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Table of Contents

LINGUISTICS/ LANGUAGE EDUCATION

- Anna BOROWIAK, Choonsil LIM *Korean Language Education in the Era of Globalization - with the Focus on Books and Teaching Materials-* **7**

LITERATURE

- Kyu Hyun PARK *Cross-Cultural Literature and Cultural Reproduction: The Case of the Korean Autobiography Hanjungnok* **57**

SOCIETY

- Kyong-geun OH *The Aspect of Conflict Between Paternalism and Constitutionalism in Korean Contemporary Society* **89**
- Min Jung LEE *The Theory on The State of the Chosŏn Ruling Elites: How Did They Perceive the Relations Between Themselves and The State?* **107**

REVIEW

- Emilia WOJTASIK-DZIEKAN *The Review of The Routledge Course in Korean Translation by Jieun Kiaer, 2018. Routledge London and New York, ISBN 978-1-315-61821-0, PP. 197* **127**

- List of Reviewers** **132**

Spis treści

JĘZYKOZNAWSTWO/DYDAKTYKA

- Anna BOROWIAK, Choonsil LIM *Dydaktyka języka koreańskiego w erze globalizacji – ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem podręczników oraz pomocy dydaktycznych* 7

LITERATURA

- Kyu Hyun PARK *Literatura międzykulturowa a kulturowe odtwarzanie: przypadek Hanjungnok – koreańskiej autobiografii* 57

SPOŁECZEŃSTWO

- Kyong-geun OH *Aspekty konfliktu między paternalizmem a konstytucjonalizmem we współczesnym społeczeństwie koreańskim* 89
- Min Jung LEE *Jak warstwa rządząca w Chosŏn postrzegała relacje między nimi samymi a państwem? Próba ujęcia teoretycznego* 107

RECENZJA

- Emilia WOJTASIK-DZIEKAN *Recenzja książki The Routledge Course in Korean Translation autorstwa Jieun Kiaer, 2018. Routledge London and New York, ISBN 978-1-315-61821-0, PP. 197* 127

- Lista recenzentów** 132

목차

언어학/ 언어 교육

- Anna BOROWIAK, Choonsil LIM *세계화 시대에서의 한국어 교육 현황 -교재와 교육용 자료를 중심으로-* 7

문학

- Kyu Hyun PARK *비교문화 문학과 문화적 재생산: 한국의 자서전 한중록을 바탕으로* 57

사회

- Kyong-geun OH *한국현대사회에서 온정주의와 법치주의의 갈등 양상* 89

- Min Jung LEE *조선 지배층의 국가론: 지배층과 국가와의 관계에 대한 논의를 중심으로* 107

비판

- Emilia WOJTASIK-DZIEKAN *비판: The Routledge Course in Korean Translation. Jieun Kiaer. 2018. Routledge London & New York, ISBN 978-1-315-61821-0, PP. 197* 127

심사위원들

132

KOREAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION - WITH THE FOCUS ON BOOKS AND TEACHING MATERIALS -

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“오늘날 나라의 바탕을 보존하기에 가장 중요한 자기 나라의 말과 글을 이 지경을 만들고 도외시한다면, 나라의 바탕은 날로 쇠퇴할 것이요. 나라의 바탕이 날로 쇠퇴하면, 그 미치는 바 영향은 측량할 수 없이 되어 나라 형세를 회복할 가망이 없을 것이다. 이에 우리 나라의 말과 글을 강구하여 이것을 고치고 바로잡아, 장려하는 것이 오늘의 시급히 해야 할 일이다.”

(cf. Ju Si-gyeong. 1908. *The National Language Classical Phonetics*'

<국어문전음학>¹⁾

‘*Hangeul* - the key for Our Country (Korea) to become a developed country.’

(*Hangeul Foundation*)²⁾

¹ The official blog of the Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs (MPVA, Kor. 국가보훈처) <http://mpva.tistory.com/214> (accessed 31-07-2018).

² Cf. <http://www.hangul.or.kr/html/index.asp> (accessed 14-01-2018).

Abstract: A keen interest in the culture and economic development of the Republic of Korea has resulted in establishing business relations between Korea and various countries all around the world. The Korean War (1950-1953) is said to be the catalyst for Korean Studies, since it has generated a considerable interest in Korean history, language and culture. Yet, when the Korean Language Education (henceforward KLE) is being referred to, usually the years when the boom for "everything that is Korean" started, which could be attributed to the successfully organized Summer Olympics in 1988 and co-organized Asian World Cup in 2002, are being mentioned. This was when the world saw a different side of Korea. However, also thanks to the enormous popularity of *Hallyu* and the support of the South Korean Government given to initiatives, which among others, popularize the Korean language, the interest in various aspects of Korean culture as well as the language itself, has become higher than ever before. Since the turn of the 21st century, South Korea is perceived as one of the world's leading exporters of culture and tourism, and *Hangeul* became one of the exported goods.

The aim of this research is to analyze the situation of KLE in the era of globalization, which along with the spread of *lingua franca*, among them English, is endangering the language variety of the world. In order to do so, several significant dates and initiatives showing how Korean scholars and the Government have influenced and shaped the language policy and thus have contributed to the popularization of the language all around the world will also be referred to. Government sponsored institutions providing Korean language classes, as well as books and other teaching materials, will be discussed and classified. The article will also try to answer the question concerning the future of the KLE.

Key Words: Korean Language Education (KLE), globalization, Korean language institutions, teaching materials

세계화 시대에서의 한국어 교육 현황
-교재와 교육용 자료를 중심으로-

논문초록: 대한민국의 문화와 경제 발전에 대한 관심은 한국과 세계 각국 간의 통상 관계를 발전시키는 데에 큰 역할을 하였다. 한국 전쟁(1950-1953)은 한국의 역사와 문화 및 한국어에 상당한 관심을 불러일으키는 촉매제가 되었다. 그럼에도 불구하고 한국어 교육을 이룰 때 대체로 급성장이 시작된 지난 몇 년간을 언급하는 것은 서울에서 성공적으로 개최된 1988년 하계 올림픽 및 2002년 월드컵 등과 같은 국제스포츠행사들의 결과다. 그 당시에 전 세계는 한국의 새로운 면모를 발견하게 되었다. 한류의 엄청난

인기와 한국어 교육의 발전을 위한 대한민국 정부의 적극적인 지원 덕분에 다양한 측면의 한국 문화와 한국어에 대한 관심이 그 어느 때보다 높아졌다. 한국은 21세기 초반부터 세계적으로 문화 관광의 주요 수출국으로 인식되어 왔으며, 한글은 그 수출품 중 하나가 되었다.

본 연구의 목적은 영어 등과 같은 링구아 프랑크라의 확산과 세계 언어의 다양성을 위협하고 있는 세계화 시대에서의 한국어 교육 현황을 분석하는 데에 있다. 본 주제를 광범위하게 논의하기 위해 먼저 주요한 사업계획과 일정을 통해서 한국 학자들이 정부와 더불어 언어 정책에 어떤 영향을 미쳤는지, 그 정책을 어떻게 수립해 왔는지, 이를 통해 어떻게 한국어를 전세계적으로 확산시키는 데에 이바지하였는가를 알아보고자 한다. 또한 한국 정부로부터 지원을 받아 한국어 교육을 제공하는 교육기관을 살펴볼 것이다. 뿐만 아니라 교재 및 기타 교육용 자료의 특성을 논의한 다음 그 분류를 제시할 것이다. 이 연구는 향후 전세계 한국어 교육의 미래에 관한 질문에 답을 찾으려 한다.

주제어: 한국어 교육, 세계화, 한국어 교육 기관, 교육용 자료

DYDAKTYKA JĘZYKA KOREAŃSKIEGO W ERZE GLOBALIZACJI - ZE SZCZEGÓLNYM UWZGLĘDNIENIEM PODRĘCZNIKÓW ORAZ POMOCY DYDAKTYCZNYCH

Streszczenie: Żywe zainteresowanie kulturą oraz rozwojem gospodarczym Korei Południowej doprowadziło do nawiązania stosunków handlowych między Koreą a różnymi krajami na całym świecie. Wojna koreańska (1950-1953) uważana jest za katalizator studiów koreanistycznych, ponieważ wzbudziła duże zainteresowanie koreańską historią, językiem i kulturą. Niemniej jednak, mówiąc o dydaktyce języka koreańskiego, ma się zwykle na myśli ostatnie lata, kiedy to nastąpił boom na wszystko, co koreańskie. Jest to, oczywiście, wynik pomyślnie zorganizowanych bądź współorganizowanych w Seulu międzynarodowych wydarzeń sportowych, takich jak m.in. Letnie Igrzyska Olimpijskie (1988) czy Mistrzostwa Świata w Piłce Nożnej (2002). To właśnie wtedy świat ujrział inne oblicze Korei. Jednakże również dzięki ogromnej popularności *Hallyu* oraz wsparciu Rządu Korei Południowej dla inicjatyw służących m.in. popularyzacji języka koreańskiego zainteresowanie różnymi aspektami koreańskiej kultury, jak również samym językiem koreańskim stało się większe niż kiedykolwiek wcześniej. Od początku XXI wieku Korea Południowa jest postrzegana jako jeden ze światowych liderów, promujących swoją kulturę i turystykę, a alfabet koreański – *Hangeul* stał się jednym z jej towarów eksportowych.

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest dokonanie analizy sytuacji dydaktyki języka koreańskiego w erze globalizacji, która wraz

z rozprzestrzenianiem się m.in. języka angielskiego jako *lingua franca* zagraża różnorodności językowej świata. Aby w jak najpełniejszy sposób przedstawić badane zagadnienie jako pierwsze zostaną przytoczone daty najważniejszych wydarzeń, bez których nie można byłoby mówić o współczesnej dydaktyce języka koreańskiego, oraz inicjatywy pokazujące, w jaki sposób koreańscy naukowcy oraz Rząd Republiki Korei kształtowali i nadal kształtują politykę językową, a tym samym przyczyniają się do popularyzacji języka koreańskiego na całym świecie. Zostaną tu również przywołane różne instytucje oświatowe, oferujące zajęcia z języka koreańskiego, a działające dzięki rządowemu finansowaniu. Ponadto, zostaną tu omówione i sklasyfikowane podręczniki do nauki języka koreańskiego oraz inne pomoce dydaktyczne. Artykuł spróbuje udzielić odpowiedzi na pytanie dotyczące przyszłości dydaktyki języka koreańskiego na świecie.

Słowa kluczowe: dydaktyka języka koreańskiego, globalizacja, instytucje oferujące zajęcia z języka koreańskiego, materiały dydaktyczne

1. Introductory Remarks

The term *globalization* is usually defined as a process of interaction and integration among the people, companies and governments of different nations, a process driven by international trade and investment and aided by IT. This process has effects on the environment, culture, political systems, economic development, prosperity, and human physical wellbeing in societies around the world.³ Consequently, the adopted policies such as free-market economic systems and technological developments not only have spurred increases in international trade and investment, but also contributed to the growth of migration rates as well.

Even though there is no confusion as to what the globalization is, there are some discrepancies concerning its beginnings. The process itself is said to be nothing new, since for thousands of years people and later, corporations have been trading with one another regardless of the geographical distances, e.g. through the famed Silk Road during the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, some

³ The Neil D. Levin Graduate Institute of International Relations and Commerce at the State University of New York (cf. <http://www.globalization101.org/what-is-globalization/>, accessed 14-06-2016).

modern economic historians dispute the argument of Adam Smith - one of the early economists, that the discovery of the Americas, by Christopher Columbus in 1492 accelerated this process. Kevin O'Rourke and Jeffrey Williamson argue in a 2002 paper that the globalization only really began in the 19th century, when a sudden drop in transport costs allowed the prices of commodities in Europe and Asia to converge (cf. *The Economist*, 23-10-2013).

The globalization itself though deeply controversial, has its proponents and opponents. Despite all the pros and cons, its effect on many areas of human life, among them education, is simply undeniable. It reflects a new form of cultural imperialism, as Chinnammai (2005: 1) points out, and produces a shift in society from industrialization towards information-based society, as it shapes children - the future citizens of the world into 'global citizens', intelligent people with broad range of skills and knowledge, people who know how to apply the knowledge and be more competitive. Globalization and technological advancements along with changes in labor market not only confirm the internationalization of education, but also indicate their close connection. It is understandable that e.g. international companies look for qualified employees not only as far as the fluency in a foreign language is concerned, but also with deep understanding of the target culture, and thus business environment, thanks to which also the company can successfully compete in the global market. From this point of view education itself can be perceived as a kind of commodity.

Nevertheless, in this context it is impossible not to refer to the sociolinguistic consequences of globalization and *the theory of language* and the *communicative community* as its fundamental concept, proposed by Professor Ludwik Zabrocki (1963). Professor Zabrocki argues that *the communicative community* is formed when there are at least two people, between which there is a need for communication and when this need is realized, and perceives language as the most important element unambiguously indicating a given community. The external and concrete proof for the existence of these communities is the existence of a concrete means of communication, meaning a language (cf. p. 12). Yet, it is also worthy to mention that people constituting a particular *communicative community*, do not have to communicate in one language only. Although *the language community* is a *communicative community*, it is defined as group of people using relatively unified means of communication meaning the common language. Every

communicative community aims to create a single means of communication, which would support the whole community. In other words, as Professor Bańczerowski (2014: 160) puts it, ‘each and every *communicative community* wants to become a language community’.

As far as the above-mentioned processes are concerned, Professor Zabrocki (1963: 9-33) emphasizes, that the integration of societies driven primarily by the economic reasons results in formation of bigger *communicative communities*, where either the synthesis of languages or the extinction of a language used by the community perceived from the social point of view, as worse or subordinate one, takes place. This means that the extinction of languages and dialects is the result of every integration of *communicative communities* when the synthesis of *communicative communities* perceived as equal does not take place. This means that from the social viewpoint to smaller or bigger extent, there will always be an evaluation of languages - one of them will win over the other one (cf. p. 9-17). Consequently, the number of languages decreases proportionally to the decrease in the number of *communicative communities* and the linguistic integration follows over time, despite the fact that it is not the battle between the languages but between the societies. All of that helps to create the *global communicative community*, which would cover the whole world. This however endangers other already existing *communicative* and *language communities*. This situation can be perceived as *linguistic* or *language imperialism*, which over time results in the situation, where the superior *communicative community* eliminates the subordinate one.⁴ Professor Zabrocki also points out a different aspect of so-called communicative integration, namely the fact that *language communities* are more than *communicative communities* having one language, since every nation identifies itself through the language, which reflects their spiritual and material identity (cf. p. 19). Nonetheless, the number of world-wide *communicative communities* is constantly growing, they also become more solid. This results also in multilingualism of *native communicative communities*.

One of the most easily noticeable aspects of globalization in the educational context is the advantage to learn a foreign language,

⁴ The globalization shows that English is among the preferred or prioritized languages, yet in the future it may be Asian-English.

even ‘the rare’ one, from its native speaker without the necessity to go abroad. Another one is the opportunity to take part in international training courses or exchange programs for both academic staff and students, who can go abroad, study for one or two terms or even receive their BA, MA or PhD degrees, and after returning back home have them recognized. Not to mention the possibility to co-host international conferences and symposia, to carry out researches or to co-organize guest lectures and consultations as well as to cooperate in the field of scholarly publications, the sharing of library digitalized resources etc. Of course, signing academic agreements between the universities, as well as the ability to take advantage of the scholarship system offered by foreign countries, would not be possible if it was not for the previous agreements on the government level, which as a cooperation is a clear sign of internationalization and globalization.⁵

Nevertheless, the negative effects of internationalization (and globalization) on education can also be observed. Despite the fact that we live in the Internet Era and ubiquitous technological progress, where the question concerning the hampered accessibility to the Internet and online resources caused by the case of not having a computer might appear to be rather surrealistic, yet it concerns some parts of the global population. In other words, lack of resources to provide and implement technological advancements disable less affluent families, schools, communities or even whole countries from competing in the already-mentioned global labor market. Another question concerns the whole system of education, in which the didactics of a foreign language, culture or history is prioritized over the didactics of the mother tongue and national culture or history of a student. It happens when more school hours are spent on teaching a foreign language or languages, than of the native one or when classes are devoted only to the history and customs of other countries without prior explanation of the uniqueness of the local ones. This,

⁵ In June 1993 Poland and South Korea have signed the agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, thanks to which signing the agreements between Polish and Korean universities became possible, and thus Polish students can go to Korea for language course or regular studies. Nevertheless, from the economic point of view, masters and doctoral courses became more popular when the Government Scholarship Program (GSP) was introduced.

without a shadow of a doubt, would lead to weakening or even losing the national identity, which in some cases can also be noticed.⁶

The aim of this research is to analyze the situation of Korean Language Education (henceforward KLE) in widely understood aspect of globalization, with the focus on various didactic materials published for Korean language learners. In order to present the situation in question in a broader context, a few very important events, without which we would not be able to talk about the situation whatsoever, along with initiatives taken up by the Korean Government and various organizations in order to improve it, will also be discussed here. The article will also try to answer the question of what the future holds for the didactics of Korean. This research, however, does not present every single Korean language textbook that was published within the past few decades nor every institution offering Korean language courses around the world, for the priority is given to institutions, which were established as a result of a conscious policy of the Korean Government in order to preserve and popularize Korean language and culture world-widely. As a consequence, the situation concerning institutional aspect will focus only on institutes, centers and school of Korean origin (often sponsored by the Korean Government), instead of universities all around the world, which offer Korean language courses as electives or regular studies.

2. Globalization in the context of Korean Language Education

Since the dawn of time, stronger and bigger countries not only tended to expand their territories but they would also impose their languages. Examples of the above-mentioned *language imperialism* are in fact numerous around the world. In this context, there is a very good reason to fear that globalization threatens the languages of smaller and thus economically weaker countries, also in the context of already

⁶ At this point it is also worth mentioning the situation of the universities all around the world. Chinnammi (2005: 3-4) notices that the universities are being forced to compete in the global capitalist market and have to engage in entrepreneurial activity in order to sustain themselves in an increasingly 'uncertain world', while the governments have been particularly concerned that universities serve the national interests in the global marketplace.

mentioned *global communicative community*. There are some exceptions though and Korea is one of them.

During the Korean War (1950-1953) and right after the armistice was signed, nobody would have imagined that one of the poorest countries in the world would experience the ‘Miracle on the Han River’ in becoming one of the world’s leading economy powers and that in just a few decades, the interest in Korean language and culture would grow as much as it has.

Language is said to be one of the determinants of cultural identity. The fact how proud the Korean People are of their alphabet and language can be easily confirmed by the conscious and well thought out policy of the Korean Government, observable in legislations and through various initiatives taken up by government and non-government organizations, foundations and Korean Culture Centers, which are to strengthen the national competitiveness and to preserve, standardize, as well as promote and expand the usage of Korean language and culture all around the world through various courses and events, often co-organized with Korean Embassies. Furthermore, the aim of those organizations is also to e.g. support the education for overseas Koreans, to reinforce the usage of the Korean language through administrating Test of Proficiency in Korean (TOPIK) or to exchange students under various programs. That is the reason why so many non-Korean students have become interested in Korean culture and desire to study Korean - some simply as a hobby but others for professional purposes, dreaming about the possibility of a future career in South Korea - either in diplomacy or business.

Nonetheless, it would be impossible to discuss the present situation of KLE if it was not for numerous very important facts. Enumerating all of them would be impossible considering the scope of this article, that is why only some of them will be presented below.

2.1. Some important dates

- 1446** - the publication of the document titled *Hunminjeongeum* (Kor. 훈민정음) meaning ‘The Proper Sounds for the Education of the People’, after which the native script of Korea was named,

- 1908** - the foundation of *the Korean Language Society* (Kor. 국어연구학회), the aim of which was to preserve the Korean language during a time of Japanization (in 1933 it introduced *the Proposal for Unified Hangeul Orthography*; Kor. 한글 맞춤법 통일안) and in 1949 it was renamed as *the Korean Language Society* (Kor. 한글학회),
- 1926** - the first celebration of *the Korean Alphabet Day* - today known as the *Hangeul Day* (Kor. 한글날), in order to commemorate the invention and the proclamation of Korean alphabet,⁷
- 1927** - *the Korean Language Society* (Kor. 한글학회) publishes the first issue of academic journal - *Hangeul* (Kor. 한글),
- 1962** - the establishment of Student Advisory Center of Seoul National University (Kor. 제일동포 모국 수학기관) to support education for Korean-Japanese (the beginnings of *the National Institute for the International Education* – NIIED, Kor. 국제교육진흥원), reestablished as *the Education Center for Overseas Koreans* (Kor. 재외국민교육원) in 1977,
- 1985** - the establishment of *the International Association for Korean Language Education* (Kor. 국제한국어교육협회)⁸, which in 2001 started workshops for Overseas Korean educators,
- 1991** - the establishment of *the National Institute of Korean Language* (NIKL, Kor. 국립국어원), *the Korea Foundation* (KF, Kor. 한국국제교류재단) and *the Association of Korean Language Education Research* (Kor. 국어교육학회),
- 1992** - the reorganization of the above-mentioned NIIED, which in 2008 changed into *the National Institute for International Education* (NIIE, Kor. 국립국제교육원)⁹,
- 1995** - the establishment of *the Hangeul Foundation* (Kor. 한글재단), which supports students, teachers and researchers of Korean language and literature,
- 1997** - UNESCO inscribed *Hangeul* on its list of Memory of the World Heritage,

⁷ The first celebration was however called *Gagyanal* (*Gagya Day*, Kor. 가갸날), since *Hangeul* was at that time referred to as *Gayageul* (Kor. 가갸글). In South Korea it is celebrated on October 9th, while in North Korea it is called *Joseongeullal* (조선글날) and is celebrated on January 15th.

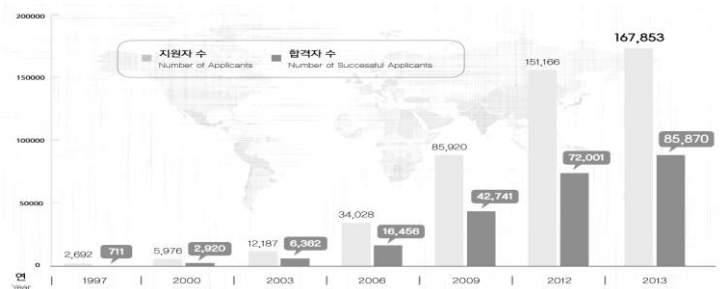
⁸ http://www.iakle.com/contents/bbs/bbs_content.html?bbs_cls_cd=002001002 (accessed 01-10-2016).

⁹ <http://www.niied.go.kr/eng/contents.do?contentsNo=73&menuNo=326> (accessed 01-10-2016).

After the Word Cup in 2002 and with the help of the so-called Korean Wave (Kor. 한류, *Hallyu*) the number of people, who became interested in Korean culture and language started to grow all around the world. That is why it became necessary to introduce an official examination to test the language proficiency in order to keep up with rising demand. As a consequence, in

1997 - TOPIK examination (the *Test of Proficiency in Korean* for non-Korean residents) was conducted for the first time¹⁰.

Graph 1. The overall number of applicants and those who have successfully passed the TOPIK¹¹



Source: The NIKL 『2014 숫자로 살펴보는 우리말』¹²

¹⁰ The NIIED is the 3rd organization to supervise the examination. Before that it was administered by the *Korea Research Foundation* (KRF, Kor. 한국학술진흥재단; years 1997-1998) and the *Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation* (KICE, Kor. 한국교육과정평가원; years 1999-2010).

¹¹ As *Graph 1* shows, despite the fact that in 1997 only 2692 students took the exam, the number of TOPIK examinees has been increasing sharply and thus so was the number of Korean language institutes. As one can see from the data provided by the NIKL within 16-years-time the number of applicants has risen more than 63 times. Even though the successful applicants' ratio in 2013 was only 51.15%, yet in comparison to 26.21% 1997, it was almost twice as high. Although the *Graph 1* does not present it, the number of applicants in 2015 was 174,881 and one year later it was higher about 75 000. The growing number of examinees all around the world is probably the reason why the Korean MOE provides the statistics concerning the number of all applicants as well as those who actually have passed the exam only till 2013.

¹²http://korean.go.kr/front/etcData/etcDataView.do;front=F5A4AF3FDA920FB2466116A4461C2DCA?mn_id=46&etc_seq=429&pageIndex=1 (accessed 13-01-2018).

Even though the first TOPIK exam was only conducted in South Korea, over time it was and still is conducted in many countries all around the world - in 2013 it took place in 61 countries (in 194 places around the world). From the 46th edition (October 15th 2016) it is also possible to take it in Poland (at the Institute of Middle and Far East Studies of the *Jagiellonian University*).¹³ It is also worthy to mention that before the year of 2000, the TOPIK exam was taken mainly by foreign students, who wished to enter Korean universities, nevertheless after 2000 the reasons behind taking up the exam have diversified. With the introduction of the Employment Permit System in 2005 - passing the test by foreign immigrant workers became obligatory. Those, who are applying for working visas, those who want to get a visa as a marriage immigrant etc. need to pass this exam, as well (marriage immigrants have to pass at least 1st level). The TOPIK score is also essential for foreign nationals who plan to enter a Korean university since most of the universities require at least the 3rd level.

