South Korea are gaining increasing popularity, especially in everyday language. The linguistic influence of South Korean will be explored further in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 5 The Impact of English on the Korean Language Change

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will report the research results regarding the evolution of English loanwords and Anglo-Korean (AK) terms and usage within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. These linguistic changes are primarily influenced by shifting sociocultural and economic dynamics within the changing social landscape. AK words refer to vocabulary in Korean language that are “complete copies of, or have at least fragments of, English words” (Kiaer, 2017, p. 96). The development of English loanwords and AK words in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has changed over the course of seven decades, corresponding with the change in Chinese borrowing. The development of English loanwords and AK words can be categorised into three distinct periods: late 1940s–1970s; late 1970s–1990; late 1990s–2019, each influenced by the prevailing sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors. Data reveal that from the late 1940s to 1970s, as Period 1, is characterised by a limited adoption of English words and their elements. Between the late 1970s and 1990s is the Period 2. During this period, there is a gradual resurgence in the use of English loanwords. These two decades represent a transitional phase marked by the incorporation of English loanwords and a response to the evolving social environment. Notably, in this transitional phase, the spellings of English loanwords shift from a pro-Pyongyang style to a pro-Seoul style. The period following the late 1990s is denoted as Period 3, during which English borrowing within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language experiences a significant resurgence. Notably, the swift proliferation of English loanwords, borrowed mainly through South Korea, stands out as a prominent characteristic of the linguistic transformation occurring within the Korean language. English borrowing is perceived favourably within the Korean community, representing a form of symbolic capital. This new linguistic development has led to a narrowing of the space available for the assimilation of Chinese borrowings in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, resulting in a competition and symbiosis between Chinese and English words at the sociolinguistic level.

As language policies evolve and international relations undergo changes, coupled with the development of a globalised market and shifting social contexts during the three distinct periods, speakers of Yŏnbyŏn Korean find themselves increasingly exposed to new languages and cultural influences. This exposure results in the incorporation of fresh vocabulary, language structures, and patterns, shaped by individual needs, preferences, and interactions with other communities and languages. This form of bottom-up language change is primarily

driven by the everyday language practices and choices made by the speakers themselves within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community. Notably, the adoption of English loanwords and AK innovations, particularly in interactions with South Korea, plays a significant role in shaping this linguistic variation.

In the following four sections, this chapter will conduct an analysis of how English borrowings and their usage in Yŏnbyŏn Korean have evolved across each of the three distinct periods. It will closely examine the sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors that have played a pivotal role in guiding these linguistic developments. Section 6.2 details the limited use of English loanwords in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language in period 1, and the sociopolitical factors behind the fall of English borrowing. Section 6.3 discusses the reintroduction and utilisation of English loanwords from the late 1970s to the 1990s. The increase in English borrowing during Period 2 in Yŏnbyŏn Korean is due to various factors, such as the reduced sociopolitical pressure, economic reform, communication with the West and South Korea, and a re-evaluation of minority cultures. Until the end of the 1990s, a shift from the Pyeongyang to Seoul mode of spelling of English loanwords is enabled by a variety of sociocultural factors, such as China's "Korean wave" during the onset of economic globalisation and the increasingly internationalised younger generations. In Section 6.4, the surge of English borrowing in Period 3 is analysed, and the effect of South Korean language on the spellings and structures of these Anglo-Korean words is highlighted. The symbolic value of the English language in both China and South Korea has caused a surge in the use of English loanwords in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. Finally, in Section 6.5 the chapter concludes by looking at the variations in English loanwords and AK borrowings over time and exploring how the ongoing language change is shaped by social contexts.

5.2 The Restricted English Borrowing in Period 1 and the Replacement by Chinese Words

In Yŏnbyŏn Korean, the usage of English loanwords was noted as a change. Prior to 1945, English loanwords were regularly used in the Korean language of Yŏnbyŏn. Borrowing English language at the time was not viewed as an unusual linguistic event, and the community of Yŏnbyŏn could incorporate English words into its language for everyday use, such as *rek'otŭ* (record), *nyusŭ* (news), and *sŭt'a* (star) (as discussed in Chapter 1). However, after 1945, these English loanwords began to be used less often in local newspapers, such as the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* (see Table 5.1). From the initial issue of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in 1948, it started to use fewer English loanwords, and some of them were substituted with Sino-Korean words.

5.2.1 The Restricted English Borrowing between the Late 1940s and 1970s

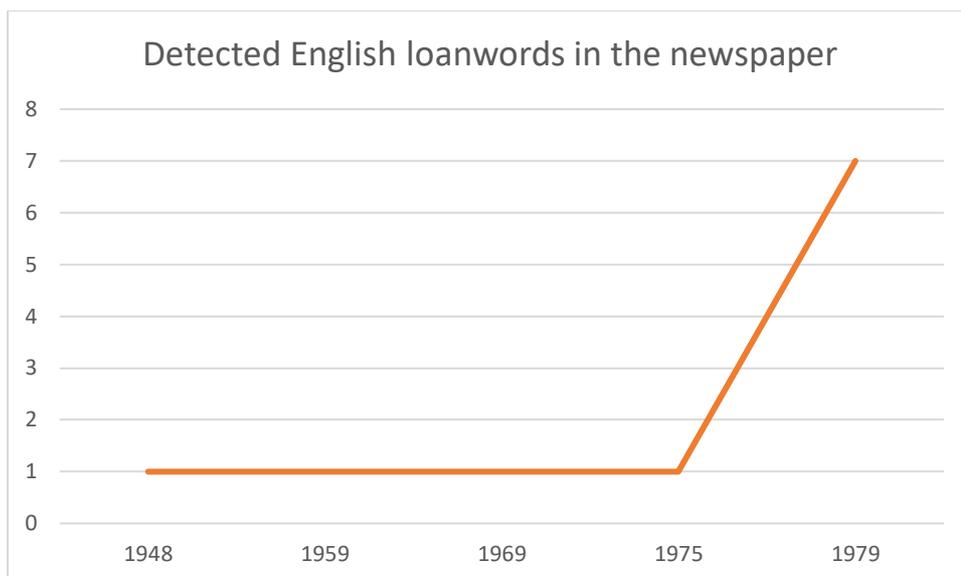
Between the late 1940s and 1970s, English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean saw very limited usage and stayed at a low level. Table 5.1 below displays the usage of English loanwords detected from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* between 1948 and 1979, to illustrate the restriction of English usage. Language data are extracted from forty consecutive pages of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* for each of the listed years. The subjects of these data span a variety of news divisions, such as politics, military, economics, culture, society, and international news. This wide coverage ensures that the calculations based on these language data are reliable.

Table 5. 1 English loanwords observed in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* between 1948 and 1979

Year	English loanwords detected in 40 pages of the <i>Yŏnbyŏn Daily</i>
1948 <i>Yŏnbŏn Daily</i>	k'ilro (kilo)
1959 <i>Yŏnbŏn Daily</i>	sŭk'echi (sketch)
1969 <i>Yŏnbŏn Daily</i>	kasŭ (gas)
1975 <i>Yŏnbŏn Daily</i>	p'amp'ŭ (pump)
1979 <i>Yŏnbŏn Daily</i>	ppŏsŭ (bus), hot'el (hotel), pŭlrok'ŭ (block), sement'ŭ (cement), t'ellepijyon (television), pinil (vinyl), met'ŏ (metre)

As the table discloses, the usage of English loanwords between 1948 and 1975 in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* is minimal, with only one English word detected each year. This limited level of borrowing was not affected by the re-evaluation of English education in China during the Sino-Soviet split period. Figure 5.1 illustrates this restriction of English borrowings between 1948 and 1975, followed by a clear increase in 1979. The study analysed approximately twenty days' worth of news texts, equivalent to forty consecutive pages, without considering proper nouns such as country names in the process.

Figure 5. 1 The usage of English loanwords between 1948 and 1979 in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*



As the chart demonstrates, the usage of English loanwords was minimal from 1948 to 1975, with only one in 40 pages of text, a great difference compared to the amount used before 1945 (see Chapter 1). However, as seen in Figure 5.1, however, the usage of English loanwords increased significantly in 1979 due to changes in the social and political climate.

Between the late 1940s and 1970s, English loanwords were rarely seen in *Yǒnbyǒn Daily*, as the use of English words was considered risky and unpatriotic. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, direct ties with the Western world were severed, and close relations with the socialist bloc were established. This change in diplomatic relations was called “leaning to one side” (*yibiandao* 一邊倒). During this period, English was seen as “the language of the enemy” (Hu, 2021, p. 25). Consequently, English loanwords were no longer used in newspapers such as the *Yǒnbǒn Daily*.

5.2.2 Substituting English Borrowings for Chinese Words in This Period

In the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* of 1948, English loanwords were used very little, aside from a few names of countries and organisations, such as *sūweten* (Sweden), *tenmak'ǔ* (Denmark), *it'aeri* (Italy), and *yuen* (UN). Between 1948 and the 1970s, the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* showed that the few remaining proper nouns in English transliteration had been replaced by Chinese words. For example, the English borrowing *amerik'a* (America) used before 1945 was replaced with the SK word *mikuk* (美國) in the *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* of 1948. Other proper nouns, such as *kuju* (歐洲, Europe), *p'otoa* (葡萄牙, Portugal), and *milyǒnsa* (美聯社, The Associated Press), were also expressed in the Chinese manner, rather than English transliterations. The term *milyǒnsa* is made up of three

Chinese lexemes, meaning American (*mikuk* 美國), associated (*lyŏnhap* 聯合), and organisation/association (*sa* 社), which were combined into one shorter word, *mi-lyŏn-sa*, in the Chinese style.

Between the late 1940s and 1970s, data shows that Chinese has been the main source of new words for the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, as analysed in the last chapter. During this period, Chinese terms had replaced the English borrowings used before 1945, such as *sosik* (消息, news) for the English *nyusŭ* (news), Chinese-character word *kŭn* (斤, half kilo) for the English (half) *k'iro*, and Chinese *kirok* (紀錄, record) for the English *rek'otŭ* (record).

My data also reveal that English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean were rarely borrowed through contemporary Chinese. As Chinese is a logographic language, it usually borrows foreign words through semantic translation rather than phonological transfer, which are then written in Chinese characters. For example, ‘computer’ in Chinese is semantically translated as *diannaŏ* 電腦 (electricity-brain) or *jisuanji* 計算機 (calculation-machine) in characters, instead of alphabet-based transliterations. Similarly, ‘battery’ is introduced in Chinese as *dianchi* 電池 (electricity-pool), and ‘vitamin’ is *weishengsu* 維生素 (subsist-life-element). Using Sino characters as the medium for adopting foreign words was the choice in the Japanese and Korean language at the early time as well. However, this mode has been replaced by the phonemic matching translation when new words are borrowed temporarily in Japan and Korea. Sino-word-based words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean are considered Sino-Korean, not foreign borrowings, such as *kyesanki* (‘calculation-machine’ 計算機, computer), *gongjŏngsa* (‘project-technician’ 工程師, engineer), and *milyŏnsa* (The Associated Press, 美聯社).

In summary, from the late 1940s to the 1970s, the borrowing of English words into Yŏnbyŏn Korean was least frequent. The English usage was at its lowest level. During this time, many English words were substituted with Chinese-character words. It is the period of restricted use of English loanwords in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language.

5.3 Re-energised English Loanwords between the Late 1970s and 1990s: The Transitional Period

From 1979 to 1999, the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* shows an increasing trend in English borrowings. This is evidenced in Figure 5.1, which shows that English loanwords are reintroduced and adopted into the Korean language. The usage of these loanwords increased steadily until 1999, and after 1990 South Korean-style English loanwords are increasingly adopted, gradually replacing the

traditional spellings and structures of the loanwords. Between the late 1970s and 1990s, the development of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean sees an increase, with texts related to sports and entertainment showing the highest usage. However, English borrowings are rarely seen in texts related to formal and official matters, such as political and social reports. This section looks at three aspects of this development: the growth of English loanwords; the distinctive spelling systems, namely Pyeongyang and Seoul mode; and the transitional features of the period.

5.3.1 The Growth of English Loanwords in Period 2

Since the late 1970s, the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* has gradually reintroduced English loanwords into their newspaper. These loanwords are identical to those used before 1945 in terms of spelling, such as *sementŭ* (cement), *met'ŏ* (metre), *rajiŏ* (radio), *pŭlrok'ŭ* (block), *metal* (medal), and *k'ongk'ŭritŭ* (concrete). This period is not as booming in terms of borrowing from English as the period after 2000, but English loanwords are increasingly becoming part of the community. During this time, new borrowings have been introduced for sports news, such as *t'im* (team), *raip'ŭ* (live), and *kkem* (game), as well as words related to revolutionary technology, such as *reija* (laser), *maik'ŭrop'ŭrokŭram* (micro-program), *hatŭweŏ* (hardware), *reita* (radar), and *rok'et'ŭ* (rocket). At this phase, the political and social reports of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* have had a very low usage of English loanwords.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the inclusion of English loanwords in the newspaper marked a new and innovative development. Based on my data spanning from 1979 to 1999, it is evident that *Yŏnbŏn Daily* exhibited a varying range of English loanwords per article during this period, ranging from 0 to 1.75. As the trend towards incorporating English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean continued, by 1999 their usage had become more commonplace, nearly appearing on every page of the newspaper, as illustrated in Table 5.2. This table is based on an analysis of data collected from ten consecutive pages of *Yŏnbŏn Daily* from 1999.

Table 5. 2 The frequency of English loanwords per article in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in 1999

Page number	English loanwords per page	News articles per page	Frequency of English loanwords per article
1	8	6	1.333
2	6	10	0.6
3	7	8	0.875
4	14	8	1.75

5	6	6	1
6	14	10	1.4
7	11	11	1
8	4	6	0.667
9	11	10	1.1
10	3	11	0.273

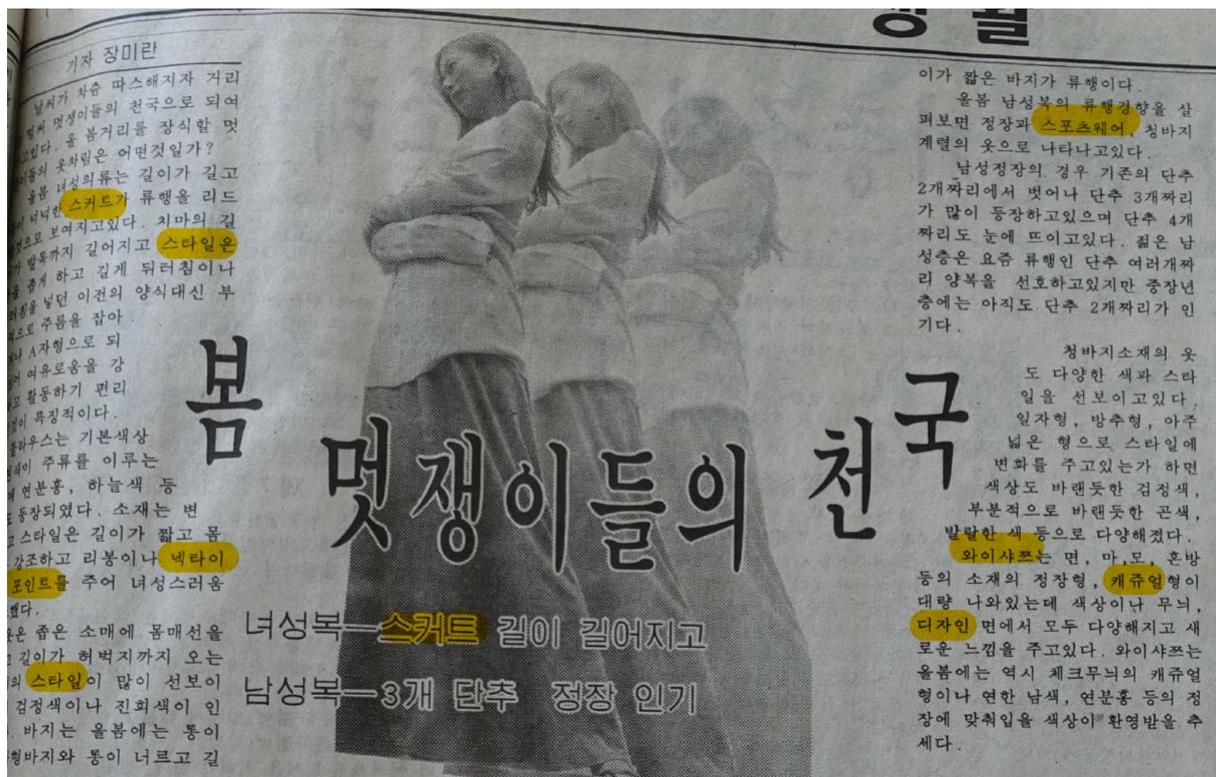
Table 5.2 indicates that English loanwords are present in all ten consecutive news pages of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 1999. The frequency of English loanwords per news article varies between 0.273 and 1.75. Notably, news articles containing political and social content tend to have fewer borrowings, whereas those focusing on sports and entertainment tend to have more. Examples 1 and 2 below illustrate the usage of English loanwords within the sports and recreational categories in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in 1999. The English loanwords are highlighted in the articles.

