

4. LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

According to the 1979 census, out of the 389,000 Koreans in the USSR, only 55.4% claim to use the Korean language as their mother tongue and 44.4% Russian.²⁶⁹ 49.9% of the Koreans can speak a second language in addition to their mother tongue, of which 47.7% speak Russian and the rest other Soviet languages. An interesting fact to be noted is that 92.1% of the Koreans in the Soviet Union speak Russian either fluently or as their mother tongue. In contrast to this, for example, only 26.4% of Turkmens speak Russian. The percentage of Koreans speaking Russian comes after the Jews (97.0%), Vepsians (96.6%), Karelians (95.4%), Karaims (94.5%), Germans (94.3%) and Mordvins (92.9%) among the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union. This fact explains why the influence of Russian on the Korean language spoken in Central Asia is so apparent. However, in the language of the *Koryŏ Saram*, the influence of languages other than Russian can also be found, e.g. of Turkic languages (Uzbek, Kazakh and Karakalpak, etc.) depending on the area.

It is rather questionable whether the term 'the language of the *Koryŏ Saram*' can be used at all as a blanket term for the language of the Central Asian Koreans, as they live scattered in different areas, surrounded by peoples of varying linguistic backgrounds. However it is not so much misleading even if the term is used, due to the fact that a period of fifty years is not a long enough time for one language to split into separate languages, according to the place where its speakers live. Besides this, Koreans in Central Asia maintain contacts by visiting each other or through the mass media. As was seen in Chapter 2, the majority of *Koryŏ Saram* are originally from the northernmost part of the Korean peninsula. Accordingly, their language represents the dialect of that area.

4.1. Position of the language of the *Koryŏ Saram*

Traditionally the Korean dialects are divided into six groups: Central, South-West (Cŏnla), South-East (Kyŏngsang), Ceju Island, North-West (Phyŏng'an) and North-East (Hamgyŏng). Standard Korean is based on the speech of the Seoul middle class, which belongs to the Central dialect. The northernmost region from where the majority of *Koryŏ Saram* originated belongs dialectologically to the North-East group. This, in turn, is divided administratively into two provinces: Northern Hamgyŏng and Southern Hamgyŏng. For several reasons the study of the Northern Hamgyŏng dialect (hereafter NH), on which the language of the *Koryŏ Saram* is mainly based, has been almost neglected compared with the others. Fortunately the recent work of Kim Thai-gyun somewhat fills the gap.²⁷⁰

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According to Kim Thai-gyun, the NH dialect can be divided into three subgroups: the Yugŭp (the six counties of Puryŏng, Kyŏnghŭng, Kyŏngwŏn, Onsŏng, Congsŏng and Hoiryŏng) in the northernmost tip of the Korean peninsula bordering on the Soviet Union and China, the Saŭp (the four counties of Kyŏngsŏng, Myŏngchŏn, Kilju and Haksŏng) and the Musan region in the west bordering on China and which is a transitional area with Phyŏng'an Province. Among these the first one attracts our special interest, not only for geographical but also for historical reasons. Historically this area was often inhabited by the Jurchen people, but, according to King Sejong's policy of consolidating the border area, six garrisons (in Korean *Yukcin*, which were later called Yugŭp) were established. At the same time this area was reinforced by immigrants from the south in the 15th century. This area has also been used by those who had escaped from political oppression and as a place of exile. Kim Thai-gyun lists the following characteristic features of the NH dialect:²⁷¹

- 1) Eight simple vowels: /i, e, ä, ũ, ǒ, a, u, ol.
- 2) Ten rising double vowels: /ye, yǒ, ya, yu, yo, ü, ö, wä, wǒ, wal.
- 3) /ö/ is pronounced as /we/ and /ü/ as /wil.
- 4) /uil/ is pronounced as /il/, even in the case of the genitive.
- 5) In the numeral /yǒtǒlp/ 'eight', /yǒ-/ is pronounced as /ya-/ , e.g. /yatül, yatǒl, yatal/.
- 6) /si, ci, chil/ are here /sü, cü, chül/.

Characteristic features of the Saŭp subdialect are the following:

- 1) In the middle of a word /-n-/ is pronounced as /-h-/ , e.g. *ani* : *ahi* 'no, not'.
- 2) Palatalization, e.g. *kil* : *cil* 'road', *kirŭm* : *cirŭm* 'oil'.

Its geographically isolated position together with the historical background given above are reflected in the dialect of this region. Kim Thai-gyun gives the following archaic features characteristic of the Yukcin subdialect:

- 1) The vowel between *a* and *o* (written as '•' in the Middle-Korean alphabet) of Middle Korean has generally developed into 'a' in this dialect, but after labial consonants it became 'o' (in the following examples the first word is middle Korean and the second one the Yukcin subdialect), e.g. *mal* : *mol* 'horse', *param* : *porom* 'wind', *phari* : *phori* 'fly (insect)'.
- 2) /n, t, th/ are preserved before /ya, yǒ, yo, yu, il/ and /s, c, ch/ before /ya, yǒ, yo, yul/. The initial /r/ is also preserved. In Seoul these sounds are avoided at the beginning of a word.
- 3) The 'irregular' -s- and -p- conjugations of Seoul are still regular in

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Yukcin (and other NH subdialects), e.g. /*kŭsta*, *kŭmyŏn*/ 'pull, mark' is /*kŭsta*, *kŭsŭni*, *kŭsŏsŏ*/ etc.; /*topta*, *toumyŏn*/ 'hot' is /*topta*, *tobŭmyŏn*/ etc.

4) Middle Korean *z* (written as 'Δ' in the Middle-Korean alphabet) has developed into *s*, e.g. *kazal* : *kasŭl* 'autumn'; *kazai* : *kasai* 'scissors'.

5) Middle Korean /*p*/ is preserved, e.g. /*kaunde*/ : /*kabŭnde*/ 'middle'.

6) In nouns, the *k*- declination is found, e.g. /*karul*/ : /*kalgi*/ 'powder'; /*kumŏng*/ : /*kunggi*/ 'hole'.

7) The nominative marker /-*ka*/ is often omitted.

8) The causative form in /-*ku*/ is often used instead of /-*i*-, /-*ri*-, /-*u*-, /-*ki*-, /-*hi*-, e.g. /*allida*/ : /*alguda*/ 'to inform'.

9) Different verbal endings are used in the Yukcin subdialect, e.g. /-*mdung*/ for a polite question, /-*pkumal*/ (Seoul /-*pnida*/), /-*pni*-, /-*ssŭpni*/ ; /*cuksŭpni*/ corresponds to Seoul /*cukŭl kŏsi thŭllim ŏpsol*/ 'will surely die'. The last one is not as wide-spread as the others.

There are virtually no studies on the language of the *Koryŏ Saram* except that of Kim O., where he expresses his opinion in the first sentence as follows:²⁷²

"The language of Koreans in the USSR is not at all known in scholarly literature. It is not always included even in the list of the languages of people of the USSR, even though more than 314,000 Soviet citizens speak that language."

Kim, in her seven page article, presents a short survey of the situation of the Korean language in Central Asia. At present the state of research is almost the same as 25 years ago. It was only recently that some attention was given to this question: the writer of these lines composed a short survey in Korean in his work about the Koreans in Central Asia. He also published a collection of Korean words used in Alma-Ata.²⁷³ The other is that of Ross King, a young American Koreanist from Harvard.²⁷⁴ Evidently King is the first foreign researcher who has carried out linguistic field work in Tashkent, which took place in September, 1986. There are publications in Korean, though very few, including *Lenin Kichi* in Alma-Ata. Using these materials it is possible to trace which characteristic features of Korean dialects are preserved, and what kind of influence the language of the *Koryŏ Saram* has received from other languages. It can be assumed that Korean has also influenced neighbouring languages.

4.1.1. Vocabulary of the Korean language in Alma-Ata

The following material has been collected by Haiyon from Koreans living in Alma-Ata and its surroundings. Words are grouped according to their meaning.²⁷⁵

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1) Words for relatives and different professions

<i>aböji</i>	father
<i>ajaibi</i>	uncle
<i>amai</i>	grandmother
<i>ankkan</i>	wife
<i>cagubai</i>	mixed blood
<i>emina</i>	maid
<i>hoijang</i>	chief (e.g. of a committee)
<i>kanna</i>	young women (pejorative form)
<i>khül abai</i>	grandfather
<i>khün ttangbaigi</i>	Korean born in Central Asia
<i>kisurwön</i>	engineer
<i>köröngbai, piröngbai</i>	beggar
<i>möngthöngguri, pösai, sirasoni</i>	insincere foolish person
<i>naijichi</i>	Korean who came from Korea later and settled down in Central Asia
<i>namjöng</i>	husband
<i>nodari, noraing'i</i>	scamp
<i>nodök</i>	old parents
<i>nülgüdaigi</i>	old people
<i>oraibi</i>	younger brother
<i>phasubyöng</i>	sentry
<i>phunggakcaing'i</i>	actor or actress; singer (pejorative)
<i>saiği</i>	woman; maid at the age of marriage
<i>saiwöni</i>	younger brother of husband
<i>yöpcön</i> (originally 'coin')	Korean (the word originates from Sakhalin where Koreans are said to be rich)

2) Food

<i>cangmul</i>	soup flavoured with soy sauce
<i>ciryöng</i>	soy sauce
<i>haijaburi</i>	sunflower
<i>haim</i>	side-dish
<i>kangnaing'i</i>	maize
<i>kochi</i>	chilli pepper
<i>kuksi</i>	noodles
<i>mul painse</i>	<i>painse</i> boiled in water

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<i>paichai</i>	Chinese cabbage
<i>pigojai, painse</i>	pelmeni (a kind of meat dumpling), <i>pigojai</i> is a steamed one
<i>saibi</i>	shrimp
<i>saibijõs</i>	pickled shrimps
<i>siraji</i>	dried radish and cabbage leaves
<i>tadu paichai</i>	cabbage
<i>tibi</i>	bean curd
<i>tokkaibi cangmul</i>	alcoholic drink
<i>tothu kogi</i>	pork

3) House and household goods

<i>caingchõl</i>	frying pan
<i>cainggaibi</i>	pan
<i>cangjai</i>	fence
<i>cangjaigi</i>	firewood
<i>cangttaigi</i>	long stick
<i>chebojai</i>	wallet
<i>cõgori</i>	jacket
<i>cõngji</i>	kitchen
<i>comani</i>	pocket
<i>cohap</i>	kolkhoz
<i>cũnthang</i>	mud
<i>caikki</i>	gamble
<i>hejaibi</i>	scarecrow
<i>hõdõkkhan</i>	warehouse
<i>hõn' gõth</i>	cloth
<i>hyõplang</i>	pocket
<i>kamai</i>	big pot
<i>kasũjip</i>	wife's house
<i>khaldomai</i>	cutting board
<i>khokhol</i>	bugle (for signaling)
<i>kkojaing'i</i>	long and weak stick
<i>kkungthi</i>	exchange of goods
<i>kobongjil</i>	agricultural work
<i>kõjippuri, pukki</i>	lie
<i>kongsa</i>	shop
<i>kubeje</i>	small shop

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<i>kudül</i>	<i>ondol</i> (under-floor heating system)
<i>kwangcha'i</i>	shovel
<i>madang</i>	yard; garden
<i>maktai</i>	stick
<i>medüre</i>	well-bucket
<i>migöpp</i>	rubbish
<i>naigul</i>	smoke
<i>padang</i>	kitchen
<i>pa'e</i>	mill
<i>pangchöng sari</i>	living in a rented room
<i>phuan</i>	spectacles
<i>pigi</i>	competition
<i>pjigai</i>	match
<i>ppaingsoni</i>	running away
<i>pulsulgi</i>	train
<i>pusukkai</i>	kitchen
<i>punkhan</i>	toilet
<i>sakkai</i>	hat
<i>södap</i>	clothes to be washed
<i>sarimada</i>	underpants
<i>ssaimi</i>	fighting
<i>susön</i>	repair
<i>tansü</i>	cupboard for clothes and bedclothes
<i>twikhan</i>	toilet
<i>yöngjai</i>	collar