- 2001** - the establishment of *the International Korean Language Foundation* (IKLF, Kor. 한국어세계화재단), by the Ministry of Culture Sports and Tourism (MCST, Kor. 문화체육관광부), its role is to promote Korean language and Korean language globalization among foreigners,
- the foundation of *the Educational Foundation for Koreans Abroad* (EFKA, Kor. 재외동포교육진흥재단), focused on the education of overseas Koreans,
- 2005** - the enactment of the ‘Framework Act on the National Language’, which was *the Basic Law of Korean National Language* (Kor. 국어기본법),¹⁴

¹³ ‘The Korea Times’ quoting the words of Education Ministry wrote in April 2016, that the record number- 72,295 of foreigners took the 46th edition of the TOPIK test that _____ month _____ (cf. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2016/04/181_202734.html, accessed 17-07-2016).

¹⁴ It defined the direction of the KLE to Koreans and the basic policy concerning Korean language teaching to foreigners. As a consequence, the MCST affiliated organizations implemented the policies prepared in order to standardize the educational process. Among the policies mentioned here were those concerning the spreading of the Korean language overseas. Consequently, through *the Korean Language Society* (Kor. 한글학회) and *the NIKL*, the above-mentioned policies could be implemented in earnest. The law also introduced the system of examinations for Korean language teachers. Till November 2014 the number of qualified teachers reached _____ 16.484 _____ people _____ (cf.

- the establishment of *the King Sejong Institute Foundation* (KSIF, Kor. 세종학당재단),¹⁵
- the introduction of *the Employment Permit System - Test of Proficiency in Korean* (EPS-TOPIK, 한국어능력시험), targeted at foreign immigrant workers,
- 2009** - the establishment of *the Presidential Council on National Branding* (PCNB, Kor. 국가 브랜드 위원회)¹⁶
- 2013** - opening of *the National Hangeul Museum* (Kor. 국립한글박물관) in Seoul,
- *the Korean Alphabet Day* became the national holiday in South Korea.

It is also worthy to mention the existence of the digital museum devoted entirely to *Hangeul* (*Digital Hangeul Museum*, Kor. 디지털한글 박물관)¹⁷ or *King Sejong the Great Memorial Hall*

https://elaw.klri.re.kr/eng_mobile/viewer.do?hseq=28092&type=sogan&key=8 and <http://www.law.go.kr/lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=136820&efYd=20130323#0000>, accessed 12-12-2017).

¹⁵ KSIF is a central public institution launched by the South Korean Government supporting *the King Sejong Institutes* (KSI, Kor. 세종학당). Is regarded as the most representative overseas educational institution of the Korean language and culture. It was established on the basis of the Article 9, Section 2 of the ‘Framework Act on the National Language’ in order to coordinate the management of the government’s propagation project of the Korean language and Korean culture all around the world. 김중섭 (2013) analyzes what effects do KSIs have on Korea, and suggests how it can grow side by side Korean companies in order to succeed on the global stage. He suggests, among others, receiving continuous and systematic support from the {Korean} Government, establishing Korean language research centers, strengthening the internal organization, evaluating and managing each individual institute.

¹⁶ Its objective is to promote Korea’s global image - as economically advanced nation - and to right misconceptions about Korea as well as to raise the respect for the country, its culture and values, its products and people. The goal is to raise Korea’s brand from near the bottom of the member states of the OECD to the middle (13 out of 31 countries) by 2013. (<http://17koreabrand.pa.go.kr/gokr/en/cms/selectKbrdCmsPageTbl.do?cd=0117&m1=1&m2=2>, accessed 23-11-2017). It is worthy to mention that under the tagline “Korea, A Loving Embrace” there are ten main activities being promoted by the PCNB: (1) Shaping the Future with Korea, (2) Campus World: Global Korea Scholarship, Campus Asia, (3) Korean Supporters, (4) Global Korean Network, (5) Promoting Korean language and Taekwondo, (6) Global Citizenship, (7) Advanced Technology & Design Korea, (8) Rainbow Korea, (9) Friendly Digital Korea, (10) Korea Brand Index (<https://southasiacommunication.wordpress.com/report-5-nation-branding-south-korea/>, accessed 14-10-2017).

¹⁷ Although *Hangeul* and Korean culture are the most important heritage, which

(Kor. 세종대왕기념관).

Korean pride of *Hangeul* and its willingness to preserve it as well as to popularize it all around the world reveals itself also in very simple things such as *Hangeul* fashion shows, *Hangeul*-themed tourist attractions or monuments, paintings etc., which also decorate subway stations and streets. Tourists eagerly buy clothes and souvenirs with *Hangeul* ornaments. The promotion became one of the ways, in which Korea has started to advertise the country itself along with its culture, and thus contributed to the increase the international awareness about the country. We can say that *Hangeul* and Korean language teaching have become a kind of export good, which is to get as many foreigners interested in Korea and Korean and thus visit the country simply for sightseeing, studies or business, as possible.

Rapid technological progress along with awareness and well thought out policy of the Korean Government has resulted not only in marveling the world with the beauty of Korean traditional culture, but also in raising the awareness of its values among the nations all around the world. Easily accessible Korean movies and dramas, TV shows, books and the Internet have played the leading role here. When we ask foreigners why do they study Korean, they usually say that they are fans of K-POP or love Korean dramas (this means that the decision to take up Korean classes is the result of Korean pop-culture expansion all around the world) or they simply dream about finding employment in Korean companies (which is the result of expansion of Korean companies overseas).

2.2. A brief history of Korean Language Education

The growing importance of KLE all around the world, especially for the last two decades is undeniable. Nevertheless, the didactics

identifies Korean People, there have been many barriers to make *Hangeul* known domestically and overseas because most of *Hangeul* data was separately retained in many museums, research institutes and by individuals. Thus, urgent requirements are arising to make a system that integrates and centralizes *Hangeul* and its data. To meet these current requirements - to digitalize and preserve Korean script and its cultural properties for a long time and provide professional discussion on its merit for worldwide public information, the Digital Hangeul Museum was established as a five-year project of 2001 to 2005 (cf. http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/AKR/AK_ENG_2_1_4.jsp, accessed 12-02-2017).

of Korean Language (henceforward KL) itself started much earlier and so did the development of teaching materials. Several scholars, who divide the above-mentioned development into few periods or stages, discuss the history of KLE. 조항록 (2003) distinguishes three of them, while others such as 고경민 (2012) twice as many, as the below Table 1. shows.

The stages in question are based on various criteria, among them - the stages of economic growth and development of South Korea (cf. 백봉자 2001) or the changing approach to KL teaching reflected in the structure of units of both textbooks and other teaching materials (cf. 이지영 2003).¹⁸ For 고경민 (2012), who provides a full-scale research on the history of books on KL and comments on the controversial points taken up in previous researches, both internal and external factors should be considered while distinguishing the periods of KLE. For him, the books became the criterion for the division of the periods in question. He noticed that since textbooks reflect the character of particular language institution, the educational object, the target group of learners, the teacher, teaching method and teaching policy, all of them could serve as the above-mentioned criteria.

As far as the history of the KLE is concerned 조항록 (2003) notices that the 1st stage would differ, according to the place it actually took place - meaning whether it was in Korea or abroad. Consequently, 1987 - would be the beginning for KLE abroad (the introduction of KL course at Saint Petersburg State University), and 1959 in Korea (the opening of Korean Language Institute by Yonsei University).

Table 1. Periods of the KLE

Author	Stage/ Period	Characteristic features
백봉자 (2001: 12)	the 1 st stage (1959-1975)	- there is no discussion about KLE before 1959,
	the quickening stage/ period (1976-1988)	- noticeable acceleration of the pace, in which books and other teaching materials for foreigners were developed,

¹⁸ 오대환 (2009: 6-9) however, notices that there is no correlation between the stages based on the internal situation of Korea and the history of KLE. He points out that before the worldwide debate about the didactics of KL was enlivened every country providing KLE already had its own KLE history.

	the 3 rd stage (1989-2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - started after the 1988 Olympics, as a consequence of the socio-economic development, the number of KL learners rapidly increased and the reasons behind choosing to study Korean diversified, - the methods used in books came the way from audio-lingual approach to the communicative one,
	the 4 th stage (after 2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - projects concerning KLE became countywide thanks to the involvement of organizations such as e.g. the Korea Foundation,¹⁹
조향록 (2003: 225- 233)	the quickening stage/ period (1897-mid 1980s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the establishment of the first institutions providing KLE (it started with the establishment of few universities and educational institutions offering KL classes at the end of the 1970s), - books were compiled and revised, yet not many new books were developed,
	the spring period (mid 1980s - mid 1990s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the number of students as well as KL institutions grew thanks to the further economic development, - various teaching materials were developed,
	the period of steady growth (after mid 1990s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - progressive and stable growth in the number of KL learners, - KL institutions got interested in developing new books and teaching materials, new editions of already published books were also released,
이지영 (2003: 371- 381, 2004:	the 1 st stage (the Age of Enlightenment -1958) ²⁰	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the changes in textbooks, educational institutions and in the target groups of learners (since 1870 in Korea and abroad grammar and conversation books written mainly by foreign missionaries were started to be published),

¹⁹ As a consequence, the environment for mature debate on KLE was created. Teaching materials were based on the communicative approach and problem solving, which meant departing from the audio-lingual approach. The division on stages shows, that there was no debate about KLE before 1959 and that it was based on the stages of economic development of Korea.

²⁰ 이지영 (2003) in contrast to 백봉자 (2001) and 조향록 (2003) perceives the Age of Enlightenment as the beginning of modern education. Nonetheless, despite considering the internal motivation for KLE, there is no reference concerning the changes in the establishment of the 1st stage period.

150)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - institutions offering KLE were established in Korea and abroad, - books for overseas Koreans were also developed,
	the quickening period (1959-1986)	- the establishment of KL Institute at Yonsei University, <i>Myeongdowon</i> (Kor. 명도원) and others, which started to develop materials for KLE purposes,
	the 3 rd stage (1986-1997)	- growing interest in the KL as a consequence of hosting the 1988 Summer Olympics in South Korea, accompanied with the establishment of institutes providing KLE and the development of books used in those institutes,
	the 4 th stage (1998-present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - further rise in the number of institutions providing KLE and active development of books by those institutions, - books became focused on learners, as a consequence books according to the learners' mother tongue were developed, textbooks focused on one or all language functions were also developed, - technological development enabled to create multimedia books as well,
고경민 (2012: 21-25)	the period focused on translation and interpretation (before 1870)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the major objective of KLE was the translation/ interpretation, - the books were limited to vocabulary and conversation books,
	the modern quickening period (1870-1910)	- KL books (starting from the book by a foreign scholar - John Ross) were compiled, they drifted away from books traditionally focused on vocabulary and went in the direction of the descriptive grammar, focused on parts of speeches or presenting brief dialogues, compiled in conversation books,
	the period of quantitative expansion (1910-1945)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - it is the period of Japanese occupation, during which published books were generally grammar books without any exercises whatsoever, - instead of focusing on the content, bigger focus was placed on the volumes of published books,

	<p>the spring period of contemporary teaching materials (1946-1988)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - after the liberation, books for various learners, starting from Americans, were compiled, - activation of academic education thanks to the establishment of universities and academic associations (the system of KLE was finally formed,) - it is a period of growing interest in studying the KL,
	<p>the development period of contemporary teaching materials (1989-1999)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - further increase in the number of students, - more enlivened education at university institutions, - continuous development of KL books,
	<p>the globalization of Korean language teaching materials (after 2000)</p>	

Source: (cf. 고경민 2012)

Since the main goal of this research is to analyze KL books and teaching materials published after 2000, the overall analysis of the history of KL books will be based on the division proposed by 고경민(2012). In paragraph 2.4 teaching methods and the types of major books along with their features will be briefly described, according to those 6 stages.

2.3. Korean Language Institutions²¹

As far as the KLE is concerned it can be understood as both - teaching Korean to foreigners and to the native Koreans. As far as the first one is concerned, it can be understood as either teaching Korean as a 2nd language or as a foreign one.²² This research focuses mainly

²¹ The term 'Korean Language Institutions' refers to the institutions sponsored by the South Korean Government providing KL and culture classes, as an element of a conscious policy to popularize them among foreigners and overseas Koreans. This means that other numerous institutions such as universities, language centers etc., which operate abroad, despite having the same goal, will not be listed in the below Table 2.

²² It is worthy to mention, that the differences concerning the didactics of a language whether it is the learner's mother tongue or not, as well as those referring

on teaching KL as a foreign language, nonetheless while referring to the teaching materials, those for overseas Koreans and North Korean refugees will also be referred to.

For the last two decades the number of students interested in studying the KL and applicants to take TOPIK exam has been growing with every year. The rise in the number of academic institutions, public institutions and language centers, to teach Korean and culture is, without a doubt, a response to the growing demand. Some of them have been offering foreigners a complete range of courses taught in Korean or English. The number of those institutions is growing with every year, and this trend will continue in the future. Consequently, the number of programs on Korean studies will for sure continue to grow as well. The growing need for more focused programs can be observed through the activity of e.g. *the International Association for Korean Language Education* (IAKLE, Kor. 국제한국어교육학회, established in 1985) and *the European Association for Korean Language Education* (EAKLE, Kor. 유럽한국어교육자협회, established in 2007), which regularly organize international conferences devoted to various aspects concerning KLE.²³

Usually while referring to the popularity of Korean *the National Institute of the Korean Language* (NIKL, Kor. 국립국어원) and *the International Korean Language Foundation* (IKLF, Kor. 한국어세계화재단) are mentioned, since they help to establish individual language courses at educational institutions abroad. It is worthy to mention, that in 2006 'Standard Korean Language Education Curriculum Model Development Project' was introduced in 10 countries, among them Mongolia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, China, Taiwan, Sri Lanka and Vietnam. From 2010 with the focus on King Sejong Institutes (henceforward KSIs) a project concerning popularization

to the didactics of the 2nd language and a foreign one were noticed in the 1960s by a Polish scholar Professor Ludwik Zabrocki in "Językoznawcze Podstawy Metodyki Nauczania Języków Obcych"(1966: 51-60).

²³ Every year the subject of conferences is different - the 26th IAKLE conference held in Seoul in 2016 was organized under the theme of 'Differentiated Korean Language Education for Language Purposes and Learners', the 27th one was titled 'Practice of Mutual Cultural Viewpoint in Korean Classrooms', while the last one was focused on 'The New Perspective on Korean Language Teaching Materials in the Age of Technological Revolution'. It is worthy to mention that despite the fact that both conferences are international ones, they are generally conducted in Korean.

and standardization of the teaching process and the curriculum was adopted, and that the number of KSIs all around the world is growing with every year.²⁴

Choe Sang-Hun in the NY Times - Asia Pacific wrote an article titled ‘South Korea's Latest Export: Its Alphabet’ (12-10-2009), which confirms the huge expansion of *Hangeul*. It is also worthy to notice a conscious promotion of *Hangeul* and its popularization all around the world. Two types of strategies are being used by the South Korean Government in order to do so, namely the short-term and the long-term one. Within the first one the Government encourages to use the name *Sejonghakhwang* (Kor. 세종학당) and the standard textbooks, while the second one is to run an integrated language institute. *The King Sejong Institute Foundation* (KSIF, Kor. 세종학당재단) systematically supports the institutes around the world.

Table 2. Korean Language Institutions all around the world and the number of students

Educational Institution	Number of Institutions	Number of Students
King Sejong Institute (Kor. 세종학당)	130 ²⁵	37,177
Hangeul School (Kor. 한글학교)	1918 ²⁶	106,397
Korean School (Kor. 한국학교)	31 ²⁷	12,322
Korean Education Center (Kor. 한국교육원)	39 (17countries)	30,000
Korean Programs in Overseas Colleges (Kor. 국외대학 한국어 강좌)	845 (as for Dec. 2012)	57,440

²⁴ Cf. <http://korean.go.kr> (accessed 12-11-2017).

²⁵ As for August 2018, there were 174 KSIs in 57 countries - 100 of them in Asia, 41 in Europe, 3 in Africa, 4 in Oceania and 26 in America (cf. <https://www.ksif.or.kr/ste/ksf/hkd/lochkd.do?menuNo=21101800>, accessed 12-11-2018).

²⁶ According to the MOE as for 2017, there were 1080 schools (cf. http://okeis.moe.go.kr/OKMS/pot/lfd/OkmsAcIndex7Mng.do?menu_no=13200, accessed 16-02-2018).

²⁷ According to the MOE currently there are 32 schools in 17 countries, the number of students is 13,770 (cf. <http://www.moe.go.kr/boardCnts/view.do?boardID=348&boardSeq=71492&lev=0&searchType=S&statusYN=W&page=1&s=moe&m=040103&opType>, accessed 16-02-2018).

Korean Language Classes in Elementary and Secondary Schools (Kor. 초·중등 한국어 과목 수강)	882	82,886
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Source: The NIKL 『2014 숫자로 살펴보는 우리말』 .

Although this article focuses mainly on institutions providing Korean language and culture classes outside of South Korea (and sponsored by the South Korean Government), it is also worthy to mention some of the very first institutions to provide the classes in South Korea, they are as follows:

- 1) 1959 - Yonsei University Korean Language Institute (Kor. 연세대학교 한국어어학당; the first Korean language institute in South Korea),
- 2) 1962 - the National Institute for International Education Development (NIIED, Kor. 국제교육진흥원; the course was for overseas Koreans),
- 3) 1964 - *Myeongdowon* (Kor. 명도원; established at the St. Franciscan Monastery for foreign missionaries, who came to the St. Franciscan convent),
- 4) 1969 - Seoul National University, Language Research Institute (Kor. 서울대학교 어학연구소),
- 5) 1977 - the National Institute for the Education of Korean Nationals Residing Abroad (Kor. 재외국민교육원),
- 6) 1986 - Korea University, the Institute for Korean Cultural Studies (Kor. 고려대학교 민족문화연구소),
- 7) 1988 - Ehwa Womans University, Ewha Language Center (Kor. 이화여자대학교 언어교육원),
- 8) 1989 - Sun Moon University, Korean Language Institute (Kor. 선문대학교 한국교육원),
- 9) 1990 - Sogang University, Korean Language Education Center (Kor. 서강대학교 한국어교육원),
- 10) 1993 - Kyung Hee University, Seoul Language Research Institute (Kor. 경희대학교 서울 언어교육연구원)²⁸
- 11) 1997 - Hanyang University, International Language Institute (Kor. 한양대학교 국제교육원) etc.²⁹

²⁸ When Kyung Hee University (KHU) started KL course in 1993 it had only 2 students, however 10 years later the number exceeded 1000, in 2003 it doubled, in 2013 there were more than 6000 students - foreigners and overseas Korean, who completed KL course. Nowadays students from about 70 countries take classes on KL and culture at KHU (cf. 김중섭 2013: 39).

According to the website ‘Study in Korea’ administered by the South Korean Government there are currently 192 Korean Language Institutes, usually operated within universities, that offer KL and culture courses. Apart from them, there are also institutions offering foreigners KL classes free of charge, in order to enable them quicker assimilation with the Korean society, among them are: Soul Global Center, Migrant Workers Welfare Society in Korea, Korea Support Center for Foreign Workers or Seoul Migrant Worker Center.³⁰

2.4. Brief Outline of books for Korean Language learners - historical perspective

When not that many foreigners were studying Korean as a foreign language, books focused only on their level of proficiency appeared to be satisfactory. Nevertheless, with the globalization and the growing number of students, who for various reasons chose to study Korean, it was impossible to focus the book only on their level, which can be especially observed in books published in Korea and abroad in recent years. However, before analyzing the present book market offering various books for KL learners, let us say a few words on how the teaching methods and the teaching materials devoted to Korean have changed over time.

²⁹ It is also worthy to mention foreign universities, where KLE was firstly introduced: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (1873); Saint Petersburg State University (1879); Columbia University (1934); University of Helsinki (1935); The Defense Language Institute US (1941); University of Hawaii (1946); SOAS University of London (1949); Charles University in Prague (1950); Peking University (1950); Harvard University (1952); Taiwan National University (1956) etc. (cf. 이지영 2002). In Poland, KL course was firstly introduced at Warsaw University (1953) and secondly at Adam Mickiewicz University (1988). With time both universities have introduced Korean Studies as their majors - UW in 1983, UAM in 2003. For details concerning the situation of Korean Studies in Poland refer to Borowiak (2017).

³⁰ Cf. http://www.studyinkorea.go.kr/en/sub/college_info/room/language_search.do, (accessed 17-02-2018).

Table 3. The changes in KLE with the focus on teaching methods and features of the textbooks

Period	The teaching method	Books (Teaching Materials)	Features of the Books (Teaching Materials)
Before 1870	- KLE focused on translation and interpretation	- vocabulary books,	- vocabulary books for interpretation/ translation,
1870-1910 (the modern quickening period)	- imitation of the mother tongue's acquisition process, - audio-lingual approach focused on spoken language,	- grammar books, - conversation books with grammar notes,	- grammar introduction for the purpose of missionary work, - books are focused on short dialogues,
1910-1945 (the period of quantitative expansion)	- grammar translation method,	- grammar books, - conversation books, - books for overseas Koreans,	- systematization of grammatical categories, - dialogues in the form of conversation, - changes in orthography, - trying to form a Unit, - compilation of textbooks for ethnic Koreans residing in the post-Soviet states,
1946-1988 (development towards contemporary teaching materials)	- audio-lingual approach focused on grammar, spoken language and sentence patterns,	- grammar books, - conversation books, - reading books, - comprehensive books,	- lessons formed into Units, - since the 1960s the main text is presented, - Unit is focused on the main text, and has a systematic structure, such as: text-vocabulary-sentence pattern explanation-sentence and dialogue practice, - books become focused on the learner,

<p>1989-1999 (the development of contemporary teaching materials)</p>	<p>- communicate -ve approach focused on spoken language</p>	<p>- comprehensive textbooks for university use, - the beginning of integrated books (practicing all language skills)</p>	<p>- comprehensive books with dialogues, vocabulary, grammar, sentence patterns, exercises, reading, listening, - separating 'Student's Book' from a 'Workbook', - making cultural references in textbooks, - levels 1-6/8 were adjusted to the level of learner's proficiency,</p>
<p>after 2000 (the globalization of Korean language teaching materials)</p>	<p>- communicative, task-based, culture and literacy centered approach</p>	<p>- integrated books - teacher's book, - textbooks for special purposes,</p>	<p>- publishing books reflecting various objectives and purposes under the supervision of government organizations, - curriculum standardization, - the usage of various media such as websites, apps etc., - increase in the number of books on academic purpose reading, writing etc., - increase in the number of textbooks on culture.</p>

Source: 고경민 (2012: 21-25).

Along with the constantly growing number of KL learners and in order to meet their changing needs, the compilation of new textbooks and other teaching materials became a necessity. According to the data gathered by the NIKL and published in 『국내외 한국어교재 백서』 (2009), from 1864 until January 2009 in 33 countries including Korea there were 3399 books published, as the *Table 4.* shows.

Table 4. Korean language textbooks (teaching materials) published in South Korea and abroad

Publication by Regions		Country	The Number of Books Collected by the NIKL	The Total Number of Published Books
Published Domestically		South Korea	372	831
P u b l i s h e d	The 1 st region (Northeast Asia)	Japan	111	1,530
		China	146	424
		The rest	38	57
	The 2 nd region (other Asian countries)	Taiwan	23	35
		Vietnam	24	85
		Uzbekistan	0	4
		Indonesia	10	24
		Thailand	40	52
		The rest	3	19
	A b r o a d	The 3 rd region (Europe)	Germany	6
Russia			14	33
Poland			0	3 ³¹
France			0	4
Ukraine			0	2
The rest			2	12
The 4 th region (English)	USA	73	223	
	The rest	1	37	

³¹ According to the data presented in the Table 4., in Poland only 3 textbooks for KL learners were published until 2009. Nonetheless, as the below list shows, till then there were actually 4 books published (and after that few more). Among the former are: I. Textbooks: 1) Czhö Unhak et al. (1977) ‘Teksty do nauki języka koreańskiego’. W-wa: Wyd UW; 2) Kim Dzonggyn et al. (1990) ‘Teksty do nauki języka koreańskiego. Rozmówki koreańskie część II’. W-wa: Wyd. UW; 3) Ogarek-Choi H. et al. (1997) ‘Język Koreański 1 -kurs podstawowy 『한국어 1』’. W-wa: Dialog; 4) Ogarek-Choi H. et al. (2004) ‘Język Koreański 2 - kurs dla zaawansowanych 『한국어 2』’. W-wa: Dialog; II. Conversation books and dictionaries: 1) Jeong Deok Jeong (1998) ‘Rozmówki koreańskie’ 『폴란드어 회화』, Wyd. Daewoo-FSO, 2) (1998) ‘Słowniczek polsko-koreański, koreańsko-polski’ 『알기 쉬운 폴-한 한-폴 단어집』, Daewoo-FSO; 3) 김익성 (1999) ‘Słowniczek polsko-koreański, koreańsko-polski’ (1999) 『알기 쉬운 폴-한 한-폴 단어장』, 명지출판사; 4) 정병권 ed. (2002) ‘Słownik Polsko-Koreański’ 『폴란드어-한국어 사전』 한국외국어대학교출판부.

	speaking countries)			
	The 5 th region (Latin America)	-	0	0
	The 6 th region (mainly Arab and African countries)	Jordan	2	2
		Turkey	3	8
		Total 33 countries	Total 868 volumes	Total 3,399 volumes

Source: NIKL (2009) 『국내외 한국어 교재 백서』 .

