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Table of Contents

ARTICLES

- Sayamon SORNSUWANNASRI *Motivation Influencing Decision to Learn Korean Language Among Chiang Mai University Students* 7
- Youngran BAŠTANOVÁ KWAK *Offering Shifts to Casual Language ('Ban-Mal') in the Korean TV Show "We Got Married"* 37
- Eunhye KIM *A Comparative Study on Discourse Analysis of Korean Movie "The Housemaid" – Focused on Films in 1960 and 2010 –* 57
- Hyejong KANG *Transgression of Legal Text in Late Joseon Korea – Focusing on "Heumheumsinseo" –* 81

REVIEWS

- Emilia WOJTASIK-DZIEKAN *The Review of "Translingual Words. An East Asian Lexical Encounter with English" by Jieun Kiaer, 2019. Routledge London and New York, ISBN: 978-1-351-10947-5, pp. 160* 95

LIST OF REVIEWERS

99

Spis treści

ARTYKUŁY

- Sayamon SORNSUWANNASRI *Motywacja i jej wpływ na decyzję o podjęciu nauki języka koreańskiego przez studentów Uniwersytetu Chiang Mai* **7**
- Youngran BAŠTANOVÁ KWAK *Propozycje przejścia na swobodny styl wypowiedzi ('ban-mal') w koreańskim programie telewizyjnym „We got married”* **37**
- Eunhye KIM *Studium porównawcze analizy dyskursu koreańskiego filmu „Pokojówka” – na przykładzie filmów z 1960 i 2010* **57**
- Hyejong KANG *Transgresja tekstu prawnego w późnym Joseon – na przykładzie „Heumheumsinseo”* **81**

RECENZJE

- Emilia WOJTASIK-DZIEKAN *Recenzja “Translingual Words. An East Asian Lexical Encounter with English” autorstwa Jieun Kiaer, 2019. Routledge London and New York, ISBN: 978-1-351-10947-5, pp. 160* **95**

- LISTA RECENZENTÓW** **99**

목차

학술지 논문

- Sayamon SORNSUWANNASRI: 치앙마이 대학교
학생들의 한국어 학습 결정에 영향을 미치는
동기 7
- Youngran BAŠTANOVÁ KWAK: 한국 프로그램 <우리
결혼했어요> 속의 반말 제안 형태 연구 37
- Eunhye KIM: 담화 분석을 통한 영화 <하녀> 비교
연구 - 1960, 2010 년도 작품을 중심으로 - 57
- Hyejong KANG: 조선후기 법텍스트의 ‘경계 넘기’ -
<흙흙신서>를 중심으로 - 81

비평

- Emilia WOJTASIK-DZIEKAN: 비평: „Translingual
Words. An East Asian Lexical Encounter with
English”. Jieun Kiaer, 2019. Routledge London
and New York, ISBN: 978-1-351-10947-5, pp.
160 95

심사위원들

99

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MOTIVATION INFLUENCING DECISION TO LEARN KOREAN LANGUAGE AMONG CHIANG MAI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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Abstract: The objectives of this research are to investigate motivations that influence a decision to learn Korean language, and post-graduation expectations of 102 students studying Korean in Chiang Mai University. A questionnaire was conducted on the students' motivation behind their decision to learn the Korean language and their expectations for Korean language learning after graduation. It was found that the type of motivation that has the highest influence over their Korean language learning is self-motivation, and they are also motivated by curriculum and institutes, the 'Korean Wave' and the society, defined as social motivation, respectively. Their highest post-graduation expectation for Korean language learning is the ability to converse fluently with Korean people, while the ability to understand

Korean songs/dramas/variety programs, the ability to understand Korean society and culture, the ability to get a job using the Korean language, the opportunity to study in South Korea and the opportunity to have new friends are the next highest expectations successively.

Keywords: motivation; Korean language learning; Chiang Mai University students.

치앙마이 대학교 학생들의 한국어 학습 결정에 영향을 미치는 동기

초록: 이 연구의 목적은 치앙마이 대학교에서 한국어 학습자 102 명의 한국어 학습 결정에 영향을 미치는 동기를 조사하는 것이고, 이에 따라 한국어를 배우기로 결정한 동기 및 졸업 후 지속적인 한국어 학습에 대한 기대치에 관한 설문을 실시하였다. 설문 조사를 통해 얻은 결과를 보면, 한국어 학습에 영향을 미치는 가장 큰 동기는 자기 동기 부여라는 것이며, 그 다음으로 커리큘럼과 교육 기관, '한류'와 사회적 동기를 통해 부여 받았다는 것이다. 교육 기관 내에서의 한국어 학습을 마치고 졸업 후 학습자들이 가장 기대하는 것은 한국인과 유창하게 대화 할 수 있는 능력을 갖추는 것이다. 그 다음으로는 한국 노래 / 드라마 / 예능프로그램을 이해할 수 있는 능력, 한국 사회와 문화를 이해할 수 있는 능력, 한국어를 사용하여 취업의 기회를 갖는 것, 한국에서 공부할 수 있는 기회 및 한국인 친구를 사귄 수 있는 기회에 대한 기대치가 있다는 것을 알게 되었다.

핵심어: 동기; 한국어 학습; 치앙마이 대학교 학생.

แรงจูงใจในการเลือกเรียนภาษาเกาหลีของนักศึกษามหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

บทคัดย่อ: งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาเกี่ยวกับแรงจูงใจในการเลือกเรียนภาษาเกาหลีและความคาดหวังหลังเรียนจบของของนักศึกษามหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ จำนวน 102 คนที่กำลังเรียนภาษาเกาหลี โดยใช้แบบสอบถามเป็นเครื่องมือในการสำรวจแรงจูงใจในการเลือกเรียนภาษาเกาหลีและสำรวจความคาดหวังของผู้เรียนภาษาเกาหลีหลังเรียนจบจากสถาบันการศึกษาของตน ผลการวิจัยพบว่า แรงจูงใจในการเลือกเรียนภาษาเกาหลีของกลุ่มตัวอย่างอันดับแรกคือแรงจูงใจจากตนเอง รองลงมาคือแรงจูงใจจากหลักสูตรและสถาบันการศึกษา รองลงมาคือแรงจูงใจจากกระแสนิยม และอันดับสุดท้ายคือ แรงจูงใจจากสังคมแวดล้อม ส่วนความคาดหวังหลังเรียนจบจากสถาบันการศึกษาของกลุ่มตัวอย่างอันดับแรกคือ สามารถสนทนาภาษาเกาหลีกับคนเกาหลีได้อย่างคล่องแคล่ว รองลงมาคือสามารถเข้าใจเพลง/ ซีรีส์/ รายการวาไรตี้เกาหลีได้เป็นอย่างดี เข้าใจสังคมและวัฒนธรรมเกาหลีเป็นอย่างดี สามารถนำความรู้ภาษาเกาหลีไปใช้ประ

กอบอาชีพได้ มีโอกาสได้ไปศึกษาต่อ ณ ประเทศเกาหลีใต้ และได้รู้จักเพื่อนใหม่มากขึ้น ตามลำดับ.

คำสำคัญ: แรงจูงใจ; การเรียนภาษาเกาหลี; นักศึกษามหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่.

MOTYWACJA I JEJ WPŁYW NA DECYZJĘ O PODJĘCIU NAUKI JĘZYKA KOREAŃSKIEGO PRZEZ STUDENTÓW UNIwersytetu CHIANG MAI

Abstrakt: Celem niniejszego artykułu jest analiza motywacji wpływającej na decyzję o podjęciu nauki języka koreańskiego oraz na oczekiwania po zakończeniu studiów u 102 studentów Uniwersytetu Chiang Mai. Wśród studentów-respondentów przeprowadzono ankietę by ustalić motywację leżącą u podłoża takiej decyzji oraz wpływającą na ich oczekiwania związane z nauką języka po ukończeniu edukacji. Wyniki wskazują, że do podjęcia tej decyzji skłaniała studentów w największym stopniu motywacja własna; studenci byli także zmotywowani programem studiów i instytucjami edukacyjnymi, *koreańską falą (Korean Wave)* oraz społeczeństwem ujmowanym przez pryzmat motywacji społecznej. Umiejętność płynnej komunikacji z Koreańczykami po ukończeniu studiów stanowiła najbardziej pożądane i oczekiwane osiągnięcie. Wśród kolejnych pożądanych umiejętności wskazywano kolejno zrozumienie koreańskich programów telewizyjnych i muzyki, zrozumienie społeczeństwa i kultury koreańskiej, szansę na podjęcie pracy z wykorzystaniem tego języka, możliwość studiowania w Korei Południowej jak i szansę na zawiązanie nowych przyjaźni.