4) Parts of Body and Diseases

<i>agari</i>	mouth
<i>hönde</i>	tumour
<i>imai, imaindaigi</i>	forehead
<i>kungdi</i>	hips
<i>ocom</i>	urine
<i>omori</i>	anus
<i>öngchi</i>	buttocks
<i>sangthong</i>	face
<i>ssaibyöng</i>	mental disease

5) Others

<i>angssülda</i>	feel uneasy; to quarrel
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<i>cakku</i>	often
<i>ceguna</i>	barely
<i>chǒnbul nada</i>	to become angry
<i>cilda</i>	to be long
<i>hǒnǒllehada</i>	to be humble; to be shabby
<i>honppangnada</i>	to reproach
<i>hūihanhada</i>	to be curious; to be uncommon
<i>hwachida</i>	to have extramarital relations
<i>ijai</i>	just now
<i>il ǒpsiyo</i>	not to have problems
<i>inchūm, inchi</i>	soon; now
<i>in'ge</i>	here
<i>kichada</i>	to be absurd
<i>komjida</i>	to be nice and good
<i>mundaida</i>	to rub
<i>musige, musigi</i>	what
<i>nallai</i>	quickly
<i>ǒkano</i>	what can one do?
<i>ǒsūlmak</i>	in the twilight
<i>phusūlhada</i>	to be plentiful here and there
<i>pojibi.</i>	(I) will see.
<i>ssaista</i>	to be abundant and common
<i>taiseyo.</i>	it is a worry.
<i>uchūlhada</i>	to be foolish
<i>wanuru</i>	considerably
<i>yang, ya</i>	yes (answer to be used to older people)
<i>yogǒt</i>	this one
<i>yǒn'ge</i>	here

6) Some Examples of Conversation

Injeya osimdung?

Have you come just now? (polite form)

Komapsūppkkuma (-kkoma)

Thank you!

Asūmchanikkoma

Thank you (very much)!

Yojūm kǒgi nalssinūn ǒttöhsūptǒngdung?

How is the weather nowadays there?

Cinai tǒbǒsǒ honnassūkkuma.

It was hard because it was very hot.

Chana han can masikipso.

Let's have a cup of tea.

Kū sarami musūgera hadǒn'ga?

What does he say?

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<i>Mai'il caikkiman nonŭragu nuni pŏlgai issŭpte.</i>	His eyes became red because he was gambling everyday.
<i>Phuando kkyŏssci nune tara ollasskessta polman hagesskuman.</i>	It is worth seeing because he wears glasses, and his eyes become enthusiastic.

This material shows that the vocabulary consists of several etymological layers. To the first group belong those words which can be classified as the NH dialect, e.g. *amai*, *ankkan*, *cagubai*, *cangjai*, *ciryŏng*, *haijaburi*, *haim*, *kanna*, *khokhol*, *kwangcha'i*, *naigul*, *nodŏk*, *ŏngchi*, *ŏsŭlmak*, *painse*, *phuan*, *pŏsai*, *pukki*, *pulsulgi*, *saibi*, *saigi*, *saiwŏni*, *sakkai*, *sangthong*, *sŏdap*, *tibi*, *tothu* (in *tothu kogi*), *wanuru*. The word *sulgi* 'wagon' (in *pulsulgi*) is a case where the *k*-declension is found, and corresponds to *sure* in Seoul. The Middle Korean */p/* is kept in cases of *saibi* and *tibi*. The form *tothu* gives us cause to ponder the development of the internal consonants more carefully. Considering that the form of the standard Korean, *tojaji* and *twäji* are diminutives of Sino-Korean *ton*, Ramstedt tried to reconstruct it as either **tojači* or **tohäči*.²⁷⁶ The root of the expression "*Asŭmchanikkoma*" is possibly "*asŭmchantha*", which is attested in the Russian-Korean Dictionary of 1904.²⁷⁷ Originally this developed from the expression "*ansimchi antha*" 'to feel uneasy (for causing others trouble)', this is a typical example of the Yukcin subdialect. As for verbs, the finite endings like *-mdung*, *-pkkuma*, *-ptŏngdung*, *-cibi* show that they also characteristically represent the Yukcin subdialect. These peculiarities seem to be enough to prove that the language of the *Koryŏ Saram* has basically originated from the Northern Hamgyŏng Dialect.

Secondly, from the historical point of view there can be found substrata of the Jurchen and Manchu languages, Kim Hyŏng-gyu, citing Ramstedt's opinion, considers that the word *emina* might have developed from the Tungus form **gmni* > *-mni* (e.g. *ewęki-mni* 'Tungus wife, woman').²⁷⁸ The third group includes loanwords from Russian, which will be treated *infra*. The word *pijigai* (< Russian *spichka*) seems to be rather old, probably from the end of last century. To the fourth group belong words which have been introduced through those Koreans who came to Central Asia after the transfer in 1937, i.e. Koreans from North Korea and Sakhalin. These might be *kisurwŏn*, *hoijang*, *yŏpcŏn*, etc. The fifth group includes words which have developed independently in Central Asia after 1937, e.g. *khŭn ttangbaigi* 'one who was born in a large land', *naijichi* 'one who came from inland' (Sino-Korean *naiji* 'inland'). Finally loanwords from neighbouring Central Asian languages, mainly Turkic vernaculars, can be mentioned. In the above list there is no example of this group but this question is also discussed *infra*.

4.1.2. The Korean language of Tashkent

As mentioned above, King has carried out linguistic field work at the bazaar in Tashkent. His informant was a middle-aged lady, Mrs. Cen (Ten in Russian) from Tashkent, who sold boiled corn and carrots. She did not know her family's place of origin in Korea, but knew that her father had been born in the Far East. King also collected a small amount of material from Mr. Kim Yuriy Sergejevich, a major in the Tashkent fire brigade. Anyway, King's analysis of Tashkent Korean is based almost exclusively on the speech of Mrs. Cen. Because of this it would be dangerous to make the generalization that Mrs. Cen's speech represents the language spoken by all Koreans living in Tashkent. But since Mrs. Cen comes from there, the material collected by King gives a good idea of the present situation of Tashkent Korean, even if to a somewhat limited extent. According to King, the following features can be observed:²⁷⁹

- 1) Pronunciation of preconsonantal //l/ with a strong roll. King mentions that he usually heard about three flaps and writes it with an [r]; e.g. *Ödzε t/ägü irgösso* 'I read a book yesterday', *targi* 'chicken', *ttägi t/äppargan* 'very red', *nar mad'i* 'every day'. This is valid as an allomorph of the accusative in /-r/; *nä phyöndzir ssüu* 'I'm writing a letter'.
- 2) Pronunciation of the so-called nasalized -l- : [nli:j] or [nlɔ:j] 'four' (by Major Kim), elsewhere pronounced as [ne].
- 3) Pronunciation of the labiodental /v/, even if it is not as strong as in English: [ve] 'cucumber'. In the NH dialect it has the form *way* or *woy*.
- 4) King noticed only one long vowel: *kü da:me* 'after that'.
- 5) New sounds which are alien to Korean: [z] in *bazar* 'bazaar', [x] in *saxar* 'sugar' and [s] in *masina* 'car'.
- 6) Some consonant clusters originally also alien to Korean were introduced via Russian loanwords: [otpusk] 'vacation, leave', [stroj ha-] 'to build'.
- 7) As for the problem of palatalization, King mentions that firstly there is no initial *n-* before *i* or *j* in Mrs. Cen's speech, secondly 'velar weakening' has advanced much further in that both [ŋ] and [n] are lost before *-i*, thirdly the Russian phonetic system may have abetted or encouraged palatalization in Korean, fourthly Mrs. Cen's speech shows evidence of a (historical) rule of velar palatalization.
- 8) Dropping of laterals. Mrs. Cen seems to drop laterals before *-kk-*, e.g. *haccurakkuma* < *lha-l cul a-l-kkumal* 'knows how to do (formal)'.
- 9) The umlaut process is productive, stimulated by the obligatory suffixation of *-i* in nouns: *kamdžε* < *kamdža +i* 'potato', *namdža* 'man' but *nä namdžä* 'my husband' (*nä* 'my').

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10) 'Casemarkers' and postpositions: *-i* (nominative); *-r, -i* (accusative); *-n, -nün, -nũ* and *-un* (topical particle); *-gä* (dative); *-e* (locative); *-sö* (ablative); *-ru* (directive); *-i* (genitive); *mad'i* 'every', *boda* 'than' (in comparative). The mixed construction is noticed; *pab-u tš tšoba handa chem tšögi boda* [rice (acc.) more like than bread than] 'I like rice more than bread'.

11) Verbal endings: *-kkuma, -džim/-tšim, -džida, -ul-o, -so, -tao, -ö/a, -gessö, -atta* <-*assta, -m* (finite forms, indicative); *-(ü)mdo, -ga, -ja* (< *-nja*), *-o, -na* (finite forms, interrogative); *-pso, -göra, -nara, -o, -so, -ge, -dža, -ke* (finite forms, imperative); *-t`äsö, -gillä, -go/gu, -ta, -tago, -lak ha-, -m* 'if', *-sö* 'do and...' (converbs); [aj], [mot], [mo] (negatives).

12) King lists around 180 items of vocabulary, of which typical NH dialectical forms are the following:

<i>ingge</i>	here
<i>tšöngge</i>	over there
<i>könggesö</i>	there (dynamic)
<i>misige</i>	what (thing)?
<i>sümür/tudön</i>	20
<i>södön/sörün</i>	30
<i>nödön/mahün</i>	40
<i>tatton/sin</i>	50
<i>yödon/yuksip</i>	60
<i>irgupton</i>	70
<i>yadüpton</i>	80
<i>hanä toban</i>	for one year
<i>hallar</i>	one day
<i>sägi, säga</i>	girl
<i>ankka</i>	wife, woman
<i>anä</i>	mother
<i>ačä</i>	father's younger sister
<i>madämä</i>	father's elder sister
<i>ačabä</i>	father's younger brother
<i>madabä</i>	father's elder brother
<i>hä</i>	elder sister of girl
<i>kkitti</i>	ear
<i>semi</i>	beard
<i>ve</i>	cucumber
<i>p(h)emidori</i>	tomato

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<i>oksukki</i>	corn
<i>tʃangmuri</i>	soup
<i>nünggümi</i>	apple
<i>poksä</i>	peach
<i>khoi</i>	bean
<i>yökki</i>	fox
<i>koye</i>	cat
<i>padangmuri</i>	sea
<i>kasüri</i>	autumn
<i>mosä</i>	sand
<i>hürgi</i>	dirt, earth
<i>ttä</i>	land, field
<i>mäbun kochi</i>	hot pepper
<i>kobun yodza</i>	a pretty woman
<i>nar koba handa</i>	I love you ²⁸⁰
<i>tada</i>	sweet
<i>tʃ'ibatta</i>	It was cold.
<i>hatstur amdo?</i> ('old style')	Do you know how to do?
<i>möngnün saj/annün saj</i>	table/chair
<i>änggo kkago tängginda.</i>	Wears glasses.
<i>thæpp(u)rissö</i>	I threw it away
<i>tʃala gadza.</i>	Let's go to sleep.
<i>sängsä nassö</i>	Died. (honorofic)
<i>könggesö sargi pappüdji</i>	Life is rough there, isn't it?
<i>nadu</i>	Leave it!
<i>här sötta</i>	Got angry.