As a curiosity, we will present titles of some of the first studies devoted to KL by Europeans, who were in fact missionaries. They are as follows:

- 1) John Ross (1877) ‘Corean primer’, American Presbyterian Mission Press,
- 2) Félix-Clair Ridel (1881) ‘Grammaire Coréenne’, 塔出版社,
- 3) John Ross (1882) ‘Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary’, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh,
- 4) James Scott (1887) ‘A Corean Manual or Phrase Book, with Introductory Grammar’, Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs,
- 5) James Scott (1891) ‘English-Corean Dictionary’, Corea, Church of England Mission Press,
- 6) James Scott (1893) ‘A Corean Manual or Phrase Book, with Introductory Grammar’, 2nd edition, Seoul: English Church Mission Press,
- 7) Horace G. A. Underwood (1890) ‘The Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language in Two Parts’, Yokohama,
- 8) James S. Gale (1897) ‘Korean-English Dictionary’, Yokohama,
- 9) James S. Gale (1903) ‘Korean Grammatical Forms’, Seoul Methodist Pub. House.

Among the first books prepared for foreign learners by Korean scholars are:

- 1) 박창해 (1960) 『한국어 교본』 , 연세대학교,
- 2) 명도원 (1964) 『선교사 한국어 교본』 ,
- 3) 박창해 (1965) 『한국어 교본 II (An Intensive Course)』 , 연세대학교 출판부.

Later on, books for English and Japanese speaking learners, as well as those for children of overseas Koreans, were published. Some of them are listed below:

- 4) 서울대학교 어학연구소(1970) 『한국어 독본』, 서울대학교 출판부,
- 5) 임호빈 외(1987) 『외국인을 위한 한국어 문법』, 연세대학교 출판부, (the first grammar book for foreigners by Korean scholars)
- 6) Anthony V. Vandesande (1968) 『MYONGDO'S KOREAN'68』 분도출판사,
- 7) Samuel E. Martin (1969) 『BEGINNING KOREA 한국어 독본』, Yale University Press,
- 8) 서울대학교 어학연구소 (1980) 『한국어 1』, 명지출판사,
- 9) 박기덕 (1980) 『KOREAN 2』, Yonsei University Press,
- 10) 고려대학교 민족문화연구소 (1986) 『한국어독본 I』, 우보사.

3. The review of Korean language books and teaching materials published in South Korea after 1988

After the Olympics in 1988 the new era in language teaching, manifesting itself in many dimensions has begun. The establishment of already-mentioned Korean Schools (Kor. 한국학교), *Hangeul* Schools (Kor. 한글학교) and others, has created a place to study for the children of overseas Koreans - the second or third generation descendants of Korean immigrants. EBS has started broadcasting 'Lectures on Basic Korean' (Kor. 기초 한국어 강좌), the Ministry of Culture and Sports (Kor. 문화체육부)³² in 1995 released 『한국어 교재』 (Korean Language Textbook) with CD-ROM, in 1998 the NIIED started running a website of *Hangeul* Schools and one year later Arirang TV started broadcasting programs on KL. All of this provided much easier access to KL, also the spoken one.

Nonetheless, with the inflow of foreigners marveled at Korean traditional culture the situation has started to change and so were books for them. Textbooks published between 1988-99 were comprehensive ones (dialogues, vocabulary, grammar, pattern sentences, exercises and reading) and were used by the publishing

³² In 2008 the ministry changed its the name into the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (Kor. 문화체육관광부).

universities or institutions during their classes, examples of which are listed below:

- 1) 이화여자대학교 언어교육원 (1991) 『외국인을 위한 한국어』, 이화여자대학교출판부,
- 2) 한국어문화연수부 (1991) 『한국어 회화』, 고려대학교민족문화연구소,
- 3) 서울대학교 어학연구소 (1992) 『한국어』, 대한민국문화부,
- 4) 이화여자대학교 언어교육원 (1998) 『말이 트이는 한국어』, 이화여자대학교출판부,
- 5) 연세대학교 한국어학당 (1992) 『한국어』, 연세대학교출판부,
- 6) 연세대학교 한국어학당 (1999) 『한국어 읽기』, 연세대학교출판부.

In books published at the second part of that period the communicative approach was chosen, and as a result textbooks such as 『말이 트이는 한국어』 (1998) by Ewha Womans University, with speaking, listening, reading and writing were introduced and published, and for the first time workbook for students was compiled. Soon after other universities follow suit and the students' book was separated from the main textbook. The publishing of workbook for students was the beginning for preparation of books devoted to practicing individual skills such as reading, and books devoted only to reading will soon after be published - 연세대학교 한국어어학당 (1999) 『한국어 읽기』 can serve as an example here.

Till about 2000 most of the learners were exchange students, studying at language institutes operated within universities. Nevertheless, after the 2002 Word Cup, people for various reasons started to learn Korean as a consequence, apart from the exchange students, South Korean society was also diversified by immigrants (economic and marriage based), children from the multicultural families, overseas Koreans, North Korean refugees, tourists etc. In May 2016, the Korea Times wrote that 'Foreign population in Korea reaches 1.9 million'.³³ Accordingly, the institutions offering KL classes started to mushroom all around the world. Technological development along with the Internet expansion brought enormous possibilities, thanks to which the educational process became more diversified and pleasant. The number of TV programs devoted to KL

³³ Cf. <http://www.kostat.go.kr/eng/> (accessed 21-01-2018).

as those proposed by EBS rose. Portable game machines (Kor. 휴대용게임기) offering KL programs with the *Hallyu* star Bae Yong-joon (Kor. 배용준), online games designed for practicing Korean as well as cellphone apps have been developed.

Along with the active popularization and promotion of Korean culture and language, which resulted in the enormous increase in the KL learners, the need for developing textbooks and other teaching materials grew with every year.

In the era of globalization, Korean language textbooks reveal the following characteristics:

- 1) they correspond to the various reasons as to why learners want to study Korean, in other words they are learner-centered (apart from topic-oriented books, student practice books and various dictionaries have been published), they are to help foreigners to master Korean as well as possible, and possibly to get a job in Korea and reside there,³⁴
- 2) a great number of them are devoted to particular language groups of learners (also books focused on practicing one or two skills at the same time appear),
- 3) bigger attention is also given to the content, which appears to be the necessity in the face of constant social and technological changes,
- 4) more attention is also paid to the graphic design of books, which is done not only in order to catch the learners' interest, but also to present the material in more accessible way (it seems to be of greater importance especially in the context of increasing competition in the publishing market),
- 5) technological development enabled compilation of books, dictionaries etc. using its power (CD, DVD, audiobooks, e-books, e-learning courses, TV programs, websites, cellphone apps etc.); consequently, books and other teaching materials using TV and Internet websites as media have been introduced.

³⁴ This interpretation might appear rather absurd, yet looking at the rapidly ageing society and the conscious policy of Korean Government to attract foreigners, it might not be that absurd after all.

What is more,

- 1) teaching became more standardized - levels of proficiency defined (although e.g. the same ending or grammatical construction can in fact be taught at the beginner level in one book and on intermediate one at another),
- 2) bigger attention is also given to teachers (as a result for their growing demand) - special majors at universities or training courses and workshops have been started,
- 3) in order to help the teachers to prepare their cases even better, books prepared especially for them also started to be published (some of them explain the usage of particular sentence patterns or endings, while others explain how to conduct the whole class; books used at KSIs, *Hangeul* Schools etc. can serve as examples of the latter).

Consequently, books and teaching materials used in the didactic process of Korean can be divided into few following classes. They will be characterized in a more detailed manner right after the below classification.

1. Textbooks

- i) **Regular textbooks** (designed for a wider range of students),
- ii) **User (Learner)-oriented textbooks** (designed for particular groups of users),
 - (1) **for academics**
 - a) **subject-oriented textbooks** (they are to help foreigners to prepare for studies at universities or for future job and focus on various fields such as literature, business etc.),
 - b) **skill-oriented textbooks** (writing, speaking, listening and speaking, reading etc.)
 - (2) **for teachers** (both Korean and non-Korean ones),
 - (3) **for immigrants**
 - a) marriage immigrants (for women only),
 - b) economic immigrants,
 - c) multicultural families,
 - d) for elementary, middle and high school children (of immigrants),
 - (4) **for overseas Koreans** (and their children),

- (5) **for North Korean refugees,**
- (6) **for tourists,**

iii) Method-oriented books (they are focused on one particular method of teaching), e.g. teaching through:

- (1) movies and dramas,
- (2) songs,
- (3) cooking,
- (4) humor,
- (5) idioms,
- (6) stories (including e.g. Bible stories).

2. Dictionaries

i) different kinds of dictionaries as far as their form is concerned

- (1) traditional (printed/ paper) dictionaries,
- (2) electronic dictionaries,
- (3) online dictionaries,
- (4) app dictionaries (with or without the need for Internet access),

ii) different kinds of dictionaries as far as their language is concerned

(1) monolingual dictionaries: Korean-Korean dictionaries
(for more advanced learners)

a) **lexical dictionaries** (topic-oriented ones)

- idioms,
- antonyms,
- synonyms,
- onomatopoeias and mimesis,
- easily mistaken words,

b) **grammar dictionaries** (with conjugation forms)

- verbs,
- adjectives,
- verbs and adjectives,
- grammatical constructions (for learners and / or for teachers),

(2) bilingual dictionaries

a) **form-oriented** (for wider range of users),

- regular dictionaries,
- picture dictionaries,

e.g. proverbs and idioms of Chinese origin, Korean
Body Language Dictionary,

b) **User(Learner)-oriented**

- **for a wider range of learners**

a) English-Korean, Korean-Russian, Polish-Korean
etc.

b) collocation dictionary (Korean-English)

- **for (foreign) teachers**

- **for specialists**

- medical dictionary,

- business dictionary,

- dictionary of applied linguistics, etc.

3. Internet resources

(1) **interactive textbooks** offered by several universities, among them *Yonsei University* (<https://www.coursera.org/learn/learn-korean>), *Sogang University* (<http://korean.sogang.ac.kr/>) and KSIF

(<http://www.sejonghacdang.org/sjcustu/opencourse/textbook/textbook/list.do>) - for both teachers and students (though prior log in is required), the NIKL (http://www.korean.go.kr/front/page/pageView.do?page_id=P000152&mn_id=38),

(2) **e-books** for learners and teachers (some of them for free download without prior registration) (<http://www.kosnet.go.kr/cop/bbs/selectBoardArticle.do>),

(3) **interactive classes (online) Korean lessons with personal language tutors** (through Skype), (<http://www.verbalplanet.com/learn-korean.asp>),

(4) **online (video) lectures** on Korean culture and language on sites such as KSIF (offered in several languages) and cyber universities e.g. CUK (<http://korean.cuk.edu/en/>), KHCU (<http://lk.khcu.ac.kr/>), KOSNET (<http://www.kosnet.go.kr/index.do?device=null>) (though prior log in is required),

(5) **online materials e.g. for TOPIK examination and other** (<http://www.topikguide.com/download-47th-topik-test-papers/>, <http://svk.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/korboardread.jsp?typeID=15&boardid=2757&seqno=1042985&c=&t>)

=&pagenum=1&tableName=TYPE_LEGATION&pc=&dc=&wc=&lu=&vu=&iu=&du)³⁵

4. TV and Radio programs

- (1) Arirang and EBS,
- (2) KBS World Radio (www.world.kbs.co.kr)

Apart from the above-mentioned materials in the context of KLE it is also worthy to mention the possibility to have private lessons over the phone with a native Korean and other activities performed by the NIKL - operating of the Korean Language Information Services with the usage of social media such as Facebook or Kakao Talk, managing call center etc. - all of that in order to provide the public services aiming at helping both Koreans and foreigners to use more refined language, meaning to promote the accurate usage of Korean.³⁶

The above classification of KL didactic materials drew some light on their variety. Nonetheless, in order to provide some additional information about them, some of their examples will be presented below. As far as the textbooks are concerned, since they are extremely numerous, listing all of them would be difficult giving the extent of this article, that is why, as already mentioned, only some selected ones will be mentioned here. All titles in each category will be presented according to the year of publication and not the name of the author.

³⁵ There are also Korean universities and institutions, which provide didactic materials online, among them are: KOSNET (KL Study on the Internet, www.kosnet.go.kr), Overseas Koreans Foundation (www.study.korean.net), KSIF (www.sejonghagdang.org), Paichai University (www.eckfl.pcu.ac.kr), Sogang University (www.korean.sogang.kr), SNU Language Education Institute (www.lei.snu.ac.kr), Yonsei University (www.yskli.com), The Cyber University of Korea (www.korean.cuk.edu).

³⁶ KL Call Center (tel. 1599-9979); Online help with KL usage (<http://www.korean.go.kr>) SNS Assistance: a) Kakao Talk: YellowD (<http://yellowd.kakao.com>), b) Facebook (<http://www.facebook.com/urimal356>).

1. BOOKS

i) Regular Textbooks

The great majority of them are designed for students, some of them though are for kindergarten or primary school kids, who study KL as e.g. as the second language. They focus on explaining everyday vocabulary and commonly used grammar, are adjusted to the level of proficiency, often offered with a CD, sometimes accompanied with a workbook. Some of them offer grammar and vocabulary explanation in one (as in the below (a)), some in two or more foreign languages (as in (b)).

- (a) 국립국어원 (2007) 『초급 한국어 (말하기, 듣기, 읽기, 쓰기)』 (Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino language),
국립국어원 (2010) 『중급 한국어 (말하기, 듣기, 읽기, 쓰기)』 (English, Mongolian, Chinese, Vietnamese),
국립국어원 (2012) 『초급 한국어 말하기』 (Russian, Spanish),
- (b) 국립국어원 (2013) 『세종 한국어 3/ 4』, 세종학당재단 (Korean, English, Chinese, Russian, French).

ii) User(Learner)-oriented books

(1) for academics (They are the most numerous.)

a) Subject-Oriented Textbooks

They are mainly focused on teaching specialized vocabulary from particular field(s) e.g. humanities, management, trade or art and are often offered with CDs. Despite containing some grammatical constructions, textbooks of this type have no exercises typical to regular textbooks. They are usually designed for learners, who wish to or are going to stay in Korea for longer period of time e.g. for university studies (not a language course), for work or residence in Korea since e.g. they got married to a Korean.

- 허용 (2007/9) 『외국인 유학생을 위한 인문 한국어』, 다락원,
- 강현화 et al. (2007/10) 『외국인을 위한 경영 한국어』, 다락원,
- 김금옥 et al. (2010) 『IT 공학 한국어』, 휴먼싸이언스,
- 최운식 et al. (2010) 『외국인을 위한 한국 문학』, 보고사,
- 이관식 et al. (2012) 『유학생을 위한 경영·무역 한국어』, 도서출판 박이정,
- 이관신 et al. (2012) 『유학생을 위한 예술·디자인 한국어』, 도서출판 박이정,

- 권오경 et al. (2012) 『외국인을 위한 한국 고전 작가론』, 박이정,
- 오선영 et al. (2014) 『고급 한국어, 경제와 사회편』, 소통.

Some of the books do not have CD though. That is probably because they are focused on expanding the vocabulary from a particular field, and not on mastering the listening skills.

b) Skill-Oriented Textbooks

Among recently published books for KL learners, there is a considerable number of books, which are supposed to prepare foreigners to become even more qualified e.g. for writing reports, conducting a debate and such. They are focused on academics. Some are devoted to practicing one particular skill, while others focus on mastering two of them, as presented below.

a. books focused on writing:

- 장향실 et al. (2010/2011) 『외국인 대학생을 위한 글쓰기의 기초』, 고려대학교출판부,
- 김호정 et al. (2011) 『외국인 유학생을 위한 학술적 글쓰기』, 한국학중앙연구원출판부,
- 최윤곤 (2015) 『한국어 리포트 작성입문』, 한국문화사,
- 이미란 et al. (2016) 『외국인 유학생을 위한 대학 글쓰기』, 전남대학교 한국어문학연구소 총서 3. 경진출판,
- 이순정 et al. (2016) 『유학생을 위한 A+ 글쓰기』 한글파크,

b. books focused on speaking:

- 김중섭 (2006) 『외국인 학부 유학생을 위한 한국어 말하기』, 유씨엘,
- 서울대학교 언어교육원 (2009) 『외국인을 위한 한국어 발음』, 랭기지플러스,
- 서울대학교 언어교육원 (2015) 『외국인을 위한 한국어 발음』, 한글파크,
- 여미란 et al. (2015) 『한국어 토론 입문』, 한국문화사,

c. books focused on reading:

- 조현용 (2006) 『외국인 학부 유학생을 위한 한국어 읽기』, 유씨엘,
- 김해옥 (2010) 『외국인을 위한 한국문화 읽기』, 에피스테메 (방송대출판문화원),

- 권영민 et al. (2011) 『외국인을 위한 한국문화 읽기』, 아름다운 한국어학교,
- 한국어읽기연구회 (2013) 『한국의 가족 행사 - 외국인을 위한 한국어 읽기』, 학이시습,
- 양승국 et al. (2014) 『외국인을 위한 한국문화 30 강』, 박이정,

d. books focused on speaking and listening:

- 이화여자대학교 언어교육원 (2008/2011) 『유학생을 위한 대학 한국어 1/2, 말하기·듣기』, Express.
- 김정훤 et al. (2010) 『대학 한국어 1, 듣기와 말하기』, 성균관대학교 출판부,

e. books focused on reading and writing:

- 임종수 et al. (2003) 『가장 쉬운 한글 읽기·쓰기 (일본어판)』, 한글파크,
- 이화여자대학교 언어교육원 (2008) 『유학생을 위한 대학 한국어 2, 읽기·쓰기』, 이화여자대학교출판부,
- 김정훤 et al. (2010) 『대학 한국어 2, 읽기와 쓰기』, 성균관대학교 출판부,
- 고려대학교 사고와 표현 교재편찬위원회 (2017) 『대학 한국어 1/2 - 비판적 읽기와 학문적 쓰기』, 고려대학교출판문화원,
- 이화여자대학교 언어교육원 (2018) 『유학생을 위한 대학 한국어 1/2, 읽기·쓰기』, 이화여자대학교출판문화원 (개정판, 1쇄 2008).

(2) Books for teachers

This type of books explains grammar issues or provides additional exercises to practice grammatical forms. They can be divided according to the nationality of the teacher - whether he or she is the native speaker of KL or a foreigner. Those for Korean teachers explain how to teach North Korean learners or primary, secondary and high school students - the offspring of immigrants, while those for foreign teachers are more focused on various types of activities, which can be used during classes.

a) books for Korean teachers:

- 임상수 et al. (2008) 『새터민 아동을 위한 교육 멘토링』, 교육 멘토링 총서 3, 교육과학사,
- 신명선 et al. (2012) 『새터민을 위한 한국어 어휘 교육』, 박이정,
- 국립국어원 (2015) 『초등학생을 위한 표준 한국어 1/2』, (교사용 지도서), 하우,
- 국립국어원 (2015) 『중학생을 위한 표준 한국어 1/2』, (교사용 지도서), 다락원,

- 국립국어원 (2015) 『고등학생을 위한 표준 한국어 1/2』, (교사용 지도서), 다락원,

b) books for foreign teachers:

- 허용 (2005) 『즐거운 한국어 수업을 위한 교실활동 100』, 박이정,
- 구본관 et al. (2009) 『한국어 수업을 위한 문법활동집 - 초급』, 랭기지플러스,
- 송영숙 et al. (2013) 『한국어 교사를 위한 문형 예문집』, 국제한국어교육협회.

(3) Textbooks for Immigrants

Along with the growing number of foreign migrant workers and marriage immigrants, the idea of ‘multicultural family’ was introduced. In order to enable them better assimilation to Korean society some measures had to be taken. Consequently, books and educational courses for multicultural families were introduced and, books for their children - primary, middle and high school students, were also published.³⁷³⁸ A great number of those books were developed by the NIKL.

a) books for marriage migrants:

- 여성가족부 (2005) 『여성이민자를 위한 한국어 교재』 (초·중급), 장하진,
- 국립국어원 (2007) 『여성 결혼 이민자를 위한 한국어 첫걸음』, 문화관광부 및 국립국어원³⁹
- 국립국어원 (2010) 『결혼이민자와 함께하는 한국어 1/2』 (+CD), 한글파크,
- 국립국어원 (2011) 『결혼이민자와 함께하는 한국어 3/ 4/ 6』 (+CD), 하우,

³⁷ It is also worthy to mention the existence of the National Center for Multicultural Education (Kor. 중앙다문화교육센터; <http://www.nime.or.kr/search/total/41?searchOn=1&targetOnly=archives>, accessed 12-11-2018).

³⁸ When in 2006 prof. Lee Jeonghee at classes devoted to the research on KL textbooks (taught at KHU) asked as - graduate students to write one chapter of KL book for any target group we wished to, we were quite surprised that few students actually chose immigrant women married to Koreans, foreign workers and American soldiers. As it turned out, books devoted to these particular learner groups were soon published.

³⁹ Phrases are translated into 11 languages, which confirms the national variety of women to marry Koreans.

- 국립국어원 (2012) 『결혼이민자와 함께하는 한국어 5』 (+CD), 하우,
- 이정희 et al. (2015) 『이민자를 위한 한국어와 한국문화 기초』 (+CD), 한국이민재단,
- 이정희 et al. (2015) 『이민자를 위한 한국어와 한국문화 초급 1/2』 (+CD), 한국이민재단,
- 이미혜 et al. (2015) 『이민자를 위한 한국어와 한국문화 중급 1/2』 (+CD), 한국이민재단,

b) books for (foreign immigrant) workers:

- 국제노동협력원 (2003) 『외국인 노동자를 위한 재미있는 한국어 1』, 국제노동협력원,
- 국제노동협력원 (2007) 『외국인 노동자를 위한 재미있는 한국어 2』, 국제노동협력원,
- 농협 (2010) 『외국인 근로자 고용 농업인 위한 생활회화집』, 농협.
- 허용 et al. (2012) 『이주 노동자를 위한 아자아자 한국어 1』 (+CD), 한글파크,
- 허용 et al. (2012) 『이주 노동자를 위한 아자아자 한국어 2』 (+CD), 한글파크.

c) books for multicultural families:

- 한글파크 (2012) 『다문화 가족을 위한 한국어 단어 카드 라라라 1(공부)/ 2(놀이)/ 3(생활)/ 4(음식)』,
- 정월순 et al. (2015) 『다문화 가족을 위한 문장으로 배우는 한국어』, 넥센미디어.

c) books for migrants' children:

- 양민정 et al. (2012) 『엄마 · 아빠 나라 다문화 옛날이야기』, 한글파크,
- 국립국어원 (2013) 『초등학생을 위한 표준 한국어 1/2』 (+CD), 하우,
- 국립국어원 (2013) 『중학생을 위한 표준 한국어 1/2』 (+CD), 다락원,
- 국립국어원 (2013) 『고등학생을 위한 표준 한국어 1/2』 (+CD), 다락원,
- 국립국어원 (2016) 『초등학생을 위한 표준 한국어 익힘책 1』 (+CD), 하우.

(4) Textbooks for overseas Koreans

Even though few books for overseas Korean (e.g. for children) have been published, regrettably they are not available in the biggest bookstore in Seoul - Kyobo Bookstore. There are however few books for children, devoted to English, Russian, French, Vietnamese, Thai etc. speaking learners and those for the wider use (written in Korean). The reason behind that could be the fact that they are available as e-books - for both students and teachers, some of them are listed below.

⁴⁰

- 재외동포교육진흥재단 (2006) 『한글학교 학생용 동화로 배우는 한국어』 ,
- 재외동포교육진흥재단 (2006) 『한글학교 학생용 한국 문화』 ,
- 재외동포교육진흥재단 (2006) 『한글학교 학생용 한국 문학』 ,
- 한국교육과정평가원 (2010) 『한국어 회화 1』 ,
- 한국교육과정평가원 (2012) 『한국어 회화 2』 ,
- 재외동포교육진흥재단 (2012) 『한글학교 한국어 1~6』 ,
- 재외동포교육진흥재단 (2012) 『맞춤 한국어 1~6 영어권 (재외동포 어린이)』 ,
- 교육과학기술부, 국립국제교육원 (2012) 『한국인의 생활 I, II』 (일어권).

(5) Books for North Koreans Refugees

These books are to help North Koreans to understand South Korean reality and assimilate with the society, thus they include subjects such as community life, cultural life or private life.

- 권순희 et al. (2012) 『북한이탈주민의 대한민국 정착을 위한 생활 어휘 1(공공 생활)/2(문화 생활)/3(개인 생활)』 , 하우,
- 권순희 et al. (2013) 『북한이탈주민의 대한민국 정착을 위한 생활 말하기』 (+ CD), 하우.