Słowa kluczowe: motywacja; nauka języka koreańskiego; studenci Uniwersytetu Chiang Mai.

1. Introduction

Thailand and South Korea have a long history in relationship. They have become closer and grown more mutual cooperations. Thai Government has also welcomed more and more Korean businesses and investment in such areas as restaurants and technology-related industrial enterprises. Consequently, the Korean language as an essential tool in bilateral communication in all aspects, ranging from tourism, medical cooperation, commerce, cultural exchanges, has

become increasingly popular and significant among Thais. Also, a number of Thai students interested in learning Korean language and culture has been growing larger within a few decades. While the aforementioned factors might contribute to an increase in the number of students learning Korean, I believe that there is still a need for further studies on students' motivation to learn Korean.

First of all, I have to mention that this research derived a partial data of my another, recently published paper of the same research area, titled "Motivation Factors Affecting Korean Language Learning in Secondary Schools and Universities in the Upper Northern Region of Thailand" (see Sornsuwannasri 2020). In spite of the similarity of the title of this research, there is a difference in a scope of target group, which leads to different results. The earlier research included broader participants group, which were students from five secondary schools, and three universities in the upper northern region of Thailand, whereas this paper will concentrate on examining only students of Chiang Mai University, Thailand. There were statistics analysis, including rating scales of each types of motivation and expectation of students after graduation, and also the significant correlation between personal data (age, gender, level of education, etc.) and the types of motivation affecting Korean language learning. Whereas this research will focus on analyzing rating scales of each types of motivation and expectation of students, excluding a correlation analysis between personal data and the types of motivation.

The number of Chiang Mai University students registered for Korean classes are also increasing significantly every year. The primary research in my classrooms presented various reasons that made the students interested in Korean language. Therefore, it is imperative to study motivation and factors influencing Korean language learning decision among Chiang Mai University students as Chiang Mai, a province with social and cultural diversity, is experiencing economic expansion and a rising influx of Koreans, hence emphasizing the importance of Korean language capability. Therefore, I believe that this research, focusing on this data group, is instrumental in providing comprehensive information about the initial motivation of the students and, subsequently, in developing and improving Korean language teachings in the university so as to best responds to the needs of learners as well. Therefore, the objectives of this research are 1) to investigate motivation influencing Chiang Mai University students' decision to

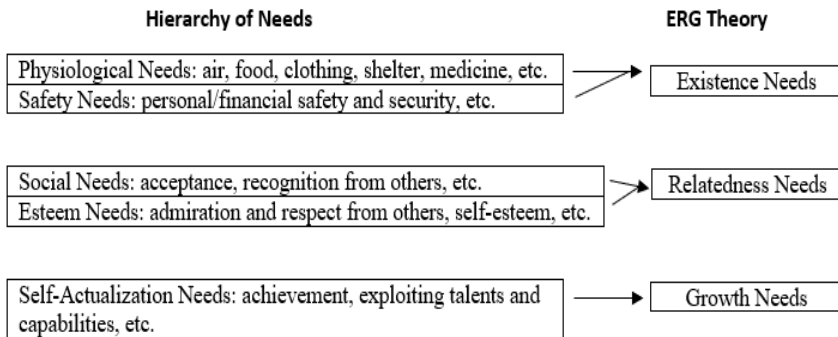
learn the Korean language; and 2) to examine the students' expectations for Korean language learning after graduation.

2. Important Notions and Researches¹

2.1. Theories of Needs, Motivation and Expectations

Among renowned scholars working on needs as the basis of motivation, were Maslow (1954) and Alderfer (1969). Both of them focused on needs, yet classified them in different way. Maslow gave five levels of needs, depending on their relevance to a person: physiological needs, safety needs, social needs, esteem needs and self-actualization need. Alderfer modified this concept and classified needs into 3 types: existence needs, relatedness needs and growth needs. Below there is a graph presenting a correlation between these two classifications:

Figure 1. The correlation between 'Hierarchy of Needs' and 'ERG Theory' (cf. Maslow 1954; Alderfer 1969)



¹ Some of the theories and researches; e.g. a comparison of Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs and Alderfer's (1969) ERG Theory, motivation categorized by Spaulding (1992), Gardner (1996) and Moore (2009), SL learning motivation categorized by Gardner and Lambert (1972), and Vroom's (1964) Expectancy Theory were previously presented in Sornsuwannasri (2020: 155-159). Due to the same field of research, these theories and researches are crucial to be mentioned here. A permission to refer those theories and researches in the paper was officially granted.

The three similarities between Alderfer's ERG Theory and Maslow's Hierarchy of Need Theory involve the fulfilled needs, the level of needs, and the unfulfilled needs. As the correlation presented in the graph shows, the level of need fulfillment is crucial in motivation researches. If the need is not fulfilled, then an individual (namely a student) has a strong desire to achieve the goal and makes efforts. If the level of lower needs is satisfying, then an increase in higher needs can be observed. There are also needs that were unfulfilled (or the high needs were barely fulfilled) and in such situation lower-level gains importance.

Nature of motivation led some psychologists to the concept that there are 2 main types: extrinsic (factors are from outside and the result can be of two type: positive and negative) and intrinsic (one's personal, inner desires) (cf. Spaulding 1992; Gardner 1996; Moore 2009).

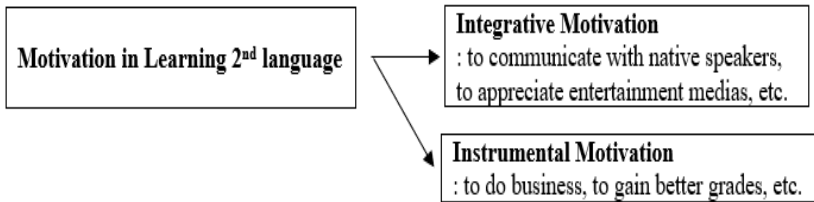
Figure 2. Types of motivation categorized by psychologists (cf. Spaulding 1992; Gardner 1996; Moore 2009)

Extrinsic motivation <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Compliments- Praises- Honors- Etc.	Intrinsic motivation <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Interests- Attitudes- Gratifications- Etc.
---	---

Despite the two types of motivation are useful factors influencing a person to accomplish the target, it is found that the intrinsic motivation is more powerful and effective than the extrinsic motivation in a foreign language learning circumstance. Rubenfeld et al (2007) investigated the two groups of ESL students having different goals of language learning in foreign culture. It was found that learning the language while emerging to the foreign culture is best facilitated both students' motives and goals in harmony. On the other hand, Vansteenkiste et al (2004) had experiments on high school and college students and found that intrinsic goals influenced the improvement of students' learning, performance, and persistence. In addition, Sheldon et al (2004) found that self-determined motives and intrinsic goal contents make significant independent contributions to psychological well-being. Therefore, Geddes (2016: 705) states that "intrinsic motivation among the second language learners should be strongly encouraged".

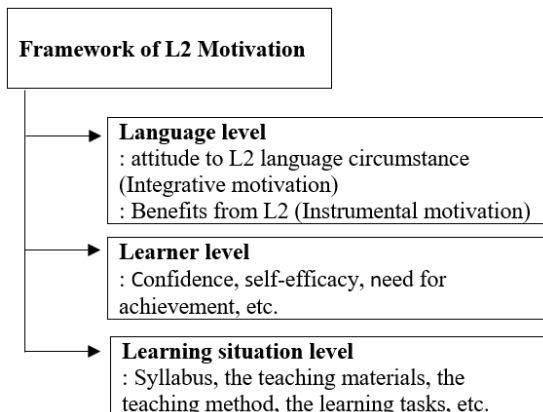
Gardner and Lambert (1972) focused on the basis of the desire of the user, explaining that two possible forms of motivation rely on perceiving a learning as a tool for future and possible communication (integrative motivation) or as an accomplishing task tool (instrumental).

Figure 3. Motivation in learning the second language (cf. Gardner and Lambert 1972)



Dörnyei (1994) presented three relatively distinct levels; language level, learner level, and learning situation level; that relate to second language learning motivation. The language level refers to second language circumstance, such as culture or the community, which relates to learner’s attitude toward the second language. It also relates to benefits gained from the learner’s second language. The learner level refers to individual characteristics of the learner, such as confidence or self-efficacy of using the second language, which bring to the learning process. The learning situation level refers to various aspects of language learning within a classroom setting.