King's material shows that Tashkent Korean is based on the NH dialect, except for a few instances: one of the most striking examples of these non-NH forms is the numerals with the suffixes *-dön/-don* in the series 20-90. King, agreeing that these are puzzling, suggests that the original meaning of *l-don* may be 10 kopeks, or a certain unit of money (*ton* 'money'). He mentions a sentence from the *Russian-Korean Conversations* (Kazan' 1904) to support his opinion: *nä hal-lare chueni imshöge nö-don-i passo* 'I receive 40 kopeks a day with meals'.²⁸¹ At this moment it is too early to say whether King's suggestion is right or not. This is also a question which awaits further research with more materials.

4.1.3. Characteristic features found in Korean publications

There are not very many publications in Korean published in Central Asia. Without doubt the most important is the newspaper *Lenin Kichi*. In addition there are collections of poems and short stories, nowadays published exclusively in Alma-Ata, and only one or two volumes a year. The Korean language used in these publications can be said to be almost the same as that of the Korean peninsula, except some words have different meanings, these have arisen from recent developments. They are mostly socio-economic and political terms. The orthography in these publications in the main follows that of North Korea. A few examples are given in the following (in parentheses the form used in Seoul):

- 1) Use of *ll* at the beginning of Sino-Korean words and at the beginning of the second syllable after a vowel or *ln* in Sino-Korean words (in both cases this rule concerns only those containing an *il*): *ll**yŏk**pang* 'visit' (*lyŏk**pang*), *l**kyu**yul* 'rule' (*lkyu**yul*), *l**Li* 'Yi (family name)' (*ll*).
- 2) Use of *ll* at the beginning of Sino-Korean words in cases other than those mentioned above: *ll**otong* 'labour' (*lnotong*), *ll**ai*'*il* 'tomorrow' (*lnai*'*il*).
- 3) Use of *ln* at the beginning of Sino-Korean words containing an *il*: *ln**yŏ**ja* 'woman' (*lyŏ**ja*), *ln**yŏn*'*gan* 'annually' (*lyŏn*'*gan*).
- 4) Differentiation of *wŏnssu* 'enemy' and *wŏnsu* 'marshal' (*wŏnsu* 'enemy; marshal').

But in writing Russian proper names in *Han'gŭl*, Central Asian Korean publications use a different system from the North Korean one (in parentheses North Korean forms): *mossŭkhŭwa* 'Moscow' (*mossŭkhŭba*), *usŭbekhŭ* 'Uzbek' (*ujŭbekhŭ*), *kkasahŭssŭttan* 'Kazakhstan' (*khajahŭssŭttan*). Besides this, Central Asian Korean publications to some extent use expressions peculiar to the NH (in parentheses Seoul forms):

- 1) Use of the form in *-p-* of 'irregular' verbs: *nubŏsstā* 'lay down' (*nuwŏsstā*).²⁸²
- 2) Different lexical items: *cogabi* 'shell' (*cogai*),²⁸³ *naigul* 'smoke' (*yŏn'gi*),²⁸⁴ *tuthoi* 'thickness' (*tukke*),²⁸⁵ *ankkani* 'wife' (*puin*).
- 3) Use of double case endings: *ankkaniga* 'wife' (nom.).²⁸⁶
- 4) Use of different case ending: *nanŭn onŭl pakssine myojiro kasstawasstānda* 'You know, I have been to the grave of Mr. Pak today' (*myojie*).²⁸⁷
- 5) Use of *wol* for the meaning of 'month': *tu wŏl* 'two months' (*tu tal*),²⁸⁸ *wŏllyŏk* 'calendar' (*tallyŏk*).

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- 6) Certain verbal endings: *-kkuman*, *-kkoma* (finite forms, affirmative), *-mdung?* (*-pnikka?*), *-pte?* (*-nŭnjiyo?*).²⁸⁹
- 7) Some verbs: *sainggak khiuda* (literally, 'to raise thought') > 'to come to mind' (*sainggak nada*), e.g. *kŭ namjaga sainggak khiuda* 'That man comes to mind',²⁹⁰ *paiwŏjuda* 'to teach' (*karŭchida*).²⁹¹
- 8) Different use of numerals: *lumillion* 'many millions' (*subaigman*).²⁹²
- 9) Use of the causative form in *-u-*: *carai'uda* 'to bring up (children)' from *carada* 'to grow up' (*khiuda*),²⁹³ *parai'uda* 'to send off' from *paraida* 'to see off' (*ponaida*).²⁹⁴

4.2. Influence of the Russian language

It has already been stated that a substantial amount of Russian vocabulary infiltrated the daily language of Koreans in the Maritime Region.²⁹⁵ This phenomenon became apparent especially in the field of political and social terminology in the 1920s when books were published in Korean and the struggle for eradicating illiteracy was waged.

It is not so simple to measure the influence of Russian on Central Asiatic Korean for several reasons. Firstly, the 'literary language of the *Koryŏ Saram*', which the language used in *Lenin Kichi* can with good reason be considered to represent, is not at all supported by regular education in the mother tongue. Secondly, the conception of mother tongue becomes more ambiguous as a result of increasing intermarriage between different nationalities. Thirdly, the use of Korean as the mother tongue differs very much according to generation, place, occupation, etc. Besides these things, very few studies on this matter are available. There are, of course, pure Koreans with Korean names, who no longer speak Korean. These Koreans generally consider Russian their mother tongue. There are also individuals who use Russian or some other language at work but speak Korean at home. Theoretically it can be assumed that there are Koreans who speak Korean both at home and at work. Of these three cases the most evident is the second one. That is why it has to be taken it as an example, when speaking about the influence of Russian upon the Korean used by the *Koryŏ Saram*.

4.2.1. Normal conversations

The phenomenon of mixture is evident when Koreans converse among themselves. In the following, some examples of this are given:²⁹⁶

- 1) When speaking in Russian
Ёссе так поздно пришел?
Почему так поздно пришел?

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'Why did you come so late?'

Kyrõnde, onyl vy chitali vystuplenie N.S. Khrushcheva?

КСТАТИ, СЕГОДНЯ ВЫ ЧИТАЛИ ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЕ Н.С. ХРУЩЕВА?

'By the way, did you read Khrushchev's speech today?'

In other words, in Russian sentences Korean words (in bold face) are also used.

2) When speaking in Korean

Ya, ky vtoroy ryadye mesto innya?

ЕСТЬ ТАМ НА ВТОРОМ РЯДУ МЕСТО?

'Hey, is there a place in the second row?'

Yi uđja sō namjary lyubiry hakkuma.

ЭТА ЖЕНЩИНА ЛЮБИТ ТОГО МУЖЧИНУ.

'This woman loves that man.'

In these examples, Russian words for *second*, *row*, *place* and *love* are used instead of Korean.

It is not easy to determine into which category of *mixed language* these sentence types can be classified. It cannot really be called creolization because in both cases the syntax is clearly either Russian or Korean with the majority of lexical items from one of these two languages. This kind of use is not limited to any one group of people in the Korean community in Central Asia. The first case represents a certain type of hybrid Russian. It is noticeable that only the words emphasized are spoken in Korean. As for the latter case, such a phenomenon is commonly found among minority peoples in different countries.²⁹⁷

The use of Russian words does not always mean that corresponding Korean words are lacking. It seems that a difference in the choice of words between the older and younger generations can be observed. The following examples may be quoted:²⁹⁸

1) Older generation

Ne uri kkolhojū sangjōme kasō kobūn sinbal han tidūl ssawassta.

'I went to our kolkhoz store and bought a pair of pretty shoes.'

2) Younger generation

*Ne uri kkolhojū magajin ka kobūn ttuphūllirūl ssawassta.*²⁹⁹

This shows that an idea is expressed in two different ways according to generation. The difference lies in the choice of vocabulary, i.e. younger people prefer to use more Russian words.

Kim O. mentions that Koreans do not speak Russian equally well. For example, the

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older generation (older than 65 years) and children before school age speak it poorly, but youngsters and children attending school have a good knowledge of it and prefer to converse in Russian with each other. Typical mistakes made by Koreans are a result of differences in grammatical constructions between the two languages. Kim O. gives the following examples:

1) Older generation:

Моя ego i znai. 'Я его не знаю.'

'I don't know him.'

Ego lyudi tak govori esi. 'Он так говорил.'

'He said so.'

2) Children before school age;

Ya kukla. 'Моя кукла.'

'My doll.'

(answer to the question *Ch'ya kukla?* 'Чья кукла?', 'Whose doll?')

The absence of possessive pronouns in Korean leads to the mixed use of the Russian ones in the latter case. The use of *ego lyudi* in the place of *on* is caused by the fact that in Korean there are no fixed pronouns as in Russian, and for the third person the expression *kŭ saram* 'that man' is used. The expression *ego lyudi* is a direct translation of the Korean *kŭ saram*. As for the verbal conjugation and negation, the Korean forms are used. This is the so-called Primor'ye pidgin based on Russian, which has been used in conversation between local people and Russians.³⁰⁰

4.2.2. Russian loanwords

Russian loanwords can be divided into two categories according to the time when they were borrowed into Korean; namely, words borrowed before and after 1937. If we consider 1862 as the year of immigration of Koreans into the Russian Far East, the first phase is the period from 1862 to 1937 while the second phase begins in 1937 and is still continuing now. Russian loanwords consist chiefly of terms concerning politics, society, technology, agriculture and culture, etc. The number of Russian loanwords in the language of the *Koryŏ Saram* is estimated to be at least 300, but it is believed that this number is continuously increasing. The following examples of Russian loanwords are grouped according to their semantic field:

1) Words from the field of politics and society

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<u>Korean word</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Russian word</u>
<i>agüregathü</i>	aggregate	агрегат
<i>akkajemiya</i>	academy	академия
<i>akthü</i>	act	акт
<i>apttobussü</i>	bus	автобус
<i>assüphalthü</i>	asphalt	асфальт
<i>ccari</i>	tsar	царь
<i>ccehü</i>	work division	цех
<i>cceremokhü</i>	(tower-) chamber	теремок
<i>ccüigan</i>	gipsy	цыган
<i>cempperü</i>	jumper	джерпер
<i>chemodan</i>	trunk, large box	чемодан
<i>inssüttüruktorü</i>	instructor	инструктор
<i>khürusokhü</i>	small team	кружок
<i>kkabinyethü</i>	room	кабинет
<i>kkamppaniya</i>	(organized) movement	кампания
<i>kkaphe</i>	café	кафе
<i>kkassetta</i>	cassette	кассета
<i>kkolhosü</i>	collective farm, kolkhoz	колхоз
<i>kkombinathü</i>	group of enterprises	комбинат
<i>kkomppothü</i>	stewed fruit, compote	компот
<i>kkonkki</i>	skates	коньки
<i>kkophe</i>	coffee	кофе
<i>küruppa</i>	group	группа
<i>lakketta</i>	missile	ракета
<i>lenta</i>	tape	лента
<i>lubülli</i>	rouble	рубль
<i>maikka</i>	vest, T-shirt	майка
<i>mottocikhül</i>	motorcycle	мотоцикл
<i>norükkka</i>	mink	норка
<i>parankka</i>	ring-shaped roll	баранка
<i>pasa</i>	base; centre	база
<i>patton</i>	long loaf	батон
<i>pharütukhü</i>	small sack-shaped apron used for picking cotton	фартук
<i>pparanja</i>	yashmak	паранджа
<i>pparüccisan</i>	partisan	партизан
<i>pparücciya</i>	detachment, party	партия