Example 1. A news article in the sports category of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 1999



Example 1 shows that 19 English loanwords are present in the short article to report a soccer game, and 9 of these loanwords are noted when the repetitions are removed. They are *t'im* (team), *p'aen* (fan), *hap'ũ* (half), *syut* (shoot), *k'ip'õ* (keeper), *heting* (heading), *t'eni* (tiny), *k'onõ* (corner), and *k'ik* (kick).

Example 2. A news article in the recreational category of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 1999

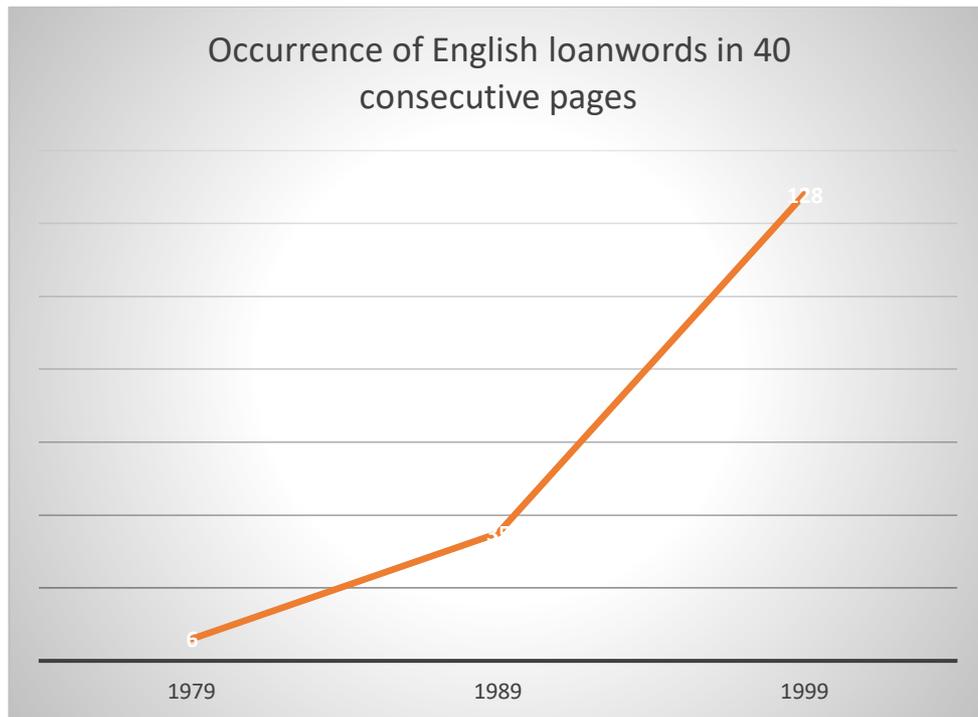


Example 2 shows that 11 English loanwords are present in the article discussing fashionable attire, and 9 of these loanwords are found when repetitions are removed. They are *sŭk'ŏt'ŭ* (skirt), *sŭt'ail* (style), *nekt'ai* (necktie), *p'ointŭ* (point), *sŭp'och'ŭ* (sport), *weŏ* (wear), *waisyajjŭ* (white shirt), *k'aejyuŏl* (casual), and *tijain* (design).

The two examples demonstrate that English has been particularly borrowed into the sports and recreational categories during this period, with some news articles containing up to nine English loanwords per text. This indicates how familiar the English borrowing had become with Korean speakers in Yŏnbyŏn by 1999.

The popularity of English loanwords in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* has increased from the late 1970s to 1990s. This is evidenced in Figure 5.2, which shows that the number of borrowings in 1999 is much higher than in 1979 and 1989. Figure 5.2 is based on 40 consecutive news pages from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from each of the years listed (1979, 1989, 1999), with the language data collected from those 120 pages.

Figure 5. 2 The frequency of English loanwords in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 1979 to 1999



As we can see, Figure 5.2 shows a clear growth of English loanwords from 1979 to 1999 in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. In 1989, the number of English loanwords had grown to nearly six times the amount present in 1979, counting as 35 borrowings. By 1999, this figure increased by approximately twentyfold compared to 1979, counted as 128 English loanwords. This accelerated growth of English loanwords is evident when reading news articles from each of the mentioned years. The deepening economic relations between Beijing and the outside world, particularly South Korea, are likely to have been a major factor driving this phenomenon (refer to Chapter 1).

From 1979 to 1999, the use of English borrowings has become increasingly commonplace, and some English words have become part of the everyday spoken language in Yŏnbyŏn Korean during the period. This phase also sees a shift from Pyeongyang spelling mode to the learn-from-Seoul mode by the late 1990s. The following section will analyse the transitions that occurred during the time.

5.3.2 English Loanwords Distinguished with the South Korean System in the Transitional Period

The spelling of English loanwords in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language underwent significant changes during this period. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s, the majority of loanwords adhered to the North Korean system. However, since the 1990s, there has been a gradual shift

toward the South Korean spelling system, with loanwords using this system surpassing those using the North Korean system by 1999. Interestingly, both the North and South spelling conventions coexist in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* within the same years during the 1990s. This section provides a detailed examination of these transitions.

In Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, prior to the 1990s, most loanwords are primarily in line with Pyeongyang’s cultured language (*munhwaŏ*). English such as *enelŭki* (energy), *t’elrep’ijyon* (television), *k’ongk’ŭrit’ŭ* (concrete), *p’ŭrokŭram* (program), *k’ilrokŭram* (kilogram), *enjing* (engine), and *batŭmint’on* (badminton) match the Pyeongyang spelling system during the phase. Yŏnbyŏn Korean is encouraged to take cues from the Pyeongyang language, in view of the slogan of learn-from-North Korea, promoted by then premier Zhou Enlai in the 1960s (refer to Chapter 1). Between the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1990s, when China has just begun its reform and opening period and had not yet established diplomatic relations with South Korea, the influence of South Korea on Yŏnbyŏn was limited. The English loanwords that are noted during the time are mainly consistent with those of North Korea, instead of South Korea. Table 5.3 displays the different spellings of the English loanwords between Yŏnbyŏn and South Korea from the late 1970s to the 1990s.

Table 5. 3 Incompatible spellings of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn and South Korean language between the late 1970s and 1990s

Loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean	Loanwords in South Korean	English
tep’ŭ	teip’ŭ	tape
enelŭki	enŏji	energy
metŏ	mitŏ	metre
t’ellepijyon	t’ellepijŏn	television
p’ŭrokŭram	p’ŭrokŭraem	programme
imp’ulsŭ	imp’ŏlsŭ	impulse
k’ongk’ŭritŭ	k’onk’ŭritŭ	concrete
rok’et’ŭ	rok’es	rocket
syawa	syawŏ	shower
asea	asia	Asia
sup’ŏ	syup’ŏ	super
tet’a	teit’a	data
reija	reijŏ	laser
maik’ŭrop’ŭrokŭram	maik’ŭrop’ŭrokŭraem	micro-program
batŭmint’on	baetŭmint’on	badminton
rajio	ratio	radio

kurap'a	yuröp	Europe
pirusü	pairösü	virus
syup'ömak'etü	syup'ömak'es	supermarket
bbomp'ü	p'ölp'ü	pulp
p'ulsü	p'ölsü	pulse
k'iroküram	k'ilroküraem	kilogram
kkem	keim	game
ppösü	pösü	bus
pülrok'ü	pülrok	block
sement'ü	siment'ü	cement
sük'et'ü	sük'eit'ü	skate
enjing	enjin	engine
k'anata	k'aenata	Canada
peru	p'eru	Peru
osüt'üralria	osüt'üreilria	Australia
jyamaik'a	jamaik'a	Jamaica
k'yupa	k'upa	Cuba
ssentö	sentö	centre
pulraentü	pülaentü	brand
k'ilromet'ö	k'ilromit'ö	kilometre
paelpo	paelpü	valve
waisyajjü	waisyöch'ü	white shirt
ttalra	talrö	dollar
sench'imet'ö	sench'imet'ö	centimetre
t'ürejiti	t'ürejöti	tragedy
appat'ü	ap'at'ü	apartment

The table shows that most English loanwords observed in *Yönbyön Daily* between the late 1970s and 1990s are distinguished in spelling from the South Korean language. My data reveals that some loanwords used in Yönbyön Korean continue the old style, reflecting Japanese influence, such as *pilusü* (virus), *enerüki* (energy), *syajjü* (shirt), and *syawa* (shower). Researchers (Chiyuki et al., 2006) report that about 200 English loanwords were borrowed in Korean via Japanese, mainly during the period from the late 19th century to 1945. These loanwords in Yönbyön are noticeably distinguished from the South Korean spellings, as most of the English loanwords transmitted through the Japanese language were adjusted to new spellings in South Korea after World War II. As H. Sohn (2020) examined, after the end of Japanese occupation in Korea, Japanese-style English loanwords were altered and respelled to fit the South Korean language. For example, the mentioned borrowings “virus”, “energy”, “shirt”, and “shower” were changed to *pairösü*, *enöji*, *syöch'ü*, and *syawö*, respectively.

Most loanwords shown in Table 5.3 that are old fashioned remain consistent with the Pyeongyang system, despite the fact that foreign loanwords are seen as objects to be eliminated for the “cultured language” in North Korea. Guided by Kim Il Sung, there were attempts to

replace English loanwords with native lexical coinage since the 1966 cultured language movement (C.-W. Kim, 1978; Y. S. Kim, 1980; Kumatani, 1990; Yeon, 2006; Yeon et al., 2008). For example, in North Korean, “ice-cream”, as a loanword, was coined as the native Korean *ölrümposungi*⁵, which translates to “frozen fluffy item” (Kim, 2018). However, the *ölrümposungi*⁶ was not as popular as the authorities wished. In Pyongyang, more people referred to “ice-cream” as *esük’imo* (Eskimo, a local ice-cream brand) (ibid.). Although the movement has been conducted for decades, there are English loanwords that quietly stayed behind in North Korean vocabulary, including many shown in Table 5.3. T. Kim (2001, p. 93) also estimated that 8,284 foreign loanwords mostly of English origin have the same spellings in North Korean as in the

South Korean language. This suggests that Yönbjön Korean, North Korean, and South Korean have a portion of English loanwords with the same spellings. The following section examines English loanwords that have been adapted to follow South Korean spelling conventions.

5.3.3 Shifting to the South Korean Style after 1992

Prior to the 1990s, English loanwords in Yönbjön Korean were typically spelled following North Korean conventions. However, the impact of South Korea on the Yönbjön Korean language significantly increased starting in the 1990s when official communication between China and South Korea was re-established. This resulted in a swift influx of English borrowings that were written using the standard speech of Seoul (*p’yojunmal*) by the late 1990s.

By the end of the 1990s, there has been a marked increase in the use of English loanwords in Yönbjön Korean that follow the South Korean style. The improved communication between Yönbjön and Seoul has had a significant influence on this trend. Table 5.4 lists the loanwords that are consistent with the South Korean language in Yönbjön. The table is divided into two sections. The first section includes English loanwords found in forty consecutive pages of *Yönbjön Daily* in 1979 and 1989, respectively; and the second section includes English loanwords found in forty consecutive pages of *Yönbjön Daily* news articles from 1999.

⁵ Please see, <https://www.cbcc.go.kr/hangeul/sub.php?menukey=220&mod=view&no=307118&page=39>

⁶ Please refer to the National Institute of Korean Language for further definition, https://www.korean.go.kr/front/onlineQna/onlineQnaView.do?mn_id=216&qna_seq=246635&pageIndex=1

Table 5. 4 Part 1. English loanwords in identical spellings shared by Yŏnbyŏn and South Korean in 1979 and 1989

Identical English spellings shared by Yŏnbyŏn and South Korean in 1979 and 1989	English
rek'otŭ	record
ch'aenŏl	channel
hatŭweŏ	hardware
kasŭ	gas
sŭk'i	skiing
horŭmon	hormone
nyu	new
metal	medal
p'ŭrot'ein	protein
reita	radar
maik'ŭro	micro
t'ŭrŏmp'ŭ	trump
pit'amin	vitamin
saita	cider
sop'ŭt'ŭbol	softball
sop'ŭt'ŭweŏ	software
k'amera	camera
sŭt'ep'ing	stepping
sŭp'och'ŭ	sports
sŭp'ining	spinning
renjŭ	lens
syuk'ŭ	shock
rait'ŏ	lighter
k'onpea	conveyor
ap'ŭrik'a	Africa
not'ŭ	note
t'im	team
raip'ŭ	life
k'atŭ	card
k'ŏp'i	coffee

Table 5.4 Part 2. English loanwords in identical spellings shared by Yŏnbyŏn and South Korean in 1999

Identical English spellings shared by Yŏnbyŏn and South Korean in 1999	English translation
yunip'um	uniform
pŭraentŭ	brand

ron	loan
enjing	engine
t'elrepijõn	television
syop'ing	shopping
int'õbyu	interview
hot'el	hotel
sõpisũ	service
p'aeksũ	fax
aitiõ	idea
not'ũ	note
eõk'on	air conditioner
p'aen	fan
hot'el	hotel
k'ap'e	cafe
p'ũrokũraem	program
sũnek	snack
wõltũk'õp	World Cup
kaitũ	guide
p'amp'uret	pamphlet
k'aejyuõl	casual
p'ija	pizza
tijainõ	designer
k'atũ	card
sũp'och'ũweõ	sportswear
sũk'õtũ	skirt
sũt'ail	style
p'oint'ũ	point
nekt'ei	necktie
naip'ũ	knife
p'ok'ũ	fork
k'õp	cup
k'aepsyul	capsule
p'on	phone
syut	shoot
k'ip'õ	keeper
hap'ũ	half
heting	heading
k'onõ	corner
k'ik	kick
p'aesũ	pass
t'enisũ	tennis
hom	home
sũt'a	star
nyusũ	news
t'ũrõmp'ũ	trump
p'ũro-ch'ukku	pro(fessional)-soccer
sijũn	season
salrong	salon

k'onök'ik	corner kick
seksü	sex
mutü	mood
süt'üresü	stress
hausü	house
takyument'öri	documentary
sük'ech'i	sketch
hekt'arü	hectare
sük'ech'i	sketch
misail	missile
sük'ech'i	sketch
k'alröm	column
ant'ena	antenna
pija	visa
k'ok'ü	Coke
t'aeksi	taxi
p'oröm	forum
kasü	gas
t'on	ton
int'önet	internet
oksüp'otü	Oxford
senseisyön	sensation
net'üwök'ü	network
sisüt'em	system
sentü	cent
k'ömyunit'i	community
pijünisü	business
süt'atü	start
nyusüt'atü	new start
tijain	design
aitiö	idea
syup'ö	super
k'omiti	comedy
süt'atü	start
eöropik	aerobics
p'ürojektü	project
simpojiöm	symposium
püraejjö	brassiere
anaunsö	announcer

When we compare the two sections of Table 5.4, a substantial increase in the number of English loanwords following the South Korean system becomes evident in 1999. Part 1 of Table 5.4 comprises 30 loanwords found from news articles spanning forty consecutive pages in 1979 and 1989, respectively of *Yönbyön Daily*, aligning with South Korean spelling. In contrast, Part 2 includes 89 English loanwords that appeared in *Yönbyön Daily* within forty consecutive pages in 1999, following the South Korean system. This indicates that by 1999,

the count of loanwords matching the South Korean system was nearly three times greater than the total in 1979 and 1989 combined. Figure 5.3 visually illustrates the remarkable surge in the number of English loanwords adhering to the South Korean system during this timeframe.