Figure 4. Framework of 2nd language motivation (cf. Dörnyei 1994)



Therefore, motivation can be considered as a vital factor affecting learning because it arouses learners' desire to participate in the learning process, resulting in effective learning and, subsequently, effective application of the knowledge learned in their daily life.

A notion of Expectancy Theory, presenting a corelation between amount of effort if the possible outcome is fulfilling someone's needs had been introduced by Vroom in 1964. This study highlights also intensity of effort and the expectations of the results. In addition, Chen and Fang (2008) has proved the theory by investigating employees' performance in Taiwan. The result reveals that their work motivation and behaviors are based on the expecting outcomes.

2.2. Researches concerning motivation in Korean language learning

Motivation for learning Korean had recently been widely researched, and become one of the topics discussed in the field of language acquisition, just to mention only a few examples. One of the scholars, who studied the correlation between motivation and Korean Language learning was Root (1999). He implied Dörnyei's model of motivation to the ten week-observation in the USA and realized that there is a relation between teaching style and strategy and motivation.

The correlation between an individual family background (heritage), the presumed importance of Korean language and possible future benefits were among the main motivation factors in the research conducted also in the USA by Damron and Forsyth (2012).

Shon and Jeon (손성희, 전나영 2011) studied students' motivation for learning Korean as a second language. The results show that gender, age, students' first language, proficiency and achievement in Korean have significant differences in the learners' each motivation type.

Jeong (2012) analyzed Korean language learners' motivations and needs, and also analyzed differences among students based on grade level, proficiency level, and status as heritage or non-heritage speaker among students in America. The results reveal that the current

curriculum affects the strengths and weaknesses in satisfying the expectations and desires of students.

Lee and Kim (2017) investigated the degree of ten motivational factors in learning Korean among Taiwanese students. The result showed that the key motivational factors are interest, desire, communication, the personality of teacher, and curriculum, especially, interest is the most important motivational factor.

As for Thailand, on the motivation among Korean and other foreign languages learners studies were conducted by for example Eadkhao (2011), Maharat (2012), Sukbumperng (2014), Chinakun (2015), Song and Pornsima (2016), Skulthongaram et al. (2018), and Sornsuwannasri (2020).

Personal datas were gathered from Japanese language students in Bangkok is presented in a study by Eadkhao (2011), who concluded that a motivation differed under various social and demographical conditions (namely age, educational background, economical income etc.).

Sukbumperng (2014) investigated the Korean language learning strategies and motivation of secondary school students in Nakhon Si Thammarat province. The research reveals that the students use meta-cognitive strategies and social strategies to learn Korean language. They have more integrative motivation than instrumental motivation in Korean language learning. Also, their high learning strategies are relevant to high motivation significantly.

Chinakun (2015), when researching Bangkok residents' motivation to study Korean had found out, that recently also popular trends and social personal relations are among the motivation determiners.

Aforementioned Gardner's theoretical framework and Attitude Motivation Test Battery used by Song and Pornsima (2016) presented that a high degree of both integrative and instrumental motivation among the students at the King Sejong Institute Foundation in Bangkok was found. However, Skulthongaram et. al (2018) presented that in University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, the instrumental motivation influences the Korean language major students' decision to study Korean language more.

Sornsuwannasri (2020) examined the motivation affecting Korean language learning, the expectation after graduation from institutes, and the correlation of personal data influencing motivation factors among students from five secondary schools and three

universities students in the Upper Northern Region of Thailand. The questionnaire replied by 400 participants were analyzed to see the scales of the motivation factors affecting Korean language learning and the expectation after graduation. T-test and F-test were analyzed to see the correlation between personal data and motivation factors. The results reveal that the most motivation affecting Korean language learning is self-motivation; the most expectation after graduation from institutes is the ability to understand Korean songs/series/variety programs; gender affects Korean wave motivation to learn Korean language; age affects self-motivation and social motivation to learn Korean language; level of education affects self-motivation, social motivation, and motivation from institutes to learn Korean language. Chiang Mai University students, studying in a Language Institute of the univeristy had been researched for factors relating to learning languages also by Maharat (2012). The study gave a highlight into economical background of the language courses (prices and student's family income and social status), demographical data, the most popular languages, etc. of the groups.

These studies give researchers a valuable insight into learners' needs and motivation for learning foreign languages as well as social expectations regarding foreign language pedagogical directions. It is also apparent that demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, educational background, and financial background, could influence the learners' decision to study foreign languages.

3. Methodology

Participants in this study consisted of 102 Chiang Mai University students who take the Korean language as their electives or minor subjects. Convenience Sampling method using a questionnaire publicized via online media was applied in selecting these participants. Data collection was performed during the months of May to June 2019.

In this study, a questionnaire was used in collecting data concerning Chiang Mai University students' motivation behind their decision to learn Korean. The questionnaire covered 1) motivation for the students' decision to learn the Korean language, and 2) students' post-graduation expectations for Korean language learning. Questions

under the first topic were based on Gardner and Lambert's (1972) theory of motivation and also revised from Chinakun's (1975) questionnaire, in which motivation were categorized into four types, namely self-motivation, social motivation, motivation from popular trends, and motivation from curriculum and academic institutes. Questions under the second topic were designed with reference to the Expectancy Theory of Vroom (1964).²

For further details, there are six parts in the questionnaire. The first part consists of questions about participants' demographic profile, namely gender, age, and affiliation (faculty). The second part to the fifth part consists of questions related to four types of motivation in learning Korean language. The sixth part consists of questions concerning their expectations for Korean language learning after graduating from the university. The questions in the second part to the sixth part were Likert Scale questions with a five-point response scale. 5 represents the highest scale of motivation/expectation, and 1 represents the lowest scale of motivation/expectation. The five-point rating scales were interpreted into weighted mean scores (Eadkhao 2011: 35), which represents five rating levels; highest (scores 4.21 – 5.00), high (scores 3.41 – 4.20), moderate (scores 2.61 – 3.40), low (scores 1.81 – 2.60), and lowest (scores 1.00 – 1.80).

The reliability of the finished questionnaire was then tested on an experimental group, which consisted of 30 respondents, using SPSS program. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient was found to be 0.833, a positive value higher than an acceptable reliability level of 0.7.

Then, data obtained from the questionnaire were analyzed through SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) and Microsoft Excel programs. Descriptive statistical techniques: frequency distributions, percentages, mean, standard deviation were applied. The weighted mean scores were also applied in the analysis on students' motivation that influences their decision to learn the Korean language, and analysis on the students' post-graduation expectations for Korean language learning.

² The participants and the questionnaire were in smaller scopes of Sornsuwannasri's (2020) research groups and research instruments. The investigation focusing on a group of Chiang Mai University students in deeper details might lead to further interesting results, therefore, the data is separately analyzed and presented in this paper. A permission to utilise participants' and questionnaires' partial data in Sornsuwannasri (2020) was officially granted.

4. Results

4.1. Participants' demographic profile

The participants' demographic profile includes gender, age and academic affiliation. Its frequency and percentage distributions are presented in the following table.

Table 1. Demographic profile of participants

Demographics Numbers (Percentages)					
Gender		Age (years old)		Affiliation (Faculty)	
Male	12 (11.76)	18 – 19	11 (10.78)	Humanities	54 (52.94)
Female	90 (88.24)	20 – 21	55 (53.92)	Social Sciences	4 (3.92)
		22 – 23	31 (30.39)	Science	26 (25.49)
		24 – 26	5 (4.90)	Engineering	1 (0.98)
				Agriculture	2 (1.96)
				Veterinary Medicine	1 (0.98)
				Economics	4 (3.92)
				Mass Communication	4 (3.92)
				Political Science	6 (5.88)
Total	102 (100.00)	Total	102 (100.00)	Total	102 (100.00)

It is found that:

- 1) Gender: the majority, 90 participants and equivalent to 88.24 percent, were females, while there were 12 male participants, equivalent to 11.76 percent.
- 2) Age: age is classified into four age categories: 18 – 19 years, 20 – 21 years, 22 – 23 years, and 24 – 26 years. The majority

of respondents was in the 20 – 21 years category (55 participants; 53.92 percent), and the rest were in the 22 – 23 years category (31 participants; 30.39 percent), the 18 – 19 years category (11 participants; 10.78 percent) and the 24 – 26 years category (5 participants; 4.90 percent) successively.