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<i>pparükhü</i>	parking place	парк
<i>ppionerü</i>	pioneer	пионер
<i>ppirogü</i>	pie	пирог
<i>ppüllacciye</i>	dress	платье
<i>ppüllakkathü</i>	placard	плакат
<i>ppüllemum</i>	plenum	пленум
<i>pullochüikka</i>	roll (of bread)	булочка
<i>püllokhü</i>	bloc	блок
<i>püllusükka</i>	blouse	блузка
<i>pürigada</i>	working group	бригада
<i>pürigajirü</i>	brigade-leader	бригадир
<i>purüsua</i>	bourgeois	буржуа
<i>sahümathü</i>	chess	шахматы
<i>sakkethü</i>	jacket	жакет
<i>sasükki</i>	draughts	шашки (pl.)
<i>sokkolladü</i>	chocolate	шоколад
<i>ssambo</i>	<i>sambo</i> -wrestling	самбо
<i>ssekchiya</i>	section	секция
<i>ssessiya</i>	session	сессия
<i>ssophosü</i>	national farm, sovkhos	совхоз
<i>ssuhari</i>	dried crust	сухарь
<i>ssüllyothü</i>	meeting	слёт
<i>ttakssi</i>	taxi	такси
<i>ttorüthü</i>	cake, pastry	торт
<i>ttüressüthü</i>	trust (in economy)	трест
<i>wedüro</i>	bucket	ведро
<i>wilikka</i>	fork	вилка
<i>wimppel</i>	pennant	вымпел
<i>witamin</i>	vitamin	витамин
<i>yolkka</i>	fir tree	ёлка
<i>yollochüikka</i>	fir tree (diminutive)	ёлочка
<i>yumorü</i>	humour	юмор

2) Words from the field of culture

<i>akkorüdeon</i>	accordion	аккордеон
<i>chemppion</i>	champion	чемпион
<i>eccyudü</i>	short exercise	этюд
<i>essütürada</i>	stage	эстрада
<i>hokkei</i>	hockey	хоккей

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<i>inccelligenchiya</i>	intelligentsia	интеллигенция
<i>intterüwiyu</i>	interview	интервью
<i>kittara</i>	guitar	гитара
<i>kkakttusü</i>	cactus	кактус
<i>kkoncherüthü</i>	concert	концерт
<i>kkongkkurüssü</i>	contest	конкурс
<i>kkonpherenchiya</i>	conference	конференция
<i>küraphikhü</i>	graph	график
<i>küraphikka</i>	drawing	графика
<i>lepperüttuarü</i>	repertoire	репертуар
<i>lepporüttasü</i>	report	репортаж
<i>lidüm</i>	rhythm	ритм
<i>lüisi</i>	skis	лыжи
<i>ocherükhü</i>	essay	очерк
<i>payan</i>	(Russian) accordion	баян
<i>phellyetton</i>	topical satire	фельетон
<i>phondü</i>	fund	фонд
<i>phülleitta</i>	flute	флейта
<i>ppaphossü</i>	pathos	пафос
<i>ppellikkan</i>	pelican	пеликан
<i>ppüllasüma</i>	plasma	плазма
<i>ppürogüramma</i>	programme	программа
<i>sanürü</i>	genre	жанр
<i>ssimposium</i>	symposium	симпозиум
<i>ssüccenari</i>	scenario	сценарий
<i>ssüccil</i>	style	стиль
<i>ssükhüripkka</i>	violin	скрипка
<i>ssüpporüthü</i>	sport	спорт
<i>syusethü</i>	subject	сюжет
<i>ttenorü</i>	tenor	тенор
<i>ttürenyerü</i>	trainer	тренер
<i>wirussü</i>	virus	вирус

3) Words from the field of agriculture

<i>ccenttünyerü</i>	centner	центнер
<i>hüllebü</i>	bread	хлеб
<i>kekttarü</i>	hectare	гектар
<i>kkombain</i>	combine	комбайн

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<i>lukhũ</i>	onion	лук
<i>lyucherũna</i>	lucerne	люцерна
<i>morũkkowi</i>	carrot	морковь
<i>obũlleppiha</i>	sea buckthorn	облепиха
<i>phanyera</i>	vaneer	фанера
<i>pherũma</i>	farm, breeding place	ферма
<i>ppomidorũ</i>	tomato	помидор
<i>punkkerũ</i>	bunker	бункер
<i>ssenassũ</i>	grass hermetically dried in depository for fodder	сенаж
<i>ssillosũ</i>	silo	силос
<i>ssũirũ</i>	cheese	сыр
<i>uchassũttokhũ</i>	cultivated land, plot	участок

4) Words from the field of technology

<i>apparathũ</i>	apparatus	аппаратус
<i>arũmattura</i>	equipment	арматура
<i>ccementhũ</i>	cement	цемент
<i>ellewatorũ</i>	lift (for freight)	элеватор
<i>energiya</i>	energy	энергия
<i>kkalloriya</i>	calorie	калория
<i>kkeramikka</i>	ceramics	керамик
<i>kkillomettũrũ</i>	kilometre	километр
<i>kkillowathũ</i>	kilowatt	киловатт
<i>kkomppiyutterũ</i>	computer	компьютер
<i>kkonweiyerũ</i>	conveyor	конвейер
<i>massũccerũ</i>	master, expert	мастер
<i>mehanihhũ</i>	mechanic	механик
<i>mettũrũ</i>	metre	метр
<i>milliarũdũ</i>	milliard	миллиард
<i>millimettũrũ</i>	millimetre	миллиметр
<i>million</i>	million	миллион
<i>nassossũ</i>	pump	насос
<i>petton</i>	concrete (for building)	бетон
<i>ppudũ</i>	pud (16,38 kg)	пуд
<i>ssũttendũ</i>	stand (for displaying)	стенд
<i>teppo</i>	garage, workshop	депо
<i>ttũraktorũ</i>	tractor	трактор
<i>tturũbina</i>	turbine	турбина

5) Names of cities and countries

<i>aphinü</i>	Athens	Афины
<i>apssüttüriya</i>	Austria	Австрия
<i>arügenccina</i>	Argentina	Аргентина
<i>irüllanjiya</i>	Ireland	Ирландия
<i>issüllanjiya</i>	Iceland	Исландия
<i>kollanjiya</i>	Holland	Голландия
<i>pparisü</i>	Paris	Париж
<i>ppolsa</i>	Poland	Польша
<i>sottüllanjiya</i>	Scotland	Шотландия
<i>ssükiphü</i>	Scythia	Скиф
<i>taniya</i>	Denmark	Дания
<i>tturücciya</i>	Turkey	Турция
<i>wenggüriya</i>	Hungary	Венгрия
<i>yebüroppa</i>	Europe	Европа

In these loanwords the following features can be noticed:

- 1) The paragogic vowel *ü* is added at the end of syllables to avoid consonant clusters. Words ending in a single consonant, except in *-l*, *-m* or *-n*, also require an additional *ü*.
- 2) The Russian voiceless stops are written with double consonants in Korean, while the voiced ones are written with simple consonants.
- 3) Korean aspirated consonants are used to write the final *k* and *t* of Russian words. Russian *f* is replaced by Korean *ph*. In cases of Russian *kr-* and *kl-*, Korean *kh-* is used.
- 4) The Russian sibilants, i.e. *z*, *zh*, *s*, *sh* and affricates, i.e. *c* and *ch*, are expressed by *s*, *ss*, *s*, *cc* and *ch* respectively in Korean. Korean *cc* is also used to render the Russian palatalized *te* and *ti*.

4.2.3. Russian ways of expression

The influence of Russian is not only limited to the vocabulary, but can also be observed in various expressions, especially in the use of verbs. In many cases expressions are directly translated from Russian into Korean, and become established. The following examples can be mentioned (the standard Korean form is given in parentheses):

- 1) *cumogül tollida* 'to pay attention'³⁰¹ <обратить внимание (*cumogül hada*)
- 2) *sönggwarül cuössta* '(It) gave a result'³⁰² <дать результат

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(*songgwarül kajyö oda*)

3) *nyön'güm sainghwallo nagada*³⁰³ 'to retire on a pension'
< ПЕРЕЙТИ НА ПЕНСИЮ (*nyön'güm sainghware türögada*)

4) *yökhärül nolda* 'to play a role'³⁰⁴ < ИГРАТЬ РОЛЬ (*norüsül hada*)

5) *sahümathürül nolda* 'to play chess'³⁰⁵ < ИГРАТЬ В ШАХМАТЫ (*canggirül tuda*)

6) *canyödürege kodüng cisigül cuda* 'to give children higher education'³⁰⁶ < ДАТЬ ДЕТЯМ ВЫШЕЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ (*canyödürege kodüng kyoyugül sikhida*).

The use of the conditional converb in *-myön* has partly changed. In standard Korean it is almost exclusively used in the sense of condition, but in Central Asian Korean it is also used in the sense of comparison, very possibly due to Russian influence:

*1939 nyöne usübekkissüttanesonün 1000 myöngdang 4 myöng'i kodüng kyoyugül padassko 51 myöng'i cungdüng kyoyugül padasstamyön 1979 nyöne silsidoin in'gu cosa'e üihamyön kodüng kyoyukkwa cundüngmich cömun cungdüng kyoyugül padün saramdüri kakkak 1000 myöngdang 58 myöng, 348 myöng iyössüpnida.*³⁰⁷

'If, in 1939, out of 1,000 people, 4 received higher education and 51 middle education in Uzbekistan, according to the 1979 census it became apparent that the corresponding numbers were 58 and 348 respectively.'

In this case another verbal ending, *-(ü)n daisin*, would be used in standard Korean.

Another new aspect in this connection is the application of the western-style 3-digit way of calculation, the Korean word *man* '10,000' is replaced by *10 chön* '10 thousand', and *10 man* '100,000' by *100 chön* '100 thousand'. This method appears to have arisen through Russian influence. As a result of this the Korean word *man* has seemingly disappeared as a unit of calculation.

4.3. Vocabulary borrowed from Turkic languages

The movement of Koreans to Central Asia in 1937 introduced a third element into their language besides Russian. This element includes Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirgiz, Turkmen and Tadzhik, etc. according to the area where Koreans happen to live. Dzharlygasinova mentions that almost all Koreans who have attended local schools can speak a third language, e.g. Karakalpak, Uzbek or Kazakh.³⁰⁸ Since Turks have a different life style and customs, Koreans naturally borrowed such expressions for which their language has

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no suitable equivalent. On the other hand, presumably Korean might in its turn give words to the neighbouring Turkic languages, a study of which, however, has not yet been carried out. It is also difficult to know how extensively Turkic words are used and how deeply they have taken root in Central Asiatic Korean. The estimated number of Turkic loanwords in Korean is around 30, although this number is probably increasing. In the following, Turkic loanwords attested in Korean publications in Central Asia are given:

- 1) *akka* 'uncle' (< kaz. *aga*); *yakkobŭ akka* 'uncle Jacob'; *nikkolai akkaga malhaisstamyŏn* 'if uncle Nicholas has said'³⁰⁹
- 2) *aksakkal*, original meaning 'white beard', then 'white-haired old man', 'village elder'³¹⁰
- 3) *appa* 'aunt' (< kaz. *aba*)³¹¹
- 4) *chaihana* 'teahouse'³¹²
- 5) *hosarŭ* 'collective help'³¹³
- 6) *ichigi*, originally 'women's felt overcoat for winter', now seemingly 'lambskin shoes'³¹⁴
- 7) *kkethŭmen*: Middle Turkic *kätmän* 'shovel', in present-day Turkic languages 'hook' or 'hoe'. The Korean form does not reveal the donor language. The meaning differs perhaps according to the language from which it has been borrowed.³¹⁵
- 8) *kkisŭllakhŭ* 'village', Turkic *kishlak* 'winter camp', possibly borrowed through Russian, where *КИШЛАК* means 'Central Asiatic village' in general.³¹⁶
- 9) *mahallya* 'dwelling quarter', an Arabic word introduced into Central Asiatic Korean through Turkic, possibly Uzbek.³¹⁷
- 10) *manttŭi* 'bun stuffed with seasoned meat and vegetables', Koreans in Korea enjoy the same food in various forms, and it is called *mandu* in standard Korean, but in the Northern Hamgyŏng dialect, e.g. *manthu*, *manthi*, *painse*, *pensye*; the form used in Central Asiatic Korean seems to have been borrowed from the Kazakh form *mant*.³¹⁸
- 11) *ssŭirŭmakhŭ*: "The *ssŭirŭmakhŭ* (lambskin carpet) which was made by *Nagim Omargaliyeva*, a genius of the Sovkhoz named after the *Communist Youth League of Kazakhstan*, even impressed the *aksakal* ('village elder'). The white *ssŭirŭmakhŭ* woven by her talented hands were matchlessly beautiful."³¹⁹ This word seems not to have become established yet, because an explanation was given in parentheses.
- 12) *toira* 'tambourine' (< Uzb. *doira*); since the word *toira* is alien to Central Asiatic Koreans, the Korean word meaning 'drum' is usually added: *toira puksori* 'the sound of *doira* (literally 'the *doira*-drum)'³²⁰
- 13) *ttauttekke*, possibly borrowed from Kazakh *tautekă* 'wild goat' (*tau* 'mountain', *tekă* 'goat')³²¹
- 14) *ttoi* 'party', from the written materials available in Korean it cannot be confirmed