Figure 5. 3 Loanwords of identical spellings shared by Yŏnbyŏn and South Korean found from forty consecutive pages of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in 1979, 1989 and 1999, respectively

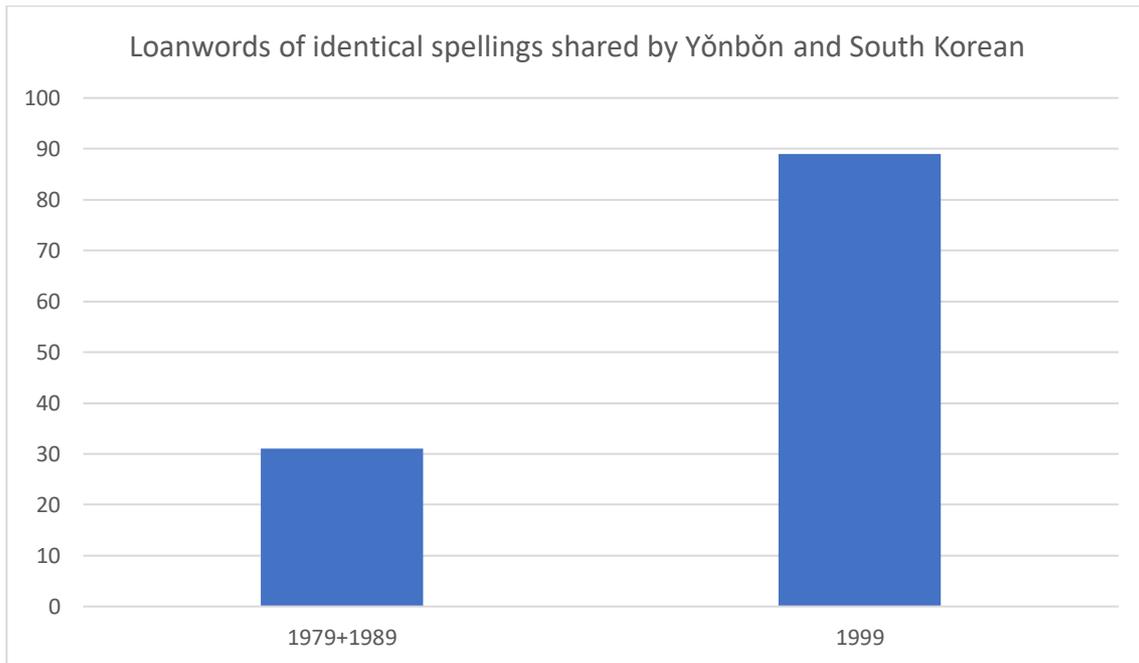


Figure 5.3 presents data compiled from forty consecutive pages of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* for the years 1979, 1989, and 1999, roughly equivalent to 2–3 weeks of news pages, depending on the daily publication size. The diagram vividly illustrates that the combined number of loanwords conforming to the South Korean system in 1979 and 1989 is significantly lower compared to the count recorded in 1999, which is nearly three times higher.

From the late 1970s to the 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean increasingly incorporated English loanwords borrowed through South Korean channels. Examples include *k'ok'ŭ* (Coke), *eŏk'on* (air-con, air conditioner), *p'on* (phone), *takyument'ŏri* (documentary), *p'orŏm* (forum), and *int'ŏnet* (internet). These terms either pertain to culture-specific borrowings or serve to address lexical gaps in the language.

5.3.4 Features of the English Loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean between the late 1970s and 1990s

Between the late 1970s and 1990s, there are two notable features observed in the usage of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. First, there is a coexistence of the Pyongyang style and the adoption of the Seoul style for English loanwords during the period, especially in the 1990s. During the 1990s, *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* featured both the traditional North Korean spellings and the updated South Korean spellings of the same English words. For example, *pulraentŭ* and *pŭraentŭ* for ‘brand’, *ssentŏ* and *sentŏ* for ‘centre’, as well as *t’ellepijyon* and *t’ellepijŏn* for ‘television’ could be found within the same year of the newspaper.

Second, an increasing number of AK words, learned from South Korean sources, began to appear in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* during this period. AK words are essentially direct copies of English words, or they contain significant portions of English vocabulary within the coined Korean words (Kiaer, 2017). These words are specifically used in South Korea. The AK words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean are adapted into a South-Korean manner, often involving mixed and truncated borrowings.

According to the features of this phase, it becomes evident that from the late 1970s to the 1990s, during this transitional period, there was a gradual shift in which the usage of loanwords steadily increased and then experienced a significant surge in the late 1990s. This shift was accompanied by a change in the emphasis on language learning, transitioning from Pyongyang to Seoul standards. *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* began to feature mixed loanwords and truncated English fragments learned from South Korea since the mid-1990s.

The mixed loanwords are a fusion of English borrowings with Sino-Korean words or native Korean terms. For instance, the term *homjang* (home-ground) appeared in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, combining the English word “home” with the Sino-Korean word *jang* (場, ground), as in the Chinese *jingji-chang* (競技場, competition ground). This combination indicates the concept of a home team playing at their local venue for a sports match. Another example is the mixed word *kongkong-ppŏsŭ* (public-bus), where “bus” is phonetically assimilated as *ppŏsŭ* in South Korean. The term *kongkong-ppŏsŭ* (公共-bus) follows the Chinese practice for the first part and employs the English borrowing *ppŏsŭ* for the second part. During this transitional period, both *kongkong-ppŏsŭ* and *ppŏsŭ* were used in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*.

By the late 1990s, English borrowings in Yŏnbyŏn Korean were also being used in truncated forms and blended with native or Sino-Korean words to create new expressions, such

as *p'ũro-ch'ukku* (pro-蹴球, professional soccer). In this instance, the English word “professional” is abbreviated as *p'ũro* (pro, meaning of professional) and utilised as a lexeme within this blended loanword. This term made its first appearance in newspapers during the 1990s, and the lexeme *p'ũro* subsequently served as a foundational component in the creation of numerous other expressions, consistent with the South Korean style.

In summary, the inclination to adopt the South Korean language is reflected in the two features of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. This shift away from the old practice of learning from Pyongyang has been seen in the phase, coinciding with a period of transformation and social change in China (as discussed in Chapter 1).

5.3.5 Section Summary

The Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has experienced an accelerated increase in borrowing English loanwords after the late 1970s. The period between late 1970s and 1990s can be described as a transitional phase during which English borrowings progressively shifted towards the Seoul style. In the late 1970s and 1980s, English loanwords predominantly adhered to the Pyongyang spelling system. However, during the 1990s, a noticeable coexistence of both Pyongyang and Seoul spelling systems emerged in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. This decade marked a transition from the Pyongyang to the Seoul spelling system. By 1999, English loanwords borrowed from South Korea significantly outnumbered those following the North Korean conventions. This shift in borrowing patterns gave rise to the development of what are commonly referred to as AK words. These include mixed and truncated loanwords, which will be explored in detail in the following sections.

5.4 The Development of Anglo-Korean Words Borrowed from South Korea since the late 1990s

Since the late 1990s, there has been a noticeable increase in the usage of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. This linguistic shift has been recognised and discussed within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community, particularly in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* during the 1990s. As we have entered the 21st century, the incorporation of English terms and expressions has become so widespread in Yŏnbyŏn Korean that it is no longer a topic of debate among the language’s speakers.

A significant lexical transformation in Yŏnbyŏn Korean is the proliferation of AK words. Starting in the late 1990s, there has been a noticeable increase in the number and frequency of South–Korean style English loanwords or AK words. This trend has become

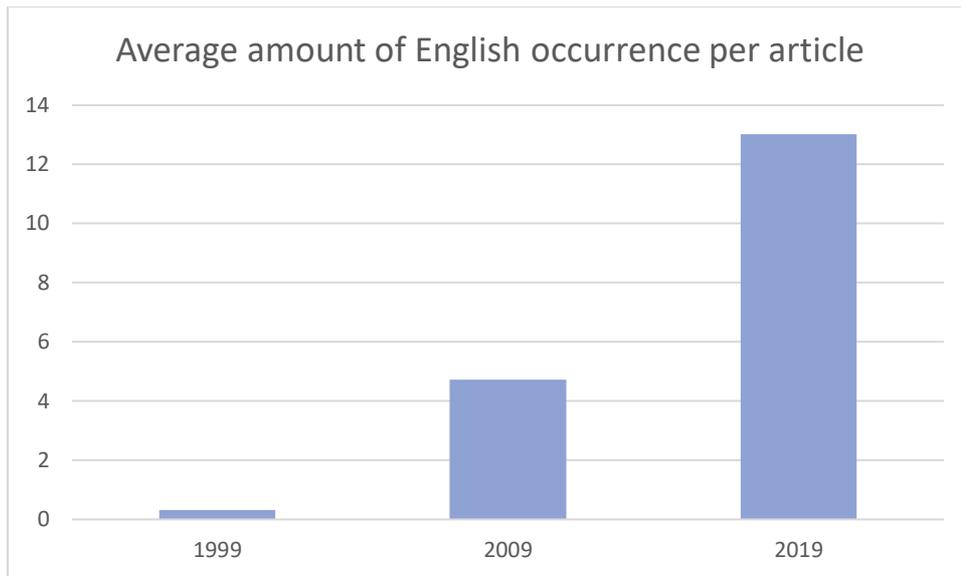
particularly prominent in the 2010s, with a twofold increase in the quantity of AK borrowings compared to the 2000s (refer to Figure 5.4). This shift is also reflected in the usage of English words in news articles across various subjects. In 2006, AK tokens accounted for 0.76% of the words in 84 randomly selected news stories related to government and administration. This illustrates that the influence of English borrowings is continuing to expand, even into political news articles. It is worth noting that English loanwords in the political section of newspapers during the 1990s or earlier were virtually non-existent. In certain subjects characterised by conversational language, mostly in the recreational category, such as food and travel, the percentage of English loanwords increases significantly, reaching approximately 5.8% (see Figure 5.5). These AK words, serving as the cultural core of the community, mirror current social trends and cultural preferences.

This section evaluates the presence of AK words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean from four key perspectives: the expansion of AK words and English loanwords, their prevalence across various sections of the newspaper, the linguistic foundation for their incorporation into the language, and the cultural significance and influence associated with these words.

5.4.1 A Rapid Growth of AK Words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean

My research on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language indicates that, since the late 1990s, there has been a significant surge in the usage of English loanwords, primarily attributed to the close interaction between the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community and South Korea over the past three decades. The prevalence of English usage in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from the 2000s onwards surpasses that of the 1990s. This assertion is substantiated by data collected from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. For instance, in the newspaper of 2007, there were 617 AK words identified among 104 randomly selected news articles, equating to an average of more than five English loanwords per article. To further confirm this trend, I randomly selected 518 articles from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in 2006, where I observed 2719 English tokens. This also resulted in an average of approximately five English loanwords per article. Figure 5.4 visually represents the noteworthy increase in AK usage since the late 1990s, illustrating the average rate of English occurrence per text in 1999, 2009 and 2019.

Figure 5. 4 Average amount of AK occurrences per article in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 1999 to 2019



The statistics presented in Figure 5.4 are derived from language data gathered from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in the years 1999, 2009, and 2019. Based on this language data, in the 1999 *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 88 English words were identified in 268 news articles covering various subjects. On average, each article contained approximately 0.33 English loanwords; in the 2009 *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, a total of 2447 English loanwords and AK words were observed across 518 news articles spanning various topics. This translates to an average of nearly five English loanwords used per news article in 2009; in 2019, *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* incorporated a total of 16,345 English loanwords within 1256 articles addressing various subjects. This averages out to approximately 13 English loanwords per news article. Figure 5.4 visually represents the substantial increase in the usage of AK words since 1999. This shift marks a significant departure from the vocabulary employed in Yŏnbyŏn Korean prior to the 1990s. Examples 3 and 4 illustrate the heightened usage of English loanwords in the 2010s.

Example 3. A news article in sports category of *Yŏnbŏn Daily* from 2016

림단 브릿오픈대회 우승

브릿오픈대회 단식전 6관왕

| 2016-03-21 16:08:55



13일, 2016년 세계바드민턴협회 슈퍼시리즈 브릿(全英)오픈대회 남자 단식전 결승에서 림단이 손쉽게 전후위를 꺾고 우승을 하였다. 림단은 전반경기에서 주동권을 장악하였으며 단 45분만에 21대 9, 21대 10으로 연속 2라운드 이기면서 브릿오픈대회 개인 6번째 단식전 우승을 따냈다.

이왕에 림단과 전후위는 세계바드민턴협회 슈퍼시리즈에서 벌써 6번의 대결을 펼쳤었다. 결과는 림단의 완승이었다.이 6번 경기중 단 한 경기만 3라운드까지 갔고 나머지 다섯 경기는 모두 2라운드에서 마감했으며 6경기 모두 림단승으로 알려졌다.

Translation:

Lin Dan Won the British Open Tournament, 6 Crowns in the Singles Division.

On 13 December 2016, Lin Dan easily swept the finals of the Men's Singles event of the Super Series Badminton World Federation (BSF) Open Championships, winning the championship. Lin Dan dominated the whole game, winning the two rounds in just 45 minutes with 21-9 and 21-10, thus claiming his sixth individual singles championship title at the BSF Open Championships.

Lin Dan and Jeonuwi have already had six matches in the World Badminton Association Super Series. The result was Lin Dan's complete victory. Of these six matches, only one went to three rounds, while the other five all finished in two rounds, and the six matches were recorded as Lin Dan's wins.

Example 3 reveals that within the article covering a badminton match, there are 16 English loanwords among the total of 71 words, accounting for 22.54% of the article's content. When repetitions are removed, six distinct loanwords remain. These loanwords include: *pūrit* (Brit, British), *op'ūn* (open), *patūmint'on* (badminton), *syup'ō* (super), *sirichū* (series), and *rauntū* (round).

Example 4. A news article in the recreational category of *Yōnbōn Daily* from 2019

운동 못지 않게 효과 있는 6가지



운동을 한다고 하면 일주일에 세번은 피트니스 클럽에 가거나 해가 뜰 때 하는 조깅 등을 떠올리기 쉽다. 하지만 이미 일상생활에서 하고 있는 신체활동 중에는 이런 운동만큼 효과가 있는 것들이 있다. '액티브비트닷컴'이 이런 신체활동 6가지를 소개했다.

1. 청소하기

비자루나 장대걸레, 진공청소기를 가지고 청소를 하다보면 신진대사가 높은 수준으로 증가한다. 마루를 비롯한 집안 청소를 30분 정도하면 187칼로리를 소모시킬 수 있다. 30분 정도 진공청소기로 청소작업을 하면 119칼로리를, 창문을 닦으면 167칼로리를 태울 수 있다.

2. 반려견과의 산책

반려견과 1시간 정도 산책을 하면 약 250칼로리가 소모된다. 탄산음료 한캔의 열량은 약 200칼로리이며 치즈버거 한개는 700칼로리가 넘는다. 이런 음식을 먹었다면 반려견과 산책 시간을 좀 더 오래 가지면 된다.

3. 접시 닦이

접시 닦는 일을 1시간 정도 하는 데에도 약 100칼로리가 들어간다. TV 등을 보면서 접시를 닦으면 힘들지 않게 할 수 있다.

4. 장보기

슈퍼마켓까지 걸어가 장을 보는 일은 신진대사를 가속화시킨다. 연구에 따르면 체중 70킬로그램인 사람이 밀차를 밀면서 장을 보면 30분만에 130칼로리가 소모된다. 계산대 앞에서 서서 있는 것만도 30분에 47칼로리를 태울 수 있다.

5. 세탁하기

세탁을 하고 빨래는 건조대에 너는 행동도 살빼기 효과가 있다. 몸무게가 68킬로그램인 사람이 빨래를 모아 세탁기에 넣고 돌리는 일을 15분 정도 하면 37칼로리가 소모되는 것으로 나타났다.

6. 정원 가꾸기

정원이나 화분을 가꾸는 일이 살빼기에 무슨 큰 도움이 되겠느냐고 생각할 수 있다. 하지만 잡초를 제거하는 일도 1시간 당 200~400칼로리의 열량을 태운다.