(6) Books for tourists (also medical ones)

Korea has become a very attractive tourist destination. It attracts not only regular tourists, who wish to experience Korean culture and to learn few phrases, but also those, who wish to get a medical

⁴⁰ It is also worthy to mention the existence of *the Educational Foundation for Koreans Abroad* (EFKA, Kor. 재외동포교육진흥재단, <http://www.efka.or.kr/user/main.asp>), some nice e-learning sites developed especially for them (e.g. <http://efka.co.kr/>) and sites with dozens easily downloadable e-books (e.g. <http://www.kosnet.go.kr/index.do?device=null>).

treatment there. South Korea is in fact becoming one of the major centers for medical tourism in Asia, this explains the importance of this type of tourists for the country and the rising demand for books developed especially for them.⁴¹

- 한민이 (2005) 『바로 통하는 여행 한국어 (중국인용)』, 넥서스,
- 장미영 (2009) 『병원 한국어 중국인을 위한 의료한국어』, 한국문화사,
- ブルーガイド編集部 (2010) 『그림 손가락 회화 (한국어-일본어)』, 實業之日本社,
- 장미영 et al. (2012) 『병원 용어 (한국어-일본어) 의료 관광을 위한 필수 의료 용어 수록』, 어문학사,
- 김중섭 et al. (2012) 『Korean Phrase Book for Travelers (English- Korean, Korean-English)』, Hollym,
- 하이코 이탈 (2013) 『독일인을 위한 한국어 여행 사전』, 문예리,
- 강선화 et al. (2013) 『성신 한국어 초급 2: 음식 주문에서 여행까지 할 수 있어요』, 성신여자대학교출판부,
- 임금복 (2014) 『성신 한국어 초급 3: 소개에서 여행과 명소까지』, 성신여자대학교출판부,
- 장미영 et al. (2014) 『영어 환자를 위한 병원 한국어』, 역락,
- 장지연 et al. (2015) 『여행, 유학, 비즈니스맨을 위한 자신만만 통 한국어』, 탐메이드북.

Although Korean language textbooks for soldiers of the US Armed Forces stationing in South Korea as well as diplomats have not been published yet, few universities offer classes especially for this kind of learners.

Since the importance of the TOPIK exam grew over time, various universities and educational centers started to follow the TOPIK scale in the textbooks while marking the levels of proficiency. Consequently, the following scale was or still is being used:

- a) beginner 1-2 (초급 I, II), intermediate 1-2 (중급 I, II), advanced 1-2 (고급 I, II)

⁴¹ The International Medical Travel Journal (INTJ) on the basis of data provided by the South Korean Ministry of Health and Welfare, points out that South Korea spends \$1 billion a year to attract medical tourists and that there are 1,709 registered hospitals/clinics along with 1,413 licensed private businesses that engage in marketing in order to attract this type of tourists (cf. <https://www.imtj.com/country/KR/#horizontalTab5>, accessed 10-11-2018).

- (the scale was used from the 1st edition of the exam in 1997 till the 34th edition in Feb. 2014),
- b) the six-number scale - 1~6 levels (1 급~6 급)
(the scale is being used since the 35th edition in June 2014 till present).

Apart from the above-mentioned subject- oriented textbooks or User(Learner)-oriented textbooks, there are also books, which use alternative ways of teaching through e.g. movies, songs, games, stories etc. Since they are designed for wider range of students and thus they bare some resemblance with the regular textbooks. They can in fact become their subcategory. Some of their titles divided according to the teaching method are listed below:

(1) Movies and dramas

- 편집부 (2006) 『드라마 신입사원으로 배우는 한국어』 (일본어판), 아름다운한국어학교,
- 김숙자 et al. (2008) 『오세암 - 영화로 배우는 한국어』, 한국학술정보,
- 편집부 (2011) 『드라마로 배우는 생생 한국어 1』 (일본어판, 중국어판), 서강대학교 한국어교육원,
- 편집부 (2011) 『드라마로 배우는 생생 한국어 2』 (중국어판), 서강대학교 한국어교육원,

(2) Songs

- 이선미 et al. (2012) 『노래로 배우는 한국어』 (+CD), 하우,
- Park Sunyoung et al. (2016) 『케이팝 코리안』, 다락원,

(3) Cooking

- 장미영 (2009) 『요리로 배우는 한국어』, 한국문화사,
- 천선옥 (2010) 『매콤 새콤 달콤 셰프 한국어』 (+CD), 한글파크,
- 김영주 et al. (2011) 『요리하며 배우는 한국어 - 요리한국어』, 한국문화사,

(4) Humor

- 최권진 (2009) 『유머로 배우는 한국어 (중급)』, 한국문화사,

(5) Idioms

- 김충실 et al. (2006) 『관용어로 배우는 한국어』, 박이정,

(6) Stories (and Bible stories)

- 김영주 et al. (2013) 『성경이야기로 배우는 한국어 (아동용)』, 하우,

- 김영주 et al. (2013) 『성경이야기로 배우는 한국어 (청소년용)』, 하우,
- 김미숙 et al. (2015) 『이야기로 배우는 한국어 재미있는 이야기, 쉬운 한국어』, 박이정,
- 이은자 et al. (2015) 『한국의 옛날이야기로 배우는 한국어, 한국문화』, 연락,

(7) **Cartoons**

- 이경은 et al. (2011) 『4 컷 Cartoon 한국어 - 의성어·의태어』, 한글파크,

(8) **Culture**

- 순천향대학교 한국어교육원 (2008) 『문화로 배우는 한국어 2』, 보고서,
- 전미순 (2008) 『문화 속 한국어 1』, 랭기지플러스,
- 전미순 (2009) 『문화 속 한국어 2』 (+CD), 랭기지플러스,

(9) **News**

- 장소원 et al. (2015) 『YTN 뉴스로 배우는 시사 한국어』 (+CD), 박이정,
- Talk to Me in Korean (2015) 『News in Korean』, 룡테일박스.

2. Dictionaries

As far as the dictionaries are concerned, they can be divided into monolingual and bilingual ones. Both of them can furtherly be divided into two categories. The type of dictionary entry can become the criterium for dividing monolingual dictionaries into lexical and grammatical ones. Both of these types are developed for more advanced learners, since the explanation is given in Korean. Lexical dictionaries explain e.g. frequently misused words, idiomatic, onomatopoeic and mimetic expressions, while grammatical ones the conjugative forms of verbs and adjectives.

Bilingual dictionaries, on the other hand, can be divided according to the User - namely those for the majority of learners and those for the professionals. Both of them are not only prepared for KL students or foreign experts but also for Korean students studying foreign languages e.g. English and professionals as well. Examples of mono- and bilingual dictionaries are given below:

i) Monolingual dictionaries:

a) Lexical dictionaries

- 박영준 et al. (1996) 『관용어 사전』, 태학사,

- 임창호 (2001) 『혼동되기 쉬운 말 비교 사전』, 우석,
- 이재운 et al. (2008) 『뜻도 모르고 자주 쓰는 우리말 속어 1000 가지』, 예담,
- 한국어교육연구소 (2015) 『한국어 의성어·의태어』, 동양 Books,

b) Grammatical dictionaries

- 백봉자 (1999) 『외국어로서의 한국어 문법 사전』, 연세대학교 출판부,
- 김정숙 et al. (2005) 『외국인을 위한 한국어 문법 2』, 커뮤니케이션북스,
- 남지순 (2007) 『한국어 동사·형용사 활용 마법사』, 도서출판 박이정,
- 김종록 (2009) 『외국인을 위한 표준 한국어 동사 활용 사전』, 박이정.

ii) Bilingual dictionaries

a) Form-oriented dictionaries

a. regular dictionaries (KL Dictionaries):

- 이기원 (2007) 『한국어의 의성어와 의태어』, 한국문화사,
- 김하수 et al. (2007) 『한국어 교육을 위한 한국어 연어 사전』, 커뮤니케이션북스,
- 오미정 et al. (2007) 『외국인을 위한 한국어 외래어』, 월인,
- Park Brayon (2009) 『한국어 형용사 500 활용 사전』, Hollym International Corp. SOTONG,
- 박규병 et al. (2013) 『한국어 관용어 사전』, 도서출판 문예림.

b. picture dictionaries:

- Shapiro et al. (1998) ‘The Oxford Picture Dictionary - English/Korean’, Oxford University Press,
- 강현화 (2009) ‘Korean Picture Dictionary (English, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Mongolian)’ (+CD), 다락원,
- 강현화 (2013) ‘Korean Picture Dictionary (Spanish, French, German)’ (+CD), 다락원,
- Carlson Jr. Richard et al. (2017) ‘English-Korean Bilingual Children’s Picture Dictionary Book of Colors’, Createspace Independent Publishing Platform.

b) User(Learner)-oriented dictionaries

a. for a wider range of learners

- 넥서스사전편찬위원회 (2007) 『(영한) 넥서스 영한 사전』, 오분사출판사,

- 정병권 ed. (2002) 『폴란드어 - 한국어 사전』, 한국어외국어 대학교출판부,

b. for (foreign) teachers (and students)

- 조현용 (2009) 『한국인의 신체 언어』, 소동,
- 한국어교육연구소 (2015) 『한국어 관용 표현』, 동양 Books,
- 한국어교육연구소 (2015) 『한국어 속담·한자성어』, 동양 Books.

c. for specialists (medical, business, applied linguistics, interpretation and translation dictionaries)

- 이우주 ed. (2005) 『컬러판 영한-한영 의학 사전』, 아카데미서적,
- 김필진 (2009) 『한영-영한 비즈니스 인사이트 용어사전』, 비즈니스맵,
- 박경자 et al. (2001) 『(영한) 응용언어학 사전』, 도서출판 경진문화사,
- 이진영 (2007) 『통역·번역 기초 사전』, 이화여자대학교 출판부,
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4. Concluding Remarks

For the last twenty years there has been a rise in demand for the KL due to cultural and commercial globalization as well as the Internet Revolution. The international interest in Korean culture such as dramas and music has increased tremendously, especially in Asia and Europe, leading to what has been known as the ‘Korean Wave’. This state of affairs is also the result of conscious, well-planned initiatives and constant efforts taken up by the Korean Government, ministries, various institutions and agencies, focused on promotion and propagation of Korea’s image, its values and identity all around the world. The expansion of Korean companies has also added its contribution here.

Consequently, there has also been an increase in the number of visitors from abroad as well as those, who reside in South Korea temporary or permanently (economic immigrants - both white and blue-collar workers, marriage immigrants, as well as students and medical tourists). Globalization realized the need to develop new

teaching materials more adapted to the needs of constantly growing variety of learners. The Government has also been working on legislations, which would not only attract even more foreigners, but also on those, which would help foreigners to understand Korean and assimilate with the Korean society not only by providing KL courses but also lectures on the history, culture and tradition.

Technological development has not only diversified the means to which learners can learn and practice their language skills, but also owing to the access to various types of sources is simpler, fun, and even convenient. Nonetheless, despite all those various means to which students can learn the language by themselves to some extent, the demand for teachers is still growing. One of the aspects, which needs to be referred to here, is the attention KL teachers have received for the last few years. The teacher has started to be perceived as somebody who has to get proper education, and that is why from early 2000s at graduate schools and undergraduate courses the systematic KLE as a major was introduced. The number of institutions offering training for teachers is also on the rise. In 2014 there were 162 universities offering KL teaching majors and about 178 institutions which provided such training (of course for a shorter period of time). In fact, Koreans taking efforts in order to popularize and thus preserve Korean language and culture are demonstrating their patriotism.

In the era, where almost everybody speaks English, the constant and multifaceted promotion of KL for such a big and still growing scale, not only by providing books but also by establishing various institutions all around the world, where learners can study Korean, and where they can get to know Korean culture is a very positive phenomenon. We are positive that this trend will continue in the future.

Korean textbooks and teaching materials despite coming the long way - as far as the teaching methods, attractive form often reflecting the spirit of time (online books, e-books, apps etc.) and their variety are concerned, there is still a demand for User(Learner) - oriented and topic-focused books, e.g. for corporate workers, managers, translators and interpreters, diplomats, airline staff and airport employees, since the number of foreigners, who work in Korean companies is growing with every year, and so is the number of Koreans traveling abroad. There is also the need for books for teenagers, since prospective learners interested in KL and culture are getting younger. Apart from already-mentioned books, dictionaries

e.g. of synonyms and antonyms explaining in a more detailed manner the differences in usage of particular lexemes, as well as dictionary of neologisms would really be handy, if compiled.

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**CROSS-CULTURAL LITERATURE
AND CULTURAL REPRODUCTION:
THE CASE OF THE KOREAN
AUTOBIOGRAPHY *HANJUNGNOK***

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Abstract: This paper is an investigation how cultural perception could be embedded in language and literature and how this helps different analyses on a same historical event. The article includes the comparison between a work of classical Korean literature, *Hanjungnok* (한중록), and an English-translated version of it, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyekyŏng*, translated by Kim-Haboush, and a work of a British novel, *The Red Queen*, written by Margaret Drabble. The comparison is to explore the language use regarding a perception of family relations and of gender in each version of writing. This paper concludes that authors' and audience's language and cultural background would influence on perceiving and analysing literature and its context so that each interpretation could be differentiated, even with the actual historical event.

Key words: Korean Literature, *Hyegyeonggung Hongssi*, Margaret Drabble, Universal Literature, *Hanjungnok*

비교문화 문학과 문화적 재생산: 한국의 자서전 한중록을 바탕으로

논문초록: 이 연구는 언어와 문학 속에 문화적 인식이 담겨 있는지와 이러한 문화적 인식이 하나의 역사적 사건에 대해서 어떻게 다른 해석을 하는지를 살펴본다. 이를 위해, 궁중소설인 한중록과, 김-하부쉬가 영어로 번역한 한중록의 번역본, 마지막으로, 소설가 마가렛 드래블이 집필한 소설 '더 레드 퀸 (붉은 왕세자빈)'에서 사용된 언어들을 비교한다. 특히, 가족과 젠더에 관한 인식에 대해서 조사한다. 이 요소들을 통해서 작가와 독자들의 언어적, 문화적 배경에 따라서 문학을 인식하고 적용하는 것은 다르며, 또한 사실을 기반으로 한 역사적 상황에 대해서도 다른 해석이 가능할 수 있다는 것을 밝힌다.

주제어: 한국 문학, 혜경궁 홍씨, 마가렛 드래블, 한중록, 보편(적) 문학

**LITERATURA MIĘDZYKULTUROWA A KULTUROWE
ODTWARZANIE: PRZYPADK HANJUNGNOK – KOREAŃSKIEJ
AUTOBIOGRAFII**

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł skupia się na zjawisku percepcji kulturowej zanurzonej w literaturze i języku a także na tym, w jakim stopniu jest ono przydatna w analizach zjawisk historycznych. Tekst zawiera porównanie klasycznego dzieła koreańskiego, *Hanjungnok* (한중록) oraz jego angielskiego przekładu Kim Haboush – *The Memoirs of Lady Hyekyŏng* i powieści Margaret Drabble *The Red Queen*. Zestawienie to pozwala na porównanie języka wykorzystanego w tych powieściach w aspektach relacji rodzinnych i rodzaju każdej z tych pozycji. Artykuł prowadzi do wniosku, że tło kulturowe oraz język autora i odbiorcy wpływają na percepcję i analizę literatury z jej kontekstem. Każda z tych interpretacji różni się, mimo, że odnoszą się do tych samych faktów historycznych.

Słowa-klucze: literatura koreańska, *Hyegyeonggung Hongssi*, Margaret Drabble, literatura uniwersalna, *Hanjungnok*

1. Introduction

Margaret Drabble is a famous British feminist author who has been called a contemporary Bronte sister. In 2004, she published a novel entitled *The Red Queen* which has been listed as one of the ‘1000 Books You Must Read Before You Die’ (*The Guardian* 2011). It is interesting that this novel has attracted readers to its story, which tells of a far-east Asian country’s history and traditions, but it is doubtful whether readers regard the story as history or as a novel. This is significant because it does actually illustrate real historical events in the eighteenth centuries in Korea under the Joseon dynasty. Even though a novel is an artificially created form of literature, it can still possibly create images of real events and real characters. Drabble’s book was inspired by *The Memoirs of Lady Hyekyŏng*, translated into English by Kim-Haboush. The novel is divided into two parts: past and present settings. The past is principally narrated by the ghost of Lady Hyekyŏng, who recalls her life and tells her story to readers. The plot is that Lady Hyekyŏng talks about her life after she has observed the changing world from her afterlife viewpoint. What makes this possible is that Lady Hyekyŏng as a ghost has knowledge of the history and philosophy of Western institutions and she explains Korean historical events from the Western perspective using many examples drawn from Freudian psychoanalysis and historical events in Europe.

Hyegyonggung Hongssi (1735-1815), also known as Lady Hyekyŏng or Lady Hong (in order to avoid confusion, this paper will indicate her name as Hyegyonggung Hongssi in the official Revised Romanization of South Korea), was the wife of Jangjo (莊祖, 1735-1762). Jangjo is well-known as Sado Seja, the crown prince and son of Yeongjo (英祖, 1694-1776), the twenty-first king of Korea, who reigned from 1724 to 1776 and was of the Joseon dynasty (Kim-Haboush 2011: 352). Sado Seja is remembered as one of the most shockingly tragic royal family members and crown princes because he died in a rice chest after his father, King Yeongjo, had ordered him to be captured and locked in the chest in order to prevent him from escaping. Sado Seja struggled inside the rice chest for a week and eventually died there. This is called the *Imo* Incident. The major reason for it is believed to be that King Yeongjo was upset by Sado Seja’s unacceptable behavior as a crown prince. It has been stated that

Sado Seja had a mental disease, probably an obsession, which drove him to kill innocent people. Hyegyeong Hongssi wrote her autobiography from a family-centered perspective. The autobiography is entitled *Hanjungnok* and it describes her entire life from her childhood to her marriage and life in a palace. She started with her childhood and stories about her family and then went on to talk about her life after being selected to become a crown princess and moving into the palace to become part of the royal family when she was only twelve years old. She lived a tragic life because she witnessed the deaths of her husband, her brother, her parents and her son. Because of this, she has been represented as a symbol of tragedy, and this has made her autobiography more special. As a noblewoman, she expressed 恨 (*Han*) which is deep resentment and sorrow (Kim 2009; my translation). She closely depicted her own family and the royal family. In terms of historical values, she was able to find out about the royal family and incidents, in which it was involved very closely from her own perspective. In her record, individual psychology and affairs of state, personal relations and public duties, innocence and experience, tragedy and mystery are woven together to represent her life, her family and the historical *Imo* Incident (Wells 2015: 112). This is one of the points, which makes her autobiography so significant (Kim 2005; my translation).

Another significant feature of this autobiography is that it is unusually a female autobiography written in the eighteenth centuries during the Joseon dynasty. Most traditional Korean women writers or artists of that period are unknown or anonymous because it was very difficult for women to get their work published. Only a few women were successfully in being named for their creative work. Most of the surviving works by women were written by noblewomen; they were educated and had enough time to concentrate on producing their creative work, unlike women who belonged to a lower class because they were kept busy working in their homes. Additionally, even though some lower-class women did create some works of literature and art, these have been considered as less important than works created by noblewomen (Kim-Renaud 2004: 4).

This female literature has been translated into different languages, especially into English. There have been three different English translations of *Hanjungnok*: the first was translated by Grant and Kim (1980), the second by Choe-Wall (1985) and the third by Kim-Haboush (1996). The most recent translation, that of Kim-

Haboush, has been evaluated as the most successful and progressive one, compared with the previous two in terms of faithfulness to the original contexts and readability for audiences in English. As *Hanjungnok* is a classical and traditional Korean literary work, it contains stories and customs, which are unusual to audiences from other cultural backgrounds. Kim-Haboush considered both intra-linguistic factors, such as idioms, puns and word play, and extra-linguistic elements, such as social structure, in her translation. She used simple language and omitted the use of polite language since English puts less linguistic distinction on polite and respectful phrases compared with Korean. Also, the societal system and customs are more carefully explained in her translation (Kim 2009; my translation).

As Drabble was influenced by Kim-Haboush's English translation of *Hanjungnok*, the use of language in the translation could have affected her novel as well as it can be found that she might have reproduced the voice of Hyebyeonggung Hongssi from the perspective of her Westernised analysis. Also, she has stated that she had attempted to write a universal work, in which the story could be understood and sympathised with by readers from any culture (Drabble 2004). Sapir and Whorf linked linguistic categories to conceptual categories. They argued that linguistic effects go beyond consciousness as language is a prototype of historical ideas (Gumperz and Levinson 1996a: 5). For this reason, accurate translation might be impossible from one language to another because linguistic and cultural differences reflect the world view (Kelly 1979). A novel might include some effects of literature such as over-generalisation or metaphors to increase the fun, in order to attract readers. However, this could also be observed as showing how an author has interpreted and analysed the original autobiography from her own perspective.

This paper will offer a discussion of how cultural perception can be embedded in language and literature using a comparison between a work of classical Korean literature, *Hanjungnok*, an English-translated version of it, and a work of British literature, *The Red Queen*, which was inspired by *Hanjungnok* and which borrowed its story. First, there will be a discussion of how the language usage in each version changed from a Korean autobiography into an English translation of it and then from the translation to the English novel. This will be followed by an exploration of how the autobiography is reproduced in the novel in terms of the author's, from

Hyegyeong Hongssi's to Drabble's, perspective on family relationships and on gender.

2. Transmission of the Voice of Hyegyeong Hongssi

2.1. Original Text to Translation

It might be difficult to realise the originality of *Hanjungnok*. It was composed and written in Korean, which makes it immediately distinctive compared with other works written in the same period because works written by men before the modern era were written in literary Chinese (Kim-Haboush 1996: 3). Also, from old Korean to contemporary Korean, there have been several editions and translations. The *Hanjungnok* edited by Jeong in 2010 has been considered as the most similar to the original *Hanjungnok* written by Hyegyeong Hongssi in the eighteenth century because Jeong included both Old and Modern Korean in the book (Heo 2010; my translation). *Hanjungnok*, which is called the 'original text', would also have once been translated from ancient Korean into contemporary Korean. There may have been differences in language use and characters between the two, although they are the same Korean. In the same way that the works of Chaucer were written in English, but modern readers nevertheless need a translated version. However, in terms of language transfer, only translation from Korean to English will be considered in this paper.

Both the 2010 edition of *Hanjungnok* and the translation of *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng* preserve the format of an autobiography. The only difference between the two versions is the language: Korean and English. The major difference between Korean and English is that the former has stronger polite and respectful forms, which have to be strictly followed depending on the hierarchy of communicators, compared with the latter (Song 2014). Kim (2009) made a comparison of the texts between *Hanjungnok* and *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng* in translation studies and found several major points of comparison. The first is the use of metaphors, which would be familiar to readers in the translated language, English.

(In this paper, I will include ‘my translation’ as I literally translate the Korean version of *Hanjungnok* into English, to reduce a translator’s or author’s choice of language/contextual expressions.)

For instance,

“정치가 비록 인물이 괴이하여 천태만상이나 실은 한 부녀라, 쥬내에서 상없는 것이나 하지 후겸 곧 아니면 조정에 간섭하여 권을 의사야 어찌 내었으리오. (Jeong 2002: 128; cited in Kim 2009: 60-61)

‘Jeongcheo is a weird person and behaves in various ways, but she is still a daughter as well as a mother. She does things, which are unacceptable in a palace, but it would be impossible for her to meddle in the affairs of the palace and to wield power without thinking about Huyeom.’ (my translation)

‘Although Madame [Jeongcheo] was wicked and as changeable as a chameleon, she was still but a woman. Had it not been for [Huyeom], she would have remained content to meddle in the affairs of the inner palace, thinking it impossible to interfere in the politics of the court and to wield power.’ (Kim-Haboush 1996: 153; cited in Kim 2009: 60-61; my translation)

In her description 정처 (*Jeongcheo*), Hyegyonggung Hongssi used the word 천태만상 (千態萬象), which means something, which has various forms. However, Kim-Haboush translated this into a metaphor of a chameleon. In the eighteenth century, chameleons were not known in the Joseon dynasty, but the translator nevertheless used this expression because it is familiar to readers in the translation target culture (Kim 2009: 60-61). Kim-Haboush considered other cultural factors when translating the source text *Hanjungnok* in Korean into English. One was cultural differences. The term 옹주 (翁主; *Ongju*) means a daughter of a royal concubine. This is different from a princess. Only a daughter of queen, who is a consort of a king or crown prince, could be called 공주 (公主; *Gongju*), a princess. Unlike Korean, English does not distinguish any difference between these words so the translator chose to refer to all royal daughters as princesses (Aixela 1996).