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whether the word means particularly 'wedding party' as it does in Turkic languages³²²

15) *tusūman* originally 'enemy', in Central Asiatic Korean often used in texts about the Soviet army in Afghanistan denoting the Muslim rebels; possibly borrowed from the Uzbek form *dushman*³²³

16) *tuttara* 'two-stringed guitar' (< Kaz. *dudar*).³²⁴

There are also Turkish loanwords in Central Asiatic Korean whose meanings are explained in Korean after the words. Probably this means that such words are not yet widely used. Some example:

ssakssaul 'Salsola arbustris' (< Uzb. *saksaul*); cf. Kaz. *säksäül* 'der Saksaul (ein Baum)³²⁵

tossüittükhü 'friendship' (< Kaz. *dostyk*)³²⁶

tasüllakhü 'stony land' (< Uzb. *toshlok*)³²⁷

A considerable number of words of Turkic origin, which were borrowed long ago through Russian, are found in Central Asiatic Korean :

<u>Korean</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>Russian</u>
<i>aul</i>	aul, village	аул
<i>ccyubecceikka</i>	(embroidered) skullcap	тюбетейка
<i>chaban</i>	shepherd	чабан
<i>chinara</i>	plane (tree)	чинар
<i>kkenaphü</i>	kenaf	кенаф
<i>kkümüissü</i>	koumiss	кумыс
<i>lapsa</i>	noodles	лапша
<i>pparanja</i>	veil of Muslim women	паранджа
<i>ppelmeni</i>	Siberian meat dumplings	пельмени (pl.)
<i>yurütta</i>	yurt	юрта

It seems to take quite a long time for Koreans to adopt new words and for them to become established in daily usage, e.g. the vocabulary necessary after the Koreans began to have contacts with herding, which hitherto had been completely unfamiliar to them. Kim O. mentions that some names of Uzbek dishes are widely used among the *Koryō Saram*.³²⁸ Describing *Kazakhisms* in Korean, Khasanov explains how Koreans pronounce Kazakh words. For example, Koreans replace the Kazakh phonemes *s* and *b* with *ś* and *p* respectively: *chaban* 'herd' - *chapān*, *besbarmak* 'авраамово дерество' - *pesibarmaky*, *Ush-Tobe* (name of city) - *Ustobe*. Koreans use *kk* to represent the Kazakh uvular *q*: *qurt* 'worm' - *kkurtü* and *aqyn* 'poet' - *akkün*, etc.

Korean also has the dental nasal sound *n*, but Koreans pronounce the Kazakh word final *n* as *ng*: *ayran* 'a cool drink made of yoghurt and water' - *ayrang* and *shaytan* 'Satan' - *saytang*.³²⁹ The influence of neighbouring languages can probably also be found in morphology. In Turkic languages, in order to emphasize some adjectives, particularly terms related to colours, the first syllable is reduplicated. Perhaps under this influence the new Korean expression *sairok sairoun* 'brand new' (*sairoun* 'new') developed.³³⁰ The instability of the Turkic influence upon Korean is also evinced in transliterations of Turkic words into Korean, e.g. *pahüpahüccinssükki* or *pakpakccinssükki* for the Bakhbaktinskiy Sovkhoz.³³¹

The influence of Korean upon neighbouring Turkic languages begins to be discernible among the local people in daily life. This mainly concerns terms for Korean dishes, e.g. in Kazakhstan: *guksi* 'Korean noodle', *häzaburi* 'a kind of bread made of sunflower seed powder with flour', *zimchi* 'kimchi (Korean seasoned pickles)'.³³² Characteristically these words represent forms of the Northern Hamgyong dialect. The situation in Uzbekistan is believed to be similar because some Korean dishes, including *kimchi*, are sold in market places in Tashkent and Samarkand.

In the future it is to be expected that Central Asiatic Korean will borrow many new words from neighbouring languages and that also changes in grammar will occur. In such a trilingual situation a mixing of the different languages is quite understandable. This phenomenon is still more prominent when a speaker has a weak knowledge of his mother tongue and only rare opportunities to use it.³³³ Occasionally Central Asiatic Korean may differ from that of the Korean peninsula to such an extent that mutual comprehension is affected.

4.4. Education in the Korean language

4.4.1. Situation before 1937 and in the 1940s

Before the transfer to Central Asia in 1937, Koreans were able to develop education in their mother tongue considerably. From 1923 Koreans in the Far East received education in their language and alphabet under the new socialist system. This required a unified orthography for the Soviet Koreans, which was formed after several meetings in 1930.³³⁴ At the same time a large-scale campaign was carried out to eliminate illiteracy among Koreans, especially women.³³⁵ Textbooks and other books for the general reader were published in the new orthography in the 1930s. For this reason, the early 1930s can be considered a period of enlightenment for Soviet Koreans. Accordingly, the level of their education rose in the Far East, as the following figures on educational institutions well show (in parentheses the number of pupils):³³⁶

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- elementary schools	132 (11,473)
- middle schools	18 (2,742)
- high schools	3
- pedagogical special schools	1
- pedagogical labour schools	1
- pedagogical institutes	1
- reading rooms	57
- clubs	12
- party schools	1
- newspapers	1

If we assume that there were around 200,000 Koreans in the middle of the 1930s in the Far East, the number of people who attended schools is almost 8-10% of the whole population.

It is still not possible to find material about the educational situation of Koreans, especially concerning education in the mother tongue, immediately after the 1937 transfer. Kye Pong-u mentions in his manuscript of 1948 that the education of Koreans took place in Russian during the preceding ten years in Kazakhstan. According to Kye, a Korean language textbook intended for fifth year schoolchildren was compiled in Uzbekistan in 1947. Soon after this, while living in Kzyl-Orda in January 1947, Kye was asked to compile a Korean reader for schools by an official from the Ministry of Education of Kazakhstan. Kye made a plan for teaching Korean to 5th-10th year schoolchildren and began to write accordingly. But suddenly, presumably as early as in 1947, the courses stopped and the textbook plan was shelved. Kye asks :

"Why had this question arisen so suddenly and vanished so silently? I could only wonder why."³³⁷

His manuscript reveals that at least in the 1940s there had been Korean schools in Kazakhstan, but it is not clear how many and for how long they had existed, because generally Koreans had settled among other nationalities and were widely scattered. It can also be assumed that in the first half of the 1940s the Soviet authorities would not have had time to think about the teaching of Korean at schools in Central Asia due to the War. Kye's manuscript thus explains that after the War the problem of Korean language courses would have been treated on a republic level .

4.4.2. Present situation

It is not clear whether Kye means a total abolition of Korean language courses or not. Anyway, at least in Uzbekistan the teaching of Korean has continued at schools even in the 1960s, judging from the textbook *Cosõnõ Kyogwasõ* with an edition of 20,000 copies, published by Kim Nam-sõk and M. Khegay. It was intended for children of the 3rd-4th grades, i.e. pupils 9-10 years of age. With a total of 175 pages the book consists

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of two parts: one for the third and the other for the fourth grade, with 65 lessons altogether. Each lesson takes almost one page, and a nine page *Korean-Russian Glossary* is appended. This seems to be the only textbook ever published in Soviet Central Asia for Korean language courses at schools. Judging from this, it appears that Korean is not taught to children other than in the third and fourth grades.

Li Nadezhda, who has been working as a teacher of Korean and Russian at the No. 213 school of the City of Tashkent for almost 25 years, reveals the position of Korean courses in some Tashkent schools in a touching article in *Lenin Kichi* entitled "*Let's Trust and Wait*".³³⁸ She became a teacher after having been greatly impressed by her own Korean teacher, Kim Nam-sök while she was in the fourth grade of the same school where she is now working. She remembers her teacher as follows:

"Every day he patiently encouraged pupils to love their mother tongue and taught that language is the spirit of a people and the base of the culture and art for each nation."

Upon the advice of her teacher, Li organized a Korean Language Club at her school. She continues about the activities of this club (*kruzhok*):

"All the pupils of our school belong to the *kruzhok*. At the *kruzhok* pupils read old Korean texts, translate them into Russian, recite poems, learn national dances, act short plays and publish posters. A few years ago we took part in a television programme called "*We Are Internationalists*". This was very interesting. The children were very happy preparing national costumes, singing Korean songs and dancing Korean dances."

Contrary to this, Korean cannot be taught in the No. 215 and No. 218 schools due to the unavailability of teachers. For this reason, the educational department of the City of Tashkent appointed Li Nadezhda as teacher of Korean at the No. 218 school too, but she had to leave after a year being overburdened with work. She asked the question "*Is This Tolerable?*" after having stated that the knowledge of Korean of the pupils at the No. 218 school, where each class included around 10-15 Korean pupils, was very low, and she wondered the reason for it. She tries to explain the present situation in the following words:

"Just as all matters evoke questions to be answered and defects to be corrected, so I also have difficulties and problems in my work. First of all the textbook is completely unavailable since it has not been republished a single time during the 18 years after its first printing. Besides this we have a shortage of other textbooks, manuals and records for teaching, dictionaries and literary works..."

Li seems to have called her article "*Let's Trust and Wait*" just for this reason.

After Li's article had been published, the Ministry of Education of Uzbekistan issued this instruction:³³⁹

"A 36-hour seminar will be held at the beginning of the 1983-1984 school year at the Tashkent Oblast Teacher's Training Institute for teachers of Korean. Questions about the improvement of teaching methods for Korean will be discussed at the seminar."

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It is planned that in 1985 a textbook of Korean for pupils in the third and fourth grades (authors: Kim Nam-sök and M. Khegay) and a short description of the Korean language will be published.

The Ministry of Education of Uzbekistan gave instructions to the City and the Oblast Teachers' Training Institute to organize a group which will plan teaching methods for Korean language teachers in Tashkent and Tashkent Oblast..."

We do not have any information about whether the above-mentioned seminar was held and whether the textbook in question was published or not. Li Nadezhda's article is almost unique about the situation of Korean language courses in Uzbekistan in the 1980s. After Li's article it is very rare that anything can be found in *Lenin Kichi* which might shed some light on this problem. Recently it was reported that teachers of Korean are educated at the department of Korean language and literature at the Tashkent Pedagogical Institute named after *Nizami*.³⁴⁰ However, it is understood that this is planned to train teachers not only of Korean, but also of Russian.³⁴¹ The department was apparently established around 1955, and now Kang Vladimir, who replaced Kim Pyöng-su, is working there as a teacher. The degree requires 5 years of study and the curriculum has sometimes even included classical Korean works.

At this moment there are around 20 students studying Korean there. However, education is almost at elementary school level, because the students have probably not, or at most in name only, received education in Korean at school, before entering the institute. It is known that there is a shortage of teaching materials and that the teacher, Kang V.F., who is in his 60s, is from Sakhalin, which means that among Koreans in Central Asia it is no longer easy to find a suitable teacher. One may ask at which schools the present students will be able to teach Korean when they graduate from the institute. Is it planned that they teach more Russian than Korean, as Korean textbooks for children are almost unavailable? This might be likely.