연변일보 인터넷사업부/외신종합

Translation:

Six Effective Exercises

When it comes to exercise, it is easy to think of going to the fitness club three times a week or jogging when the sun comes out. However, there are physical activities that are already part of our daily lives that can be just as effective. 'Activebeat.com' has introduced six of these physical activities.

1. Cleaning

Clean with a broom, mop, or vacuum cleaner and you can burn up to 187 calories in about 30 minutes of house cleaning. Vacuuming for 30 minutes burns 119 calories, and cleaning windows for 30 minutes burns 167 calories.

2. Going for a walk with a pet dog

Going for a walk with a pet dog can burn around 250 calories in an hour. A can of soda has about 200 calories and a cheeseburger has more than 700 calories. If you eat these kinds of food, you should take your pet dog for a longer walk to burn the calories.

3. Washing dishes

Washing dishes can burn up to 100 calories in about an hour. Watching TV while washing dishes can make the task less stressful.

4. Going shopping

Going grocery shopping can accelerate your metabolism. According to research, a person weighing 70 kilogrammes can burn 130 calories in just 30 minutes walking around the store. Even standing in front of the checkout counter for 30 minutes can burn 47 calories.

5. Doing laundry

Doing laundry Doing laundry and hanging clothes can have a slimming effect. A person weighing 68 kilogrammes who gathers the laundry and puts it in the washing machine and turns it over for about 15 minutes was shown to consume 37 calories.

6. Gardening

You may think that gardening or tending to flower beds will not do much to help you lose weight. However, removing weeds for an hour can burn between 200 and 400 calories.

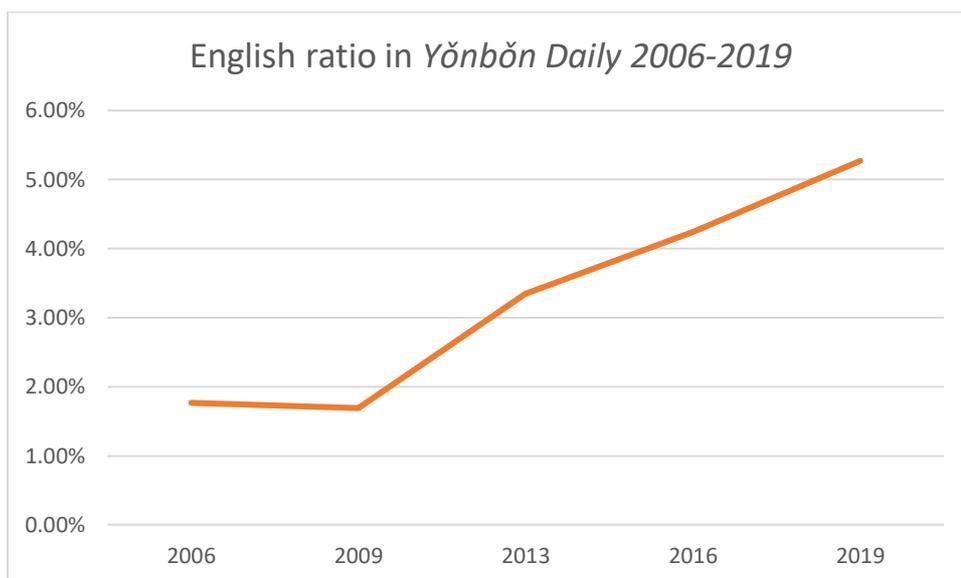
Yōnbyōn Daily Internet Business Department/Foreign News Comprehensive

Example 4 demonstrates that within the article discussing fitness, there are a total of 182 words, with 27 of them being English loanwords, constituting 14.84% of the article's content. When repetitions are not considered, 17 distinct loanwords can be identified in the article. These loanwords include: *p'it'ūnisū* (fitness), *k'ūlrōp* (club), *joking* (jogging), *aekt'ipū* (active), *pit'ū* (beat), *tat* (dot), *k'ōm* (com), *pija* (visa), *runa* (lunar), *k'alrori* (calorie), *k'aen*

(can), *ch'ijŭ* (cheese), *pŏkŏ* (burger), *syup'ŏmak'et* (supermarket), *k'ilrokŭraem* (kilogram), *int'ŏnet* (internet), and TV.

The examples clearly illustrate the substantial growth in the usage of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, especially when compared to news articles from the 1990s or earlier in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. According to my data, the usage of English and AK words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has witnessed significant growth over the past two decades. Specifically, the proportion of English words has risen from 1.69% in 2009 to 5.27% in 2019 (see Figure 5.5). This represents a significant linguistic shift, as English and AK words have become a more prominent component of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean vocabulary. Figure 5.5 provides a visual representation of the increasing prevalence of English loanwords in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 2006 to 2019.

Figure 5. 5 The increasing frequency of English loanwords in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* between 2006 and 2019



The chart in Figure 5.5 reveals an impressive increase in the usage of English borrowings in terms of the vocabulary of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*. To investigate this growing trend, random texts of 518 to 1256 articles are collected from the official website of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* for each of the years 2006/2007, 2009, 2013, 2016, and 2019. Over the course of the 2010s, the proportion of English and AK words in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language experienced rapid growth. It saw a 1% increase from 2006 to 2013 and a further 2% increase from 2013 to 2019. During the period from 2006 to 2009, the average ratio of English borrowings remained relatively stable, fluctuating between 1.77% and 1.69%. However, in 2013, this figure spiked

to 3.35%, followed by 4.24% in 2016, and ultimately reaching 5.27% by 2019. Data for each of these years were collected from six main categories in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*: politics, economics, literature, sports, civil issues, and recreational articles. Analysing language data has revealed that English borrowing in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has seen significant growth since the 2000s, with an acceleration after 2009.

5.4.2 English and AK Words Developing in Various Categories

Since the late 1990s, the use of English loanwords in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has increased significantly and can now be seen in almost all categories of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* newspaper, such as economics, politics, government information, culture, history, literature, sports, food, health, tourism, and world news. This growth in using AK words is especially noticeable in more informal topics and divisions, such as sports, food, health, and tourism.

AK words have particularly gained ground in the sections of sports and recreational texts since the 2000s. The sports division in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* consists of general sports news and a major sector that focuses on soccer. The recreational division in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* mainly relates to food, healthiness, tourism, fashion, and other entertainment reports. Many AK words used for subjects in the sports and recreational sector are within the range of conversational language, such as *patŏ* (butter), *paksŭ* (box), *pŭlruperi* (blueberry), *taiamontŭ* (diamond), *retŭwain* (red wine), and *t'ok'et* (ticket). Compared with categories that use more formal language, AK words take a significantly higher percentage in the sports and recreational division of the newspaper. Figure 5.6 illustrates the development of English borrowings in the six major sectors of *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 2009 to 2019.

Figure 5. 6 The proportion of Anglo-Korean words in the major divisions of the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from 2009 to 2019

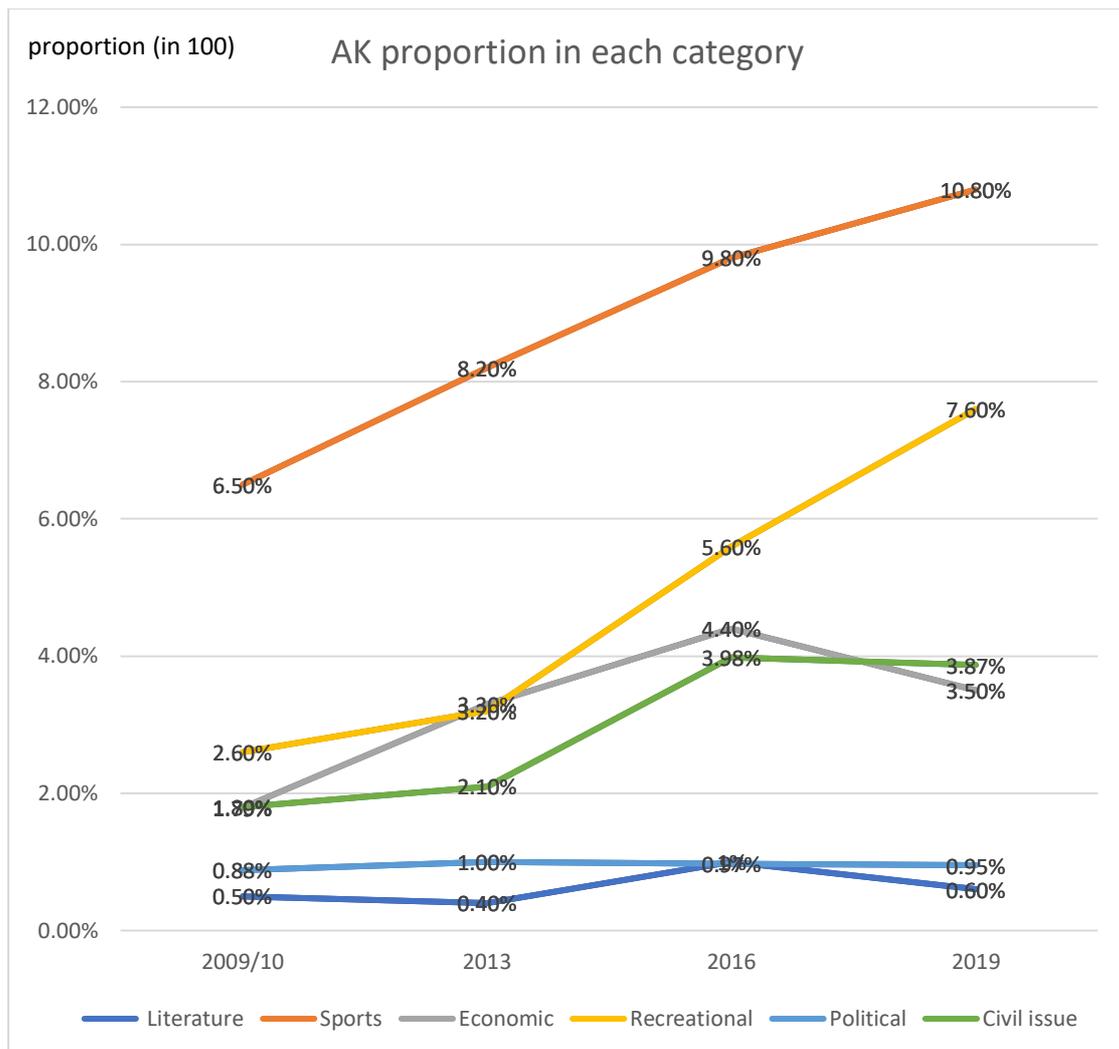


Figure 5.6 illustrates the growth of English borrowings in various major sectors from 2009 to 2019. Particularly in the sports and recreational sectors, high rates of English borrowings were observed, with percentages of 10.80% and 7.60% respectively in 2019. In the sports sector, the AK ratio increased from 6.50% to 10.80%, while in the recreational division, the proportion of English borrowings grew to 5% between 2009 and 2019. Even in formal language categories, such as politics, economics, and civil issues, there was an expansion in the use of AK words. For example, the economic sector saw an increase in the AK proportion from 1.79% to 3.50%. Additionally, the political division and civil issues respectively recorded an increase in the AK ratio from 0.88% to 0.95%, and 1.80% to 3.87%. In the literature section of *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* between 2009 and 2019, English borrowings were steadily applied, ranging from 0.4% to 1.0%.

The statistics rely on language data gathered from *Yǒnbyǒn Daily* for each of the chosen years. In each specific year, the quantity of extracted news articles varies, contingent upon the

accessibility of the newspaper's official website. The range of extracted articles spans from 2382 to 6628 (refer to Table 5.5 for more details). Due to the limited language data available in the sports sector for 2009, the dataset combined language data collected from 2009 and 2010 to calculate the proportion of English borrowings in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. The amounts of texts collected from each selected year in the major news divisions are listed in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5. 5 The amounts of texts collected from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in the selected years in the major news divisions

	News division	Texts amount
2009	civil issue	697
	economic	813
	literature	52
	political	899
	recreation	466
2010	civil issue	744
	economic	689
	literature	44
	political	667
	recreation	265
	sports	505
2013	civil issue	1208
	economic	493
	literature	3
	political	376
	recreation	144
	sports	158
2016	civil issue	2665
	economic	540
	literature	53
	political	287
	recreation	1079
	sports	725
2019	civil issue	2923
	economic	719
	literature	196
	political	724
	recreation	1059
	sports	1007

Example 5 is a text extracted from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in 2019, illustrating that more than a third of the words in the article are English borrowings. The article is from the sports category of the newspaper, and the English borrowings are underlined, as demonstrated below.

Example 5. A news article in the sports category of *Yŏnbŏn Daily* from 2019

독일 월드컵서 실패 챔피언스리그 전멸

2019-03-15 08:59:38



유럽축구연맹(UEFA) 챔피언스리그 8강에 독일 분데스리가팀이 전멸하자 독일언론이 좌절에 빠졌다.

리버풀과 FC바르셀로나가 14일 각각 바이에른 뮌헨, 올림피크 리옹을 누르고 8강에 합류하며 이번 시즌 챔피언스리그 8강은 맨체스터 유나이티드, 맨체스터 시티, 리버풀, 토트넘 핫스퍼 (이상 잉글랜드), FC바르셀로나(스페인), 유벤투스(이탈리아), 아약스(네덜란드), FC포르투(포르투갈)로 결정됐다.

가장 눈에 띄는 점은 독일 분데스리가팀이 8강에 단 한팀도 남지 않았다는 점이다. 챔피언스리그 8강에 분데스리가팀이 단 한팀도 살아남지 못한 시즌은 지난 2005-2006시즌 이후 13년 만이다.

바이에른 뮌헨의 탈락으로 챔피언스리그 8강에 독일 팀이 남지 않게 되자 독일 '빌트'는 "독일 축구는 국제적으로 여전히 2류이다."고 표했다.

Translation:

The German World Cup team was eliminated from the Champions League.

German media fell in despair after the German Bundesliga team was eliminated from the UEFA Champions League eighth round.

Liverpool and FC Barcelona qualified for the Champions League quarter-finals on the 14th, after beating Bayer Munich and Olympique Lyonnais, respectively. This season's Champions League quarter-finals will be Manchester United, Manchester City, Liverpool, Tottenham Hotspur (England), FC Barcelona (Spain), Ajax (Netherlands), and Juventus (Portugal).

The most striking point is that no German Bundesliga team has survived to the quarterfinals. It has been 13 years since the last season (2005–2006), in which no Bundesliga team survived to the Champions League quarterfinals.

With Bayer Munich eliminated from the Champions League quarterfinals, no German team remaining, German “Bild” said “German football is still internationally second-rate”.

In this sports article from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, 41 words (41.84%) out of the 98 words are English borrowings, with 11 of those loanwords identifiable when repetitions are not taken into account. These loanwords include *wŏltŭk'ŏp* (World Cup), *ch'aemp'ïönsŭ* (champions), *rikŭ* (league), *t'im* (team), *olimp'k'ŭ* (Olympic), *sichŭn* (season), *yunait'itŭ* (united), *sit'i* (city), *ingkŭlraentŭ* (England), *sŭp'ein* (Spain), and *netŏlrantŭ* (Netherland). Based on these data analyses, it is evident that since the 2000s, there has been a notable increase in the inclusion of English loanwords across almost every category of the newspaper, especially in the sports and recreational sector, where the influx of English terms is particularly high.

5.4.3 Two Factors That Contribute to the Growth of AK Words in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean

Since the late 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn has increasingly adopted the South Korean system of spelling and structure to borrow English words. This influx of English borrowings is driven by several factors. Firstly, there are lexical gaps in the vocabulary, and new concepts require new lexical entities. Examples of these loanwords include *roko* (logo), *pŭlruperi* (blueberry), *tonŏt* (doughnut), *pŭlrokŏ* (blog), *net'ijŭn* (netizen), and *mak'et'ing* (marketing). Secondly, the use of English words in the South Korean style in Yŏnbyŏn Korean reflects the high esteem given to the symbolic capital of the English language and the influence of South Korean style, often referred to as the “Korean wave” (*hanliu*). These AK words are contributing to cultural prestige for Yŏnbyŏn Korean as its vocabulary evolves with the influx of borrowings like *rasŭt'ŭ* (last), *paksŭ* (box), *peisŭ* (base), *poi* (boy), *sijŭn* (season), and *rait'ŭ* (light), which are used as

alternatives to existing words. This linguistic trend represents a cultural shift and prestige associated with South Korean cultural influence. The impact of these factors on the proliferation of South Korean-style AK words will be examined in the following sections.