Also, in terms of language use, there are some differences between Korean and English, and they have to be modified as part of a translator’s job. Korean has more diverse levels of speech with

honorifics and polite and respectful expressions than English. In Korean discourse, politeness in language use is related to the relationship between communicators, such as familiarity or social or familial hierarchies, and these might be difficult to understand or distinguish for speakers of English (Song 2012: 140). For example, there are two different ways to describe ‘tears’ in Korean: 눈물 (*nunmul*) and 안수 (*ansu*). The use of each word is different, depending on who is producing the tears and who is describing the act. The first word is commonly used, but the second is related to court language and is used to describe the tears of higher-ranking people. Even in contemporary Korean, it is used to refer to holy people weeping, such as God or Jesus. In her English translation, Kim-Haboush used only ‘tears’, regardless of who was weeping. Hyegyeong Hongssi, however, used the second form, *ansu*, when describing the tears of the queen or of her husband, the crown prince Sado Seja and her son because they were of higher rank than Hyegyeong Hongssi herself (Kim 2009: 65). In terms of discourse, the English translation of *Hanjungnok* may have limits in terms of translating discourse or nuance. *Hanjungnok* is a novel, which reveals Hyegyeong Hongssi’s emotions towards the people surrounding her in the royal family and in her own family as it is an autobiography. She described 화평옹주 (Hwapyeongongju) using positive language expressions and referred to her as 당신 (*dangsin*; ‘you’), so it can be assumed that Hyegyeong Hongssi was offended by Hwapyeongongju because she referred to her as 그 사람 (*geu saram*; ‘that person’); 당신 becomes simply ‘you’ in English, but in Korean this expression includes respect and politeness. Kim-Haboush decided to translate both expressions, translating them simply as ‘she’ or by using the person’s name. This device may not fully deliver the emotions of Hyegyeong Hongssi but only transfer the actual facts, of what happened. Additionally, Kim (2009: 67) pointed out a distinction between the use of direct and indirect speech. As a work of court literature, in *Hanjungnok*, Hyegyeong Hongssi, as a noblewoman belonging to the royal family, found it difficult to express her feelings directly. Furthermore, one of the beauties of court literature in classical Korean works from the Joseon Dynasty was the use of indirect speech, including metaphors and special expressions, which was used by noblemen and women in ancient times (Kim 2005: 173).

For example,

“추동간은 가례하오신 후 성심이 자연 한가치 못 하오셔
[...](Jeong 2002: 275)

‘After marriage, in autumn and winter, my mind was not naturally free
[...].’ (my translation)

‘His Majesty was preoccupied with his private life, as was natural for a
newly married man.’ (Kim-Haboush 1996: 293)

Most of the time, Korean does not necessarily contain a subject or agent in language, whereas English does. This is one difference in that the absence of a subject might give the effect of indirect speech. Also, in the example given above, Kim-Haboush directly described the acts of His Majesty, Sado Seja, when he was concentrating on his personal life, unlike the Korean version which indirectly states this as that his ‘mind’ was not free. This indirectly states that Sado Seja’s enjoyment, now that it was not concerned with public affairs such as his responsibilities or duties as a crown prince, would result from the fact that his mind was not on his personal status.

The disparity between *Hanjungnok* in Korean and in English may create a different image of Hyegyong Hongssi and lead to a different analysis or acceptance of her autobiography.

2.2. Translated Autobiography to Novel

Translation can be seen as a reproduction as it is a progress of rewriting original texts. The novel *The Red Queen* could be the final reproduction of the representation derived from translation. It also keeps the format of an autobiography, because Drabble also wrote her book using Hyegyong Hongssi’s narration and her descriptions of her life and of historical incidents, as she saw them. Although the format of the original text persists in each reproduction, the representation of each text cannot be completely the same as each has a different target audience and cultural norm.

Although *Hanjungnok* and *The Red Queen* belong to different literary forms because the former is an autobiography and the latter

is a novel, both depict the same Korean historical events and the activities of the royal family in that period. The literature genres are definitely different but there is also a similarity in terms of literature. An autobiography is more based on fact and reality whereas a novel is largely based on imagination. But if an autobiography is regarded as the representation of the life of the author, a novel can also represent that life to some extent by using real-life characters. Although the characters in a novel are fictional and their lives do not directly interconnect with the author's life, they might nevertheless reflect aspects of the author's personality or values in some respects since the author is a creator as well as a composer in producing and writing stories (De Man 1979: 920). In this sense, the dichotomy between autobiography and novel becomes blurred because a fictional novel can still remain based both on roots of reality and on the author's identity. So, it seems that a novel is a representation, which borrows fictional characters to express the author's inner world. French intellectuals have also stated that it is no longer possible to say with confidence whether an autobiography can be distinguished from a novel in terms of the question of the truth. Rousseau (1941) stated that a narrator in an autobiography has an unreliable memory so an autobiography shows an accurate representation of a narrator's inner feelings rather than a genuinely factual representation. Telling a life story is a product of constructed and remembered narratives. So, both fiction and history are products of human inventiveness and in this context fiction itself forms everyday life and history functions in precisely the same way.

The distinction between autobiography and novel is determined by the way a work of literature is read and this can influence the "plausibility of [an author's] identity as writer" (Frame 1989: 156). This means that this kind of distinction would influence readers in their perceptions towards a work of literature. Depending on the type of the literature, readers can change their attitude towards it. However, it has been debated whether an autobiography contains complicated fuzzy boundaries between factual and fictional discourses. Marcus (1994: 3), cited in Anderson (2001: 2), argued that the intention is a significant point of discussion when considering an autobiography. Both author and readers have existing knowledge and are prepared to reflect their own world-view into understanding texts through literature. The effort of reading an autobiography captures

their understanding and its context can be differentiated depending on the reader's approach to it.

Margaret Drabble is the author of the novel version of *Hanjungnok* but she was previously also an audience of the translated *Hanjungnok*. The audience of the original *Hanjungnok* did not comprise normal readers because three chapters, written in 1801, 1802 and 1805, were written for her grandson, Sunjo, the twenty-third king of the Joseon dynasty, to inform him about the *Imo* incident and the breakdown of her family, and one chapter, written in 1795, was for her nephew Hong Suyeong to look back on her life (Kim 2009: 56). Whether Hyegyeong Hongssi actually wrote the autobiography as a defense of her family has been a matter of discussion, especially of her father and brothers, who were rumored to be connected with Sado Seja's death and that her family had organized the *Imo* Incident and set up Sado Seja to be executed by the king. Comparing *The Memoirs* of 1795, others have been seen as having political aims and Hyegyeong Hongssi was demonstrating her family's innocence and protecting them from being attacked by the Kim family (Cho 2000: 6-7). As Drabble was not the target audience of the original *Hanjungnok*, she could reflect her existing knowledge and world-view into understanding the original context.

It would be true to say that the period, in which Hyegyeong Hongssi lived was not a time when women could freely express their opinions or show their values towards the world and society, and her father and father-in-law emphasised that a woman's behaviour as a wife was that a woman should respect her husband and keep silent. This might be true of the idealised woman in that period (Kim 2009: 345), but this could not be the reason why Hyegyeong Hongssi wrote *Hanjungnok*. Choi (1999: 126-127) argued that for Hyegyeong Hongssi, writing her autobiography could be seen as an only means of escape and an opportunity for her to communicate with the wider world to talk about her story because, compared with men, women had fewer opportunities to share their writing in public. For this reason, women's writing could be focused on a confession or mental experiences or familiarity between herself and a particular incident. The language use would show self-excuse, confession of a secret, suspicious incidents, or revealing the facts behind stories. The important point is that Hyegyeong Hongssi's writing has been evaluated as a means of escape from the limited social conditions, which constrained her and to reflect her family

background and her political status, and not as a resolution for her female position in a patriarchal society. However, a study of Western female autobiography explains that the main purpose for a Korean woman to write an autobiography was to express women's marginalization as a minority in a masculine society and to explain her position and the constraints which are imposed under patriarchy (Smith et al. 1998). Western female autobiographies have focused on the confirmation of the writer's existence as a woman and as a part of society.

Drabble also seems to have found the female power and voice, breaking a silence as a woman in a masculine society by drawing on Hyegyeong Hongssi's autobiography.

'I was occasionally ill, and surely had a right to take to my chamber from time to time, but in truth when young I had a remarkably strong and resilient physical constitution: how else, after so stressful a life, could I have lived so long and seen so much? It was only at the time of the great crisis of the *Imo* Incident that I succumbed, for a while, and even then, I did not wholly surrender.' (Drabble 2004: 58)

Drabble describes Hyegyeong Hongssi as such a strong woman, which could be a personal impression of Hyegyeong Hongssi from Drabble's own perspective. In consequence, she depicts the image of Hyegyeong Hongssi as a strong woman in any difficult situation, such as her son's or husband's deaths, in her novel. However, in the Korean text, Hyegyeong Hongssi may not be revealing her strength, but her weakness.

“세상에 누가 어미와 자식이 없으리오마는, 나와 정조 같은 사이는 다시없으니, 정조가 아니면 내 어찌 오늘날이 있으며, 내 없으면 정조께서 어찌 보전하여 계셨으리오. 모자 둘이 겨우겨우 의지하여 온갖 번고를 다 겪고, [...]모진 목숨이 썩 끊어지지 않아 지금까지 구차히 살아가니, 세상에 나같이 어리석고 나약한 사람이 어디 있으리오.”(Hyegyeong Hongssi 2010: 297-298)

'Who does not have a mother and child in the world, but no relationship would be the same as mine with Jeongjo. Without Jeongjo, how would I exist today, and without me, how would Jeongjo survive. We have depended on each other and struggled together [...] this miserable life is not easily finished, so this life keeps on pathetically; who else is stupid and weak like me in the world?' (my translation)

“목숨을 마치고자 하는 생각이 이번 뿐이 아니라. 정조가 계실 때도 슬프고 화가 날 때면 매양 이 생각을 했으니, 만사를 다 정조를 믿고 참고 지냈더라. 지금은 정조마저 아니 계시니 내 슬픔과 설움이 하늘을 찌를 듯하여 죽을 곳을 얻고자 하는 차에 [...]어이 일시라도 살고 싶은 마음이 있으리오.” (Hyegyeong Hongssi 2010: 415)

‘This was not the only time I have thought about committing suicide, but even when Jeongjo was alive, I thought of it every time I was sad and upset, but I suffered and overcame this by trusting Jeongjo. Now that Jeongjo has passed away, my grief and sorrow have piled up enough to reach the sky, so I try to die [...] how could I wish to live longer?’ (my translation)

In this comparison, Drabble portrays Hyegyeong Hongssi as a person, who does not easily surrender but who was overtaken by her tragic environment. However, in the Korean text, it is possible to see that Hyegyeong Hongssi actually recorded her resentment and sorrow and desired to commit suicide due to her severe and tragic environment after suffering the deaths of her husband, her father, her brothers and her son. Park (2012) argued that Drabble described Hyegyeong Hongssi as someone, who has strong self-esteem regarding her desires and who does not lose herself even after enduring chaotic incidents. Drabble re-represented and reproduced Hyegyeong Hongssi as a clever and strong woman in her novel. This may be the result of Drabble’s perception being reflected in and influenced by her position as a Western woman, so that in her consciousness, she analysed the classical female Korean autobiography as a Western female autobiography because it had the purpose of speaking out to break the silence and to show female resistance to patriarchal social structures.

3. Reproduction from *Hanjungnok* to *The Red Queen*

As Drabble seems to see Hyegyeong Hongssi through Western eyes, she may also analyse other historical incidents in *Hanjungnok* from her Western perspective. Consequently, she reflected her view and reproduced and represented Hyegyeong Hongssi’s life and *Hanjungnok* in her novel. Drabble uses many metaphors

and compares Hyegyeong Hongssi's story and the historical events described in her writing with Western histories and people. For example, Drabble described the *Imo* Incident, when his father - the king Yeongjo ordered Sado Seja to be imprisoned in a rice chest and Sado Seja died there, as a barbarian history before the Enlightenment in the West: "talking about the Enlightenment in the West and talking about past barbarian histories to compare the *Imo* Incident to Louise XVI of France and Marie Antoinette, [or] the unfortunate wives of Henry VIII" (Drabble 2004: 106-107). Furthermore, Drabble (*ibid.*: 136) described this incident as depicting the killing of a son just as Queen Agave in the *Bacchae* murdered her son Pentheus and as Peter the Great of Russia murdered his son Aleksei in July 1718. This may imply that Drabble had read and understood *Hanjungnok* from her Western perspective.

3.1. Reproducing the Perception of Family Relations

Drabble, cited in Lee and Drabble (2007: 482-483), stated that she first thought about the Oedipus story after she had read Kim-Haboush's English translation of *Hanjungnok* because she read about Hyegyeong Hongssi's psychological insights from Hyegyeong Hongssi's own narration and the conversations between her and her husband and his father. As a result, Drabble focused on the Oedipus complex and drew on it to illustrate the relationship between king Yeongjo and the crown prince Sado Seja in her novel. The Oedipus complex is the classic Freudian notion regarding the "formation of the ego and of gendered subjectivity". Initially a child sees him or herself as a mother, and this creates the desire to possess a mother. Boys see the symbolic power of the father as a phallus. The desire for a mother is threatened by punishment in the form of castration. As a result, boys decide to change their identification from mother to father and to take a masculine and heterosexual position as a desirable subject form. This implies that father and son are in a rival relationship to possess the mother (Barker 2012: 23). However, there might be diversions from the original text, regardless of the fact that it is an artificially created novel, because as an English woman, Drabble may not have

considered the Korean tradition and Confucian influence. Parsons (2010) questioned whether this triangular relationship between father, mother and son, which form the Oedipus complex could be universally applicable. It would be universal in terms of having a father, mother and son as a family unit, but the Oedipus complex is the consequence of patterned social structures, especially obvious in a specific patriarchal culture. The level of patriarchy would vary to some degree from one particular culture to another since it is not a fixed standard. Also, Yeongjo and Sado Seja were situated in a specific setting, leading a kingdom which followed Confucianism and as members of the traditional Korean royal family. An understanding of these backgrounds may be necessary in order to understand *Hanjungnok* properly.

‘Perhaps from Sado’s birth onwards the king saw my husband as a rival, as a potential parricide. Necessary though that birth was for the survival of the dynasty, maybe he resented it. All fathers find a rival in a son. Maybe that is why we talk so much of filial piety, in an effort to restrain our natural impulses towards parent-murder.’ (Drabble 2004: 19)

‘Do I believe that Prince Sado intended to murder his father? No, I do not. I think this intention was pinned on him later as an excuse for the father killing the son. But I do think that there were some at court who would have followed Prince Sado rather than his father, mad though Sado was, had it come to open conflict, open choice. He had his followers.’ (ibid.: 123)

From these two excerpts, it is possible to see that Drabble depicted the relationship between Yeongjo and Sado as one of rivalry. Because Sado had his followers that could make Yeongjo feel threatened. Yeongjo, as a father, considered his son as a rival so he devised a way to get rid of him. Yeongjo even said that he wished that his son had died instead of his beloved daughter, who died from measles in Drabble’s novel.

‘But the birth of [Jeongjo] did not reconcile Prince Sado and his father, as I had hoped and expected. After the measles epidemic, things grew even worse between them. I have often heard His Majesty say that it would have been better if Sado had died of the measles. He wished his own son dead. What cruelties there are in words! These words had a truth in them, but they should never have been spoken.’ (ibid.: 53)

The text in Drabble's novel indicates that king Yeongjo thought of his son as a rival so seriously that his desire to get rid of his son was obvious. However, in the Korean text,

“1752년 10월에 홍역이 크게 번져 화협옹주가 먼저 앓으니, [...] 날이 얼마 지나지 않아 경모궁께서도 붉은 반점을 보이며 홍역에 걸리셨는데 경모궁께서 끝내실 즈음에 내가 또 걸리고 원손도 앓으시니, [...] 경모궁께서는 홍역을 보낸 후에도 여열이 굉장하시니, 그때 아버지께서 경모궁도 뵙고 나도 구호하고 원손도 보호하려 밤낮으로 세 곳을 다니셨는데, 애태우며 근심하시어 머리가 하얗게 세어 계시더라. 화협옹주는 그 병 끝에 상사가 나니라. 경모궁께서 그 누님의 처지가 당신과 같으심을 불쌍히 여기셔서 우애가 자별하시더니, 옹주 병환 중에는 아랫것들을 계속 보내 안부를 물으시고, 상사 난 후에는 애통을 이기지 못하시더라. 이런 일로 보아도 타고난 천성이 착하심을 가히 알지라.”(Hyegyonggung Hongssi 2010: 50-51)

‘In October, 1752, the measles epidemic spread and Hwahyeop Ongju was ill with this first, [...] a few days after, Sado Seja also had it with red spots on his body, and after he was recovering from this, I had measles and my son got it, [...] My father was worried about this illness so he came around to visit Sado Seja, me and my son to take care of us. My father was very concerned about this, so that his hair had become whiter. Hwahyeop Ongju finally passed away with measles. Sado Seja mourned a lot because of their close relationship, and he could not bear this. From this, it is possible to know that his nature is kind.’ (my translation)

When the measles epidemic was recorded in the Korean *Hanjungnok*, it was difficult to discover what was in Yeongjo's mind, as Drabble stated:

‘As soon as the Crown Prince [Sado Seja] improved a bit, I came down with the illness. [...] On the same day, the present King [Jeongjo] came down with red spots all over his body. [...] But Father was greatly burdened now that he had several people to tend to and nurse. Shuttling back and forth day and night for an extended period between his daughter and his grandson, he must have reached a state of total exhaustion.’ (Kim-Haboush 1996: 76)

‘Princess Hwahyeop died of measles. Prince Sado had always been particularly affectionate toward her. He felt sympathetic that she, like himself, was disfavoured by His Majesty. During her illness, he sent one servant after another to inquire after her. When she died, he was

overcome with grief. This shows that he was truly kind-hearted by nature.’ (*ibid.*: 263)

The translation by Kim-Haboush also describes the measles epidemic, but it only states the disease was caught by Sado Seja, Hyegyonggung Hongssi and Jeongjo, and that Hwahyeop Ongju died of it. Drabble might have added what she imagined was in Yeongjo’s mind as she analysed the autobiography on the basis of Freudian psychoanalysis. As a father, Yeongjo’s desire to kill his son could have been developed from the Oedipal notion: a father recognises his son as a rival, so he wishes to kill his rival, and a son has a fear of being castrated by his rival father. For both father and son, one should get rid of his rival quickly before being killed himself (Johnson and Price-Williams 1996). It has been stated that the first stages of an Oedipal situation can bring anxiety, pain and guilt. The depressed state and the Oedipus complex are interlinked so the resolution of this conflict has to be shaped by oral, anal and sadistic acts and by hatred and fear towards parents (Etchegoyen 2002: 23). Sadism in the perspective of Freudian psychoanalysis seems a naturally developing feeling and desire for both father and son.

In Drabble’s novel, Hyegyonggung Hongssi assumes that Yeongjo was affected by sadism.

‘There was one day a dreadful scene about a jade helmet that Prince Sado was supposed to wear for some tedious and unpleasant ceremonial occasion – I think it may have been an interrogation or an execution. I should mention that Sado’s sadistic father never allowed him to undertake any pleasant official or ceremonial duties, such as attending archery contests or graduation parties, but insisted instead that he assist at various unpleasant public events at the Board of Punishment. He seemed to take a particular pleasure in summoning Sado to these events in winter, when it was snowing. (There were always conspiracy trials in progress in our country: we lived in a culture of denunciation and counter denunciation.) [...] His father mocked and sneered and shouted, and Sado grew defiant, and flung the helmet to the earth, with some stream of sad nonsense relating to his ill fortune and the powers of the accursed jade, and the gods know what demented rhetoric.’ (Drabble 2004: 76-77)

Hyegyonggung Hongssi, in the voice of Drabble’s novel, narrates how Sado’s father Yeongjo was so sadistic so that he handed over cases and court work regarding punishment and execution to Sado

Seja. This also links to Sado's own brutal and cruel behaviour, because he had become familiar with executions due to his environment.

“영조께서는 여러 사건 가운데 의금부나 형조에서 담당하던 사형죄는 친히 살피지 않으시고, 옹주들 처소에 계실 제는 내관에게 맡기시니라. 1749년 정월 경모궁께 대리청정을 시키실 때, 1748년 6월 화평옹주 상사 후 슬픔도 심하시고 병환도 잦으셔서 휴양하시겠노라고 대리청정령의 이유를 밝히셨으니, 실은 꺼림칙해서 안에 들이기 싫은 사건을 내관에게 맡기기도 답답해서 다 동궁께 맡기고자 하신 뜻이라.” (Hyegyeong Hongssi 2010: 41-46)

‘Yeongjo did not carry out death penalties sentenced by the State Tribunal or the Board of Punishment, but made subordinates do so while he stayed in his princesses’ house. When Yeongjo gave Sado Seja a role as his deputy, the death of Hwapyeong Ongju had happened in June 1748, so he was still in mourning and his health was not good so he wanted Sado Seja to become his deputy so that he himself could take a rest. However, Yeongjo did not want to handle weird cases, and he did not fully trust his subordinates, so he handed over his work to Sado Seja.’ (my translation)

The Korean text records the reason why Yeongjo handed over his job, which included his intention to take a rest and probably to see how the crown prince would develop his way of ruling in the future.

‘His Majesty was truly outstanding among rulers in history. [...] However, His Majesty experienced too many harrowing events: the purges and intrigues of the simin years (1721-1722) and the musin (1728) rebellion, to name just two. In the course of these events, he adopted numerous taboos and a peculiar gravity that were severe enough to be considered a sickness. [...] His Majesty often asked Prince Sado to attend the trials of political criminals, trials at the Board of Punishment, or trials that required personal interrogation by the king. These events, to which the Prince was invited were all grim and inauspicious affairs. [...] His Majesty had an aversion to criminal cases, especially trials for murder or other serious crimes conducted at the State Tribunal or the Board of Punishment. He often sent eunuchs with instructions while he remained at the residence of one or another of the princesses. The edict enacting the regency cited his reasons as grief over Princess Hwapyeong’s death, his ill health, and the need for a rest, but His Majesty’s true intention was to let the Prince-Regent take care of those cases that he detested but were too serious for eunuchs.’ (Kim-Haboush 2010: 256-258)

Kim-Haboush's English translation also describes the reason for the regency of Sado Seja on behalf of the king in the same way as in the *Hanjungnok* in Korean, as that Yeongjo had experienced a difficult time over his daughter's death and several other incidents. This seems to accord with the view of seeing the world in literature and analysing it in a way, which might be reflected by a reader's value and belonging in a particular environment or culture. Whorf insisted on the interrelationship between language, culture and consciousness. In the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Whorf and Sapir argued that culture can construct the consciousness and world-view of a speaker and these can then be displayed in language (Subbiondon 2005: 151). According to Sapir (1970: 207), language does not exist apart from culture, but comes from the "socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs", which determine the nature of a speaker's life and society. This is because people express their values using their language. Whorf stated that consciousness tends to be determined culturally, not genetically (Subbiondon 2005: 152). Once Drabble decided to analyse the relationship between Yeongjo and Sado Seja as Oedipal rivals, she went on to analyse all the intentions of both Yeongjo and Sado in terms of Freudian psychoanalysis. Linguistic Relativity is processed in the following logic: (1) differences exist in linguistic categories across language; (2) linguistic categories are able to determine individuals' thinking; and (3) aspects of individuals' thinking differs across linguistic cultures or communities depending on the language they use (Gumperz and Levinson 1996b: 24).

Kim-Haboush's book is written in English, but it is a combination of a Korean context and the English language. The source text is in Korean so the translation can convey the Korean context, but as the target language of the translation is English, the use of a different language might construct new perceptions. Also, the audiences of the translated books are foreign (that is, anything but Korean), especially people from English-speaking countries, so they will have a different analysis of the same story just as Drabble does. However, it would be ambiguous to judge that Yeongjo made Sado Seja take over only tasks involving punishment and execution on the basis of writings of Hyegyonggung Hongssi. Prince-regency was sometimes tried in the Joseon dynasty. If a king was too old or ill, his crown prince could alternatively or temporarily take over the position of king. There were six instances of prince-regency in the Joseon

dynasty. The aim of a regency was to shift the power in order to give time for a crown prince to prepare to exercise his authority (Cho 2010). Drabble's lack of understanding of traditional Korean customs could explain her diversion from the original story, as she acknowledged that she was not very familiar with traditional Korean culture (Lee & Drabble 2007), or she could have deliberately omitted this background in order to make the story tenser. This could mean that she had injected her own experienced culture and knowledge into her analysis of Korean literature, and this would be natural for the audiences who are not familiar with this aspect. For English speakers, Western works of literature have very possibly been analysed in the Freudian or Oedipal ways, such as *Hamlet* or Greek myths, which would make this insight of psychoanalysis possible (Sohn 2008).

Drabble may also have taken the idea of the Oedipus complex from Hyegyeong Hongssi's affection for her sons.

'Although the most common of human relations is that of mother and son, the mother/son tie between myself and the late King was like no other. If it had not been for the late King, I would not be here today; had it not been for me, the late King would not have been protected and preserved. Having experienced hundreds of trials and difficulties and having been each other's support through these stormy years, mother and son both awaited a blessed old age when, in retirement, we could enjoy the peace and prosperity of the nation.' (Kim-Haboush 1996: 199)

It seems that Hyegyeong Hongssi showed affection towards her son but she also shows the attachment between herself and son, and *vice versa*. This may have given a clue to Drabble because of the relationship with a possessive desire between mother and son. Drabble could see Hyegyeong Hongssi as a strong woman, because she seems to have pride in having a son, who became king after his grandfather and she, anyway, could protect her important son.

Drabble depicted King Yeongjo as wanting to kill his son, Sado Seja, because of a feeling of rivalry, but the royal succession for the kingdom was the most important factor in the Joseon dynasty, as Drabble may have recognised.