- 3) Academic affiliation: the respondents were students of nine faculties. The majority of them was from the Faculty of Humanities (54 participants; 52.94 percent), and the rest were from the Faculty of Science (26 participants; 25.49 percent), the Faculty of Political Science (6 participants; 5.88 percent), the Faculties of Social Science, Economics and Mass Communication (4 participants; 3.92 percent each), and the Faculties of Engineering and Veterinary Medicine (1 participant; 0.98 percent each) respectively.

4.2. Information on motivation for the participants’ decision to learn Korean

This section presents types of motivation that influence the participants’ decision to study the Korean language. The study reveals four types, namely self-motivation, social motivation, motivation from popular trends, and motivation from curriculum and academic institutes. The analysis results of each type are presented in a table displaying frequency, percentage, mean, standard deviation, and mean score rating, as displayed below.

Table 2. Self-motivation in Korean language learning

(n=102)								
Self-Motivation	Low est	Low	Mode rate	High	High est	Me an	S.D.	Me an Score Rating
	Number (Percentage)							
I am interested in learning Korean	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (1.96)	26 (25.49)	74 (72.55)	4.71	0.499	Highest

Studying Korean makes me happy	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (4.90)	39 (38.24)	58 (56.86)	4.52	0.593	Highest
I believe Korean capability will be beneficial in the future	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	11 (10.78)	39 (38.24)	51 (50)	4.37	0.716	Highest
I study Korean to enhance my foreign language proficiency	0 (0.00)	2 (1.96)	3 (2.94)	25 (24.51)	72 (70.59)	4.64	0.642	Highest
I study Korean to pursue higher education	2 (1.96)	7 (6.86)	15 (14.71)	32 (31.37)	46 (45.10)	4.11	1.024	High
I plan to use Korean proficiency in future careers	2 (1.96)	8 (7.84)	22 (21.57)	25 (24.51)	45 (44.12)	4.01	1.076	High
Total						4.39	0.827	Highest

From Table 2, it is conspicuous that self-motivation as a whole is rated the highest among all types of motivations, with the mean scores of 4.39. Scrutinizing each of the self-motivation related rationales, the students' interest in learning the Korean language ranks the highest of all, having 4.71 mean scores. The rationale with the second highest mean score, 4.64, is that they studied Korean to enhance their foreign language proficiency. Other rationales are: studying Korean made 20hanc feel happy, rated the highest with 4.52 mean scores; they believed Korean language capability would be beneficial in the future, rated the highest at 4.37; they studied Korean to pursue higher education, rated high at 4.11; and they studied Korean as they planned to use Korean language proficiency in their future careers, rated high with the mean scores of 4.01.

Table 3. Social motivation in Korean language learning

Social Motivation	Lowest	Low	Moderate	High	Highest	Mean	S. D.	Mean Score Rating
	Number (Percentage)							
I am encouraged / supported by family to study Korean	4 (3.92)	9 (8.82)	6 (25.49)	30 (29.41)	33 (32.35)	3.77	1.16	High
I am persuaded by friends to study Korean	45 (44.12)	20 (19.61)	17 (16.67)	14 (13.73)	6 (5.88)	2.18	1.293	Low
I study Korean to increase a chance to meet new people	3 (2.94)	12 (11.76)	27 (26.47)	38 (37.25)	22 (21.57)	3.63	1.043	High
I study Korean to gain recognition & respect from others	22 (21.57)	23 (22.55)	37 (36.27)	13 (12.75)	7 (6.86)	2.61	1.162	Moderate
I know some Koreans and would like to communicate well with them	10 (9.80)	8 (7.84)	11 (10.78)	13 (12.75)	60 (58.82)	4.03	1.382	High
Total						3.24	1.400	Moderate

The total mean scores of 3.24, as shown in table 3, demonstrates that social motivation in the students' Korean language learning is at a moderate level. Under the social motivation category, studying Korean in order to be able to communicate well with the Koreans they know is

rated high at 4.03. Other rationales are: they studied Koreans following family chance and encouragement, rated high at 3.77; they studied Korean so that they have a chance to meet new people, rated high with 3.63 mean scores; they learned Korean so as to gain recognition and respect from others, rated low at 2.61, and; they studied Korean following friends' persuasions, rated low with the mean scores of 2.18.

Table 4. Motivation from the 'Korean Wave' in Korean language learning

(n=102)								
Motivation from "Korean Wave"	Lowest	Low	Moderate	High	Highest	Mean	S. D.	Mean Score Rating
	Number (Percentage)							
I choose to study Korean because it is in trend	11 (10.78)	15 (14.71)	36 (35.29)	25 (24.51)	15 (14.71)	3.18	1.181	Moderate
I choose to study Korean because I like Korean singers/actors	3 (2.94)	2 (1.96)	9 (8.82)	16 (15.69)	72 (70.59)	4.49	0.952	Highest
I choose to study Korean because I like Korean songs/series/variety programs	0 (0.00)	4 (3.92)	7 (6.86)	23 (22.55)	68 (66.67)	4.52	0.793	Highest

I choose to study Korean to learn about its society and culture	1 (0.98)	4 (3.92)	14 (13.73)	35 (34.31)	48 (47.06)	4.23	0.900	High est
Total						4.10	1.108	High

Information in Table 4 shows that, at the total mean scores of 4.1, the students’ motivation from the current popular trends favoring things Korean, known as the “Korean Wave”, is high. The highest-ranked rationale under this category, scored 4.49, is that they chose to learn Korean because they liked Korean songs/series variety shows. Other rationales include: studying the Korean language because they wanted to learn about Korean society and culture, rated the highest at 4.23, and; they chose to study Korean because it was in trend to do so, rated moderate with 3.18 mean scores.

Table 5. Motivation from curriculum and academic institutes in Korean language learning

(n=102)								
Motivation from curriculum and academic institutes	Lowest	Low	Mode rate	High	High est	Mean	S. D.	Mean Score Rating
	Number (Percentage)							
Korean language curriculum is interesting	1 (0.98)	1 (0.98)	8 (7.84)	52 (50.98)	40 (39.22)	4.26	0.730	High est
Korean language curriculum	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	7 (6.86)	53 (51.96)	41 (40.20)	4.31	0.645	High est

Sayamon SORNSUWANNASRI: Motivation Influencing Decision to ...

m responds to what I want to learn								
Korean language curriculum helps improve language proficiency	1 (0.98)	0 (0.00)	6 (5.88)	41 (40.20)	54 (52.94)	4.44	0.698	High est
Modern & up-to-date instructional media is used in Korean teaching	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	17 (16.67)	46 (45.10)	38 (37.25)	4.19	0.741	High
Korean teachers' techniques make learning Korean enjoyable and easy to understand	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	5 (4.90)	45 (44.12)	51 (50.00)	4.43	0.637	High est
Korean teachers always understand and pay high attention to students	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (4.90)	37 (36.27)	60 (58.82)	4.54	0.592	High est
Korean is taught by native-	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	4 (3.92)	97 (95.10)	4.94	0.275	High est

speaking teachers								
Classroom environment is good and conducive to learning	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	13 (12.75)	48 (47.06)	40 (39.22)	4.25	0.710	High est
There are many extra-curricular activities in addition to classroom learning	3 (2.94)	4 (3.92)	37 (36.27)	32 (31.37)	26 (25.49)	3.73	0.987	High
A chance to pursue Korean language study in South Korea is offered	7 (6.86)	7 (6.86)	35 (34.31)	29 (28.43)	24 (23.53)	3.55	1.131	High
Total						4.26	0.832	High est

According to Table 5, motivation from curriculum and academic institutes behind the participants’ decision to learn Korean is found to be at the highest level, with the total mean scores of 4.26. The highest-rated rationale is that Korean classes were taught by native-speaking teachers, scored at 4.94. The second highest rationale with the mean scores of 4.54 is Korean teachers always understood and paid high attention to students. Other rationales behind the participants’ decision to learn Korean are: Korean language curriculum helped improve their language proficiency, rated the highest at 4.44; Korean teachers applied teaching techniques that made the learning enjoyable and easy to understand, rated the highest at 4.43; the content of Korean language curriculum responded to what they wanted to learn, rated the highest at 4.31; Korean language curriculum was interesting, rated the highest at

4.26; the classroom environment was good and conducive to learning, rated the highest at 4.25; modern and up-to-date instructional media was used in Korean language teaching, rated high at 4.19; there were many extra-curricular activities in addition to classroom learning, rated high at 3.73, and; a chance to pursue Korean language study in South Korea was offered at Korean classes, rated high with the mean scores of 3.55.