A. Borrowed to fill lexical gaps

AK words borrowed to fill lexical gaps in Yŏnbyŏn Korean are essentially English loanwords or units borrowed from South Korea and incorporated into the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. In Yŏnbyŏn Korean, AK words are frequently utilised to address lexical gaps or describe concepts that lack an equivalent term in the Korean language. This type of borrowing reflects a common motivation for adopting English loanwords. Here are some examples of loanwords from *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* that are used to fill lexical gaps.

tijŏt'ŭ (dessert), *mat'ŭ* (mart), *ringkŭ* (link), *mesiji* (message), *monit'ŏ* (monitor), *mitiŏ* (media), *pinilhausŭ* (vinyl house), *pisi* (PC), *sait'ŭ* (site), *semina* (seminar), *set'ŭ* (set), *syot* (shot), *sŭp'ik'ŏ* (speaker), *k'ŭlrik* (click), *k'iwi* (kiwi), *t'aek'ŭ* (tag), *roko* (logo), *raentŭmak'ŭ* (landmark), *imiji* (image), *k'aemp'ŏsŭ* (campus), *p'och'i* (porch), *pŭlrokŏ* (blog), *net'ijŭn* (netizen), *p'itŭpaek* (feedback), *taiŏt'ŭ* (diet), *tŭresing* (dressing), *tit'oksŭ* (detox), *rabsŭt'ŏ* (lobster), *pŭlruperi* (blueberry), *rakt'osŭ* (lactose), *rajŭberi* (raspberry), *retŭwain* (red wine), *remon* (lemon).

As the examples demonstrate, new concepts and meanings are being conveyed through the use of loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. These loanwords are often employed in Korean to describe concepts related to fashion, technology, and popular culture. In contrast to the Chinese language, which frequently uses Chinese-character words to convey the meaning of new concepts, Korean adopts a phonetic translation approach, directly integrating English expressions into the language. Prior to the late 1990s, loanwords like “diet”, “blueberry”, “red wine”, and “butter” were rarely encountered in the media. However, as the use of AK words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has increased, speakers have become more familiar with these English borrowings and have incorporated them into their everyday language.

B. Borrowed for cultural prestige

Since the late 1990s, there has been an increasing overlap of English borrowings with existing Sino-Korean and native Korean words in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. These English loanwords, often acquired from South Korea, are frequently viewed as more prestigious, particularly for terms related to fashion, technology, and popular culture. They serve as symbolic capital, signifying status and prestige through their usage. Unlike the first type of loanwords borrowed to fill lexical gaps, these AK words reflect the cultural significance and influence of the English language and South Korean culture. Using such AK words is often considered a marker of education and sophistication. Here are examples of English loanwords used as replacements for Sino-Korean or native Korean words, which fall into this category.

ent'ŏt'einmont'ŭ (entertainment), *saemp'ŭl* (sample), *sŭk'ŭrin* (screen), *sŭmat'ŭ* (smart), *sŭk'eil* (scale), *sŭt'ori* (story), *sŏpisŭ* (service), *rasŭt'ŭ* (last), *rok* (lock), *ait'em* (item), *k'onŏ* (corner), *k'osŭ* (course), *sisŭt'em* (system), *t'aun* (down), *insŭt'ŏnt'ŭ* (instant), *t'ok'et* (ticket), *t'aip* (type), *paksŭ* (box), *peisŭ* (base), *poi* (boy), *p'aek'iji* (package), *p'ŏntŭ* (pond), *p'eint'ŭ* (paint), *p'oint'ŭ* (point), *p'at'ŭnŏ* (partner), *p'ing'k'ŭ* (pink), *norich'i* (knowledge), *byut'i* (beauty), *milk'ŭ* (milk), *mainŏsŭ* (minus), *sijŭn* (season), *p'ŭllŏsŭ* (plus), *hap'ŭ* (half), *rait'ŭ* (light), *k'ŭrisŭmasŭ* (Christmas), *pŏt'ŭn* (button), *silk'ŭ* (silk).

These listed AK words serve as equivalents to existing lexical entities of Sino-Korean and native Korean words. For instance, *k'ŭrisŭmasŭ* (Christmas) replaces *sŏngt'anjŏl* (聖誕節, Christmas), *t'ok'et* (ticket) replaces *p'yo* (票, ticket), *pŏt'ŭn* (button) replaces *t'anch'u* (native Korean, button), and *sŭt'ori* (story) replaces *iyaki* (native Korean, story). The use of these English loanwords as alternative terms is often associated with fashion and popular culture. These borrowings generally convey a modern and fashionable style, differentiating them from the old-fashioned Sino-Korean and native Korean terms.

AK words borrowed for cultural prestige sometimes add new meanings to concepts represented by Sino-Korean and native Korean words. For example, the English loanword *sŭk'ŭrin* (screen) can refer specifically to the “screen” in cinema or TV in modern times, giving an extra denotation to the existing Sino-Korean entity *mak* (幕, screen, curtain, etc). To further illustrate the phenomenon, let us take the example of the AK word *silk'ŭ* (silk) and the Sino-

Korean word *pitan* (緋緞, silk). Although both words refer to the material silk, they have distinct connotations. The English borrowed *silk'ŭ* is associated with modern concepts and fashion, while the Sino-Korean *pitan* is associated with traditional concepts. The AK words borrowed for cultural prestige in Yŏnbyŏn Korean often introduce new meanings or connotations to the original lexical entities.

In general, AK words belonging to the second category act as substitute terms for Sino-Korean and native Korean words and sometimes expand the lexical entities to convey additional meanings. These English borrowings often represent symbolic capital linked to modern lifestyles. The subsequent section delves into the symbolic properties of English borrowings in Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

5.4.4 Symbolic Properties of English Borrowings in Yŏnbyŏn Korean

English borrowings in Yŏnbyŏn Korean are now seen as a representation of societal divisions and cultural refinement. The increasing use of these AK words relies on the symbolic capital embedded in the English language and the cultural influence of South Korea, as most of the AK words are borrowed via the South Korean language. The use of English and AK loanwords is regarded as linking material possessions together when they are perceived and valued (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013).

According to Arabski (2006), three categories of foreign loanwords can be identified when considering the rationale for a language to borrow from another: those related to new economic or political circumstances, technology advances, and modern lifestyles. This is well represented in East Asian history, with English loanwords being adopted in Japan, China, and the Korean peninsula encompassing all three of these aspects (refer to Chapter 1).

Since the conclusion of the Korean War (1950–1953), English words have been increasingly integrated into South Korean culture. The presence of US soldiers, travellers, their commodities (such as US dollars and the snack food), and the prestige associated with them have contributed to this trend. As a result, a significant number of South Koreans have emigrated to the US following the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. In addition, English words have emerged as the primary source of new vocabulary in South Korea due to factors such as the immigrant population, frequent communication, and economic power of English-speaking countries, along with the widespread influence of the entertainment industry in an increasingly globalised world.

The Korean language has undergone significant integration of English words, with AK words serving as the basis for creating new words and phrases. This integration of English words is evident in South Korea, where loanwords have often become the preferred means of expressing ideas. Many Korean linguists admit that English loanwords have become an essential part of South Korean vocabulary (Cho, 2017; Kiaer, 2014; J. S. Lee, 2006; J. S.-Y. Park, 2009; S. J. Park & Abelman, 2004). Kiaer (2014) also notes that English loanwords have superseded the primary status of Sino-Korean words that were established throughout history. The influence of the English language on social life in South Korea is exemplified by the “English immersion education policies” promoted by President Myung-Bak Lee (2008–2013). The symbolic capital of the English language is a significant factor that contributes to the English mania in South Korea.

English words are associated with modern lifestyles and cultural distinction, both of which are highly valued in South Korea and also in China after the introduction of opening-up and reform policies. The English language was established in the public curriculum of China at the start of the 21st century. In 2001, English became a compulsory subject in primary schools from the third grade. For some large cities, the English curriculum was applied earlier and more extensively (Hu, 2021; Li, 2020; Lo Bianco et al., 2009). The ability to speak English is seen as a signal of potential career success, and the language is viewed as a symbol of higher social status. Language is a tool to redefine and reshape social divisions (Pelinka, 2007, p. 131). English language plays a role in distinguishing social groups among people. In recent decades, with the development of economic globalisation and China’s opening, the ability to speak English has been seen as a way to bridge or secure one’s own social class. Studies have shown that the increasing popularity of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn is evidence of the conferral of prestige by the Korean community of Yŏnbyŏn on the English language, due to its symbolic capital in the definition of modern lifestyles and social statuses. For instance, the English loanword *tijŏt’ŭ* (dessert) is used to convey the idea of sweetness, as an indicator of elegance and the fashion of the social elite. Similarly, the English borrowing *tit’oksŭ* (detox) is used to refer to the concept of healthcare. This term is distinct from the Sino-Korean counterpart, *haetok* (detoxification), both in meanings and in indication of the fashion of the social elite. Furthermore, the popularity of the “Korean wave” (*hanlyu* 韓流) in China has also led to the wide use of English loanwords in South Korean style. China has become a major market for Korean cultural products, with 36% of the global market for Korean broadcast programmes, as reported by KOTRA in 2016 (Frederick et al., 2017; Shen et al., 2018). The use of AK words,

as part of the cultural output, has been heavily introduced in Yŏnbyŏn Korean due to the inundation of English loanwords in the South Korean language.

In summary, the use of English borrowings in Yŏnbyŏn Korean is viewed as a symbol of societal stratification and cultural sophistication. The popularity of these AK words can be attributed to the symbolic capital associated with the English language and the cultural influence of South Korea, from which many of these loanwords were borrowed. The use of English loanwords is considered a means of linking modernity, progressiveness, and other material possessions together, enhancing their perceived value.

5.4.5 Structural Features of AK Words in Yŏnbyŏn Korean since the Late 1990s

The successful incorporation of AK lexical structures and phrasing styles from South Korean into the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has facilitated the proliferation of these English borrowings in the current era. Since the late 1990s, AK words borrowed in Yŏnbyŏn have exhibited four distinct lexical-structural features: truncations, blended loanwords, compound loanwords, and the emulation of English morpho-syntactic structure. That is, English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean can take different forms since the late 1990s, depending on the ease of pronunciation and usage. They may be cut, mixed with native Korean or Sino-Korean words, or compounded. In some cases, they also adopt the morphosyntactic structure of English, rather than following the established Korean lexical structure. In contrast, prior to the 1990s English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean were primarily borrowed as whole content words, and these four structural features were not commonly observed. The following section will delve into these four lexical-structural attributes of AK words in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language.

A. Lexical truncations

The usage of lexical truncations in AK borrowings has become prevalent in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. This linguistic development involves the removal of one or more syllables from English words, which are then incorporated as lexemes or root words in the Korean language. This adaptation allows English loanwords to better fit Korean phonology and morphology and makes them more accessible and easier for Korean speakers to pronounce. The usage of lexical truncations in Yŏnbyŏn has become increasingly popular since the late 1990s and is predominantly borrowed from South Korean. This trend has enabled Yŏnbyŏn Korean speakers to adopt a more Seoul-style expression in their use of English words. Examples include *inp'ŭra*

(*infra*, from “infrastructure”), *rimo* (*remo*, from “remote”), *t’ing* (*ting*, from “meeting”), *ap’at’ũ* (*apart*, from “apartment”), and *t’aek’ũ* (*tech*, from “technology”). Although native English speakers may struggle to recognise these clipped words, they have become more commonplace in the Korean language. The word *rip’õpũ* (*re-fur-po*), which is a combination of the words “refurbished” and “product”, is an example of this novel language development in Yõnbyõn Korean. By combining the two clipped English words, *rip’õpũ* refers to “refurbished product”. In summary, lexical truncations have become a common practice in integrating English words into Yõnbyõn Korean.

B. Mixed loanwords

Mixed loanwords, which are a rapidly growing group, have become increasingly popular in Yõnbyõn Korean since the late 1990s. These expressions are created by combining English words or elements with Sino-Korean and native Korean lexemes. As an example, *sikak tijainõ* (*sight designer*) is a mixed loanword, formed from Sino-Korean word *sikak* (視角, *view*, *perspective*) and AK word ‘*tijainõ*’ (*designer*).

A noteworthy phenomenon that develops among mixed loanwords in the current phase is that two lexical entities may be created for one concept. For example, “olive oil” is borrowed in Yõnbyõn Korean and mixed as AK *olripũ* (*olive*) and the native word *kirũm* (*oil*). Nevertheless, in the 2010s, the mixed *olripũ kirũm* and complete English compounded *olripũ oil* (*olive oil*) are both used. The two expressions can be combined further with other words as multi-compound, such as *olripũ kirũm hyonũng* and *olripũ oil hyonũng* (*olive oil effects*). The first is incorporated by an English word *olripũ* (*olive*), a native Korean word *kirũm* (*oil*), and a Sino-Korean word *hyonũng* (效能, *effect*). The second *olripũ oil hyonũng* is formed by English word *olripũ* (*olive*) and *oil* (*oil*), and Sino-Korean word *hyonũng*. Table 5.6 exhibits the AK borrowings in the mixed structure to illustrate the flourishing feature of the English borrowings in Yõnbyõn Korean.

Table 5. 6 AK words in mixed structure collected from *Yõnbyõn Daily* in 2019

Mixed structure with AK, SK and native Korean components	English translation
kaehyõk t’emp’o (改革 tempo)	revolution tempo

homjang t'ik'et (home 場 ticket)	ticket for home team
lyõnhab t'esüt'ũ (聯合 test)	joint (military) exercise
anjõn sent'õ (安全 centre)	security centre
hyõbsang k'atũ (協商 card)	coordination card
chae taekũ (財 tech)	financial technique
olripũ kirũm (olive kirũm)	olive oil
p'ũro ch'ukku (pro 蹴球)	professional soccer
Taehyõn syup'õ (大型 super)	Large-scale supermarket
syup'õ sikip'umpu (super 食品部)	Supermarket food department

Table 5.6 presents that since the late 1990s mixed loanwords have gained popularity in the Yõnbyõn Korean language. These loanwords blend components of English words with Sino-Korean and native Korean lexemes. For instance, the compound *homjang t'ik'et* (home team ticket) fuses AK words *hom* (home) and *t'ik'et* (ticket) with the Chinese-character word 'jang' (場, ground). Similarly, the recently popular term *chaetaekũ* (financial management) merges the clipped AK element *taekũ* (in "technology") with the Chinese-character word *chae* (財, wealth, money, and finances) to create the expression for "financial management". These examples in Table 5.6 show the development of mixed loanwords in the Yõnbyõn Korean language in the current phase.

C. Compounded loanwords

Since the late 1990s, Yõnbyõn Korean has adopted the practice of borrowing English loanwords in the form of compounds, following the trend in the South Korean language. The frequency of these compounding loanwords has been especially on the rise since the 2000s. Examples in Table 5.7 collected from the *Yõnbyõn Daily* in 2019 present a compilation of AK expressions in the compounding structure.