At how many schools, then, is Korean taught in Uzbekistan, and is it compulsory? There are no reliable sources available. At least it can be assumed that at those schools where Korean children are relatively numerous, the language might be taught. Besides the schools mentioned above in Li Nadezhda's article, Korean is taught at the No. 19 school named after *Frunze* on the *Politotdel* Kolkhoz in the Kommunisticheskiy Rayon.³⁴² It is also reported that at the No. 16 middle school of the same rayon in Tashkent Oblast, Choi Aleksey Antonovich teaches Korean even though he is now a pensioner.³⁴³ At the school of the Kolkhoz named after *Kim Pyöng-hwa* near Tashkent, Korean has presumably no longer been compulsory since the beginning of the 1970s.³⁴⁴ This means that education in Korean is diminishing rapidly. This would also be the reason why the textbook, *Cosönö Kyogwasö*, is not reprinted.

But the situation in Kazakhstan seems to be different from that in Uzbekistan.

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According to materials available so far, it seems that there is no Korean school nor is Korean taught in Kazakhstan at present.³⁴⁵ How, then, can this situation be explained taking into account that Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, is known to be the cultural centre of the *Koryŏ Saram*? It is in Alma-Ata that the Korean newspaper is published, the Korean Theatre is working and radio programmes in Korean are broadcast. So, where are people found who are capable of doing work that requires a good command of Korean? What is the reason for so abruptly stopping the teaching of Korean in the 1940s? Did Kazakhstan pursue a different educational policy towards its minorities? We do not yet have reliable answers to these questions.

The present situation of Korean courses in Kazakhstan is well shown in the round-table dialogue which was arranged by *Prostor*, Organ of the Union of Kazakhstan Writers on Literature, Art and Social Economy: on this occasion Han Cin, a Korean writer, spoke as follows:³⁴⁶

"Korean is not taught anywhere to youngsters nor to adults, and specialists on Korean culture are not educated at school nor at university. For the time being, Soviet literature is created in 78 languages but a real danger exists that in the near future it will be written in 77 languages."

Who bears responsibility for the present situation of the teaching of Korean in Central Asia? Are the Soviet authorities alone responsible for it? Do Central Asiatic Koreans also have to carry responsibility for it to some extent? In the situation when Koreans were transferred and scattered over a large area, the most important thing was to survive rather than to preserve their identity. It is quite probable that the *Koryŏ Saram* had to pay more attention to Russian than to Korean in order to manage in Soviet society where Korean has almost no significance. Statistics also show that the *Koryŏ Saram* speak Russian best among Central Asian nationalities the percentage being 44.4%, cf. e.g. Kazakh 2.0%, Uzbek 0.6%, Kirgiz 0.5%.³⁴⁷ This is high even among other nationalities of the Soviet Union, cf. Jews 83.3%, Greeks 56.8%, Karelians 44.1%, Germans 42.6%, Bulgarians 29.1%, Mordvins 27.4%, etc.

In other words, it can be said that the *Koryo Saram* have been more interested in individual success in society than in saving the Korean language. Politically the fact that Koreans do not form any kind of autonomous administrative unit, e.g. an autonomous region or a republic, might have had an effect on this matter. There is also a theory that the Koreans themselves did not want to form their own separate administrative unit, insisting that by doing so, success in life would be limited only to that region. This seems not to be true if one considers the case of the Korean minority in China. According to the 1982 census, the number of Koreans in China was 1,765,204, of which more than 42% live in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous District. Besides this, Koreans have the Changbai Korean Autonomous Xian. The remainder is scattered mainly in the three so-called North-East Provinces (Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning), Inner Mongolia, and major

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cities like Beijing, Shanghai, etc.³⁴⁸ In the autonomous district and *xian*, the first official language is Korean and Koreans have their own educational institutions from primary schools to university. Korean students as well as other minorities in China can take the university entrance examination in their mother tongue.³⁴⁹ At least 38 different magazines were published in Korean in 1986, which does not include internal magazines published by the Yanbian University and other cultural institutions. It is known that Koreans are educationally superior in comparison with the Han nationality (i.e. the Chinese proper) as well as with other minorities in China. It would not be an exaggeration to presume that if Koreans in Soviet Central Asia had their own autonomous unit, the situation of their language would be completely different from the present one, nor would they lose the possibility of working equally with other nationalities.

It is difficult to speak with any certainty about the development of the Korean literary language in the Soviet Union.³⁵⁰ Koreans there receive their education and write in Russian, and Russian is spoken at work, so actually the literary language of Koreans is Russian. Consequently, the use of Korean is confined to homes, to areas where Koreans live more densely and to schools where the language is taught. Whether Korean will fade away in the future or not is completely dependent on the readiness and decision of the Soviet authorities to develop education in it.

4.5. The Korean newspaper *Lenin Kichi*

There are two Korean language newspapers in the Soviet Union: the interrepublican *Lenin Kichi* 'The Flag of Lenin', and *Leninüi Killo* 'Along the Way of Lenin', Organ of the Party Committee of Sakhalin Oblast.³⁵¹

4.5.1. History and present situation

Before the October Revolution, various Korean newspapers, e.g. *Haijo Sinmun*, *Taidong Kongbo*, were published in the Far East, mainly in Vladivostok. These newspapers played an important role not only in distributing news about Koreans but also in increasing their general level of civilization and in forwarding the struggle against the Japanese occupation of Korea. However, none of these newspapers continued to be published after the October Revolution. In accordance with the formation of the Soviet Union, a new Korean newspaper, *Sönbong* 'Vanguard', began to appear from March, 1923, at the beginning in Vladivostok (cf. ill. 27). It was the Organ of the Korean Section of the Provincial Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Орган Корсекции Губкома РКП). At first it was written vertically from right to left, but purely in *Han' gül*.

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Probably starting in 1929, *Sönbong* was published in Khabarovsk as an Organ of the Far Eastern Territory Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Far Eastern Territory Committee of the Association of Trade Unions [Орган Далькрайкома ВКП(б) и Далькрайсовпрофа] (cf. ill. 28). It was written horizontally from left to right, appearing at this time twice a week. Only a little later, probably from 1930, it was published every other day. By 1932 altogether 6 journals and 7 newspapers were published in Korean in the Far East including *Sönbong*, *Munhwa* 'Culture', *Sai Segye* 'New World', *Lodongja* 'Worker', *Lonong Sinmun* 'Peasants' News', *Työksöng* 'Red Star', etc.³⁵² Among these, *Sönbong* was known to have played the most important role in cultural life and in the mobilization of workers for the accomplishment of five-year plans. Among others, *Li Söng* and *Li Paik-cho* worked as editors-in-chief of *Sönbong*.

With the transfer of 1937, *Sönbong* ceased to come out, possibly in September of that year (cf. ill. 29). During the last few years of publication it was the Organ of the Far Eastern Territory Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) [Орган ДКК ВКП(б)]. Instead of *Sönbong*, a new paper in Korean began to appear in Kzyl-Orda, Kazakhstan, from May 15, 1938, as an Oblast newspaper entitled *Leninüi Küichi* (cf. ill. 30), i. e. the present *Lenin Kichi*.³⁵³ The first editor-in-chief was Sö Cai-uk. It moved to its present place in Alma-Ata in 1978. It contains 4 pages and the text is written exclusively in *Han'gül*, horizontally from left to right. It is published five times a week, not on Sundays or Mondays, being the same size as *Pravda*. Nowadays *Lenin Kichi* is not an organ of any political organization as *Sönbong* was, but only an interrepublic newspaper. It should be mentioned that *Lenin Kichi* is the oldest newspaper in the world published purely in Korean letters.³⁵⁴ On the occasion of its 10,000th issue on the June 21, 1983 (cf. ill. 31), the Kazakh Republic awarded a Certificate of Honour of the Kazakh Republic's Supreme Soviet Standing Committee to *Lenin Kichi*.³⁵⁵

Some questions arise. For what reason was the name *Sönbong* not used after the 1937 transfer? Why is there no other Korean newspaper in any other part of Central Asia, except in Alma-Ata? Why is *Lenin Kichi* an interrepublic newspaper, the newspapers of other small nationalities in Kazakhstan being intrarepublic ones? The answer to the first question could be that the Soviet authorities in Moscow did not permit the use of the same name. After 1937 Koreans began to live in all of the republics of Central Asia, mainly in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. It was, of course, natural to think that Uzbekistan Koreans with the greatest population would also have their own newspaper, as Kazakhstan Koreans do. In that case it would have meant that every republic in Central Asia had its own Korean newspaper, which was seemingly not acceptable to the Soviet authorities. In order to solve this problem the authorities were said to have given the status of an interrepublic newspaper to *Lenin Kichi* and at the same time refused to grant permission

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to other republics. This can also explain the fact that among newspapers published in minority languages such as Uighur, German and Arabic, etc. in Kazakhstan only *Lenin Kichi* has the status of an interrepublic newspaper the others being only republic ones.

The circulation of *Lenin Kichi* is continuously decreasing as the following numbers indicate:

1973	13,500 ³⁵⁶
1979	11,000 ³⁵⁷
1987	9,603 ³⁵⁸

Lenin Kichi has six typesetting machines, from which the newspaper is produced by the offset printing method. The printing machine is known to be of Japanese make. The subscription fee is 55 kopeks a month, 1 rouble and 65 kopeks for three months, 3 roubles and 30 kopeks for six months and 6 roubles and 60 kopeks for 12 months. Its account number is 65363.

The organization comprises departments of party life, propaganda and international news, agriculture, industry, culture, arts, letters and public works and an editorial bureau. Besides these, there are also employees working as photographers, proof-readers and graphic artists. The editor-in-chief is Han Innokentiy P. and vice-editors-in-chief are Yun Su-chan and Co Yöng-hwan. The number of staff is known to be 53, of whom around one third are women.³⁵⁹ *Lenin Kichi* has a branch office in Tashkent and correspondents in Kzyl-Orda and Celinograd, where Koreans live in large numbers. In cities of neighbouring republics, such as Dushanbe and Frunze, etc. *Lenin Kichi* has regular correspondents. They do not only cover the areas where they live but also the neighbouring Oblasts. Besides these, there are so-called "freelance reporters" (*cigoi kija*) who have their own jobs but write articles for *Lenin Kichi*.

The following are correspondents (together with the cities they cover): Cöng Sang-jin (Dushanbe), Kim Yong-thaik (Tashkent, Chirchik, Bekabad), etc., reporters are: Cön Apollon (Frunze), Han Apollon (Navoi, Syr-Darya), Kim Boris (Ushtobe, Taldy-Kurgan, Balkhash), Kim Brut (Andizhan, Fergana, Namangan), Kim Ki-wön (Kzyl-Orda, Chimkent), Kim Vladimir (Tashkent), Li Vladimir (Tashkent, Karshi, Bukhara, Samarkand), Li Yöng-gwang (Nukus, Khorezm), Son Vladimir (Celinograd, Karaganda), etc., freelance reporters are: Choi Mi-ok (Alma-Ata), Choi Vladimir (Osh, Frunze), Ko Lev (Kzyl-Orda), Pak Konstantin, No Dmitriy (Dzhambul), etc.

Besides the above-mentioned reporters, there are people whose names are written at the end of articles and who are presented as "a reporter of this office", which can be understood to mean that they are working at the head office of *Lenin Kichi*.³⁶⁰ Those whose names appear often are the following: Kim Cong-hun (culture), Kim Man-su (sports), Kim Chun-sun, Li Chun-gön (culture), Li Zoya (senior corrector), Lyang Wön-sik, Nam Hai-yön (culture), etc. A. Orlov, Kh. Khusainov and others are responsible for photographs and Cöng Thai-hong for graphics. Other workers are An Venera, Nam

Irma, Pak Lyudmila (typesetters), etc.