Table 6. Summary of motivation for Korean language learning

(n=102)								
Motivation from	Lowest	Low	Moderate	High	Highest	Mean	S.D.	Mean Score Rating
Self	-	-	-	-	✓	4.39	0.827	Highest
Society	-	-	✓	-	-	3.24	1.400	Moderate
Korean Wave	-	-	-	✓	-	4.10	1.108	High
Curriculum and academic institutes	-	-	-	-	✓	4.26	0.832	Highest

Table 6 illustrates and summarizes the significance of each type of motivation that influences the participants' decision to learn the Korean language. Self-motivation is observed to have the highest impact on the students' motivation, with the mean score of 4.39. Another highest-impact motivation is the one from curriculum and academic institutes, having 4.26 mean scores. Motivation from popular trends is rated high at 4.1, while the lowest ranking motivation in this group is social motivation, rated moderate with the mean scores of 3.24.

4.3. Students’ post-graduation expectations for Korean language learning

This section elaborates on the students’ expectations for their Korean language study after graduating from the university. Results of the analysis are presented in the following table, which include frequency, percentage, mean, standard deviation, and mean score level.

Table 7. Students’ post-graduation expectations for Korean language learning

(n=102)								
Post-graduation expectations for Korean language learning	Lowest	Low	Moderate	High	Highest	Mean	S.D.	Mean Score Rating
	Number (Percentage)							
I will be able to fluently converse in Korean with the Koreans	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	7 (6.86)	27 (26.47)	68 (66.67)	4.60	0.618	Highest
I will have new friends	0 (0.00)	2 (1.96)	18 (17.65)	34 (33.33)	48 (47.06)	4.25	0.817	Highest
I will be able to understand Korean songs/ series/ variety shows well	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (3.92)	19 (18.63)	79 (77.45)	4.41	0.722	Highest
I will be able to understand Korean	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	11 (10.78)	35 (34.31)	55 (53.92)	4.41	0.722	Highest

society & culture well								
I will have a chance to further my study in South Korea	0 (0.00)	5 (4.90)	17 (16.67)	23 (22.55)	57 (55.88)	4.29	0.918	Highest
I will be able to use my Korean language proficiency in my future careers	1 (0.98)	3 (2.94)	10 (9.80)	28 (27.45)	60 (58.82)	4.40	0.859	Highest

The overall post-graduation expectations of the students for their Korean language study are found to be at 4.45 mean scores, which can be interpreted as the highest level. The highest-ranking expectation is that they will be able to fluently converse in Korean with the Koreans, rated highest at 4.60. The next highest-ranking expectations are that they will be able to understand Korean songs/ series/ variety shows well and that they will be able to understand Korean society & culture well, both of which were rated the highest with the mean scores of 4.41. Other expectations include: they will be able to use their Korean language proficiency in future careers, rated the highest at 4.40; they will have a chance to further their study in South Korea, rated the highest at 4.29, and; they will have new friends, rated the highest with the mean scores of 4.25. To sum up, the participants are found to have the highest level of expectations for Korean language learning in every aspect after graduating from the university.

5. Conclusion

This study, titled *Motivation Influencing Decision to Learn Korean Language Among Chiang Mai University Students*, is a survey research

using a questionnaire as an instrument for data collection. The objectives of this study were to examine motivation behind Chiang Mai University students' decision to learn the Korean language as well as to explore their expectations for Korean language learning after graduating from the university. Convenience Sampling method was implemented through a questionnaire to recruit 102 participants among students enrolling in Korean language courses as their electives or minor subjects. Data were collected during May to July 2019, and descriptive statistics, namely frequency, percentage, mean, and standard deviation, were used to analyze the data. The research results were as follows.

5.1. Participants' demographic profile

The participants' demographic characteristics, namely gender, age and affiliation, are explained below.

Gender: the majority, 90 participants and equivalent to 88.24 percent, were females, while there were 12 male participants, equivalent to 11.76 percent.

Age: age is classified into four age categories: 18 – 19 years, 20 – 21 years, 22 – 23 years, and 24 – 26 years. The majority of respondents was in the 20 – 21 years category (55 participants; 53.92 percent), and the rest were in the 22 – 23 years category (31 participants; 30.39 percent), the 18 – 19 years category (11 participants; 10.78 percent) and the 24 – 26 years category (5 participants; 4.90 percent) respectively.

Academic affiliation: the respondents are found to be students of nine faculties. The majority of them were from the Faculty of Humanities (54 participants; 52.94 percent), and the rest were from the Faculty of Science (26 participants; 25.49 percent), the Faculty of Political Science (6 participants; 5.88 percent), the Faculties of Social Science, Economics and Mass Communication (4 participants; 3.92 percent each), and the Faculties of Engineering and Veterinary Medicine (1 participant; 0.98 percent each) consecutively.

5.2. Participant's motivation influencing their decision to learn Korean language

From the study, self-motivation is observed to have the highest impact on the participants' motivation to learn Korean, with the mean scores of 4.39. Another motivation with the highest level of impact is the motivation from curriculum and academic institutes, having 4.26 mean scores. Motivation from popular trends is rated high at 4.1, while social motivation is rated as having a moderate level, with the mean scores of 3.24.

Comparing to the results of Sornsuwannasri (2020), both secondary and university students have the highest scales of self-motivation to learn Korean, which is the same as the results of this research. The interesting difference is the second result of motivation type. Both researches found that the second level of impact is the motivation from curriculum and academic institutes, however this type of motivation was not rated into the highest scales in Sornsuwannasri (2020). This means Chiang Mai University students focus on a curriculum and academic institutes' quality more than the secondary schools and universities students in the upper northern region of Thailand combined.

5.3. Participants' post-graduation expectations for Korean language learning

The students' overall post-graduation expectations for their Korean study are observed to be at the highest level, with the total mean scores of 4.45. The highest-ranking expectation is that they will be able to converse in Korean fluently with Korean native speakers, rated highest at 4.60. The participants then expect to be able to understand Korean songs/series/variety shows well and to be able to understand Korean society and culture well, both rated the highest at 4.41 mean scores. Other expectations are: they will be able to use their Korean language proficiency in future careers, rated the highest at 4.40; they will have a chance to further their study in South Korea, rated the highest at 4.29, and; they will have new friends, rated the highest with the mean scores

of 4.25. Hence, it can be summarized that the participants have the highest expectations for Korean language learning in every aspect after graduation.

6. Discussion

6.1. Discussion on motivations for Korean language learning

The findings show that self-motivation plays a key role in most participants' decision to study the Korean language, evidenced by the highest scores among all types of motivation. This is in line with many related studies, which indicated that self-motivation is the most influential factor affecting learners' decision to learn any language. The second important motivation, yet also rated the highest in terms of its influence, is the motivation from curriculum and academic institutes. This point might be beneficial to academic institutes in designing a high-quality, motivational curriculum and teaching techniques so as to attract students. The next significant motivation, rated high, is motivation from popular trends. K-pop has undoubtedly been an extremely popular and favorable trend that fosters a greatly positive attitude towards South Korea and the Korean language, hence making it a powerful and indispensable force in motivating a large number of youths and fans to learn Korean. The least significant motivation found through this research is social motivation, which was rated moderate among the participants in terms of its impact on their decision to learn the Korean language.

In conclusion, the study results suggest that the students' decision to study Korean is most influenced by self-motivation, which is intrinsic motivation. The result has reflected a congruence with Vansteenkiste et al (2004), Sheldon et al (2004), and Geddes (2016) which their researches support intrinsic motivation among the second language learners. On the other hand, extrinsic motivation, which in this this research covers motivation from curriculum, popular trends and the society successively, is observed to be less instrumental in their Korean

learning decision. However, it is worth noting that the more conducive to learning such extrinsic motivation is, as well as the better such extrinsic motivation can develop a positive attitude towards Korean language learning, the higher its influence on the students' decision to study Korean becomes.

6.2. Discussion on students' post-graduation expectations for Korean language learning

It can be seen from the study results that the participants' expectations for their Korean language study reach the highest level in every aspect. These aspects are: the ability to communicate fluently in Korean with the Koreans; the ability to understand Korean songs/ series/ variety shows well; the ability to understand Korean society & culture well; the ability to use Korean language proficiency in their future careers; a chance to further their study in South Korea, and; a chance to have new friends, respectively.

The students' decision to learn Korean indicates their willingness to sacrifice their time, resources and effort in the study; therefore, highest expectations for satisfying outcomes is quite obvious. Contrariwise, these high expectations can be regarded as a driving force behind their motivation to achieve their goals, which corresponds to Growth Needs in Alderfer's (1966) ERG Theory; and Vroom's (1964) notion stating that increased efforts at work arise from expectations for some satisfying outcomes. For Korean teachers, these results about students' expectation should be noted. The creative designs of Korean curriculum, teaching techniques, etc, in order to meet the learners' most satisfaction, also correspond to Dörnyei's (1994) framework of second language motivation.