'This may be the moment at which I should try to explain to you, to posterity, the reason – if one may call it a reason – why Prince Sado had to die in the rice chest, and not in some less painful or more

dignified manner. Prince Sado had to die like this because it was very important to the state and to the royal succession that he should not die in the manner of a common criminal.’ (Drabble 2004: 131)

“대저 경모궁 돌아가신 일에 대해서는 두 가지 의견이 있노라. 한 의견은 그때 영조께서 내리신 처분이 광명정대하다고 하며, 그 처분을 영조의 거룩하신 큰 업적으로 일컬어 ‘세상 어디에 내놓아도 당당하고 떳떳하다’고 하는 것이라. 또 다른 의견은 경모궁께서 병환이 없으신데 원통히 그리되셨다 하는 것일. 앞의 의견은 경모궁께서 속에 다른 뜻을 품은 죄가 있기에 영조께서 무슨 역적이나 평정하신 듯이 처분 하신 것으로 본 것이니, [...] 경모궁을 역적으로 보고 정조를 죄인의 아들로 보는 것이니, 이는 경모궁과 정조 두 분 모두에게 망극한 말씀이라. [...] 경모궁께서는 분명히 병환이 있으셨고, 비록 병환 때문이긴 하지만 임금과 나라의 위태로움이 급박한 지경이 되었으니, 영조께서 슬픔은 한이 없지만 어쩔 수 없이 그 처분을 하시니라.” (Hyegyonggung Hongssi 2010: 322)

‘There are two opinions on the death of Sado Seja. One is that Yeongjo’s decision to put his son in the rice chest was fair so it could be regarded as his great work in the world. Another is that Sado Seja did not have any (mental) disease, but was killed unjustly. The former is that Sado Seja had a hidden intention so Yeongjo treated him as a betrayer, [...] Seeing Sado Seja as a betrayer as well as seeing Jeongjo as a betrayer’s son, this opinion is immeasurably impolite. [...] Sado Seja definitely had a disease and simply because of this illness his existence had threatened the King and the kingdom, so Yeongjo necessarily ordered his son to be put in the rice chest although he was in sorrow at having to do this.’ (my translation)

‘Two opinions have emerged concerning the event of that year [1762]. One is that His Majesty’s decision was an impartial and brilliant act of justice. Those who hold this opinion call it the most sagacious and admirable of His Majesty’s accomplishments, one in harmony with all of Heaven and Earth. The other opinion is that Prince Sado was not ill but met that tragedy unjustly. Those who hold the former opinion assume the criminality of Prince Sado, that he harboured a truly evil intent. This renders an aura of righteousness to His Majesty’s act. It makes it a meritorious deed of the same nature as vanquishing an enemy nation. But what kind of person does this view make of Prince Sado; where does it leave the late King? This view discredits Prince Sado and the late King. The second view, on the other hand, implies that His Majesty took that extreme measure against the Crown Prince on the basis of mere slander. This opinion might originate in a wish to console Prince Sado and to restore his honour, but it does so at the expense of His Majesty’s virtue.’ (Kim-Haboush 1996: 216)

Sado Seja went to some trouble to kill people and was obsessed with wearing strange clothes and was afraid of thunder. He is even recorded as mingling with lower-class people to have fun and also sexually abusing some women. This was a problem for Yeongjo because at that time Sado Seja was his only son who could succeed to the Royal throne because there were other families, who were not related to the Yi family (as the Joseon dynasty was the Yi family dynasty), who could threaten the Yi family and seize the throne. The dilemma was also that there had to be a justification for Yeongjo to kill his son; under the law of that time, they did not kill mad people, so if Sado was mad, the King would become a horrible father. Also, if Sado was not mad, then the reason for his death would have to be that he was betraying his father, the King. But this would mean that Jeongjo, the son of Sado, also could not succeed to the throne, because he would be a son of a criminal (Lee 2014). This is all bound up in the cultural knowledge regarding the Confucian royal family in a particularly Korean tradition. Audiences in Korea may have assimilated this easily, but readers from other countries may not see this as a justification, because it is an immoral idea to kill a son, and would be against the rational enlightenment from the Western perspective. Comparing the Korean version and the English translated version, the message would be similar, but the language use seems different. Kim-Haboush directly used the word ‘tragedy’, unlike the Korean version which just expresses the grief of the situation and of King Yeongjo, who had to decide over his son’s life and death. Also, the word ‘vanquishing’ in Kim-Haboush’s translation gives a strong impression regarding Sado Seja. Drabble might have had the idea from this use of strong masculine words of this kind that Sado truly did seem to be a serious rival or even an enemy to the king and his authority.

3.2. Reproducing the Understanding of Gender

As Drabble (re)wrote the novel, a female autobiography is revealed as a way to express the oppression of women in a masculine and patriarchal society from a woman’s point of view (Smith & Watson 1998). Drabble may also have recognised and analysed

Hyegyonggung Hongssi and her autobiography in this way. However, Hyegyonggung Hongssi represented her painful feelings by using some direct language (Kim 2005: 170), such as describing how her several attempts at suicide represented the oppression, which she endured from the social structure.

‘My mother told me my duty, and told me that it would be fulfilled if I were to submit silently to the act, and to continue to respect my husband. My mother respected my father. I have witnessed this. I knew my duty. It was my duty to conceive and to bear an heir. The act of sex seems to give pleasure to most men, and they seek it, sometimes to their peril. My father-in-law the king had more than one wife: this was his duty. [...] Maybe it [intercourse] pleases some women of other social orders, or in other lands. But for me, the act was so bound, so circumscribed, by such a deadly importance. It was like an examination - like those examinations, over which my father and my brother slaved so diligently in the search for advancement and enlightenment. I passed.’ (Drabble 2004: 40)

In the novel, Drabble describes the duty of a woman and a wife. She shows how the social gendered role was based on a biological difference. This difference dictated women’s duty to keep silent and to obey their husband. The translation of Kim-Haboush also shows a similar content.

‘Because of my extreme youth when I had my first child, I did not do well in my maternal duty.’ (Kim-Haboush 1996: 74)

‘Later, His Majesty reproached me. “You just follow your husband’s wishes. You don’t even become jealous as other women do”. This was the first time that I had been reprimanded since my marriage in kapcha [year] (1744), and I was deeply mortified. it is ironic. A women’s jealousy is one of the seven heinous crimes [which are deadly sins], and not being jealous of one’s husband’s interest in other women is considered a great feminine virtue, yet I was being criticised for not being jealous.’ (*ibid.*: 266-267)

Drabble may have been inspired to write this paragraph by some parts of Kim-Haboush’s translation. The first extract from Kim-Haboush’s translation describes Hyegyonggung Hongssi’s maternal duty as she lost her first baby, and it was her duty to give birth to a son for the royal family as the wife of the crown prince. Both Drabble’s and Kim-Haboush’s versions contain the injunction about women’s silence

and duty for their husband. The voice may be similar but the approach to this content is different between the two. Western intellectuals significantly address the subjectivity and the representation of women. Kristeva (1980) emphasised that women are situated in the representation of silence, absence, lack or hysteria. Drabble may have adapted this idea to analyse Hyegyeong Hongssi as a woman. Gender studies in Western countries have focused on recognising women's existence and their minority role in a masculine and patriarchal society. Drabble may have seen Hyegyeong Hongssi as a strong woman who could speak out against patriarchy because in the extract from Kim-Haboush's translation, Hyegyeong Hongssi was scolded by the king because she did not even feel jealous about her husband's affairs with other women, and she questioned the king's attitude to jealousy and its irony in terms of the teachings of Confucianism. From Drabble's perspective, Hyegyeong Hongssi was a loyal woman, who adhered to the Confucian precepts as her duty, because Confucianism contains the hierarchical doctrines of the 'Five Relationships' and the 'Three Bonds.' The five relationships refer to affection between father and son; duty between ruler and subject; distinction between husband and wife; precedence of the old over the young; and trust between friends. The three bonds confirm the hierarchy of authority: the ruler over minister; father over son; and husband over wife (Li 2000: 14). This ideology includes the notions of 男尊女卑, *namjon yobi* ('men should be respected whilst women are belittled') and 男女有別, *namnyo yubyul* ('men and women are in different positions'), which requires obedience by women to their father, husband and son (Choi 2009: 14, [in] Park 2016: 4).

It does not seem that Hyegyeong Hongssi blamed Confucianism or its strictness regarding gender-bias, but she seems to have felt that she had been falsely accused because she kept to the Confucian rules, but the king blamed her nevertheless. However, for Drabble, the matter of women's silence became obeying men and being objectified by men: women are seen as men's object, especially a sexual object. She may have thought that during intercourse, women are under men, and this also represents a woman's social status. For women living in a patriarchal society, men's rule is symbolised as a sexual conquest as well.

Yeongjo gave Hyegyeong Hongssi another duty.

‘Never, he [King Yeongjo] said to me when I was yet a child, a pre-pubertal child, never leave traces of red cosmetic on a white cloth. Keep your linen white. Men do not like to see the red smear, he told me. Do not let men see your artifice. [...] I now think, with the benefit of maturity and an afterlife, and in light of my readings of nineteenth - and twentieth-century anthropological and psychological literature, that he was speaking of men’s fear of menstrual blood. But did he know that? Did anyone, at that time, know that? I think not. How eagerly we women may watch for the smear of blood. And how, at times, we, too, may fear to see it.’ (Drabble 2004: 20)

‘Looking at these images through my envoy’s modern eyes brought back to me many memories of formal court life, and of the more intimate scene of my defloration. My father-in-law would not have liked the sight of the red blood on the pale sheets of the nuptial bed, although the shedding of this blood signified the conception of an heir.’ (*ibid.*: 28)

“영조께서 [...] “여편네 속옷 바람으로 남편을 뵈는 것이 아니니, 세자 보는 데 옷을 함부로 헤쳐 보이지 말고, 여편네 수건에 묻은 연지가 비록 고운 연지라 해도 아름답지 않으니 묻히지 마라” 하시니라. 내 그 경계를 명심받고, 속옷과 연지 일은 늘 마음에 두어 조심하니라.” (Hyekyöngkung Hongssi, 2010: 187)

‘Yeongjo said [...] “don’t show your underwear to your husband, and don’t loosen your clothes in front of him, don’t leave a stain of rouge on your towel though it is beautiful.” I kept this in mind and had always taken care of my underwear and rouge.’ (my translation)

‘His Majesty came over and said, “Now that I have formally received your gift as your father-in-law, allow me a word of advice. In serving the Crown Prince, please be gentle with him and do not be frivolous of voice or expression. If his eyes wander, pretend that you do not notice. It is not at all an unusual thing in the palace, and so it is best to behave normally, not letting him know that you noticed.” He continued, “It is improper for a woman to show her undergarments to her husband. So, do not carelessly loosen your clothes in his presence. There is another thing – the rouge stains on women’s towels are not pretty, even though it is rouge. So, do not leave rouge marks on a towel.’ (Kim-Haboush 1995: 67-68)

Although Hyegyeongkung Hongssi and Kim-Haboush recorded this happening as Yeongjo’s warning about appropriate behaviour for women regarding underwear and rouge, this could also possibly

lead us to think that Drabble truly accepted Western psychoanalysis in this novel because she stated that Hyegyeong Hongssi studied contemporary Western psychoanalysis and assumed that Yeongjo was afraid of the colour red so he prohibited her attitudes regarding this. In Freudian psychoanalysis, there is the connection between ‘virginal anxiety’ (the “first encounter with the problem of sex”) and hysteria in girls. Men avoid deflowering women because of their horror of blood and menstruation, according to Freud (1918). This is because blood and this red colour could link to sadistic fantasies. As a result, common symbols for virginity and defloration in dreams or symptoms are flowers, the breaking of glass, the colour red, blood, and so on. For boys, the anxiety of castration is huge to the extent that they see losing virginity as a form of castration for women, in terms of losing a pure and important part of the body, because both the loss of virginity and castration are unconscious fears for men and women (Erwin 2002: 592-593). This is a cultural element determining how an audience accepts a context depending on the reader’s own cultural language and experience.

4. Conclusion

This paper discussed how cultural perception can be embedded in language and literature. From the comparison between a work of classical Korean literature, *Hanjungnok*, and English-translated version of it, and a work of British literature, it could discover that receipt of the literature could be various depending on the belonging culture of the audience. The author of the British novel, *The Red Queen*, Margaret Drabble was inspired by the translated version of *Hanjungnok*, and she re-wrote the voice of the protagonist as well as an autobiographer, Hyegyeong Hongssi. Hyegyeong Hongssi re-states her past life and describes the history that her husband, the crown prince Sado Seja, was killed by the order of his father, King Yeongjo. In the British novel, it illustrates the same Korean historical incident as in *Hanjungnok*; however, in the novel, it would include the Westernised perception to analyse the incident in its description by Hyegyeong Hongssi.

First, this paper compared the language use between *Hanjungnok* in Korean and Kim-Haboush's translated one in English. Due to the lack of polite and respectful expressions and discourse in English compared to in Korean, the English-translated version tends to be more straightforward to illustrate people's emotions than the original Korean text, which Hyegyonggung Hongssi chose indirect speech. To compare the translated version of autobiography and Drabble's novel, it was considerable the distinction between autobiography and novel as a type of literature. Each has a difference: autobiography is the one draws a fact; while, novel is based on fiction. However, it is ambiguous to divide writing between fiction and non-fiction because autobiography also depends on a writer's memory and intention as a novel would do. In this reason, this paper understood that both autobiography and novel would be the reflection of a writer's notion and world-view.

The differently analysed perceptions were featured in illustrating family relations and gender. Both factors were discussed in the original text as well. The relation between the king Yeongjo and his son Sado Seja was the main theme in both texts as Sado Seja ended his life with death ordered by the king. Hyegyonggung Hongssi originally assumed this as they misunderstood each other because the king expected his son to be a perfect crown prince, who is eligible to succeed his royal throne; but Sado Seja could not follow his expectation but was stressed with this. Drabble analysed this as the classic Freudian psychoanalysis – the Oedipus complex. She put this father and son as rivalry who wants to castrate/kill each other in her Western perspective besides the Confucian or royal tradition of the Joseon dynasty of Korea. Also, Drabble depicted Hyegyonggung Hongssi as a strong woman, who questioned the gender discrimination and silence of women. However, it seemed that the original Korean text would illustrate as Hyegyonggung Hongssi adapted the Confucian thinking and gender role as a woman in the past. This may be the combined result with that the English-translation would use strong words and that the British author's Western value is included. From these, it would assume that cultural perception and analysis of literature would be interconnected in the situation, where a reader or writer comes from and belongs to. Furthermore, reproduction of re-writing literature and of representing cases and characters would be reflected by the culture of a writer as literature could be the means of observing a society and its culture.

In further studies, it would be necessary to explore other factors, such as author's or audience's personality or values, attitudes, or individual culture, which could influence to translation or interpretation of literature, besides language and collective culture.

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THE ASPECT OF CONFLICT BETWEEN PATERNALISM AND CONSTITUTIONALISM IN KOREAN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

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Abstract: As of the 21st century, Koreans are struggling to achieve an advanced society. Material abundance may be a prerequisite for advanced society, but what is more important and essential is transparent and just society implementation in which an equal opportunity is given to all members of society and fair competition is ensured by fair rules. Unfortunately, in the Korean society, almost in all the layers of it, corruption and injustice/ immorality are still rampant.

I believe that such a phenomenon comes from the weak sense of the rule of law in Korean society compared with the other developed countries. Therefore, this paper considers the structure of consciousness of Koreans, which makes such things possible and makes it harder to eradicate, centered on Confucianism which emphasizes humanism or paternalism rather than the rule of law, and the mindset/ consciousness of Korean shamanism which does

not actively try to fight against evil.

Key words: paternalism, constitutionalism, Korean traditional society, Korean contemporary society, familism, communityism, Korean classical novel, Korean shamanism, Confucian political philosophy, the emotion of Korean *han*

한국현대사회에서 온정주의와 법치주의의 갈등 양상

논문초록: 21세기 현재 한국인들은 선진사회로 도약하기 위해 몸부림치고 있다. 물질적 풍요로움이 선진사회의 전제조건이 될 수도 있겠으나, 그에 우선하여 보다 중요하고 필수적인 것이 사회의 구성원 모두에게 균등한 기회가 부여되고 공정한 룰에 의한 선의의 경쟁이 보장되는 투명하고 정의로운 사회구현이다. 그러나 아쉽게도 한국사회에서는 정치, 경제, 교육 등 모든 분야에서 부정과 부패가 근절되지 않은 채 여전히 불의가 기승을 부리고 있다.

필자는 그러한 현상이, 기존의 선진국가들과 비교할 때, 한국사회에서의 미흡한 법치 그리고 한국인들의 미약한 준법정신에서 비롯된다고 판단한다. 따라서 이 논문에서는 그러한 것들을 가능케 하고 또한 쉽게 근절하기 어렵게 만드는 한국인의 의식구조를 법치주의보다는 인본주의 혹은 온정주의를 강조하는 유교, 그리고 악과의 투쟁을 적극적으로 시도하지 않는 무속의 의식구조를 중심으로 하여 고찰한다.

주제어: 온정주의, 법치주의, 한국의 전통사회, 한국의 현대사회, 가족주의, 공동체주의, 한국고전소설, 한국의 무교, 유교의 정치철학, 한국적 한의 정서.

ASPEKTY KONFLIKTU MIĘDZY PATERNALIZMEM A KONSTYTUCJONALIZMEM WE WSPÓŁCZESNYM SPOŁECZEŃSTWIE KOREAŃSKIM

Streszczenie: Koreańczycy wieku XXI dążą do stania się społeczeństwem zaawansowanym. Materialna obfitość może być warunkiem wstępnym dla rozwiniętego społeczeństwa, ale ważniejsze i bardziej istotne jest przejrzyste i sprawiedliwe wdrażanie społeczeństwa, w którym wszystkim członkom społeczeństwa zapewnia się równe szanse, a sprawiedliwa konkurencja zapewnia uczciwe zasady. Niestety, w społeczeństwie koreańskim, prawie we wszystkich jego warstwach, korupcja i niesprawiedliwość / niemoralność są wciąż nieokiełznane.

Uważam, że takie zjawisko wynika z słabego poczucia rządów prawa w społeczeństwie koreańskim w porównaniu z innymi krajami rozwiniętymi. Dlatego w tym artykule rozważa się strukturę świadomości

Koreańczyków, która umożliwia to i sprawia, że trudniej jest wykorzeńić takie podejście, skupiając się na konfucjanizmie, który kładzie nacisk na humanizm lub paternalizm, a nie na rządach prawa, oraz na mentalności/świadomości koreańskiego szamanizmu, który pasywnie podchodzi walki ze złem.

Słowa kluczowe: paternalizm, konstytucjonalizm, tradycyjne społeczeństwo koreańskie, współczesne społeczeństwo koreańskie, rodzina, wspólnotowość, koreańska powieść klasyczna, szamanizm koreański, konfucjańska filozofia polityczna, emocjonalność koreańskiego *hanu*

1. What is the advanced society?

1.1. Democracy and capitalist society

In various regions of the world, each race and nation has adapted to a particular environment and has developed its own distinctive society and culture. They have maintained their traditions and culture while promoting mutual development through various contacts and exchanges with neighboring peoples. However, with the rapid development of traffic and communication, the contacts and the exchanges have become increasingly easy for, and their scope has spread globally, so it is increasingly difficult to maintain the tradition and culture of your own. Moreover, since the West began to dominate the world from the modern times, their ideology and culture have also taken a leading position. Therefore, to date, the evaluation of a developed society (in the international society) is based on Western standards. In other words, it is a society based on the liberal democratic political system and the capitalist economic system established by the values of the Western world. Specifically, it is a society at the heart of which lie citizens, ensuring that all human beings can achieve realistic and universal values of life, namely that freedom and rights of individuals, equal treatment, private property, and the right to pursue happiness are guaranteed to the all its members.

In the development of history, the most notable change in human social life is the transfer from a communal life to a personal life. In the modern age it has accelerated, and now in the 21st century

even the existence of family, the minimum unit of community life, is threatened. For this reason, a modern society should ensure that its individual members can lead their lives based on fair laws and principles without any discrimination or restriction. This is because in a modern society it's becoming more and more difficult to expect help from their family members or other people, therefore they, as an independent individual, have to go through their life by themselves.

In the contemporary society, citizens are the central force of society. They have their rights as citizens, but are responsible for their actions at the same time. And we should remember that what a modern society demands from its members is not a sacrifice of their personal life to the community, nor the ideal morality and ethics, but an ordinary citizen with a common sense of morality and ethics that are generally accepted in the society.

1.2. Fair and righteous society

The fair and righteous society is a society that guarantees freedom and rights of individuals, equal treatment, and equality of opportunity, first of all, where justice applies fairly to everyone. It is a society of rule-of-law in which the justice and order are maintained by the law. The citizens have their right and opportunities based on the law while taking full responsibility for the consequences without any exceptions. Its prerequisites are, above all, fair application and enforcement of the law.

Ultimately, a developed society nowadays is a society, in which laws and principles are fairly applied to the all members without any preferences, privileges, and discriminations.

1.3. Korean Modern Society and Status of Law

Korean society is still a mixture of tradition and modernity. Of course, some elements of traditional society still have a positive effect on the lives of modern people, but it is also true that the others are acting as a stumbling block to achieving an advanced society which Koreans aspire to. We should remember here that the advanced society that Koreans aspire to is not their traditional society, but catching up with the developed countries of the West. It is the society of liberal

democracy governed by the rule of law.

Then, it is already clear what the Koreans should do for it. Unfortunately, however, we can still find the ignorance of laws and principles by Koreans. The main cause of such behavior is the pursuit of excessive selfish interests only for themselves or for the groups to which they belong. In short, there is absence of the rule-of-law in Korean society, because people pursue only their own interests, regardless of all means and methods. The result is that corruption is rampant everywhere in the Korean society.

The absence of the rule of law in modern Korean society stems mainly from the blood ties, school ties/connections, nepotism, and regionalism, which are deeply rooted in Korean society from the past. The strong blood ties of Koreans are believed to have originated from the Confucian traditions, the most familyist religion in the world (Oh Kyong-geun 2013: 96-97). Families based on patriarchy demanded from their members the sacrifice of personal lives to the family by attaching importance to their reputation and honor in society. Therefore, Koreans should try to achieve success in the society for the benefit and honor of family more than for themselves as individuals. On the other hand, the people who were in poverty and suffered because of the oppression and exploitation by their rulers or foreign powers had to seek help only in their families and relatives. In other words, they inevitably had to reinforce the internal integrity among family members in order to fight for/ensure their survival and well-being in the struggle with the stronger and unjust forces from the outside which always exploited and oppressed them. The Confucian traditional way of thinking that emphasizes the interests and honor of the family, and the social conditions, in which an independent individual couldn't achieve his/her ideals or goals through fair competition has extended the unique and powerful familyism even in the modern Korean society. Unfortunately, such realistic thoughts and attitude of Koreans toward life have resulted in the absence of a lofty and higher dimensional world view of human life by concentrating only on pursuing realistic interests in their lives (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 179). Therefore, the collective egoism and the absence of the rule of law are still prevalent in Korean society.

The strong school ties and regionalism in Korea are an extension or an extended form of the selfish familism. Through their collective egoism the groups in power try to maintain or expand

their profit and privilege, and those who lack of money and power to defend their lives against them. For both of them the more important thing is not the laws and principles that all citizens should obey, but a good relationship, in other words, loyalty and strong bonds among their members. Therefore, the neglect of responsibilities and obligations to society, the moral and ethical insensitivity, privileged consciousness, and corruption, especially by the people in power, are widespread in the Korean society.

The most serious problem in the Korean contemporary society is the absence of fair law enforcement. As we know, in such a society it is difficult to expect from citizens to voluntarily comply with the law. It is natural for them to ignore or disregard the law, insofar as there is widespread awareness like 'The law is only for the sake of others' or 'If you obey the law, you will lose'. It is impossible for Koreans to develop an advanced society, as long as there are groups with such collective selfishness pursuing only their own interests in a fraudulent way or justify their greed and misdeeds even in the name of the law. Therefore, so that the Korean society could become an advanced society, first of all, fair and thorough enforcement of laws should be made for all its members without any exceptions.

2. Characteristics of Korean Traditional Society

As mentioned above, the Korean society is still a mixture of tradition and modernity, and the negative elements of tradition still have a strong influence on modern Korean people. So, it is necessary to overcome or correct appropriately the negative aspects of the traditional society, because the advanced society of the West is the model of advanced society that Koreans want to achieve. Here, we should pay our special attention to the paternalism in Korean society. It is a result of the (too) emotional and humanistic thinking of Koreans based on the traditional concepts of reconciliation, harmony, and tolerance in human relations. And, it could be said that the fundamental source of it is also the Confucian ideology and its political philosophy, so a more detailed examination of it is necessary.

In the traditional Korean society Confucianism gave priority to community rather than individual, so the individuals had to

sacrifice their life to the profit and social order of the community. In other words, the members of the community didn't have their personal freedom or legitimate rights like citizens in a modern society. The more serious thing is that it is not possible to maintain order by the law in a community centered on a familism. So, in the traditional Korean society, it was natural that the paternalism based on mutual trust, fraternity and a warm heart was the main method of maintaining order, because according to Confucian political philosophy a society and a nation are the extended forms of a family. Of course, it worked positively in the traditional society, but it's not suitable for the status of a citizen as an independent subject in modern society.