4.5.2. Function and perspectives

Lenin Kichi has following goals for its activities:³⁶¹

- 1) to make the decisions of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union known to readers,
- 2) to distribute domestic and foreign news,
- 3) to agitate people to carry out official resolutions,
- 4) to make the life style of other Soviet nationalities known.

One of the most important works of *Lenin Kichi* is considered to be the propagation of the internationalistic way of life of Soviet citizens, for which purpose every month a special page is published with the title of *Chinsönüi Pichpal Arai Kyölsoktoin Taminjok Kajöng'esö* 'In the multinational family strengthened under the ray of friendship'. To further patriotic education, a standing theme *Naiü Coguk—Widaihan Ssoryön* 'Our Fatherland—the Great Soviet Union' is treated.³⁶²

Lenin Kichi's activities also include other work than just publishing the paper. For example, it has arranged a conference for readers in cooperation with the Party Committee of Kzyl-Orda to strengthen the relationship between the paper and readers in carrying out the decisions of the 27th Party Congress. Recently another readers' conference was arranged at the building of *Lenin Kichi*, where the following question was dealt with: what does our newspaper do to agitate the people in carrying out reconstruction (**perestroyka*) of the Party? The newspaper answers this question as follows:³⁶³

"We will try to show the practical efforts of the Soviet people who are creating both material and spiritual achievements by carrying out *perestroyka*. We will propagate positive experiences and results, overcome such negative phenomena as difficulties and stagnation, etc., take an active attitude towards life and actively participate in the programmes of the Party and Soviets."

Lenin Kichi is one of the three cultural pillars of the *Koryö Saram*, together with the Korean Theatre and radio broadcasts in Korean. Since there are only a few other regular publications in Korean in Central Asia, *Lenin Kichi* plays a more significant role than is usually attributed to newspapers among Koreans. It also has the role of building the Korean literary language in Central Asia, as Koreans can have almost daily contact with it. The *Literary Page*, which is published approximately once a month with a whole page dedicated to it, gives Soviet Korean writers and poets a unique possibility to publish their works. In the *Literary Page*, Korean writers, not only in Central Asia but also in other parts of the Soviet Union, contribute their poems, novellas, literary lectures and

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book reviews, etc. Koreans living scattered over wide areas of the Soviet Union also get to know about each other through this newspaper. Cu Tong-il characterizes *Lenin Kichi* as follows:³⁶⁴

"We are proud of the fact that *Lenin Kichi*, which is fully specialized in themes, simultaneously has the characteristics of a national newspaper."

Now and then *Lenin Kichi* also publishes readers' opinions. On the occasion of the *Day of Publishing* (May 4), 1986, Pang Aleksey from Samarkand said that *Lenin Kichi* gives valuable information about the history of Koreans in the Soviet Union, which is not well known to all of them. As an example, the case of the Sakhalin Koreans was mentioned. Koreans in the Soviet Union are of the opinion that their life has much improved compared to that of forty or fifty years ago, and *Lenin Kichi* is a source of national feeling and intellectual wealth. Readers say that the language used in the newspaper is sometimes not easily comprehensible and that issues are not always delivered.³⁶⁵

In the opinion of Yŏn Sŏng-yong, a Korean poet, *Lenin Kichi* is the most popular newspaper for the half million Soviet Koreans and a mirror of the development of Korean literature in the Soviet Union. It relates the contributions of Koreans to the performance of the socialist tasks proclaimed by the Soviet Communist Party. It reflects the activities of Korean writers and the Korean theatre. The *Literary Page* is said to be like an oasis to travellers in the desert. Yŏn emphasizes that the work by the staff of *Lenin Kichi* deserves to be praised, because they translate decisions, speeches and other political materials by the Central Committee of the Party or Session of the Supreme Soviet, etc. in one night from Russian into Korean and publish them the next day. That is why readers should not complain about difficult expressions which appear now and then. At the same time, Yŏn also asks the newspaper to try to choose easier words. As for the composition of the newspaper he said that it is satisfactory.³⁶⁶

Above, we have seen that Korean is hardly taught at all in Central Asia. Then, one may ask who and how many people really read *Lenin Kichi*? Can it survive? After having visited the Tashkent bazaar and having seen a copy of *Lenin Kichi* being used to wrap corn, not for reading purposes, Ross King writes as follows:³⁶⁷

"I believe the answer to the question 'how well do Soviet Koreans read Korean?' (even if they can read, what is there to read besides *Lenin Kichi*?) and 'how much are they exposed to standardizing influences?' must be 'not very well, if at all' and 'not very much'."

One cannot completely agree with the opinion of King, but it seems that he is right to a certain extent taking into consideration the fact that the number of Koreans in Central Asia who can read and write Korean is continuously decreasing. It is quite natural that those members of the younger generation who consider Russian to be their mother tongue

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cannot nor will be able to read *Lenin Kichi*.

Who will continue to publish *Lenin Kichi* after the retirement of the present staff? The prospects cannot be very bright unless general education in the Korean language is started as early as possible for the younger generation and their interest towards their mother tongue and the newspaper begins to increase. It is also understood that close on 90% of readers' letters delivered to *Lenin Kichi* are written in Russian. Recently it was reported that Koreans who took part in the readers' conference arranged by *Lenin Kichi* suggested the teaching of Korean through the newspaper.³⁶⁸

4.6. Broadcasts in Korean

It is known that there were broadcasts in Korean on the oblast level as early as the 1950s in oblasts such as Kzyl-Orda etc. But radio broadcasts in Korean through the Kazakh Radio started on the May 16, 1984. At first the broadcast was transmitted twice a week; on Sundays and Wednesdays. The broadcasting time was between 15.30 and 16.00 on Wednesdays, and 14.00 and 14.30 on Sundays, Alma-Ata time. The frequencies were 273.22, 57.03, 31.56 and 59.58 MHz on the second programme "*Shalkar*" of the Kazakh Republic Radio.³⁶⁹ But, from the beginning of 1985, the broadcasting time has been changed in such a way that one hour a week of programme time is divided between three days: on Wednesdays and Fridays between 14.40 and 15.00, and on Sundays between 15.40 and 16.00 (cf. ill. 32). Broadcasts in Korean are now also transmitted through the first programme of the Kazakh Republic Radio.³⁷⁰

The Korean programme includes news on the resolutions of the party, current news analyses, Soviet life style, material on the victories of workers, the appearance of artists from the Korean Theatre and art groups and Korean writers as well as favourite songs and Korean music. The first programme on May 16, 1984, transmitted the discussion between Co Cǒng-gu, Director of the Korean Theatre, and Han Innokentiy, Editor-in-Chief of *Lenin Kichi*, on the accomplishments of the socialist economy as well as introducing Kim Alla, a fowl-breeder on the Ushtobinskiy Sovkhoz. It was revealed in this programme that there are 52 Korean Heroes of Labour in Kazakhstan.³⁷¹

The address of the Korean Radio is:³⁷²

Department of the Korean Language in the Kazakh Republic
Mir Avenue No. 175
480031 Alma-Ata.

As for workers at the department, Choi Yǒng-gǔn is the chief of broadcasts in Korean, Pak Yong-jun and Choi Mi-ok are reporters.³⁷³ Kim Ok-lyǒ (cf. ill. 33) has been working as an announcer from its inception and T. Smailov is in charge of recording.³⁷⁴

According to the investigation carried out in oblasts like Taldy-Kurgan, Chimkent

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and Dzhambul where the density of Koreans is rather high, programmes which deal with famous Soviet personalities, national cultural development and people with interesting careers attract most listeners. During three years of activity the broadcasts in Korean introduced people like Choi Phil-mu, Hero of Socialist Labour, Ci Nataliya Anatoliyevna, chief of the hatching department at the Sovkhoz named after *Pravda* in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast and also deputy of the All-Union Women's Soviet, Kim Erast Aleksandrovich, rice cultivator on *Ushtobinskiy* Sovkhoz in Taldy-Kurgan and member of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, Hwang Un-jǒng, an old party member who fought for the establishment of Soviet power in the Far East in the 1920s, and Kim Yefrem, rice cultivator on the Sovkhoz named after *Kalinin* and deputy of the 16th Party Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party.

From the beginning the broadcasts in Korean have also maintained close contacts with famous Korean writers, artists and scientists, etc., of whom the following can be mentioned: Li Ham-dǒk, People's Actress of Kazakhstan, the writer Yǒn Sǒng-yong, the historian Hwang Boris Sergeyeovich, Sim Pavel Semyonovich, Doctor of Economic Sciences, and Hwang Mikhail Vasil'yevich (cf. ill. 34), Doctor of Biological Sciences, etc.³⁷⁵ For three years, the radio has been transmitting E. Khasangaliyev's songs 'Village — You are My Song' (Аула — Ты Моя Песня) and 'Bostorgay' (a kind of lark living in the Kazakhstan countryside). As for things to be developed, the shortage of critical material and themes for youngsters as well as the geographical limitedness of the radio transmissions can be mentioned. The staff of the Korean language service consider that their task is to promote reconstruction (**perestroyka*), which is proceeding in both the socio-economic and ideological life of Soviet society, and make it known more profoundly and to a wider audience.³⁷⁶

The Korean language broadcasts mean that a new medium connecting Koreans in Central Asia has come into existence. Although the broadcasting time is limited to one hour a week in all, they certainly incite a tremendous response. Since these broadcasts are aimed purely at Koreans in Central Asia, it might also be a useful source in following their situation. At the request of many listeners, the radio began to teach Korean on Sundays from March, 1987, for those Koreans who do not know the language well.³⁷⁷ This can be considered great progress for Korean radio broadcasts.

NOTES

269. Население СССР 1983, pp. 128-129.

270. Kim Thai-gyun, *Hambuk Pang'ǒn Sajǒn*. Seoul 1986. 596 p. All Kim's informants were people who came to the south before or during the Korean War and whose average age was over 60. Accordingly, none of them has had any contact with their home dialect for over 30 years. The works of Kim Hyǒng-gyu and Choi Hak-kǔn contain some material on the Hamgyǒng dialect. Ross King considers Ramsey the first scholar who has treated the Hamgyǒng dialect in a comprehensive fashion after the war, which is

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- understood to mean 'after Ogura Shimpei'.
271. Kim Thai-gyun 1986, pp. 19-21.
272. Kim O. 1962, p. 87.
273. The writer expresses his sincerest thanks to Haiyon for the material. It was published in *Han'gŭl Saisosik* 169 (Sept. 1986) pp. 12-15 with explanations by the writer.
274. The writer also expresses his sincere thanks to Ross King for permitting him to use his manuscript, *An Introduction to Soviet Korean* (February 1987), before publication. It is expected that King's work will be published in the United States in 1987.
275. The vocabularies are put into groups and arranged alphabetically by the present writer.
276. Ramstedt 1949, p. 271.
277. ОПЫТ краткаго русско-корейскаго словаря. Казан 1904, p. 110.
278. Kim Hyŏng-gyu 1982 *Ha*, p. 244.
279. Ross King's manuscript, pp. 22-66. For reasons of convenience the system of transcription has been slightly changed.
280. Probably King misunderstood the meaning of this sentence. It must mean '(He or She) loves me'.
281. Русско-корейские Разговоры. Казан 1904, pp. 38-39.
282. LK 1986 July 10, p. 3.
283. LK 1986 July 19, p. 2.
284. LK 1985 March 7, p. 4.
285. LK 1985 Aug. 7, p. 3.
286. LK 1986 Feb. 28, p. 4.
287. LK 1986 May 30, p. 4.
288. LK 1985 Apr. 10, p. 4.
289. LK 1985 Apr. 9, p. 4, 1986 Oct. 30, 31, p. 4.
290. LK 1986 Jan. 1, p. 3, Feb. 25, p. 4, Nov. 29, p. 4.
291. LK 1986 May 1, p. 4.
292. LK 1986 Sept. 9, p. 1.
293. LK 1985 Oct. 30, p. 4.
294. LK 1985 Dec. 31, p. 1.
295. Cf. note 35.
296. Ким О. 1962, p. 89.
297. In a mixed language it is problematic whether the classification should be made according to syntax or to vocabulary. Anttila says that the decision is arbitrary, adding that "Considerations of continuity, and the social status or attitudes of the speakers, play a role in such decisions." (Anttila p. 172).
298. Ким О. 1962, p. 90.
299. *magajin* < Russian *magazin*, *ttuphulli* < Russian *тупфли*. The meaning is the same as the above sentence.
300. The writer sincerely thanks Juha Janhunen for this information. According to him, the Primor'ye pidgin is one variety of the Far Eastern pidgin based on Russian. Other varieties include those of Kyakhta and Harbin.
301. LK 1986 Oct. 11, p. 4.
302. LK 1986 Oct. 21, p. 4.
303. LK 1986 Oct. 21, p. 3.
304. LK 1986 Oct. 22, p. 4.
305. LK 1986 July 9, p. 4.
306. LK 1986 Oct. 14, p. 4.
307. LK 1986 Apr. 23, p. 4.
308. Джарылгасинова 1960, p. 55.
309. LK 1986 July 9, p. 4, Sept. 19, p. 2, Oct. 10, p. 1.
310. LK 1986 July 12, p. 2, Dec. 12, p. 2.
311. LK 1986 Oct. 14, p. 4.