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**OFFERING SHIFTS TO CASUAL
LANGUAGE ('BAN-MAL')
IN THE KOREAN TV SHOW
“WE GOT MARRIED”¹**

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Abstract: This research focuses on the topic of Korean speech style shifts from polite to casual between men and women in romantic relationships. This study used data from the Korean reality TV show “We Got Married”, which was broadcast in Korea for 9 years. After reviewing the system of Korean speech styles and manners of shifts, the study explores who is the first one to offer a shift, what they say, and how an offer is given. According to the analysis, older

¹ This paper has further developed an analysis of the reality TV show that is first introduced in a research poster, “Korean Speech Style Shifts from Polite to Casual: Focused on New Couples” by Baštanová Kwak (2019). It has been presented at the 13th Annual Conference on Asian Studies, Palacký University Olomouc in Czech Republic (22 – 23.11.2019), and both this paper and the poster are supported by the Internal Grant Agency of Palacký University in Olomouc (IGA_FF_2019_035).

people were more likely to offer shifts first in the case of romantic relationships. In the TV show, older women tended to offer first a little more through indirect means, while older men offered rather directly. As for expressions used in the offers, the phrase ‘drop the honorifics’ and ‘talk comfortably’ were the most frequently used. They might offer in either polite or casual language, with sudden shifts. However, it was more common for speakers to offer shifts while talking in polite language. During conversations, two types of offers were observed: symmetrical shifts and asymmetrical shifts. In the first type, one speaker suggests shifts from both sides. The second type has more variations: one speaker requests the other’s permission to use casual language, allows the other to use casual language, or shows the speaker’s decision to use casual language. In the samples, symmetrical shifts occurred more often.

Key words: speech style shifts; speech style; Korean honorifics; *ban-mal*; *jon-daes-mal*.

한국 프로그램 <우리 결혼했어요> 속의 반말 제안 형태 연구

개략: 본 연구는 연인 관계의 남녀가 말을 놓는 현상을 주제로 삼고 있으며 연구 대상은 한국에서 9년 동안 방영한 리얼리티 TV 프로그램, <우리 결혼했어요>이다. 본 연구는 한국어 경어 체계와 반말을 제안하는 방법에 대해 살펴본 뒤 누가 먼저 반말을 제안하는지, 무슨 말을 하는지, 어떤 제안을 하는지에 대해 서술하고자 한다. 분석 결과에 따르면, 연인 관계에서는 성별을 가리지 않고 연장자가 먼저 제안하는 경우가 많았다. 해당 TV 프로그램에서는 연상의 여자인 경우 간접적으로 반말을 제안하는 경우가 남자보다 조금 더 많았다. 반말 제안 표현에서는 ‘말을 놓다’와 ‘말을 편하게 하다’라는 표현이 제일 자주 사용되었다. 이때 제안은 존댓말을 하면서 할 수도 있고 반말을 하면서 할 수도 있으나 존댓말을 하면서 하는 경우가 더 많았다. 유형적 측면에서 반말 제안은 쌍방향 전환과 일방향 전환이라는 두 유형이 관찰되었다. 쌍방향 전환은 두 화자가 함께 말을 놓자는 제안을 나타내는데 반면, 일방향 전환은 그 양상이 조금 더 다양하다. 화자는 상대방에게 반말 사용에 대한 허락을 구할 수도 있고 반대로 상대가 화자에게 반말을 사용해도 된다고 허락할 수도 있다. 또는 화자가 상대방에게 반말을 사용할 것임을 알리는 방식일 수도 있다. 해당 프로그램에서는 쌍방향 전환을 제안하는 말이 더 많이 사용되었다.

핵심어: 말 단계 전환; 경어제; 반말; 존댓말; 한국어 경어법.

PROPOZYCJE PRZEJŚCIA NA SWOBODNY STYL WYPOWIEDZI (‘BAN-MAL’) W KOREAŃSKIM PROGRAMIE TELEWIZYJNYM „WE GOT MARRIED”

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł skupia się na przekształceniach koreańskiego stylu wypowiedzi z uprzejmego na swobodny pomiędzy kobietami i mężczyznami znajdującymi się w związkach romantycznych. W badaniu wykorzystano dane z koreańskiego reality show „We Got Married”, nadawanego w Korei przez okres 9 lat. Po wprowadzeniu zagadnienia systemu koreańskich stylów mowy i sposobu ich zmiany, Autorka analizuje stanowisko osoby inicjującej styl mowy oraz sposób i konwencję zmiany. Z analizy wynika, że w przypadku związków o charakterze romantycznym to starsze osoby częściej występowały z propozycją zmiany stylu mowy. W programie telewizyjnym starsze kobiety wykazywały tendencję do okazywania chęci wprowadzenia tej zmiany za pomocą środków pośrednich, podczas gdy starsi mężczyźni stosowali środki bezpośrednie. Propozycje, najczęściej wyrażone zwrotami: ‘porzućmy zwroty grzecznościowe’ i ‘mów swobodnie’, mogą być zakomunikowane w sposób uprzejmy lub swobodny, z nagłą zmianą stylu. Podczas rozmów zaobserwowano dwa rodzaje sugestii zmiany: zmianę symetryczną i zmianę asymetryczną. W pierwszym przypadku jeden z mówców sugeruje zmianę stylu mowy dla obu stron. Drugi rodzaj ma więcej odmian: jeden mówca prosi drugiego o przyzwolenie na używanie swobodnego języka, zezwala drugiemu na jego używanie, lub też to jeden z mówców decyduje o użyciu swobodnego języka. W grupie kontrolnej częściej występowały zmiany symetryczne.

Słowa kluczowe: zmiana stylu wypowiedzi; styl wypowiedzi; koreański język grzecznościowy; *ban-mal*; *jon-daes-mal*.

1. Introduction

When two adult strangers come across one another on the street and they are about to engage in small talk, they will attempt to talk politely to give a nice impression without causing any conflicts. There are many ways to convey politeness in speech here, but one thing that must be considered is the speech styles of Koreans if they are Korean. Unless a significant age gap exists between the two people, they will first begin to use a polite speech style (존댓말 *jon-daes-mal*) with each other. However, when they get to know each other and become closer, the

moment of a shift in the speech style inevitably occurs in many cases. Nevertheless, there has been minimal research regarding speech style shifts, especially from a polite speech style (존댓말 *jon-daes-mal*) to a casual speech style (반말 *ban-mal*). Therefore, this paper studies how Koreans offer shifts to casual language by observing couples on a Korean reality TV show. After reviewing the Korean system of polite speech styles and Korean manners of offering shifts, Chapter 5.1 shows who makes the first offer to shift speech styles between a couple based on the Korean reality TV show *We Got Married*. Chapter 5.2 illustrates the interlocutors' actual utterances spoken in their offers, and Chapter 5.3 analyzes their offers, focusing on symmetrical and asymmetrical shifts.

2. Background research

The study of shifts in speech styles began in the 1990s, including the contributions of Yoo Song-young 유송영 (1994) and Lee Jeong-bok 이정복 (1996). However, these primarily focused on shifts in styles at a polite level. There are few studies on shifts in speech from a polite to a casual style, such as Park Young-soon's 박영순 (2007) book on Korean pragmatics and a textbook on cultural tips for students learning Korean as a foreign language. However, the subject was discussed very briefly and was not the main concern of these texts; in fact, there are very few studies whose main focus is on such shifts in speech styles from polite to casual. Yoon Sang-seok 윤상석 (2015) and Kim Myeong-hee (2016) are two such examples, as they concentrated on how people shift from a polite to a casual speech style, with a focus on naturally occurring shifts, rather than those occurring through an interlocutor. On the other hand, Kiaer et al. (2019) conducted a large-scale questionnaire to determine whether Koreans prefer shifts after negotiation (hereby referred to as 'offer') or not, who will initiate such a shift, and whether shifts tend to be mutual or one-sided. However, the focus was on the effects of age (in conversations between people with an age gap), gender (in conversations between two female or two male speakers), and setting (at school or workplace) when deciding on shifts, with or without an offer. Studies on the general custom of offering shifts in the conversation between men and women remain rare. Therefore,

this paper investigates the customs by analyzing a TV show to determine which person usually offered shifts and examining the type of shifts.