The political philosophy of Confucianism can be summarized as a government with a right and virtuous king (Yun Sa-sun 2010: 20-21). In other words, the king was treated/ recognized as the father of the nation, so his political status was above the law. Based on the central power system centered on such a king, the provinces were ruled by the local officials sent by the king. But, although the king was a mighty power above the law, he had to try to make his people loyal to him and to keep the social order through his love and moral influence rather than the law as a physical force/ coercion. Rather than resorting to political power, the king had to rule by his own moral virtues as a noble and ideal man, that is so-called 'a government by means of his virtue' or 'government by a man, not by the law'. Confucian political philosophy is very familial, so the relationship between the ruler and the ruled was like the relationship between a father and a son based on mutual love and trust, morality and ethics (Geum Jang-tae 1991: 139-141). Therefore, for them the ideal society was the one in which a benevolent and sincere ideal leader rule and the people, impressed by the love of him, remain loyal to him and lead a moral and ethical daily life. It could be said that it is the most ideal society or country that humans can imagine. However, we should remember that such a society is only possible under the premise that each individual is a right person, first of all, properly educated and trained. As we can see, Confucian political philosophy demands an ideal value from human beings, and that is why it is too difficult to apply it to a modern civil society. It is almost impossible to demand from the ordinary citizens, especially in an anonymous modern society, to maintain the social order through their highly moral and ethical daily life. After all, what is the most desirable in a modern society is the law-abiding spirit of citizens rather than ethics

or morality in daily life.

3. Consciousness of Koreans about 'Evil and Revenge' based on Shamanism

3.1. Korean shamanism - Faith to seek good fortune

Shamanism is the fundamental religion of Koreans, and since the beginning of the Korean nation to this day the shamanistic consciousness has been located in the center of their heart (Lee Gyu-tae 2000a: 5). Therefore, still shamanism prevails in the perception of the soul of Koreans, and is also a key element of the Korean culture (Min Yeong-hyeon 2003:130). According to Korean shamanism the most important thing for people is the life in this real world rather than in the afterlife. It means that a happy and blessed life in this world is more important than the salvation of the soul in the afterlife. Therefore, for Koreans the most important thing was their own or their family's well-being and prosperity. It is also evident in the ritual of Korean shamanism:

“The believers in shamanism make their wish through the shamanistic ritual, but it’s scope is largely limited to one’s own happiness, and does not go beyond his own family. Therefore, it is said that, this is nothing but an act of seeking a fortune for the sake of self-interest.”¹
(Choi Jun-sik 2009: 90)

Of course, this is one of the reasons why Korean shamanism is criticized as a vulgar religion by modern people, because it is not interested in the social order or justice and the salvation of the soul afterlife. But, on the other hand, we should regard it as a reflection of the hard and painful life of Korean people in the history.

In the end, Korean shamanism is not very helpful

¹ “무교를 신봉하는 사람들이 굿을 해서 비는 범위를 보면 대부분이 자신, 아니면 그 범위가 넓어 봐야 자기 가족을 넘어서지 못한다. 그러니 이것은 순전히 자기 이해만을 위한 구복 행위에 불과하다는 것이다.” (최준식, 2009, 『무교 - 권력의 힘에 밀린 한국인의 근본신앙, 도서출판 모시는 사람들』, 90쪽).

in the enforcement of justice and order in social communities that are beyond the scope of the family because it pursues the happiness and well-being of a small group centered on individuals, above all. Therefore, we need to look more in detail at the contradictory and fragile aspects of Korean shamanism in the struggle against evil, especially in the contemporary society, in terms of tackling corruption and thorough punishment for those who break the law.

3.2. Korean shamanism - Faith based on the revengeful spirits

First of all, Korean shamanism is the belief that a revengeful ghost attaches itself to a living person causing him illness or unhappiness. Therefore, Koreans are very reluctant to do things that cause resentment in others' minds. In other words, although they are harmed by others, they are passive in directly opposing or avenging them. It comes from the fear that through it they might be harmed. It was also greatly influenced by Korean shamanism. It can be understood by looking at how God is perceived in Korean shamanism.

As mentioned above, Korean shamanism's main belief is that a revengeful ghost attaches itself to a living person causing him/her all kinds of illness or unhappiness. And this also reflects the mindset of Koreans about God. Traditionally, they seek God when they are affected by unhappiness/misfortune, unlike the Western Christianity which demands to worship God even when life is smooth and happy. So, the reason Koreans go to a shaman is to find a way to solve their misfortunes rather than to get blessed by gods.

“The motives for Korean shamanistic rituals are usually to find ways to solve the misfortunes rather than actively seeking blessings of god.”² (Choi Gil-seong 1996: 133)

According to Korean shamanism, a person's resentment remains even after his/ her death. The soul of a person who died with a grudge cannot go to the world of spirits and becomes a ghost which wanders in the world of living people. Therefore, it is believed that the angry ghost causes unhappiness or sickness, attaching himself to a certain

² “무속의례의 동기는 복을 받기 위하여 적극적으로 행하기보다는 탈이 나서 비로소 의례를 행하는 것이 일반적이다.” (최길성, 『한국인의 한』, 133쪽).

person to solve his/her grudge. Consequently, Koreans believed that all unhappiness in the life of a human being comes from the revengeful ghosts. And only a shaman providing the shamanistic ritual can prevent them from ruining their lives or cure illness caused by the revengeful ghosts. We can see them in more details through the process of Korean shamanism's ritual named Gut.

3.3. The structure and purpose of Korean shamanistic ritual *gut*

The basic/ general structure of Korean shamanistic ritual (*gut*) consists of the three stages: 1) inviting a god (청신, 請神), 2) treating well and appeasing it (오신, 娛神) in order to get from it the way/ method to solve people's problems, 3) sending it back to the world of spirits (송신, 送神) (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 60). In short, Koreans conducted a shamanistic ritual in order to make a friendly relationship between living people and revengeful ghosts which are harmful for people's life in this world.

“Korean shamanistic ritual is to offer sacrifices (food and alcohol) to a god/ ghost and to entertain/appease him through dancing and singing. In other words, a female shaman entertain/ appeases the ghost which brings misfortune to human beings.”³ (Choi Gil-seong 1996: 131)

So, the Korean shamanistic ritual is to comfort the revengeful ghosts by serving them alcohol and food, singing and dancing. This reflects the mindset of the Korean people who believe that people should have good relationships with evil rather than fight against it. First of all, it is an expression of their self-instinct to avoid harm and their extremely realistic attitude toward life. Therefore, it is hard to find in Korean shamanism any profound world view of life and death, such as in other highly developed religions.

Also, what we need to pay more our attention to here is that the Koreans' attitude toward evil is ambivalent/indecisive. It means that, evil is divided into 'small' and 'big', and shamans having fear of the 'big evil' try to appease it, but when it comes to the 'small evil', they just despise it and expel it through simple gestures of threat. We

³ “굿은 신에게 제물을 바치고 가무로써 즐겁게 하는 성격이 강하다. 즉 무녀들이 탈이나기 쉬운 귀신을 모시는 의례가 굿이다.” (최길성, 『한국인의 한』, 131쪽).

can easily think that the shaman has to fight against 'big evil' more strongly, but in Korean shamanism he/she deals with it too passively. That's the weak point of Korean shamanism. And it is very similar to the Koreans' attitude and treatment, even in modern society, for those people who committed serious wrongdoings or large-scale corruption scandals, because they too easily forgive themselves and forget about them.

So, we can say that the extremely passive and self-defensive consciousness/attitude of Korean shamanism in fighting against evil still has a great influence on Koreans' modern daily life. And it is a big obstacle to the implementation of proper rule of law and social justice in the Korean modern society. Because there is no severe punishment for those who violate the law, they ignore the law, and this leads to a vicious cycle of committing criminal acts again and again.

4. The emotion of Korean Han (恨)

It is the emotion of Han that always appears when we discuss Korean traditional emotions. Therefore, it is said that Korean culture and Koreans themselves cannot be understood properly without understanding the emotion of Han. However, the emotion of Han is very unique and complex, so it is not easily understood even by Koreans, especially by foreigners.

'Han' is a lexically common emotion in China, Korea, and Japan. Generally, it is defined as a resentment, lament, remorse, and great sorrow (Cheon I-du 1985: 9). But here, we will talk about the unique Han that appears especially in the Korean culture and literature. It is defined, on the one hand, as compassion and sympathy for others and, on the other hand, as a strong will to achieve one's desires and dreams (Oh Kyong-geun 2013: 33-38).

First of all, Han of Koreans is introvert, not extrovert, it means that it is directed only toward the inside of Koreans' mind, not to the other people. In other words, they don't want to blame the other people who caused their misfortune and suffering, but try to overcome their negative feelings, like a grudge or resentment etc., in their mind by themselves. They call it as 'a process of sublimation of negative feelings'. In that way they try to regenerate themselves as a more

mature human being. Therefore, “Korean Han is an act of sublimation of negative emotions which forgives, reconciles, and harmonizes with other people”⁴ (Min Yeong-hyeon 2006: 124).

And the process of overcoming and sublimating the negative emotions, such as anger and resentment etc., is known as an act of "fermentation of Han". Through it those negative emotions are constantly conquered/overcome, which results in their qualitative changes, namely they finally changed into positive emotions (Cheon I-du 1993: 108-109). It seems just like a sour and bitter alcohol at the beginning, becomes sweet and fragrant through the process of fermentation. So, it is called also as the Korean Han's function of 'creating a new value'. Koreans keep negative emotions in their mind and through the process of "fermentation of them" try to change them into positive emotions, because they believe that it is the way to become a more mature person.

Despite those positive aspects, the Korean Han is a significant obstacle to the implementation of the rule of law and justice in modern society. Because just/only suppressing and overcoming the resentment and grief etc. in the heart while tolerating and forgiving other people who caused those negative feelings is, we can say, the ethics of a helpless and incompetent person who is not able to counterattack or retaliate against the others who are stronger than he/she. So, from the point of struggle, it could be the logic of the weak people. That is why Han is criticized as Koreans' unique ideology of resignation, conformism, and defeatism. Of course, forgiveness and tolerance for those who commit wrongdoings are important, but a more important thing is that they at first should deeply regret their wrongdoings and take full responsibility for them.

There is another sentiment/ feeling of Korean people which, similar to Han, makes it impossible to properly press people to assume responsibility for their actions under the rule of law. That is the emotion of Jeong 정(情), and it is based mainly on compassion for others. Generally, it is still accepted positively by Koreans and called as the 'culture of Jeong'. According to it, even though someone has done something wrong, he/she should be tolerated and forgiven as a result of sympathy of other people rather than be punished by the law. As we know already, it's also one of the typical Korean

⁴ “한(恨)은 용서하고 화해하고 어우러지는 승화의 마음이다” (민영현, 2006, 한국인의 삶과 한국학, 신지서원, 124쪽).

traditional consciousnesses which accentuate harmony in human relations, not hostility or punishment.

5. The happy ending of the Korean classical novel

The ‘happy ending’ is one of the characteristics of Korean classical novels, and is quite different from the tragedy in Western epic literature based on catharsis. This reflects the realistic world-centered thinking of Koreans. It means that for Koreans the life in this world is the most important thing. Life in this real world is difficult, hard, and sometimes very painful in both the East and the West. Therefore, it can be said that the Korean literature which makes such a happy ending is unrealistic, and the Western literature which portrays it tragically is realistic. However, it can be also said that the Korean classical novels are realistic, because they are frankly portraying the people’s desire of having a comfortable, healthy and happy life in this real world rather than the salvation of soul or eternal life after death. Although good health and material affluence are fundamental to a happy life, a harmonious and amicable relationship with other people is also very important.

“The happy ending is confirmed as a general feature of Korean classical novels, which can be interpreted as a phenomenon formed in the sense of fear inherent in the consciousness of Koreans that a ghost with grudge is harmful to human beings, so they don’t want have conflict with other people. The tragic ending is a creating a revengeful ghost, so it does not match with their fear for it. Therefore, it seems to be understood that the composition of the classic novel structure, a happy ending, is the result of Korean thinking/consciousness, which sav that ‘Do not do harm to others, and if it was inevitable, you must solve it by yourself’⁵ (Seo Dae-seok 1978: 242).

⁵ “행복한 결말은 한국 고전소설의 일반적 특징임이 확인되며, 이것은 한국인의 의식에 내재된 원령작해(怨靈作害)로 인한 공포감과 그 공포감에서 유래된 원한 기피의 사고에서 형성된 현상으로 해석할 수 있다는 것이다. 비극적 결말이란 결국 원령(怨靈)의 존재를 만드는 것이기에 원령에 대한 공포감과 상치되는 것이다. 따라서 원억(冤憶)한 일을 만들지는 말고, 불가피하게 만들어졌다면 반드시 풀어버리는 우리 민족의 사고에서 행복한 결말이라는 고전소설 구성상의 도식은 이해될 수 있으리라고 본다.” (서대석, 1978, 『고전소설의 ‘행복한 결말’과 한국인의 의식』, 『관악어문연구』 3집, 242쪽).

That is why Koreans pursue harmony, reconciliation, tolerance and forgiveness. In addition, as we have seen above, Koreans tried to avoid antagonism and confrontation with others, because they have a belief that ‘if you do harm to others, it comes back to you’.

Since Koreans knew that hatred and controversy with each other would only lead to a vicious cycle of revenge, the Korean classical literature and drama encouraged them to overcome their emotion of Han by forgiveness and reconciliation with each other through an exciting play that everyone can join.

“If we solve a grudge/ han through the ‘sinmyeong’, the serious trials and hardships can be overcome. In that case, there is no room for tragedy. Tragedy is not highly valued not only in Korean traditional play/drama, but also in other genres of Korean literature. [...] So, the happy ending of Korean classical novels should be understood in this way.”⁶ (Jo Dong-il *et al.* 2005: 23-24).

Thus, ‘happy ending’ through forgiveness and reconciliation in the Korean classical novels and drama is composed of a structure in which not only the main character but also the negative characters are saved without exception:

“Pansori seeks a reconciliation with other people, that is almost the same thing to the desire to reach a happy ending in Korean classical novels. The happy ending is that the positive hero gets salvaged, and is a reflection of the reconciliatory orientation. But in Pansori not only the positive main character but also the negative main character are guaranteed salvation. [...] It seems that the Koreans’ mentality, which avoids making han/ grudge to other people went one step further, so they got to think that even the negative protagonist should not be made into a ghost with a grudge. The fact that so-called the ‘motive of revenge’ is not found not only in Pansori, but also in almost all the Korean narrative literature is to prove it.”⁷

⁶ “한을 신명으로 풀면 심각한 시련이나 고난을 넘어선다. 그렇게 해서 비극이 부정된다. 연극의 영역을 넘어서더라도 비극적인 것을 높이 평가하지 않는다. [...] 한국의 서사문학 작품이 행복한 결말에 이르는 것도 이와 함께 고찰할 수 있는 특징이다.” (조동일 외, 2005, 『한국문학강의』, 길벗, 23-24쪽)

⁷ “행복한 결말에 이르러자 하는 소망과 거의 궤를 같이 하는 것이 판소리에서 보게 되는 바 화해 지향성이다. 긍정적 주인공이 구원을 받게 되는 이른바 행복한 결말 자체가 화해 지향성의 반영이라 하겠거니와, 긍정적 주인공뿐 아니라 그 상대역인 부정적 주인공마저도 거의 예외없이 구원이 보장되는 점에 판소리의 특징이 있다. [...] 이러한 원한 기피의

(Cheon I-du 1993: 127)

In conclusion, it can be seen that Korean classical novels and drama are aimed for an unified society where all people are harmonized through forgiveness and reconciliation rather than hatred, antagonism and conflict. This corresponds to the ideal society of Confucianism. However, it is difficult to expect it in an inhuman capitalist modern society, where the friendly human ties in the traditional society have become unfamiliar and personal interests are given the highest priority. Therefore, the maintenance of the justice and social order in the modern society should be relied on the rule of law rather than traditional paternalism.

6. Rational fusion of tradition and modern

The history of the Korean people as a weak nation of East Asia was a continuation of sufferings. In particular, in the first half of the 20th century, they lost their sovereignty as a nation under the Japanese colonial rule. After that, the nation was divided into two countries by the beginning of the global Cold War and the Korean war and, unfortunately, the biggest tragedy in the history of Korean people continues even in the 21st century's globalization era.

Nevertheless, in the ruins of the fratricidal war, the Koreans worked hard with their unwavering will, and have achieved economic development that everyone in the world admires; furthermore, they finally developed a democratic society through a fierce struggle with the military dictatorship. Today, Koreans are proud of their economic and political achievements and are expanding their lives to the world. Now, Koreans are striving to achieve a world-class advanced society and country, and its accomplishment is ahead of them. Unfortunately, various corruption is still prevalent in the Korean modern society. The main causes of this are, as we have seen so far, as follows:

심리가 한걸음 더 나아가서 그 부정적 주인공도 원령으로 만들어서는 안 된다는 원한 기피 심리를 자아내게 한 것이라 하겠다. 판소리뿐 아니라 한국의 거의 모든 서사 문학에 있어서 이른바 복수의 모티프가 발견되지 않는 것도 이를 반증하는 것이라 하겠다.” (천이두, 1993, 『한의 구조 연구』, 문학과 지성사, 127쪽).

- 1) Citizens do not trust the law because fair law enforcement has not been implemented properly,
- 2) Familyism and authoritarianism based on Confucian thought,
- 3) Too passive response to evil and the consciousness that is afraid of harming others based on Korean shamanism.

It is hard to expect the rule of law to be implemented properly in the Korean society as long as such a way of thinking is still prevalent: ‘Law makes people rude’, ‘The law is far and the fist is close’, ‘If I observe the law, I will lose/If I observe the law, I will only pay for it’ etc. In addition, a fair society cannot be achieved without overcoming the harmful effects of collective egoism such as nepotism, regionalism, and one’s school ties/connections, namely the university one graduated from and the ties he/she has with other schoolmates. Therefore, Korean people must strongly resist the tyranny and deviant behavior of those who have power/authority and wealth. And also, must make sure that a thorough account of the responsibility of those, who violate social order and reasonable legal punishment for them should be done properly. We should keep in mind that tolerance and forgiveness with respect to them are possible only after their self-reflection and paying for their wrongdoings/misconduct since just tolerating and forgiving them is a stumbling block to achieving a fair and just modern society.

In conclusion, Korean people should remove the negative aspects of their tradition that do not match the life in a modern society and, on other hand, rationally and effectively merge their positive elements with modernity. That is the biggest challenge that Koreans have to face now to achieve an advanced society. It requires their wisdom, courage and action.

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THE THEORY ON THE STATE OF THE CHOSŎN RULING ELITES: HOW DID THEY PERCEIVE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THE STATE?

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Abstract: This paper argues that it is necessary to analyze the identity of the ruling elite in the Chosŏn Dynasty through the nobles *munbŏl* 문벌(門閥) using the ideological methodology. The identity of the ruling elite in the Joseon Dynasty should be considered in relation to the state. In the first part of this paper, we review the existing studies on the relationship between the ruling elite and the state in Korea. The first group gives a view that the ruling class has autonomy from the state and has an identity outside the country. The second group of the studies shows that the ruling autonomous governments have encroached on the private sector. The third group are studies showing that the ruling class of the Chosŏn Dynasty structurally could not escape the domination of the state. Each of these studies pointed out important points in characterizing the ruling elites of the Chosŏn dynasty, yet they had some limitations because they lacked an ideological consideration of what their identity is fundamentally from. The second part of the paper presents how to overcome these limitations by insisting that the identity of the ruling class should be examined in relation to the state at that time through the issue of civilization.

Key words: ruling elite in the Chosŏn Dynasty, the nation, identity, nobles

조선 지배층의 국가론: 지배층과 국가와의 관계에 대한 논의를 중심으로

논문초록: 본 논문은 조선시대 지배엘리트의 정체성을 파악하기 위해서는 문벌(門閥)이라는 소재를 통해 사상적인 방법론으로 분석하는 것이 필요함을 주장한 논문이다. 조선시대 지배엘리트의 정체성은 국가와의 관계 속에서 고찰되어야 한다. 이를 위해 우선 논문의 전반부에서 조선의 지배엘리트와 국가의 관계에 대해 다룬 기존의 연구들을 세 가지 경향으로 나누어 고찰하였다. 첫 번째 그룹은 지배층이 국가로부터 자율성을 가지며, 국가 밖의 영역에 정체성을 두고 있다고 여기는 연구들이다. 두 번째 그룹은 역시 국가로부터 자율성을 가지는 지배층이 사적 영역으로 국가를 잠식하였다고 보는 연구들이다. 세 번째 그룹은 조선시대 지배층은 구조적으로 국가의 지배를 벗어날 수 없었다고 여기는 연구들이다. 각각의 연구들은 조선시대 지배엘리트의 성격을 파악하는 데에 중요한 지점을 지적하였으나, 그들의 정체성이 근본적으로 무엇으로부터 오는가에 대한 사상적 고찰을 결여했기 때문에 한계를 가진다. 논문의 후반부에서는 이러한 한계를 극복하기 위한 제안으로, 문벌이라는 소재를 통해 당시 지배층의 정체성을 국가와의 관계 속에서 살펴보기를 주장하였다.

주제어: 조선시대 지배엘리트, 국가, 정체성, 문벌

JAK WARSTWA RZĄDZĄCA W CHOSŌN POSTRZEGAŁA RELACJE MIĘDZY NIMI SAMYMI A PAŃSTWEM? PRÓBA UJĘCIA TEORETYCZNEGO

Streszczenie: Autorka zakłada, że próba analizy warstwy rządzącej za czasów panowania dynastii Chosŏn na przykładzie szlachetnie urodzonych *munbŏl* 문벌 (門閥) powinna być przeprowadzana przy pomocy analizy ideologicznej, zaś tożsamość warstwy rządzącej należy rozpatrywać w relacji do kraju. Artykuł stanowi analizę istniejących badań, które dzielą się na trzy główne grupy. Pierwsza z grup wysuwa tezę, że warstwa rządząca jest niezależna od kraju i rządu i w takim oderwaniu należy rozpatrywać jej tożsamość. Druga grupa wskazuje na to, że warstwa rządząca opanowała również tzw. sektor prywatny. Trzecia grupa pokazuje, że warstwa ta nie była w stanie odciąć się strukturalnie od rządów. Dalsza część artykułu skupia się na analizie pozostałych punktów charakterystycznych dla koreańskiej warstwy rządzącej.

Słowa kluczowe: warstwa rządząca w Chosŏn, kraj, tożsamość, arystokracja.

1. Introduction: The Trend of Contemporary Scholarship on the Late Chosŏn's theory on the State

The fact that the Late Chosŏn dynasty was ruled by powerful ruling elites called yangban has been generally accepted, and plentiful researchers have attempted to explain the nature of ruling elites, with the Late Chosŏn believing that the nature of ruling elites defines what Chosŏn state was. In detail, the interrelations between the ruling elites and the state can explain the structure of the political power relation, the degree of coercion power of the state, etc.

Numerous researchers have paid attention to the interrelations between the ruling elites and the state power and the bureaucracy to discover the character of Chosŏn state. As a consequence, they defined the ruling system of Chosŏn dynasty with concepts such as bureaucracy (이태진 1990; 박병련 1994; 정만조 2000), bureaucratic monarchy (James B. Palais 1998), centralized bureaucracy (이성무 1998; 남지대 1997), despotic monarchy (손병규 2008: 서론) patrimonial bureaucracy (진덕규 2000) etc.

Other types of researches have examined the nature of Chosŏn's ruling system without direct consideration of bureaucracy, but rather through utilizing the concepts such as system ruled by sajak (土族支配體制) (김인걸 1988; 김현영 2000; 김성우 1999), factional politics (朋黨政治) (오수창 1985; 이태진 1987), public discourse politics (公論政治) (설석규 2002; 송웅섭 2011), Neo-Confucian literati politics (士林政治) (이태진 1977; 최이돈 1994; 이병휴 1997), impartiality politics (世道政治) (이선근 1975; 한국역사연구회 1990), royal in-law politics (蕩平政治) (이태진 1993; 김성윤 1997) as a way of understanding the representative ruling system of different period in the history of Chosŏn dynasty. These studies are significant in that they reveal multi-faceted aspects of Chosŏn's ruling system with substantial understanding of the political theory of Neo-Confucianism which served as a ruling ideology of Chosŏn dynasty.

However, there remain some problems in both groups of scholarship. The former group is likely to overlook some important characteristics of the ruling system by simply applying socio-scientific concepts originated from historical experience of the West to Chosŏn's system without careful consideration. Although the latter group overcomes this limit, they are also flawed in that they arbitrarily defined the 'ideal type' of which Neo-Confucian politics could provide

and applied experimental sources to this certain type, which led to mistaken assumption of development and fall of a certain political organization. Moreover, it seems even non-historical in a sense that the ideal type of the Neo-Confucian politics established by scholars reflects that they were overly conscious of the so-called 'modern values', such as liberalism and democracy that is concomitant of civil society (김영민 2012; Cho 1997).