Table 5. 7 AK borrowings in the compounding structure collected from *Yõnbõn Daily* in 2019

AK expressions in the compounding structure in Yõnbyõn Korean	English
nyusũ kũrup	news group
nyusũ rauntũ	news round
nyusũ pũrip'ing	news briefing

nyusŭ sisŭt'em	news system
sŭmat'ŭ p'on	smart phone
intip'entŏnt'ŭ kŭrup	independent group
sop'ŭt'ŭ p'awŏ	soft power
asia syup'ŏ rikŭ	Asia super league
wesŭt'ŭ haem	west ham
yurŏp ch'aemp'iŏn	Europe champion
k'ŏmyunit'i siltŭ	community shield
tenisŭ k'ŏp	tennis cup
myujik pitio	music video
nyu mitiŏ	new media
pinil hausŭ	vinyl house
nosŭwesŭt'ŏn	north-western
hap'ŭ marat'on	half marathon
p'aesŭt'ŭ p'utŭ	fast food
tesŭt'ŭ sent'ŏ	test centre
tijit'ŏl p'orŏm	digital forum
t'omat'o sosŭ	tomato sauce
k'ok'onŏt oil	coconut oil
ch'ok'olrit syup'ŏ	chocolate super(market)
ch'ak'ol sŏpisŭ	charcoal service
enŏji tŭringk'ŭ	energy drink
siriŏl manyu	cereal menu
kkol k'ip'ŏ	goalkeeper
k'op'i syop	coffee shop
sŏpisŭ sisŭt'em	service system
halrowin p'at'i	Halloween party
int'ŏnet p'ot'ŏl saitŭ	Internet portal site
nyusŭ sŏpisŭ	news service
kŭrin k'atŭ	green card
t'elrepijun ch'aenŏl	television channel
singk'ŭ hol	sink hole
myujik paengk'ŭ	music bank
heŏ tŭraiŏ	hair dryer
memori k'atŭ	memory card
mitiŏ kŭrup	media group
nyusŭ sait'ŭ	news site
maesŭ mitiŏ	mass media
sait'ŭ p'ŭlraetp'om	site platform
sirijŭ nyu mitiŏ	series new media
int'eriŏ tijain	interior design
p'ŭro nyusŭ	pro(fessional) news
p'ŭro sŭp'och'ŭ	pro(fessional) sports

Table 5.7 shows the prevalent usage of compound loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean in 2019. In this form of borrowing, two or more English lexemes are combined and integrated into the Korean language. For example, the compound *int'ŏnet p'ot'ŏl saitŭ* (internet portal

site) combines three English words: “internet”, “portal”, and “site”. The AK loanword *nyusŭ* (news) is applied in borrowed compounds including *nyusŭ kŭrup* (news group), *nyusŭ rauntŭ* (news round), *nyusŭ pŭrip’ing* (news briefing), *nyusŭ sisŭt’em* (news system), and *nyusŭ sait’ŭ* (news site) in Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. All of these compounds are rapidly adopted into Yŏnbyŏn Korean mainly via South Korean language. In some cases, an English loanword or component may serve as a word root to create new expressions and compounded borrowings. For instance, the English word “super” from “supermarket” is expressed as *syup’ŏ* (super) in the Korean, which then becomes the key word in compound expressions such as *syup’ŏ rikŭ* (super league), *syup’ŏ k’ŏmp’yut’ŏ* (super computer), *syup’ŏ p’ŭlrai* (super flyweight), *syup’ŏ jyuniŏ* (super junior), and *syup’ŏ-tŭl* (‘super-PLU’, supermarkets). Similarly, the clipped loan-element *p’ŭro* (pro from “profession”) can form compounds such as *p’ŭro nyusŭ* (pro news, meaning of professional news) and *p’ŭro sŭp’och’ŭ* (pro sports, meaning of professional sports). The choice of whether to clip or compound an English loanword often depends on its simplicity of pronunciation and use in the Korean language. With the usage of English loanwords as compounds or phrases increasing, the English morphosyntactic structure is also assimilated into the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. The next section focuses on the emulation of the English morphosyntactic structure in Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

D. The Emulation of English Morphosyntactic Structure

After the late 1990s, morphosyntactic structures of English language are copied when AK words are borrowed in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, as evidenced by *k’ŏnsŏlt’ing* (consulting), *boing* (bowing), and *sŭt’ŭrech’ing* (stretching) which all have the English inflectional morpheme “-ing”. However, these AK words can also be shifted back to verbal function by adding Korean verbal morphemes, such as “-hata” (to do), instead of removing the morpheme “-ing” to fit Korean phonology and syntax.

Syntactic structures of the English language are also copied when AK borrowings are made in this century. An illustration of borrowing evident in Yŏnbyŏn Korean is the term *nohao* (know-how), used to describe essential technology, knowledge, or skills acquired through extensive practice. The verb-object structure of *nohao* differs from Korean’s usual SOV (subject-object-verb) pattern. However, the widespread use of this loanword suggests a significant level of contact with English, as measured by the Thomason and Kaufman borrowing scale (1988), which gauges language contact intensity.

Yŏnbyŏn Korean exhibits a high degree of contact with English, exemplified by loanwords like *nohao* (know-how) and *k'ŏnsŏlt'ing* (consulting). This intensity of contact does not arise from direct language interaction but rather reflects the social and cultural factors driving the adoption of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. The incorporation of English loanwords is symbolic of societal stratification and cultural refinement, as discussed in the previous section. Consequently, such morphosyntactic structures from the English language have been embraced in Yŏnbyŏn Korean since the late 1990s.

5.4.6 The Trend of Replacing Sino-Korean and Native-Korean Words by AK Counterparts

The distinctions between AK words, Sino-Korean (SK) and native Korean words refer to the origins of the vocabulary used in the Korean language. AK words, also known as English borrowings, are lexemes borrowed from the English language. On the other hand, SK words, or Chinese-character words, are words of mainly Chinese origin that have been adopted into Korean, while native Korean words refer to words that have originated within the Korean language itself. In modern Korean, both SK and AK words are widely used, with SK words typically being more formal, and AK words more often used to express new ideas.

As we discussed in this chapter, the usage of AK words has become increasingly popular in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language since the late 1990s. In certain contexts, AK words are preferred over their SK and native Korean counterparts, especially in emerging concepts and popular vocabulary. Much of this vocabulary is used in texts dealing with sports and recreational content. Data collected from *Yŏnbŏn Daily* between 2009 and 2019 suggest a growing inclination to use AK words, and some replacing SK and native Korean words. In 2019, the AK loanword *sŭt'ori* (story) is used 65 times, while in 2009 it is not detected. In that same year, the native Korean word *iyaki* (story) is instead observed. Semantically, the two words have the same meaning. Over the course of the decade, the AK word *sŭt'ori* has gradually taken over the native word *iyaki* in some texts. This English loanword is commonly seen in texts on sports, entertainment, social, and cultural topics. For another example, the AK word *helsŭ* (health) is found 41 times in 2019's language data, whereas the SK word *kŏnkang* (健康, health) is detected 60 times in the language data from 2009 and no AK word *helsŭ* (health) is found among the texts. The two words have the same meaning. However, in recent times, the AK word *helsŭ* is being used more frequently than the SK word *kŏnkang*, particularly in contexts associated with popular culture, fashion, and healthcare. The increasing popularity of AK words in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has resulted in the preference of English

borrowings over SK and native Korean words in certain contexts. Table 5.8 provides a list of AK words that have outperformed their SK or native counterparts in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in the 2010s.

Table 5. 8 A preference for AK words over SK and native Korean words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* in the 2010s

Sino-Korean	Anglo-Korean	English
chungsim 中心	set'ö	centre
ch'eyuk 體育	sŭp'och'ü	sports
kŏnkang 健康	helsŭ	health
p'anpon 版本	pŏjön	version
kyesanki 計算機	kömp'yut'ö/pisi	computer/PC
ch'ekye 體系	sisüt'em	system
tot'an 導彈	misail	missile
kyöngro 經絡/rosön 路線	rut'ü	route
kwannyöm 觀念	aitiö	idea
ümmak 音樂	myujik	music
ümmakhoe 音樂會	k'onsöt'ü	concert
kongjöngsa 工程師	enjiniö	engineer
jusa 走查	sŭk'aen	scan
pupu 夫婦	k'öp'ül	couple
naeyong 內容	k'ont'ench'ü	content
pongsa 奉仕/pokmu 服務	söpisŭ	service
kŭm 金	koltŭ	gold
sojo 小組	t'im	team
kyöngki 競技	keim	game
punhong 粉紅	p'ingk'ü	pink
jisik 知識	norich'i	knowledge
lyuhyöng 類型	t'aip	type
kojön 古典	k'ülraesik	classic
ryönmaeng 聯盟	rikŭ	league
hongp'ae 紅牌	retü k'atü	red card
pan 半	hap'ü	half
anma 按摩	masaji	massage
ümsik 飲食/kamsik 減食	taiöt'ü	diet
sönjönhwa 宣傳畫	p'osüt'ö	poster
Native Korean	Anglo-Korean	English
iyaki	süt'ori	story

woen	rep'üt'ü	left
kong	pol	ball
t'anch'u	pöt'ün	button
kusök	k'onö	corner
ch'aki	k'ik	kick
saki	syop'ing	shopping
ũkwaja	aisük'ürim	ice-cream

Table 5.8 illustrates the increasing prevalence of AK words as replacements for their native Korean or SK counterparts in *Yönbyön Daily* during the 2010s. These AK words primarily originate from the fields of sports, technology, popular culture, and entertainment, including terms like “game”, “league”, “massage”, “diet”, and “poster”.

This emerging trend represents a significant linguistic shift in the evolution of Yönbyön Korean. To further analyse the changing proportions of SK, AK and native Korean words in the Yönbyön Korean language, three charts (Figures 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9) have been created to visually depict these developments using language data collected from *Yönbyön Daily* in 2009/2010 and 2019.

Figure 5. 7 The percentage of AK, SK, and native Korean words in *Yönbyön Daily* in 2009&2010

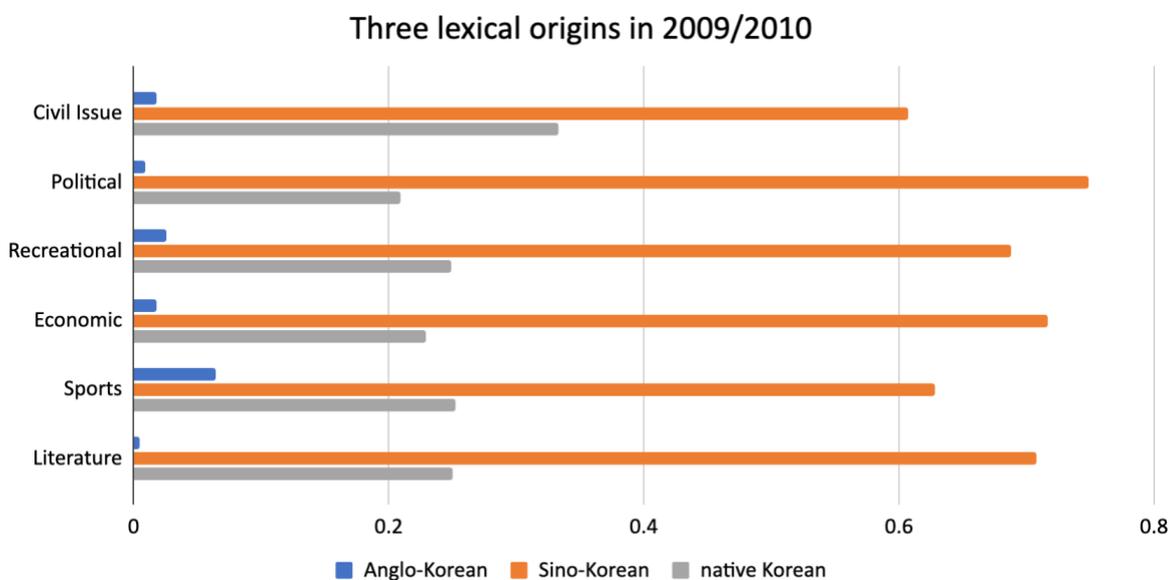
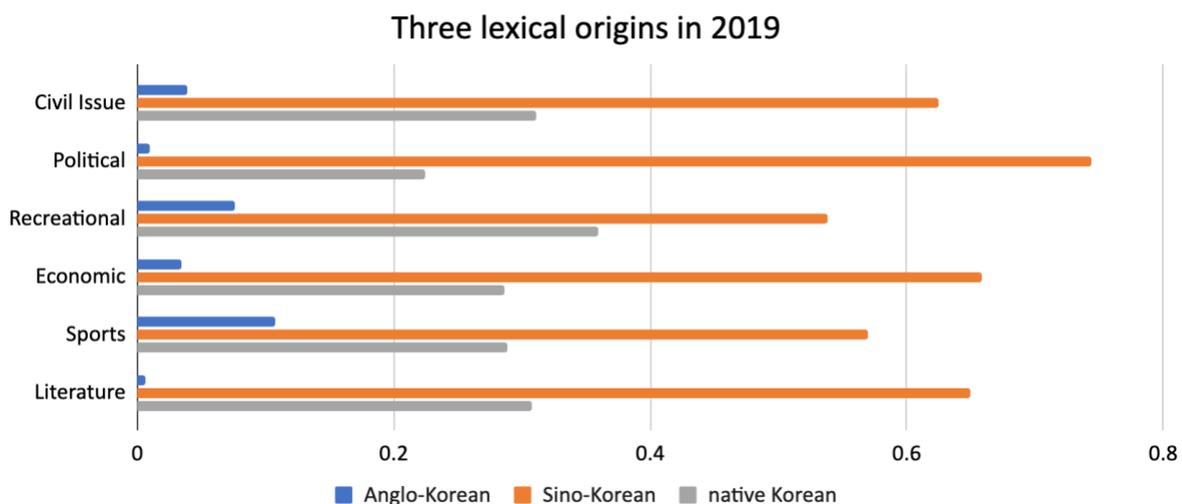


Figure 5. 8 The percentage of AK, SK, and native Korean words in *Yönbyön Daily* in 2019



Figures 5.7 and 5.8 present a comparative analysis of the proportions of SK, AK, and native Korean words over a decade, examined across different news categories. The data for Figures 5.7 were derived from news articles in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* for the years 2009 and 2010. To compensate for the limited language data available in the sports sector in 2009, the dataset incorporates news texts from both 2009 and 2010. This dataset encompasses a total of 5841 news texts, comprising 2927 articles from 2009 and 2914 articles from 2010. The language data utilised in Figure 5.8 were extracted from news articles in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* from the year 2019, encompassing a total of 6626 news texts.

These findings as shown in Figures 5.7 and 5.8 reveal a clear trend of increased usage of AK words compared to SK and native Korean words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* over the past decade. It is evident that the prevalence of AK words has risen across various sections of the newspaper, encompassing sports, literature, economics, politics, civil issues, and recreational reports. To further examine the evolving trends among the AK, SK, and native Korean categories, Figure 5.9 depicts the respective proportions of these three lexical groups in 2019 minus their corresponding proportions in 2009 and 2010.

Figure 5. 9 The changed proportion of AK, SK, and native Korean words in *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* within a decade

The changed proportion of AK, SK, and native Korean words in Yŏnbyŏn Daily within a decade

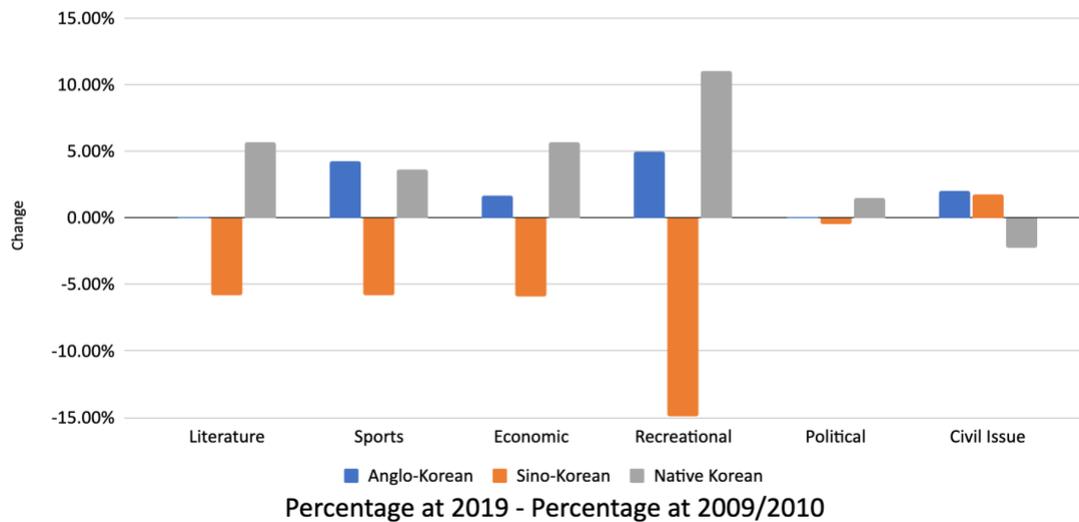


Figure 5.9 illustrates a noteworthy trend in Yŏnbyŏn Korean language from 2009 to 2019 wherein English loanwords have experienced growth across all six news divisions. Concurrently, the use of Sino-Korean words has diminished in most categories, encompassing literature, sports, economics, recreation, and politics. These statistics have been computed by subtracting the percentage of each of the three lexical groups in 2009/2010 from their respective percentages in 2019. Notably, the recreational sector exhibited a significant decline in the usage of Sino-Korean words, amounting to a decrease of up to 15%. Additionally, the use of Sino-Korean words in literature, sports, and economics divisions also experienced reductions exceeding 5%.