3. Korean speech styles

3.1. The Korean speech style system

There are a few ways to encode politeness in the Korean language, but one certain way is to use different ending styles of verbs and adjectives depending on who the listener is from the speaker’s point of view. This is called a hearer honorific, but it is generally referred to as a speech style or speech level. There are a total of six styles: (a) 합쇼체 *hap-syo-che* (하십시오체 *ha-sip-si-o-che*), (b) 해요체 *hae-yo-che*, (c) 하오체 *ha-o-che*, (d) 하게체 *ha-ge-che*, (e) 해체 *hae-che*, and (f) 해라체 *hae-la-che*. As Sohn (1999) describes, these can be referred to in English as follows: (a) deferential, (b) polite, (c) blunt, (d) familiar, (e) intimate, and (f) plain style.

Table 1. Korean speech styles and examples

Speech style	Example (meaning: Answer the question.)
(a) 합쇼체 <i>Hab-syo-che</i>	질문에 답을 하십시오 <i>Jil-mun-e dab-eul ha-sib-si-o.</i>
(b) 해요체 <i>Hae-yo-che</i>	질문에 답을 해요 <i>Jil-mun-e dab-eul hae-yo.</i>
(c) 하오체 <i>Ha-o-che</i>	질문에 답을 하오 <i>Jil-mun-e dab-eul ha-o.</i>
(d) 하게체 <i>Ha-ge-che</i>	질문에 답을 하게 <i>Jil-mun-e dab-eul ha-ge.</i>
(e) 해체 <i>Hae-che</i>	질문에 답을 해 <i>Jil-mun-e dab-eul hae.</i>
(f) 해라체 <i>Hae-la-che</i>	질문에 답을 해라 <i>Jil-mun-e dab-eul hae-la.</i>

Source: speech styles by Sohn (1999), examples by the Author

This terminology of six styles was created by using the verb ‘to do (하다 *ha-da*)’ in the imperative form of a sentence and adding the word ‘a style (체 *che*)’. For example, “Answer the question” is “*Jil-mun-e*

dab-eul hae-la” in the style of (f) *hae-la-che*. In this example, ‘*hae-la*’ at the end of the sentence is the reason it is called ‘*hae-la-che*’.

3.2. Polite speech style and casual speech style

The six Korean speech styles, which are introduced in Table 1, can be divided into two categories, as follows.

Table 2. Korean speech styles and their implication of respect

Speech style	Showing respect to the listener
(a) <i>Hab-syo-che</i>	O
(b) <i>Hae-yo-che</i>	
(c) <i>Ha-o-che</i>	
(d) <i>Ha-ge-che</i>	X
(e) <i>Hae-che</i>	
(f) <i>Hae-la-che</i>	

Source: cf. Suh Cheong-soo 서정수 (1984: 39)

This influences the concept of the aforementioned polite speech style and casual speech style. This binary classification is more familiar to native speakers of Korean as well as foreigners learning Korean. This polite speech style is called ‘*jon-daes-mal*’², while the casual speech style is ‘*ban-mal*’.³ In English terminology, the polite speech style is sometimes introduced as an honorific style or formal speech. On the other hand, the casual speech style is sometimes described as a non-honorific style, informal speech, or ‘half-talk’⁴. In this paper, these two styles are referred to as polite and casual speech styles, respectively.

² According to different Romanization rules, it can be transcribed as *jon-daes-mal* or *contaysmal*. This paper applies the rule called Revised Romanization of Korean (국어의 로마자 표기법 *gugeo-ui romaja pyogi-beob*) issued by the Republic of Korea’s Ministry of Culture and Tourism (문화관광부 *Munhwa Gwangwang-Bu*) in 2000, especially for linguistic academic purposes.

³ This can be also transcribed as *banmal* or *panmal*.

⁴ It is based on the meaning of the word, *ban-mal*: *ban* means ‘half’ and *mal* means ‘language’.

This approach aims to emphasize that *jon-daes-mal* is used to convey politeness and that *ban-mal* is used for a casual mode of talking.

Based on Table 2, the polite speech style refers to the first two of the six styles: (a) *hap-syo-che* and (b) *hae-yo-che*. On the other hand, the casual speech style indicates the last two of the six styles: (e) *hae-che* and (f) *hae-la-che*. (c) *ha-o-che* and (d) *ha-ge-che* are exempted because they are used significantly less when compared to the other styles.

In fact, the casual speech style *ban-mal* cannot be simply defined. First, (e) *hae-che* has been referred to as *ban-mal* when it comes to introducing polite Korean speech styles (cf. Lee Ik-seop 이익섭 1974; Suh Cheong-soo 서정수 1984). Therefore, there is no objection to taking this speech style as *ban-mal*. However, this seems to be from a rather narrow sense. Since both (e) *hae-che* and (f) *hae-la-che* are in the category of non-polite styles, people often mix them in casual discourse. According to Park Ji-soon 박지순 (2016: 150), Koreans do not tend to perceive a significant difference between the two styles of (e) *hae-che* and (f) *hae-la-che*.

Second, the *ban-mal* is first originated by neutralizing speech styles (Lee 2012: 73). When speakers find it difficult to choose one specific speech style, the ending part of their sentence, which decides the speech style, is omitted, or it makes it ambiguous to identify. Due to this origin, Lee Jeong-bok 이정복 (2012: 73) states that this should be theoretically distinguished from one speech style, (e) *hae-che*.

During conversation, the concept of this casual speech style seems to include all perspectives. As this paper aims to observe people's general perception of shifts in speech styles, it adopts two styles: (e) *hae-che* and (f) *hae-la-che*, but also non-completed endings of sentences as one casual speech style for the purpose of this research.

4. Korean ways to offer shifts to a casual speech style

In daily life, people easily encounter moments of offering shifts when they are getting to know each other and want to get closer. For this, social position used to play an important role, but age is also an important factor (Lee Jeong-bok 이정복 2012: 42). As Kiaer et al. (2019) show, however, that the way people shift speech styles differs

depending on settings and gender. For example, when there is no conflict between age and social status at school, people expect that one person will shift speech styles after negotiation, which makes up the largest percentage in the school setting. Negotiating is the second highest proportion in the work setting, the highest being non-shifts and maintaining a polite speech style (Kiaer et al. 2019: 294). As for gender, shifts for women and for men differ. Women at work who are older than 40 prefer not to shift styles to their younger female colleagues (Kiaer et al. 2019: 304). However, it has not yet been studied whether the other person being a different gender affects the speaker when offering shifts in speech styles, which will be studied in Chapter 5.

Park Young-soon 박영순 (2007) points out the subordinate offer of using casual language first, an approach that can also be found in a Korean textbook for foreign students. *Active Korean 3* (Language Education Institute of Seoul National University, 2008), a Korean language book for foreign students, states that younger people usually offer casual language use first. However, an important thing here is that this implies that only the superior/older person may use casual speech toward the subordinate/younger person during that first moment but not vice versa. For example, the younger person will say that the other can use casual speech in addressing them, but they themselves would not. In this situation, fixed phrases may also be used, such as ‘You can talk to me comfortably’ (말 편하게 하셔도 돼요 *Mal pyeon-ha-ge ha-syeodo dwae-yo*). Following this, the younger person is allowed to shift their speech style if the older person will permit this in their answer. If not, one would use a casual speech style, while the other would continue to use a polite speech style for the remainder of their exchange. Considering that there are many cases of two interlocutors who do not hold the same speech style of politeness in Korea, it is not surprising that this offer implies that non-mutual shifts are commonly given between interlocutors. This happens mainly due to age or social status. For this, Park Young-soon 박영순 (1995: 567) claims that solidarity cannot dominate power.

By talking about shifts in casual language from the younger person first in this way, the older person is not required to think about how shifts should be made or how to search for a chance to make such a shift. Considering the concept of negative politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987), it is considered a polite gesture. However, when observing people who are offering shifts of polite speech styles in

reality, different rules seem to prevail in people's minds. This will be further described in Chapter 5.

5. Korean speech style shifts offered in a TV show

5.1. The person who offers shifts first

For the purpose of observing people who offer shifts in speech styles, a Korean reality TV show, *We Got Married*, was analyzed in this research. This TV show has been broadcast for 9 years and first aired in 2008 on the TV channel MBC. The premise pairs two celebrities on a blind date, and then they pretend to be married for a certain period. They are mostly Korean singers or actors, but some are pianists, models, or comedians. As the producer hoped that some of the blind dates would result in actual marriage, the characters were expected to take the show as seriously as possible to better mimic reality. The TV show mostly consists of watching the couples interact with one another, but small tasks are also assigned, such as shooting wedding photos together, having a private wedding ceremony, decorating their matrimonial home, visiting each other's parents, going to the gym together, and cooking for each other. Press conferences and individual interviews with staff and cast members on various channels support that there were no specific instructions or guidelines for how they should act, as it was supposed to reflect the couples' lives in a natural way.