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312. LK 1983 Aug. 11, p. 4.
313. Ibid.
314. LK 1983 Oct. 18, p. 4.
315. LK 1983 Aug. 5, p. 4, 1986 Jan. 9, p. 2.
316. LK 1986 July 2, p. 2, Dec. 2, p. 4.
317. LK 1983 Aug. 11, p. 4, 1986 Nov. 11, p. 2.
318. LK 1986 Nov. 1, p. 4.
319. LK 1983 Oct. 6, p. 4.
320. LK 1983 Nov. 23, p. 4, 1986 Nov. 11, p. 4.
321. LK 1983 Aug. 4, p. 4.
322. LK 1983 Oct. 6, p. 4.
323. LK 1985 Oct. 23, p. 4, 1986 Dec. 2, p. 4, Dec. 12, p. 2. According to Juha Janhunen, this word appears also in the slang of Russian soldiers in Afghanistan with the same meaning, thus it may possibly have been borrowed from Russian.
324. LK 1986 Nov. 11, p. 4.
325. LK 1986 Nov. 12, p. 2.
326. LK 1986 Oct. 10, p. 4.
327. LK 1986 Nov. 28, p. 2.
328. These are *plobi* 'pilau', *samsa* 'meat pies', *shashlik* 'shish kebab', etc. (Ким О., p. 92) coming from Uzbek. It is not clear whether Koreans in Uzbekistan can pronounce the initial consonant clusters and the sound /sh/. As for Uzbek kinship terms, e.g. *apa* 'sister', *aka* 'brother', *ata* 'father', *babay* 'grandfather', these are known to Koreans but used only in communication with Uzbeks either in Russian or Uzbek (ibid.). Kim further says that Uzbek words like *khirman* 'place, where harvest produce from the harvesting fields are piled (e.g. for cotton)', *usma* 'name of a grass, the sap of which is at first grass green which then becomes black; the sap is used as make-up for the eyebrows by Uzbek women', *mash* 'a plant of the bean family (*Phaseolus radiatus*)', *kishlak* 'Central Asiatic village', etc. are largely used by Russians but have not entered the Korean language, even if they are used by Koreans when speaking Russian (ibid.).
329. Хасанов, pp. 198-200. Khasanov has also written an article about the similarity between the Korean and Turkic languages in the book: Материалы второй научной конференции молодых ученых АН Каз ССР. Алма-Ата, Наука Каз ССР, 1970. — Recently an article concerning studies about Soviet Koreans was published by Kim German, a researcher at the University of Kazakhstan (LK 1987 July 17, p. 4). The article is entitled *Ssoryŏn Cosŏnindŭrŭi Cŏngsin-munhwa Yŏn'gumunje* 'On Studies of the Mental Culture of Soviet Koreans'.
330. According to Kim O. a new method of word formation has been introduced into Central Asiatic Korean, e.g. *cekkanchzhida* 'to be very refined' from the Korean word *kanchzhida* 'to be refined', by adding the prefix *cek-* (Ким О., p. 93). In Standard Korean the prefixes *sai-* and *sais-* are used to emphasize especially the degree of a colour, but the prefix *sek-* is not known. This may also be a borrowing from the Uzbek language.
331. LK 1986 Feb. 13, p. 2, Feb. 15, p. 1.
332. According to the latest information, a Korean style restaurant *Aziya* has been opened in Alma-Ata. Here one can get *guksi*, *ttok* 'Korean rice cake', *khongnamul* 'bean-sprout salad', *kosarinamul* 'fernbrake salad' and *miyŏkkuk* 'brown seaweed soup', etc. Besides Alma-Ata, Korean style restaurants are known to exist in several other places. In June, 1987, in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk in Sakhalin a Korean café was also opened, where more than ten different Korean dishes are obtainable (LK 1987 Aug. 1, p. 4). This café is run by Kwŏn O-sŭng's family.
333. Until now there seems not to exist any serious study of the bilingual or trilingual problems of the *Koryŏ Saram*. Anyhow, Haarmann recently published a monograph concerning the bilingual problems of Koreans in the Soviet Union using mainly statistics.
334. Kye Pong-u's manuscript, Vol. II, p. 96.
335. As an example 6,419 Koreans learned how to read and write Korean through this campaign in one

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year 1924-1925 (Ким О., p. 88).

336. The pedagogical special school was situated in Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy and called "Никольск-Уссурийский Педагогический Техникум". The pedagogical institute was situated in Vladivostok and called "Владивостокский Педагогический Институт". The educational standard of both of these was considered high among Soviet Koreans. After the 1937 transfer, these were closed and at least the documents and papers of the Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical School were reported to have been moved to Kzyl-Orda, Kazakhstan, but their fate is, as yet, unknown.

337. Кye Pong-u's manuscript, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.— In the 1940s and 1950s, Korean grammar(s) and instructions for teaching the language at Korean schools were also published: Kim Pyŏng-ha, *Cosŏn Malbon. Ce Yi Hag'nyŏnyong* 'A Korean Grammar. For the Second Year' (Revised by Yu. M. Mazur). Moscow 1949. 58 p.; *Cosŏnŏ Kyosu Kanglyŏng. Cosŏn Sohakkyo I - IV Hag'nyŏn* 'Instructions for Teaching Korean. For the First to Fourth Years' (Revised by Yu. M. Mazur). Moscow 1949. 36 p.; *Cosŏnŏ Kyosu Pangbŏp Cairyojip* 'Materials for Teaching Korean' (edited by Kim Nam-sŏk, revised by M. A. Khegay). Kzyl-Orda 1955. 60 p. The writer expresses his sincere thanks to Professor Mazur for providing information about these latter three works.

338. LK 1983 June 24, p. 4.

339. LK 1983 Aug. 5, p. 2.

340. LK 1985 Oct. 12, p. 4. In the academic year 1985-1986, 14 students in all entered this department. They came from different parts of the Soviet Union, e.g. Kang Sudan from Andizhan (Uzbekistan), Chai Genriyetta from Chimkent (Kazakhstan), Chŏn Bella from Surkhandarya (Uzbekistan), Li Sanna from Sakhalin.

341. Ким О., p. 88.

342. LK 1983 Dec. 22, p. 4. At this school, Choi Svetlana Sergeevna teaches Korean.

343. LK 1986 Nov. 6, p. 4. As an expert in language and history, Choi emphasized that one has to know one's own mother tongue.

344. Ozaki Hikosaku, "*Chuuou Ajiano Chousenjin*". *Sanzenri* No. 6 (Summer 1976), p. 128. Ozaki says that he has heard that the Korean language is taught two hours a week in the form of a special lecture at school, but he is not sure whether this is correct or not.

345. Anatoliy Kim, a Soviet Korean writer, said in an interview in the Finnish newspaper *Lapin Kansa*: "Koreans do not have an autonomous republic, nor their own schools, nor their own language in the Soviet Union." (*Lapin Kansa* 1987 May 13, p. 7).

346. *Prostor* 1987 No. 1, p. 169.

347. Население СССР, pp 128-129.

348. Hoffmann, "*The Korean Minority in China: Education and Publishing*". *Korea Journal* Vol. 26, No. 12 (December 1986), pp 13-20.

349. Choi Ũng-gu, *Cungguk Cosŏnjogŭi Urimal Kyoyuk* 'Education in the Korean Language of Chinese Koreans', p. 2. This paper was presented at the 3rd Conference of Overseas Koreans, which was held in Chicago in November, 1986.

350. Ким О., p. 88.

351. The newspaper *Leninŭi Killo* was established in 1949. It is a tabloid with 4 pages. This newspaper cannot be ordered or distributed abroad.

352. Ким сын Хва, p. 222.

353. The Korean word *kuichi* 'flag' is *kichi* in its old orthographical form.

354. Outside of the Korean peninsula, newspapers in the Korean language are published in various countries, e. g. China, Japan, USA, Canada, Australia, West Germany. Among these the oldest one is *Yŏnbyŏn Ilbo*, established in 1948 and published in Yanji, China. The others have been established very recently with the emigrations of Koreans. Of course newspapers have been published in Korea before 1938 but they were written in a mixture of Chinese characters and Korean letters.

355. LK 1983 June 21, p. 1.

356. Большая Советская Энциклопедия Т. 14, p. 300.

357. Казахская Советская Энциклопедия p. 409.

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358. LK 1987 May 7.
359. Yamaguchi Mizuhiko, "Arumaatano chousenjin". *Sanzenri* No. 44 (Winter 1985), p. 88.
360. The address of *Lenin Kichi* has been changed from May 13, 1987. It moved to the publishing building of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party. In the same building the Uighur *Kommunizm Tugi*, German *Freundschaft* and other newspapers, like *ОГНИ АЛАТАУ*, *ЖЕТЫШ*, *Вечерняя Алма-Ата*, etc., are also working. The new address of *Lenin Kichi* is ул. М. Горького 50, 3-й этаж, 480044 Алма-Ата.
361. Yamaguchi Mizuhiko, "Arumaatano chousenjin". *Sanzenri* No. 44 (Winter 1985), p. 88.
362. LK 1987 May 7, p. 3.
363. Ibid.
364. LK 1984 May 5, p. 2.
365. LK 1986 May 4, p. 2. The opinion of Ha Gennadiy from Tashkent.
366. LK 1986 Jan. 1, p. 3.
367. The manuscript of Ross King (1987), p. 21.
368. LK 1987 May 7, p. 3.
369. LK 1984 May 12, p. 4. *Shalkar*, meaning 'huge' in Kazakh as in expressions like *shalkar köl* 'a very big lake', was a wired radio programme which was sent over limited distances.
370. LK 1985 Jan. 1, p. 4. Transmitting through the first programme means that broadcasts in Korean are heard over the whole of Kazakhstan.
371. LK 1984 May 18, p. 1.
372. LK 1984 May 12, p. 4.
373. LK 1986 May 7, p. 4.
374. LK 1987 May 7, p. 3.
375. Hwang Mikhail Vasil'evich is a nephew of Hwang Won-o who fought against the capitalist interventionists in 1920 by organizing a young armed group in Sorbakwan together with Choi Chan-sik, Choi Chu-song, Choi Han-bong etc. (*Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, p. 63). Hwang Wŏn-guk, Hwang Mikhail Vasil'evich's father, was also a partisan as was his brother. Hwang Mikhail Vasil'evich, Doctor of Biological Sciences and a professor, is scientific pro-rector of the Zooveterinary Institute and head of the chair of parasitology, with a research laboratory of parasitocology in Alma-Ata.
376. LK 1987 May 7, p. 3.
377. LK 1987 March 14, p. 4.