How, then, should we approach Chosŏn's theory on the state? First, I believe that examining the identity of the ruling agents is essential at this point. Attention should be given not only to the ruling ideology of Neo-Confucianism but also to the identity of the ruling elites who appropriated that ideological system. This does not indicate that Chosŏn's ruling elites blindly followed Neo-Confucian's ideal political system. In fact, the 'ideal type' provided 'theoretically' by a certain ideology or philosophy is modifiable in various contexts according to various agents who adopt those ideas. From this point of view, Neo-Confucian's political idea adopted by Chosŏn's ruling elites may also exist in various forms determined by the way they interpret and appropriate it. However, this does not indicate that they utilized Neo-Confucianism only in their own interests, since adopting a certain ideology means adjusting one's identity to that particular ideology. In a similar sense, Chosŏn's ruling elites adjusted their behavior to the norms provided by Neo-Confucianism.

Second, analysis on how Chosŏn's ruling elites perceived the relationship between themselves and the state, is required. It is necessary to understand both a particular historical phenomenon, 'influential family (munbŏl, 門閥)', and the characteristics of Chosŏn's 'bureaucratic system', given that the two were closely related to each other. However, it should be noted that the focus of this paper is not on a simple explanation or reexamination of munbŏl of the late Chosŏn period and implicated relationship between the state and the ruling elites. Instead, this study attempts to explore the theory on the state of the Chosŏn ruling elites; that is, how they perceived the relations between themselves and the state. This is possible by delving into the perception of the ruling elites of munbŏl. For those works mentioned above, I will seek some possible state-ruling elites relation types based on previous studies and suggest my own hypothesis on that relationship through examining ruling elites' perception on munbŏl.

2. Relationship between the State and the Ruling Elites in Chosŏn Dynasty

Contemporary scholarship on the type of Chosŏn's state-ruling elites' relationship could be largely classified into three. The first group of the studies suggests the type of ruling elites being outside the boundary of the state. From this point of view, the ruling elites are seen as those who acquired their own space, autonomous and independent from the state power, endeavored to achieve their ideology or interests, and eventually made their efforts paid off. Scholars taking this stance argue about the existence of the so-called civil society or an autonomous sphere corresponding to it in Chosŏn dynasty (김영민 2012; Duncan 2006). Rebutting a well-established 'prejudice' that the historical characteristic of the East Asia lies in despotism, with the monarch as the central figure (Wittfogel 1957), scholars of such studies attempted to prove there also existed a prototype of a modern civil society and democracy in the Korean history. These efforts were made especially in the field of political history, social history, and intellectual history.

The most representative study from this point of view emphasizes the rise of the rusticated literati (sarim, 士林) in the mid-century Chosŏn, who criticized social evils caused by meritorious elite (hungu, 勳舊) - a group adhered to the state showing aristocratic inclinations and went through a number of bloody purges (sahwa, 士禍) and finally seized power becoming a principal agent of factional politics (이태진 1979; 김용흠 2004). Rusticated literati possessed ideological means of Neo-Confucianism, economic means of rural farms, institutional means of Confucian academy and community regulation, and political means of public discourse. Numerous studies argued that these various means served as significant sources or foundations for them to stay in an autonomous sphere away from the state. Studies stressing the rise of literati lineage (sajok, 士族) in the local society during the sixteenth to seventeenth century Chosŏn and the confrontation between them and the central government (김성우 2001; 한국역사연구회 2000), and studies on scholars of mountain and forest (sallim, 山林), who refused to become an official through state examination and maintained a certain distance from the king and central government (오수창 2003; 우인수 1999), share the common ground with studies on rusticated literati. Basically,

widely-accepted research on political history of the late Chosŏn period, insists on an apparent existence of ruling elites who resisted the central government, which is believed to be possible through the resources they possessed.

However, these studies leave large room for criticism. Among all, it is largely proven that the rusticated literati and the meritorious elite came from the same political and social background (Wagner 1974; 이훈상 2002; 김범 2003). The fact that various resources mobilized by Chosŏn's ruling elites in order to check the state were by no means available without the help of the state has also been pointed out in many studies. The most representative example includes the issues of Confucian academies (Milan 1998). The biggest flaw is that such studies arbitrarily set up an ideal type of Neo-Confucianism, which served as a ruling ideology, and simply applied it to Chosŏn's history without careful consideration. According to these studies, Neo-Confucianism is an ideology that provides political ideals, a formation of moral community in the autonomous local society. A claim that Neo-Confucianism greatly contributed to the formation of community based on the local volunteerism, namely localism (Peter 2003), is valid only when it is discussed within the context of the Chinese history. This view overlooks the fact that the form of the state the ruling elites of Chosŏn envisioned was different from that of China, even though they accepted the same ideology. Consequently, there exists lack of reasons to argue that the ruling elites of Chosŏn was independent from the state (Steinberg 1997).

The second group of studies suggests the type of ruling elites exploiting the state for their own interests. There is a study that defines Chosŏn's ruling elites as 'aristocratic yangban-official', and suggests that they achieved 'bureaucratic centralization' using bureaucracy in order to protect their privileges (James 1998). According to this study, Chosŏn was not a state where the ruling elites were subordinated due to the strong power of the state or a despotic monarch. Rather, the study argues that the ruling elites of Chosŏn appropriated the resources of the state including bureaucracy to secure their interests exclusively. Thus, the power of the king was limited and was consistently in control by the ruling elites. Viewing Chosŏn's polity as 'bureaucratic monarchy' and not just a 'monarchy' also implies a restricted power of the king and the state.

Similarly to Palais, Martina Deuchler also pointed out the aristocratic tendency of yangban, and weakness of the state

power (Martina 2003; 2015). She emphasized that the aristocratic nature of Korea's ruling elites was preserved since Silla (新羅)'s bone ranking system (Golpum jedo, 骨品制度), and therefore Chosŏn's yangban also enjoyed hereditary status based on descent and lineage. Although, gaining an office post through civil service, examinations were also necessary for them to maintain hereditary privilege, she puts more emphasis on 'Korea's Confucianization' since the seventeenth century Chosŏn, which allowed them to have alternatives other than entering an official life. The alternatives-maintained privileges by strengthening kinship system, practicing strict rituals, and living a life of scholarship while remaining in the countryside. According to this study, it was the society that affected the ruling elites more profoundly than the state, and, therefore, the ruling elites were able to use the state for their own sake.

These two studies have significant meaning in that they properly pointed out the hereditary privilege Chosŏn's ruling elites possessed. However, they also show limits by reconstructing history based on misunderstanding of Neo-Confucianism. Palais stressed that despite the egalitarian attribute of Neo-Confucianism, only the hierarchic and hereditary aspects were reinforced in order to protect the privilege of the ruling elites in Chosŏn. This seems to be a one-sided perspective, regarding ideology as used merely as a tool for certain interests or transformed by certain interests. Deuchler's study is meaningful in that it was an attempt to interpret the relationship between the state and the ruling elites, with the consideration of the identity and orientation of the ruling elites as the most significant variables. It is controversial, however, whether the ruling elites of the late Chosŏn period tried to establish their identity outside the boundary of the state, that is in the society. The argument that the ruling elites did not base their identity on the state needs more careful examinations.

The third type involves the ruling elites being subordinated to the state. Miyajima Hiroshi (宮嶋博史) defined Chosŏn as a state equipped with hierarchical and unitary bureaucratic system, which managed intensive rice farming (미야지마 히로시 2013) based on the theory of hydraulic irrigation-despotism presented by Karl A. Wittvogel. Therefore, the ruling elites of Chosŏn were not independent from the state since they had to rely on bureaucracy, contrary to the landlords of the West. The state-ruling elites' relationship, which was consolidated based on bureaucracy, coincided

well with the Neo-Confucian political ideology that featured centralized bureaucratic ruling, upon which Chosŏn became 'Neo-Confucianized' since the seventeenth century. Whether Chosŏn possessed infrastructure that could effectively manage and control social resources remains controversial. However, since Chosŏn's ruling elites were closely intertwined with the state through bureaucracy, Miyajima's argument that the ruling elites were entities not independent from the state with analysis of socioeconomic conditions proves crucial.

The ruling elites of Chosŏn showed heavy reliance on the state in every aspect including material foundation and establishment of identity, while by no means forming tense relations with the state. Chosŏn's weak social differentiation is pointed out as the main cause of this phenomenon (Duncan 2000). The ruling elites within a highly aristocratic bureaucracy (or centralized aristocratic bureaucracy) sought to rely on the state's authority in order to acquire social resources, which turned out to be a favorable deal for the state as well in that it allowed them to compensate its weakness in resource control.

Among the three types of relationships between the state and the ruling elites I had mentioned above, the most reasonable type is, I believe, the last one. The ruling elites of Chosŏn could not be independent from the state. Miyajima and Duncan's arguments reveal the circumstances in which there existed an inseparable connection between human beings who are bound by the material foundation and the state obligated to control societal resources. Although they mentioned Neo-Confucian ideology which stimulated changes in political and social spheres, this was adopted or applied only when it was mobilized for the needs of the state and the ruling elites or when socioeconomic conditions were properly developed. In this respect, these two studies are based on a firm stance that the material structure of the society determines human behavior and the course of history.

The questions to what extent Chosŏn's social differentiation progressed, how strong the infrastructural power was in controlling state resources, how successfully the bureaucratic ruling was carried out are not the focus of this study. Apparently, it is a meaningful process for historians to explore the level of Chosŏn's centralized power in comparison with that of modern nation or with other nations in the same period of time. More importantly, however, is to examine whether or not the ruling elites based their identity on the state and

what they intended their relation with the state to look like. Ideology should not be considered as merely being appropriated as needed or passively waiting to be mobilized once the proper conditions appear. Inversely, certain ideology and values are likely to determine human behavior and trigger social transformation, which seems to be highly conspicuous in Chosŏn where ideological power was particularly influential. Considering the fact that Neo-Confucianism served as a ruling doctrine of the Chosŏn dynasty, the theory on the state of the ruling elites should be examined within this larger political ideology of Neo-Confucianism.

The orientation toward the state shown by the ruling elites of the late Chosŏn can be proved through a number of cases. The most representative case would be the unprecedented upsurge in state examinations during the period, which indicates that gaining an official post was of great importance to them. Obtaining official posts not only provided material foundations necessary for a living, but also a symbolic significance to their identities originating from the very fact that they became entitled to the official posts. There was still heavy pressure placed on the successful candidates since stable official life was not guaranteed even with the passing of the exams. Developing intimate relationships with influential people in the government was also an important task for them. A diary written by Hwang Yun-sŏk (黃胤錫), a scholar from a renowned family in Jeolla province during the reign of King Yŏngjo reveals how alert he was to situational circumstances and people in Seoul, which was his strategy to gain a government post. He even made a special request to the influential figures in the government for the sake of his father's advancement into the government (박현순 2013).

If the ruling class of the late Chosŏn ultimately put their identity on the state and defined their relationship with it, the foremost subject that could demonstrate this would be *munbŏl*, more precisely, the perception by the ruling elites of *munbŏl*. The interesting thing is that the identity that underlies this perception was formed not in the late Chosŏn period but in the early period within the framework of Neo-Confucian project.

3. Munbŏl and the Identity of Ruling Elites in Late Chosŏn

Why munbŏl was chosen as my subject of concern needs some elaboration. This has to do with the definition of 'ruling elites'. The term 'ruling elites' in my paper is a concept that encompasses Chosŏn's government official and a group of prospective officials. Specifically, it includes both officials already serving in the government and those preparing for the civil service examination while remaining in the local society or those who at least had self-awareness as the ruling elites despite their unstable living conditions almost compatible with the common people. The most important factor which determines the character of the ruling elites is their identity. As I conceptualized the ruling elites of Chosŏn as a group of people holding the identity of a ruler, they need to be examined within close relevance to the state's bureaucratic system.

The ruling elites of Chosŏn possessing the identity of a ruler had strong self-awareness as belonging to a particular lineage and being a descendent of a particular ancestor. It doesn't need to be explained further what significant kinship groups were in Chosŏn and China where Confucianism functioned as a dominant ideology. What's important is that there was an intimate connection between the two identities as a ruler and as a member of a particular lineage.

This, for example, is demonstrated in one's biographies and epitaphs etc. left by these individuals in which the mentioning of the protagonists' ancestors always comes ahead of the detailed description of the protagonist itself: the subjects related to the public posts (mainly in the government affairs) and achievements took up the most portion of the story that deals with the ancestors. The existence of the Law of Avoidance (*sangp'ije*, 相避制), which prohibited individuals who are in a certain range of kinship relations from working in the same department illustrates that the ruling elites of that time (이기명 2004) were highly conscious of close relationships between the kinship and public posts.

Becoming public officers involves a sequential process of school, education, and finally the civil service examination and each step cannot stand on its own in separation from the kinship group. At the stage of education, discipline within a family lineage was fortified as a way of preserving the tradition of family learning. A sudden increase in the establishment of academies related to certain

family lineage (munjung sŏwŏn, 門中書院) during this time is an indication that the kinship system played a significant role in the process of education (이해준 2000). Let's take a look at the case of the civil service examinations. If we look into the Kukchopangmok (國朝榜目), which was a list of people who successfully passed the examination, the information on four ancestors (sajo, 四祖), including, the father, grandfather, great-grandfather and maternal grandfather, and wife's father was an essential component in constituting the portion of personal information of the test takers (이연숙 2011). Even the sigwŏn (試券), a test paper of civil service examinations, required a birthplace of the candidates and the name of their ancestors to be recorded on it. This testifies that the ruling elite of Chosŏn did not necessarily separate the identity as a ruler and as a member of a particular lineage (박현순 2012).

Munbŏl is production of the strong collaboration between the two identities, a state elite and a member of a particular lineage. The concept of munbŏl as commonly understood in contemporary scholarly trends is as follows; 'family lineage with a hereditary political and societal privilege through a constant nurturing of public officials', encompassing the concepts such as influential lineage (bŏlyŏl, 閥閥), lineage maintaining privilege for generations (kyomoksega, 喬木世家), families of renown lineage (myŏngmunsejok, 名門世族), successful lineage (sŏngbŏl, 盛閥) (차장섭 1995). Hence, it was not the case that all kinship groups including munjung (門中) or chongjung (宗中) automatically turned into munbŏl. Rather, societal recognition of a particular lineage group as munbŏl took place only when descendants of an individual constantly obtained high ranking official posts and corresponding privileges that were equally compatible with those of their ancestor's. It is commonly believed that munbŏl was established after the reign of King Injo, that is, the late Chosŏn period (차장섭 1997). However, according to Lee Tae-jin's study, consciousness of 'renown lineage' (myŏngjok, 名族) was already formed in the early Chosŏn and it is rather dangerous to conclusively define the establishment period of munbŏl as the late Chosŏn, considering that renown lineage consciousness is an embodiment of the self-pride of the ancestors who succeeded in the government and therefore could be considered as part of munbŏl discourse (이태진 1976).

I would like to especially pinpoint the perspectives of the academic circles that defined descent groups in Chosŏn

as a private group (private sector) encroaching on the state (public sector). Researchers who have conducted their studies in political history of the late Chosŏn period have commonly shared the following views; munbŏl is a privileged power group, monopolizing public resources through a solid base achieved through marriage and official posts, which was then ultimately translated into royal clan politics (世道政治), a pattern of succession of political authority by a particular lineage (진덕규 2011, 한국역사연구회 1990, 차장섭 1997, 오수창 1991). Especially, 'harmful effects of munbŏl' specified in various reform theories emerged in the late Chosŏn period, served as a major evidence for the aforementioned views.

For example, discussing the corruption in political practice of Chosŏn period in the Usŏ (迂書), the author Yu Su-wŏn (柳壽垣), an official under King Yongjo made a reference to the munbŏl phenomena as a major cause in the failure of both the selection and utilization of talented individuals (김인규 2009). Practical learning scholar (實學者) Yi Ik (李瀾) also found the reason for ill functioning of the state's bureaucratic system in munbŏl (원재린 2006). In addition to these two cases, intellectuals of the time and the officials and the kings in the court have also pointed out the corruption and harmful effects of munbŏl. Researchers have shown a tendency of accepting these views of the Chosŏn period indiscriminately, utilizing them as historical evidence.

However, there needs to be a clear distinction between munbŏl itself and harmful effects of munbŏl. If we carefully look into the arguments concerning the harmful effects of munbŏl made by the reformists of the late Chosŏn period, it can be referred that it is not the existence of munbŏl itself they found problematic, but rather harmful consequences resulting from the ill functioning of munbŏl. Hereditary privilege is the natural property of the ruling elites in the medieval period and this was secured institutionally at the state level. For example, the practice of taegache (代價制), a system of adding official rank to a kin group, was already codified into law during the Sejo reign in Chosŏn (최승희 1985). Emergence of munbŏl phenomena itself in Chosŏn wasn't a direct indication of social corruption. Rather, it is the point that the munbŏl phenomena begins to be perceived as harmful effects when the recognition arises that munbŏl disrupts the public order and security while violating the limits tolerated by the institution.

If the existence of munbŏl itself was perceived harmful

and problematic, there arose various exceptional cases that are unexplainable. In 1823, a decision was presented allowing concubine's sons to enter office posts (許通), in which the following content was a part of it; "Our country has revered the dignity of a lineage when employing individuals, and not putting any distinction between concubine's sons, regarding them as a whole, seems careless. Therefore, they shall be differentiated according to their families. (我國用人, 既尚門地, 謂之均是庶流無所分別, 非愼惜之意, 隨其家閥以爲, 差等之地.)" This principle demonstrates that the state took for granted the practice of selecting officials based on *munböl* and institutionalized it. A similar case can also be found in the period preceding the so-called *sedo*, royal clan politics period. In addition, King Chǒngjo, who strove to construct a centralized bureaucratic government, explicitly emphasized lineage backgrounds as an important criteria in selecting the officials of the court library (*kyujanggak*, 奎章閣). There are numerous cases of this kind, yet understudied, due to the preoccupation of the researchers with the perception of viewing the existence of *munböl* itself as social corruption.

Kim Youngmin demonstrated that kinship groups can claim a legal justification as a political agent when they are placed within the ideology of Neo-Confucianism (김영민 2012a). If the suggestion that the ruling elites possessed the identity of Neo-Confucian scholars is accepted, then it can also be inferred that *munböl* phenomena in Chosŏn was not necessarily anti-state for people of the time. In this sense, previous views that defined *munböl* as a private group violating the public authority of the state and damaging public interests need to be revised. R. Bin Wong claimed that the role of the state and society were not differentiated and instead took the form of fractal in the case of China when compared to that of Europe: hence, the Chinese state could transfer a number of roles to the family lineage in local society while carrying out its minimal duties (Wong 1997). Although the state-society relationship was completely different in Chosŏn from that of China, the relationship between the state and the lineage group was not hostile to each other, which was a case in China, and, moreover, they utilized their lineage as a base to enter central government posts. In order to demonstrate that the ruling elites of Chosŏn ultimately based their identities on the state, their perceptions of *munböl* and of the operation of Chosŏn's bureaucratic system that institutionalized *munböl* need to be examined.

4. Conclusion

Examining perceptions of Chosŏn's ruling elites on the relationship between themselves and the state corresponds with examining how the officials, statesmen, also referred to as state elites - perceived the existence of the state, or how the state should exist. In the end, this is about their state theory of the period concerned. In addition, this also enables us to delve into the character of Chosŏn's ruling system as well as the identity of the ruling elites defined by themselves within the framework of established relations between them and the state. This paper claims that the ruling elites drew their ultimate identities from the state and, in this sense, they held 'state-oriented' tendencies. This is found in their attempts to enter the government office through *munbŏl*. Chosŏn's ruling elites regarded descent groups as public realm within the ideology of Neo-Confucianism. *Munbŏl*, which has the symbolic power constructing the identity of Chosŏn's ruling elites also had the role of the nexus linking Chosŏn's ruling elites with their state Chosŏn.

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**THE REVIEW OF *THE ROUTLEDGE
COURSE IN KOREAN TRANSLATION* BY
JIEUN KIAER, 2018. ROUTLEDGE LONDON
AND NEW YORK,
ISBN 978-1-315-61821-0, PP. 197.**

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The Routledge Course in Korean Translation by Jieun Kiaer is a long-awaited book that is supposed to fill the gap in the field of world translation literature, a book devoted to translation in the linguistic pair of English as a *lingua franca* and Korean as a language that is increasingly gaining world's attention. A specific goal the author adopted for the purposes of her book, which is “discuss[es] issues or problems that can occur in Korean-English (K-E) or English-Korean (E-K) translation” (Kiaer 2018: vi) and that it may serve as “a resource book for anyone engaged in Korean Studies” (2018: vii), indicates at the same time the potential areas of this book use in practice. The book is also intended to be a source of knowledge for scholars and adepts of Korean knowledge, and more broadly for all those who are interested in Asian languages.

The book consists of chapters devoted to *matters*, which is a clear signal of the author's awareness that translation is not just a thoughtless translation of the message but – on the contrary – that

in the case of translation not only semantic transfer takes place, but other circumstances are taken into account. So everything *matters*, which is also a kind of word game.

The first chapter, entitled *Language matters*, introduces the reader to the world of Korean language, with the linguistic, morphological and syntactic differences of both languages (English and Korean) emphasized, which is preceded by the outline of the historical development of the Korean language. The author discusses the layout and structure of the alphabet, selected styles of Romanization record, also points to the areas of language influence of neighboring countries (China and Japan). Simultaneously, the author also makes simplified considerations on the aspects of Korean syntax and morphology and gives limited information about the development of English translation studies in Korea, as the text is aimed at people who speak English. One can see a comparative approach to the issues of Korean and English linguistics. An interesting solution is also the author's own comparative civic comments.

The next chapter is entitled *Translating matters* and is an introduction to translation studies. A globally functioning division of oral and written translation is introduced. This chapter should be treated as a specific state of research in translatology and equivalence, as it contains references to the findings of Jakobson (1959), Catford (1965), Baker (1992), Vermeer (1978) and Vermeer and Reiss (1984), Nida (1964), Newmark (1981) and others. It also contains selected translation techniques based on the Hasegawa proposal (2012) with a comment supported by examples in Korean. At the end of the chapter, there are several exercises that allow a reader to test one's translation skills. In the context of the entire book concept, particular attention should be addressed to the theoretical subchapter 2.3, which refers to the English-Korean cultural translation with an indication of the main problems in the translation of onomatopoeia, gender and numbers, names of drinks etc. This section is, in the opinion of the reviewer, particularly valuable.

Chapter 3 discusses the issues of grammatical differences in English and Korean, focusing on the issues of grammatical categories, number, genus, articles, particles and other grammatical exponents, times. It also raises the problem of understanding long and complicated sentences in both languages, pointing to the problem

of syntax and connectivity of individual word groups. This chapter also ends with a set of exercises.

The chapter devoted to meaning indicates the problems of translation along with proposals for solving them with the examples of: Korean proper names (here, it is referred to literary translation, e.g. Leafie from *The Hen Who Dreamed She Could Fly* (Kiaer 2018: 76). Cases, showing the complexity of the translation problem, at the same time raise the issues of cognitive synonymy in translation (Cruse 1986), polysemy, homophony and homonymy in the English-Korean context. They also indicate the issue of hyperonymy and hyponymy in translations from these languages, as well as the shifts of meanings of particular words over the years. The chapter also focuses on the problem of translating idioms, proverbs and metaphors.

The fifth chapter is entirely intended to give a broad approach to vocabulary. The features of Korean vocabulary (share of lexical morphemes of Chinese origin, etc.), word-formation tendencies (from Sino-Korean to Anglo-Korean) and the perception of these words and phrases by Korean society are discussed. It is also an important aspect for a translator who has to choose the right term, also guided by its frequency.

The next chapter focuses on expressiveness and tone, which is an important element in oral translation and, in turn, often constitutes a language batch disregarded in translation considerations. All these elements of the language allow to soften or stiffen the statement, but also to avoid direct statements at someone's address in Korean culture and language. This requires in-depth knowledge of modality ranges and honorific endings functioning in Korean. This chapter also mentions the issues of lexical and grammatical integrity that seems to be quite difficult for an English reader to assimilate and distinguish. The mentioned tones and styles of speech mix somewhat in the chapter, however, this is another significant cultural issue. The choice of style of expression is also associated with the register, dialectics and sociolectics. Hence, in this chapter there is enough room for a short discussion of emoticons.

The seventh chapter deals with phonetic and phonological aspects of the spoken languages. This is especially important in the translation of poetry and literature as well as songs. Repeatability of syllables and text rhythms is quite a challenge.

The last chapter focuses on translation and cultural transfer. Numerous references to the theories of Sapir-Whorf and Wierzbicka

(1992) allow the reader to understand the author's concept pointing to enormous difficulties that lurk for translators trying to deal with culture in translation. This type of translation always requires difficult decisions, ultimately leading to the realization of one's own language and cultural limits. Phrases and untranslatable words are also included, as well as namely the names of colors, emotions, relations, philosophical concepts, etc.

The book is enriched with annexes containing selected Korean alphabet writing romanization systems. All exercises that have been placed at the end of a given chapter also have a set of suggested answers. The bibliography in this issue includes 70 positions. The book ends with indexes of: people, selected dates and texts used.

In summary, this book is a good start for people who, on the one hand, know both languages well enough to do the translation (some exercises are quite difficult and can be a category of challenges). On the other hand, one can feel a bit unsatisfied due to the slightly limited information of research literature. The book is, in turn, very strongly enclosed with examples, which makes it useful.

Being aware that the publication is always a certain compromise between possibilities and desires, it can be said that this book meets the author's assumptions revealed at the beginning and that the readers are given the opportunity to broaden their knowledge in Korean translation matters.

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