5.4.7 Summary of This Section

Since the late 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean has experienced a rapid influx of South Korean-style English loanwords, known as AK words, signalling a significant shift in the language. The Yŏnbyŏn community has eagerly embraced this linguistic evolution. AK words are borrowed from South Korea to address lexical gaps and leverage the symbolic capital associated with the English language. These words are considered prestigious and highly valued in Yŏnbyŏn due to the prominence of English and the cultural influence of English-speaking countries, particularly accentuated by the “Korean wave” phenomenon in China.

AK words hold particular significance in domains related to popular culture, fashion, health, recreation, and informal language. While AK words are increasingly prevalent in spoken language, further research is required to comprehensively understand this linguistic transformation. These AK words, borrowed since the late 1990s, largely adhere to the South Korean mode in terms of spelling and structure. Yŏnbyŏn's vocabulary has integrated truncated borrowings, mixed and compound loanwords, and English morpho-syntactic structures. In recent years, there has been a growing preference for AK words over Sino-Korean and native Korean words.

5.5 Chapter Summary and Discussion

The evolution of English loanwords in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language reflects a significant shift in the language development of the Korean community. Between the late 1940s and the 1970s, Korean speakers in Yŏnbyŏn primarily borrowed from contemporary Chinese, which was undergoing significant changes during that period (as discussed in Chapter 4). However, starting from the late 1970s and continuing into the 1990s, the resurgence of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn can be attributed to China's social and economic reforms. During this time frame, there was a gradual transition in the spelling system of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, shifting from a Pyongyang-style to a Seoul-style approach. By the end of the 1990s, the influence of South Korean-style English borrowings became apparent, affecting not only spelling but also linguistic structure. This shift in language development marked a departure from the traditional practice of primarily borrowing Sino-Korean words from the Chinese language to the adoption of South Korean-style English words. This linguistic trend is particularly prominent in less formal contexts, such as sports and recreational divisions, where Seoul-style AK words are preferred. The growing prevalence of AK words in areas like popular culture, fashion, health, and daily language further underscores the momentum of this new direction in language change in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. In particular, AK words are increasingly employed to articulate modern concepts and ideas.

Since the late 1990s, the use of AK words in Yŏnbyŏn has increasingly aligned with the South Korean system in terms of spelling and linguistic structure. These Seoul-style English words hold cultural significance within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community, serving as symbols of social status and cultural sophistication in the era of globalisation. Consequently, Korean speakers in Yŏnbyŏn have progressively embraced the usage of AK words in contemporary times. These AK words are viewed as a form of symbolic capital and are exhibiting a trend of

displacing Sino-Korean and native Korean words. This emerging tendency to adopt AK words from South Korean sources marks a departure from the traditional approach of language development, which leaned towards borrowing from Chinese and sometimes the Pyongyang language styles, both of which were influenced by distinct sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts. The decision to incorporate AK words in Yŏnbyŏn represents a new direction in language evolution for the Korean community. English borrowings have become increasingly commonplace in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, reflecting the pervasive influence of global culture on the region.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: Factors and Models of the Korean Language Change

6.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter reaches a conclusion of the study and makes recommendations. It serves as a culmination of the research journey, encompassing a comprehensive reflection on the main thesis and the core concepts explored throughout the preceding chapters. The study has answered the research questions:

1. What is the impact of the contemporary standard Chinese on language change in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, as reflected in the Korean language newspaper *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*, and how do social factors shape this change?
2. To what extent does the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language undergo lexical, semantic, and structural change influenced by the contemporary standard Chinese, as demonstrated in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* across different periods?
3. How has Yŏnbyŏn Korean changed, as reflected in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* due to contact with its overseas cognate language, South Korean since the 1990s, and how do social factors influence this change?
4. What are the lexical, semantic, and structural changes in Yŏnbyŏn Korean influenced by the South Korean and English languages, as observed in the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* across different periods?

As we delve into the sections that follow, the intricate tapestry of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language's evolution will be re-examined, shedding light on its dual developmental modes across different temporal landscapes. Section 6.2 will reiterate the fundamental premise of this study: the dual-developmental mode of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language over time. This section aims to encapsulate the overarching framework that has been dissected and analysed in the preceding chapters. Section 6.3 will synthesise the principal findings unearthed by this investigation. A concise summary will highlight the pivotal insights garnered through the examination, shedding light on the intricate interplay of linguistic dynamics and sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic influences that have sculpted the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language. Section 6.4 will pivot towards recognising the study's contributions, underscoring its significance within the broader domains of sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, and minority language studies. By illuminating the unique insights gleaned from this exploration, this section

seeks to position the study as a valuable addition to scholarly discourse. As we navigate Section 6.5, the implications of the thesis findings will be scrutinised. This section will delve into the potential real-world applications of the research, shedding light on how the newfound knowledge can positively impact both society and the academic realm. Finally, Section 6.6, serving as the concluding part, will present succinct yet compelling recommendations for future research avenues, encapsulating the broader horizons that beckon for continued investigation in the ever-evolving landscape of language contact, change, and development in East Asia.

6.2 The Dual-developmental Mode of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean

This study explored the dual-directional development of the Korean minority language in China, specifically concerning contact-induced language changes. The Korean language in Yǒnbyǒn has undergone influences from contemporary standard Chinese as well as its cognate Korean language.

On the one hand, the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language has been shaped by the presence of the modern Chinese due to its dominant status and the social contexts over the past seven decades in China and the world. Since 1948, the Chinese language has left significant imprints on the lexical, semantic, and structural dimensions of the Yǒnbyǒn Korean. This developmental tendency signifies the impact of sociopolitical pressures on language change. This direction of language change can be characterised as a top-down mode, influenced by state power and pressures from above. The borrowing of Sino-Korean (SK) words, along with their semantic features and structures, undergoes alterations in response to this developmental mode. Within this framework, the linguistic development and changes in the Yǒnbyǒn Korean language can be observed in three distinct periods, outlined below.

Period 1: From the late 1940s to the 1970s, Chinese words overwhelmingly influenced vocabulary borrowing, semantic characteristics, and structural usage.

Period 2: From the late 1970s to the 1990s, there was a resurgence of the cognate Korean influence, accompanied by a decline in Chinese borrowing and the associated semantic and structural prominence.

Period 3: From the late 1990s to the present, South Korean and English words gained preference, leading to a diminishing reliance on Chinese borrowings and the associated impacts they had on semantics and structure.

On the other hand, the later emerging tendency reflects the linguistic preferences of ordinary speakers within the minority Korean community. This preference is less influenced by sociopolitical pressures and more by the effect of cultural and economic prestige on individuals within the community. The widespread use of Seoul-style English loanwords within the Yōnbōn Korean community exemplifies the sociocultural and economic influence. These Anglo-Korean (AK) words, seen as symbolic capital, are rapidly gaining popularity, particularly in non-official and recreational contexts. This trend aligns with a bottom-up mode, highlighting the lexical preferences of individuals within the minority community. The adoption of AK words, along with their semantic and structural characteristics, undergoes changes in response to this developmental mode. Within this framework, the linguistic development and transformations in the Yōnbyōn Korean language are also observed in the three periods outlined earlier.

In Period 1: Spanning from the late 1940s to the 1970s, English borrowing and usage were limited, with some English loanwords being replaced by SK words.

In Period 2: From the late 1970s to the 1990s, there was a noticeable surge in English loanwords, and the shift in English borrowing transitioned from Pyongyang-style to Seoul-style English.

In Period 3: From the late 1990s to the present, there was a rapid development of AK words in the Yōnbyōn Korean language, borrowed primarily from South Korea. The influx of AK words reflects not only the trend of borrowing to fill lexical gaps in the Yōnbyōn Korean language but also for cultural prestige.

Since the late 1990s, using AK words is often associated with markers of successful education, social status, and sophistication. These words possess symbolic attributes representing societal divisions and cultural refinement. English borrowings during Period 3 exhibit distinct structural features, including lexical truncations, emulation of English morphosyntactic structure, and the formation of mixed and compounded loanwords.

In brief, the journey of the Yōnbyōn Korean language reveals a complex interplay between linguistic adaptation, sociopolitical influences, individual inclinations, and cross-

cultural contact. This evolution mirrors China's shifting landscape and reflects the ongoing negotiation between historical legacies and contemporary influences within a minority community. This language contact has been predominantly steered by external factors, encompassing sociopolitical pressures, interaction with globalised markets, and international relations. However, it is important to note that individual needs and preferences within the community have also contributed to this intricate dance of linguistic evolution.

6.3 Summary of the Main Findings

The main findings of this study converge to reveal a multifaceted picture of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language's development within Chinese and global contexts. The first finding pertains to the altered impact of contemporary standard Chinese on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language, manifesting in lexical, semantic, and structural transformations across distinct time periods. This revelation answers research questions 1 and 2 outlined in Chapter 4. The second finding addresses research questions 3 and 4, elucidating the escalating influence of South Korean and English languages on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean, as observed in lexical, semantic, and structural changes across diverse temporal landscapes (refer to Chapter 5). The third finding, as discussed in Chapter 5, highlights that the interplay between Chinese borrowing and English borrowing in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has followed a pattern where one decreases as the other increases. The lexical makeup of Yŏnbyŏn Korean has consistently adjusted to changes in China's societal dynamics and its global context.

This research concludes that the lexical, semantic, and structural changes were prompted by language contact within the Korean community in China, against the backdrop of evolving social circumstances since 1948. The study is pursued by posing the inquiries: what transformations have occurred in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language over the course of seven decades through interaction with contemporary standard Chinese and South Korean language, and how has this linguistic evolution been influenced by varying social contexts during different times? Particularly, the turning point for these linguistic shifts in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean aligned with changes in modern China's social and political landscape especially in the late 1940s, late 1970s, and 1990s. Spanning seven decades, the language has been shaped by a dual developmental mode influenced by sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors.

6.3.1 The First Finding: One Facet of the Dual-developmental Mode

The first finding reveals a facet of this dual-developmental mode, wherein the impact of contemporary standard Chinese on the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language is illuminated. From 1948 onward, the dominant status of Chinese in China's sociopolitical landscape has led to a top-down impact on Yŏnbyŏn Korean. This impact is characterised by robust language borrowing from contemporary standard Chinese, which is discernible across lexical, semantic, and structural domains. Language policies, sociopolitical movements, and the broader cultural milieu have collectively contributed to this impact. In particular, during the period between the late 1940s and 1970s, Chinese vocabulary emerged as the primary source enriching the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language (see Chapter 4). The Korean language actively assimilated numerous terms from contemporary standard Chinese, resulting in an influx of lexical additions. Notably, the intense interaction with modern Chinese has led to the identification of structural borrowing especially within the realm of Sino-Korean words. This structural borrowing underscores the significant societal pressures experienced by the recipient language during the process of contact-induced change. The structural borrowing manifests a strong social pressure on the recipient language in the process of contact-induced change, according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988). The Yŏnbyŏn Korean language has undergone a transformative journey through its close interaction with the standard Chinese, primarily under the influence of the assimilation policies and ideological social movements. This type of contact-induced language change has been intricately intertwined with social and political contexts, resulting in distinctive phases of development that have manifested differently over time in terms of lexical, semantic, and structural changes.

Lexically, during the first period, spanning from the late 1940s to the late 1970s, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language predominantly consisted of Sino-Korean words as its primary mode of expression. This led to over 80% adoption of Sino-Korean words, many being recent borrowings of contemporary Chinese words. This era marked a time when the minority Korean language was suppressed, and the promotion of a unified Chinese culture took precedence. The transformation evident in the adoption of Chinese lexical borrowings vividly reflects the assimilation of the Chinese language, reaching its pinnacle. During this phase, individuals within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community seemingly transitioned from their native Korean language to embracing Chinese vocabulary.

Semantically, during the first period, a significant prevalence of Chinese borrowings characterised by their militaristic, collectivist, and emotionally charged nature was observed.

Yŏnbyŏn Daily utilised a diverse range of Chinese borrowings during this era, strategically adopting them to convey discourse that was laden with emotional intensity, collectivism, and a sense of militarism.

Structurally, the process of intense interaction with the modern Chinese language has led to the emergence of borrowing within the realm of Sino-Korean words. The conventional structure of the Korean language adheres to an object-verb (O-V) pattern. However, a notable transformation has been observed during the first period, especially in relation to Sino-Korean words borrowed from contemporary standard Chinese. Between the late 1940s and the late 1970s, a distinct shift towards a verb-object (V-O) structure has become apparent. This alteration in structure is exemplified by words such as *punkong* (分工, allocate-work), *pŏnsin* (翻身, turn-over body, to be free), and *paejŏn* (備戰, prepare (for)-war), all of which have been borrowed from contemporary standard Chinese. This transition towards the V-O structure was most prominent during the period spanning the late 1940s to the 1970s. It aligns with the Chinese government's initiatives to implement a national integrated ideology and promote widespread Chinese assimilation.

In brief, these transformations in the first period were a reflection of the broader goals of the Chinese government, which aimed to achieve a cohesive national unity where the employment of the Chinese national language was a common practice. The linguistic assimilation witnessed within *Yŏnbyŏn Daily*'s language usage was in alignment with these ambitions, portraying the successful realisation of the government's objective of linguistic unification under the umbrella of the standard Chinese language.

The second period, covering the late 1970s to the 1990s, marked a decline in the utilisation of the Chinese borrowings and Sino-Korean words, comprising roughly 70% of the vocabulary, which is approximately 10% lower than the first period. Semantic attributes underwent a shift away from militaristic connotations, causing words associated with agriculture and military life to lose their relevance. Furthermore, this period saw the emergence of semantic ambiguity, characterised by the introduction of Sino-Korean downtoners that introduced an element of uncertainty. As the developmental trajectory of *Yŏnbyŏn* Korean transitioned and the social context evolved, the prevalence of V-O pattern words diminished, and many formerly borrowed V-O words underwent a shift towards nominal structures. These linguistic modifications were in alignment with more extensive transformations in China's social and political landscape.

In the third period, from the late 1990s to 2019, the use of Sino-Korean words steadily decreased to around 60%. This era saw a dual evolution of Yŏnbyŏn Korean: it continued incorporating Chinese words while adopting terms from South Korea. For non-official and recreational contexts, Chinese borrowings were less preferred. In the semantical level, semantic vagueness persisted in Chinese borrowings, manifesting in nominal compounds. In the structural level, Yŏnbyŏn Korean adopted multi-lexemes compounding influenced by contemporary standard Chinese, particularly in political and official contexts (see Chapter 4).

6.3.2 The Second Finding: Another Facet of the Dual-developmental Mode

The second finding uncovers another facet that delves into the intricate landscape of language contact across the Korean peninsula. These interactions, particularly with South Korea, impact everyday life for regular Korean speakers, imparting a bottom-up influence driven by sociocultural and economic dynamics. Notably, the South Korean variant has emerged as a significant driver of change, gaining prominence particularly since the 1990s. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea, combined with open-door policies, has facilitated heightened exposure to South Korean language and culture. This exposure has visibly influenced Yŏnbyŏn Korean, leading to observable shifts in various linguistic aspects, including the adoption of English loanwords and AK vocabulary, the introduction of novel semantic features, and the integration of English structures and stylistic elements. The linguistic transformations experienced by Yŏnbyŏn Korean speakers are grounded in their individual needs, preferences, and interactions with diverse communities and languages. This process constitutes a bottom-up evolution in language, propelled by the daily language practices and choices of speakers within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community. This highlights the role of the community members themselves as agents of language change, shaping the language's trajectory based on their engagement with various linguistic influences and cultural expressions (refer to Chapter 5).

The linguistic impact of the second facet is observable through the incorporation of English loanwords and the adoption of AK vocabulary within Yŏnbyŏn Korean. In what is termed as Period 1, spanning from the late 1940s to the 1970s, the inclusion of English loanwords within Yŏnbyŏn Korean was minimal and infrequent. This phase maintained a very low frequency of English borrowings. Conversely, during Period 2, spanning from the late 1970s to the 1990s, a gradual revival in the utilisation of English loanwords became evident in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. This period marked a phase of rapid transformation and growth in China,

characterised by its shift towards a market-oriented economy and increased engagement with the global economy. During this time, the data revealed noticeable shifts, including an increase in the presence of English words and AK words borrowed from South Korean, coupled with a decrease in Chinese borrowings. The linguistic landscape of Yŏnbyŏn Korean underwent significant changes during this period, mirroring the evolving social and political context. The period between the late 1970s and the 1990s can be considered a transitional phase characterised by the reception of English loanwords and adaptation to evolving social circumstances. During this transition, the spellings of English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean shifted from a pro-Pyongyang style to a pro-Seoul style.

Since the late 1990s, identified as Period 3, there was an updated surge in English borrowing in Yŏnbyŏn Korean. The rapid influx of English loanwords from South Korea is a noteworthy aspect of the Korean language's evolving linguistic landscape. English borrowings, which carry symbolic significance, are well-received within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community. This new linguistic development has created a dynamic interplay between Chinese and English borrowings, reshaping the socio-linguistic landscape of Yŏnbyŏn Korean. The successful integration of English lexical structures and phrasing styles into Yŏnbyŏn Korean has played a pivotal role in the widespread adoption of these borrowings in the present era. From the late 1990s onward, AK words borrowed into Yŏnbyŏn Korean have displayed distinct lexical and structural characteristics. These include truncations, blended loanwords, compound loanwords, and even emulation of English morphosyntactic structure. In essence, English loanwords in Yŏnbyŏn Korean have taken on various forms since the late 1990s, based on considerations of pronunciation and ease of usage. The infusion of AK words, borrowed from South Korea, serves multiple purposes in the present era: addressing lexical gaps and capitalising on the symbolic prestige associated with the English language. The integration of AK words into Yŏnbyŏn Korean reflects the language's responsiveness to the esteemed status of the English language and the cultural influence of English-speaking countries. This trend is further amplified by the global phenomenon known as the "Korean wave" or *Hanlyu*, which has significantly impacted China. AK words hold a particular significance within popular culture, fashion, health, recreational domains, and various conversational contexts (see Chapter 5).

6.3.3 The Third Finding: The Interplay between Chinese and English Borrowing during the Three Periods

The interaction between Chinese borrowing and English borrowing in Yŏnbyŏn Korean has undergone a process where one wanes as the other waxes. The lexical composition of Yŏnbyŏn Korean has continually adapted to shifts in China's social landscape and its global surroundings. Notably, there are three discernible turning points that mark significant shifts in the lexical evolution of Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

The first turning point materialised in the late 1940s when the Chinese Communist Party assumed leadership in northeastern China. Since the late 1940s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean demonstrated a robust inclination towards borrowing from contemporary standard Chinese. Between the late 1940s and the 1970s, Chinese vocabulary constituted the primary source for Yŏnbyŏn Korean, with a considerable incorporation of contemporary standard Chinese words into the lexicon.

The second turning point is associated with the late 1970s, a period marked by China's initiation of open-door policies and a series of social reforms, such as the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution and the commencement of China's economic reform. These transformations ushered in a new societal context, leading to moderated influence from the Chinese language since the late 1970s. During this phase, the impact of sociopolitical factors on language dynamics weakened, notably reflected in the reduced usage of Chinese borrowings. Simultaneously, there was a transition in which the application of English loanwords gradually gained momentum and culminated in a surge, accompanied by a shift in focus from Pyongyang to Seoul style borrowing in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

The third turning point in the lexical evolution of the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language occurred with the reestablishment of communication with the South Korean language. This was particularly evident following the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Beijing and Seoul in 1992. Subsequently, an influx of South Korean-style language, and especially the incorporation of English loanwords borrowed through South Korean language channels, became prominent. Starting from the 1990s, Yŏnbyŏn Korean has undergone a rapid evolution, marked by the widespread adoption of South Korean-style English borrowing. Examples include terms like *mak'et'ing* (marketing), *taunrotŭ* (download), *op'ŭrain* (offline), and *sŭt'ori* (story). This surge in the use of English loanwords, aligned with the South Korean style English, reflects sociocultural influence and economic power exerted over language dynamics. Since the 1990s, there has been a noticeable increase in the use of English borrowing

in Yŏnbyŏn Korean, while the utilisation of Chinese borrowing has continued to decrease (refer to Chapter 5).

This linguistic phenomenon signifies a key shift in the language's dynamics. Within the Yŏnbyŏn community, there is a palpable enthusiasm for embracing this linguistic trend. Notably, there has been a distinct preference for employing AK words over their Sino-Korean counterparts in recent texts. The incorporation of English borrowing has gained considerable traction in the Yŏnbyŏn language. In specific contexts, English borrowings are preferred over the Chinese borrowings, especially when dealing with emerging concepts and popular terminologies. This vocabulary is notably prominent in texts discussing sports, culinary topics, travel, health, and recreational content, underscoring its widespread usage within these domains.

To summarise, the dual-directional developmental trends of Yŏnbyŏn Korean's lexical composition illustrate the contrasting impact of sociopolitical power as well as sociocultural and economic influence during the different time. Currently, the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language continues to incorporate Chinese borrowings, predominantly in formal genres such as texts pertaining to politics, economics, and social matters. In contrast, the influx of English borrowings is increasingly noticeable, particularly in recreational subjects, and content related to daily life. Each turning point in the trajectory of Korean lexical development is intricately linked to the sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic contexts of China and the world. These transformations underscore the dynamic interplay between language and society, reflecting the intricate balance between external influence and internal operational rules of language development.

6.4 Contributions of This Study

6.4.1 Filling a Gap in Understanding a Typical Dual-developmental Mode and the Interdisciplinary Connections

In contrast to the unidirectional pattern commonly observed in many minority or subordinate languages within multilingual societies, the typical dual-developmental mode proposed by this study in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language emerges as a specific phenomenon. This distinctiveness stems from a sequential progression: an initial period of linguistic assimilation in a Mandarin-dominant society followed by a subsequent phase characterised by interaction with a cognate Korean language. This interaction has led to the emergence of a dual developmental mode within Yŏnbyŏn Korean, characterised by two distinct influences. One source of influence is

the sociopolitically dominant language, while the other is the culturally related Korean language with economic prestige, both shaped by disparate social contexts. This particular form of contact-induced language change has received limited attention from researchers.

Furthermore, by delineating the dual developmental modes characterised by both top-down and bottom-up influences, propelled via distinct social contexts and mechanisms, this study offers invaluable insights into the intricate interplay of sociopolitical factors, sociocultural dynamics, economic influences, and individual preferences. This study examines the impact of intricate social contexts on language change within a specific framework. These multifaceted social environments play a pivotal role in shaping and reshaping the course of language evolution. The term “complex social settings” refers to social factors that do not follow a linear progression but instead undergo significant shifts. These shifts in social conditions can lead to changes in established language change tendencies, guiding them onto different trajectories. As outlined in the study, social factors initially direct the developmental path of the minority language in one direction. However, when the social context undergoes a transformation, a new developmental trend emerges. This shift in social settings gives rise to two contrasting developmental tendencies within the minority language simultaneously. Researchers have given limited consideration to this specific frame, where intricate social conditions influence and redefine the process of language transformation.

For the case of Yŏnbyŏn Korean, as a minority language of China, changing social conditions initially lead its lexicon towards convergence with the national dominant language, the contemporary standard Chinese. Yet, when social contexts shift politically and culturally, the established mode of lexical development is reconfigured. An updated route of lexical change emerges, guided by the changed social settings. Both the established and newly emerging developmental pathways coexist in parallel under the prevailing social conditions. The typical linguistic variation apparent within the Yŏnbyŏn Korean community, as revealed by this study, underscores the presence of the dual developmental mode. This mode is a result of intricate interactions among languages, societies, individual speakers, and various influential factors, including culture and the economy. The findings of this study underline the interplay between the various social influences, language contact, and individual language practices in shaping a minority language. It highlights the multifaceted nature of language development within a minority community, where both external forces and community dynamics contribute to the evolution of linguistic expression. These findings not only enrich our understanding of linguistic change but also provide valuable insights into the broader cultural and sociopolitical dynamics at play within a minority community, like the Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

Additionally, this study brings to the forefront the contact-induced alterations affecting the lexical, semantic, and structural facets of the minority language. Scholars have shown limited focus on the aspects of lexical-semantic and lexical-structural transformations within the realm of contact-induced language change. This study not only addresses a vital gap in our understanding of the process behind these linguistic changes within the minority language but also sheds light on the broader implications of such variations across different social contexts. The ramifications of the multifaceted influences are distinctly discerned in the varying lexical, semantic, and structural transformations, providing a comprehensive understanding of the contact-induced language change. This illumination also offers insight into the linguistic variations observed across diverse social contexts, a realm that has been relatively underexplored in research.

Moreover, this study offers a thorough examination of how media language in minority communities serves as a representation, illuminating the dynamic interplay between media and the development of a subordinate language within multilingual societies across various social contexts. The insights drawn from this study stem from the intersection of minority media studies, language contact and change, along with corpus linguistics, contributing a multidisciplinary viewpoint that enhances the discourse in these domains.

6.4.2 Methodological Contributions and Empirical Evidence

This research has established a specialised corpus encompassing language data from Yŏnbyŏn Korean spanning the period from 1948 to 2020. The existing body of language data for the minority Korean language in China is lacking and remains underdeveloped. The currently accessible corpora provide limited language data for minority Korean, particularly for extended timeframes spanning up to seven decades. The research effectively addresses a substantial data gap concerning this minority language in China, which has been influenced by cross-border cognate languages and English. Furthermore, the dedicated corpus serves to fill a notable void in the fields of corpus linguistics and East Asian language studies.

Specifically, it addresses the dearth of language data for Yŏnbyŏn Korean, a language significantly shaped by historical influences from Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and English. By presenting the previously unexplored data concerning the evolution and shifts in the Yŏnbyŏn Korean language since 1948, this study significantly augments the existing database related to this minority language within the realm of language contact and change. These findings hold the potential to make valuable contributions to future inquiries into contact-induced language

change and the interplay between language and society, particularly within the East Asian linguistic context.

Moreover, this research has employed a specialised software tool known as the Open-source Korean Text Processor (OKT) for analysing Yŏnbyŏn Korean. The successful utilisation of OKT, coupled with part-of-speech (POS) tagging, underscores its adaptability to the diasporic Korean language in China. This observation underscores the prevailing unity and convergence shared between Yŏnbyŏn Korean and the South Korean language in the contemporary era. Consequently, it suggests that software tools developed for South Korean language analysis could potentially find adaptation for use with diasporic languages like Yŏnbyŏn Korean.

6.5 Implications

The influence of social contexts on language contact and change is intricately intertwined with political circumstances, language policies, and the global landscape. Language serves as both a tool and a resource for ethnic minorities to safeguard their identities and cultural values. Language policies and planning hold a significant role in shaping specific linguistic frameworks and controlling access to language resources in multilingual settings. A prime example of this is the contrasting lexical evolution observed in Yŏnbyŏn Korean across different time periods. The developmental trajectory of a minority language is strongly affected by the social settings it encounters. In times of eased sociopolitical conditions, the minority language can progress organically, driven by individual speakers within the community. This organic development fosters a relaxed atmosphere, leading to more positive attitudes towards the community language among its speakers and within society as a whole. Consequently, this contributes to the preservation and unhindered growth of the ethnic minority language. On the other hand, in situations where political conditions turn restrictive and language policies promote convergence, the minority language might experience suppression and a gradual erosion of its unique linguistic identity and developmental patterns. Consistently exploring the relationship between government-driven social settings, such as language policies and planning, and the individual language practices, can provide invaluable insights into the effectiveness of establishing a bilingual mode within an ethnic minority community.

In addition, the notable incorporation of loanwords and the distinctive preferences for specific vocabulary choices in Yŏnbyŏn Korean encompass more than just facilitating effective communication; they also serve as manifestations of cultural affinity and personal identity for

speakers of the minority language. Language acts as a symbolic indicator of an individual's social position, encompassing both economic and cultural dimensions that shape their linguistic competence. Yǒnbyǒn Korean Autonomous Prefecture, situated in a border region, has witnessed an increasing global influence following China's opening-up, particularly the impact of English-speaking regions during the era of globalisation. The predominance of Chinese vocabulary as the prevailing social code among Korean speakers in Yǒnbyǒn has encountered growing competition from the South Korean language and its associated English loanwords. This shift has been instigated by heightened interaction with South Korea and the broader global community. The use of English borrowings reflects a grassroots endeavour to align with international norms, ensuring recognition and appreciation for the community's language and the ethnic minority it represents.

While numerous minority languages have fallen into obscurity or disappeared entirely, the minority Korean language in China has witnessed a revival in significance, largely attributed to its internationalised nature marked by the incorporation of South Korean-style English and extended linguistic borrowings. This resurgence has been greatly fuelled by the widespread appeal of the Korean wave, not only within China but also on a global scale. Capitalising on the allure of the Korean wave, both the Chinese population and the international community are drawn to understand and value this ethnic language and its cultural richness within China.

Furthermore, as sociopolitical conditions improve, a minority language tends to experience organic growth. This growth is primarily driven by the initiatives of individual speakers within the community rather than by policymakers. This natural progression cultivates an environment characterised by a sense of ease, ultimately nurturing a positive perception of the community language among its speakers and throughout society.

6.6 Limitations and Recommendations

All research has its limitations and this study is no exception. Firstly, the study primarily examines the phenomenon of language contact and change through written data, excluding spoken data due to practical data collection constraints. While written language serves as a durable source for acquiring diachronic language data, it only captures a single facet of the language and does not provide a complete panoramic view. Moreover, drawing from the available data, this research examines contact-induced linguistic shifts primarily within written language, segmenting the data to unveil distinct trajectories of linguistic evolution. By

scrutinising these data segments, the research findings suggest that the impact of contemporary standard Chinese is prominently visible in the formal genres of Yŏnbyŏn Korean in the present era, whereas the incorporation of English borrowings is more conspicuous in informal contexts. Considering that vocabulary in less formal texts often mirrors spoken language, the study conjectures that the lexical modifications in spoken language would align with the outcomes deduced from the written data in less formal contexts. In other words, the influence of English and AK words borrowed from South Korea is progressively growing in the spoken realm of Yŏnbyŏn Korean. Nonetheless, to validate this hypothesis, further investigation based on spoken data remains essential.

Secondly, the data used in this study comprises two sets: analogue and digital data sets. The efficiency of utilising the analogue data is constrained by the technical challenges associated with its digitalisation. Future research endeavours could focus on enhancing calculations and precision by refining the application of analogue data when advancements in digitalisation methods are made.

Thirdly, while this study touches upon the relationship between media and minority language development, there is a need for a significant amount of further research in this area to fill the gaps, particularly in relation to diasporic languages in East Asia.

Fourthly, given the constraints on data availability, this study explores the intricacies of language contact and evolution within the Chinese Korean community using a self-constructed, small-scale corpus. However, a substantial expansion of the database is necessary to gain a deeper comprehension of this minority language, its developmental trajectory, and its interactions with both Chinese and related languages, including Japanese and Russian.

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Appendix

Table A 1 The social change and language usage timeline in YKAP

Timeline	Ruling force	Dominant language in YKAP
17 A.D. -- 1912	Qing dynasty imperial court	Korean
1910s -- 1928	Regional ruling force (Warlord of the Fengtian Clique)	Korean
1931 -- 1945	Japanese colonial force	Korean, Japanese
1945 -- 1947	CCP, KMT	Korean, Chinese
1948 -- present	CCP	Mandarin Chinese, Korean

Table A 2 The number of articles extracted from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* online in different years

Published Date	Articles extracted from the <i>Yŏnbyŏn Daily</i>
2006	221.0
2007	1851.0
2008	2674.0
2009	2927.0
2010	2914.0
2011	2315.0
2012	1498.0
2013	2382.0
2014	3865.0

2015	4850.0
2016	5349.0
2017	5668.0
2018	5774.0
2019	6628.0
2020	6661.0
2021	9037.0
2022	7222.0

Table A 3 The number of articles extracted from the *Yŏnbyŏn Daily* online across different subjects

Subject	Amount of news articles
civil issues	34715.0
economy	10694.0
literature	1078.0
politics	8921.0
recreation	8125.0
sports	8303.0