In the TV show, 50 couples were cast in total. For the purpose of this research, however, only 20 couples were selected for analysis in accordance with the following conditions:

- 1) Both are native Korean speakers.
- 2) They became acquainted with each other through this program.
- 3) They both started with a polite speech style followed by a casual speech style with an offer (no one shifts speech styles without an offer on purpose).
- 4) First offers can be indirect.

The first condition is required because there is a high possibility that foreign cast members on the TV show are affected by the rules in their home countries. As for the second condition, it is necessary to fulfill this because people go through the process of shifting speech styles from polite to casual language when they start off as strangers and become familiar. They might not be complete strangers because they might bump into each other at a broadcasting station because most cast members are actors and singers in Korea. In this case, the first reaction is regarded as important. If they talk awkwardly when seeing each other, it is counted as a valid case. When it comes to the third condition, although most people preferred to offer shifts first and negotiate which style they could use, there are a few cases of people who shifted naturally without any signs. This third condition exempts the one who drops the honorifics without asking because they think they can do so due to their older age, for example. Since this paper aims to study who first offers shifts and how they do it, shifts without the negotiation process are exempted. Lastly, interlocutors can deliver their message in several ways, even without mentioning the word directly. Therefore, for example, although the one who clearly mentions, 'Shall we drop the honorifics?' is the man, if it was a reaction to the woman giving him an implicit message indirectly, the woman is considered the one who offered a shift first.

Once the subjects were sorted, the 20 couples selected were divided into two groups: 10 couples with an older man and a younger woman and 10 couples with a younger man and an older woman. The cast members were in their 20s or 30s, and their age gaps ranged from one to seven years. Few couples who were the same age were excluded when we applied the four conditions mentioned above.

According to analysis from the TV show, older people tended to offer shifts first in a romantic relationship (in other words, in the relationship of cast members on the TV show).

Table 3. Person who offered shifts first in romantic relationships

Person	Couple type	
	Older man and younger woman	Younger man and older woman
Male speaker	60%	30%
Female speaker	40%	70%

Source: research results by the Author

As shown in Table 3, 60% of people who offered shifts were older men in the couples. In the case of a younger man–older woman couple, the older woman offered shifts more frequently than her partner (70%). This is indicative of the fact that people consider the age of interlocutors to be more important than their gender when offering such shifts.

In Table 3, while older women have the highest proportion, 30% of them offered shifts first and did it very indirectly by saying that it was awkward or uncomfortable to use a polite speech style. Therefore, although more older women offered it first more often than older men did, the way older women offered it differed.

As a result, analysis from the TV data shows that age plays an important role for interlocutors of the opposite sex when offering shifts.

5.2. Expressions when offering shifts

As briefly introduced in Chapter 4, there are a few words and phrases frequently used during conversation to shift speech styles. To study this further, all verbal offers made for shifts were collected while ignoring the third condition established in Chapter 5.1. The primary focus of this chapter is to observe actual references implying shifts explicitly or implicitly. Supposedly, a man shifted speech styles without an offer first, and then his partner offered shifts in speech styles to him. These cases are not counted in Table 3, but their utterances are counted in Table 4.

Table 4. Expressions used for shifts to casual Korean language

Korean expression (with an infinitive form of the verb)	Meaning in English	Number of examples
말을 놓다 <i>Mal-eul noh-da</i>	drop the honorific	17
말을 편하게 하다 <i>Mal-eul pyeon-ha-ge ha-da</i>	talk comfortably	8
반말하다 <i>Ban-mal-ha-da</i>	speak <i>ban-mal</i>	1
불편하다 <i>Bul-pyeon-ha-da</i>	uncomfortable	1
존댓말하다 <i>Jon-daes-mal-ha-da</i>	speak <i>jon-daes-mal</i>	2
말을 어렵게 하다 <i>Mal-eul eo-lyeob-ge ha-da</i>	do (talk) in a difficult way	1

Source: research results by the Author

Table 4 shows a total of 30 examples, which is more than the number of observed couples. The reason is that some speakers repeated their offer because they did not shift speech styles immediately even after one's offer.

People can offer shifts to the other by saying that they would like to talk casually by using the expressions ‘drop the honorifics’, ‘talk comfortably’, and ‘speak *ban-mal*’. However, people can also use words related to a polite speech style by saying that they do not want to ‘speak *jon-daes-mal*’. On the other hand, their intention can be communicated even more indirectly to show their feeling about using a polite way of speaking by saying ‘uncomfortable’ or ‘do in a difficult way’.

Among them, *말을 놓다 mal-eul noh-da* is the most frequently used word for shifts. In the TV show, this verb was used in some utterances as follows:

- (1) 말 놓을까요?
Mal *noh-eul-lae-yo?*
 Language drop-suggestive-polite ending
 “Shall we drop the honorific?”

- (2) 언제 말 놓을 거예요?
Eon-je *mal* *noh-eul geo-ye-yo?*
 When language drop-future-polite ending
 “When will you drop the honorific?”

Youngran BAŠTANOVÁ KWAK: Offering Shifts to Casual...

(Situation: A 29-year-old man and a 31-year-old woman became a couple. The man is cooking for her in a kitchen while having a conversation with her.)⁵

Woman: (a) 저 된장찌개 되게 잘해요.

Jeo doen-jang-ggi-gae doe-ge jal-hae-yo (polite)

“I am good at soybean paste stew.”

Man: (b) 나중에 만들어 주세요요.

Na-jung-e man-deul-eo ju-se-yo (polite).

“Please cook one for me later.”

(c) 윤한표 갓 채배한 채소로 만든...

Yun-han-pyo gas jae-bae-han chae-so-lo man-deun...

(omission)

“This is from freshly picked vegetable by Yunhan...”

Woman: (d) 푹딱 나오네요.

Ttuk-ttak na-o-ne-yo (polite).

“It’s just popping out.”

Man: (e) 아 근테 호칭을 자기야라고 하기로 했으니까, 자기야.

A geun-de ho-ching-eul ja-gi-ya-ra-go ha-gi-ro haess-eu-ni-kka, ja-gi-ya (casual)

“Oh, by the way, since we have decided to call each other honey, honey.”

Woman: (f) ‘자기야’ 하고 존댓말하면 이상하잖..., 더 어색하잖아요.

‘Ja-gi-ya’-ha-go jon-daes-mal-ha-myeon i-sang-ha-janh..., deo eo-saek-ha-janh-a-yo (polite).

“You know, using honorifics when calling each other ‘honey’ is weird, more awkward.”

Man: (g) 그런가.

Geu-leon-ga (casual)

“I see.”

⁵ Episode 188, broadcasted on September 21, 2013.

(h) 그럼 우리 말 놓을까?
geu-leom u-li mal noh-eul-kka? (casual)
 “Shall we drop honorifics then?”

Woman: (i) 응.
Eung. (casual)
 “Yes.”

In this dialogue, the man is already talking casually in (c), (e), (g), and (h) but not consistently because he uses a polite speech style in (b). Then, he clearly offers to shift speech styles in (h) after getting a hint from the woman. As in this case, when two people do not officially negotiate how to deal with their speech style yet, speech styles can be changed even a few times to formulate both a polite and casual atmosphere.

Park Young-soon 박영순 (1995) also states that Korean speakers do not strictly hold one style when they speak, and they frequently change terms of addressing and speech styles. There will be various reasons for this depending on the situation, but some of Lee Jeong-bok’s 이정복 (2012: 70) analysis shows that this can happen as a part of strategy of showing their status while being nice, and it can also happen to act aggressively toward the other. This shifting can also show that they want to be closer and adjust their distance.

5.3. Types of shifts

Couples offering shifts in speech styles used two types of shifts: (1) shifts from both sides and (2) shifts from one side (speaker or listener). Depending on the type, the offering happened differently, as follows.

Table 5. Types of shifts

Symmetrical shifts	Asymmetrical shifts
Suggestion explicitly mentioning ‘we’ (“Shall we drop the honorifics?”)	Asking permission (“Can I drop the honorifics?”)
	Giving permission (“You can talk to me comfortably”)
	Asserting one party’s decision

	(‘I will talk comfortably’)
--	-----------------------------

Source: research results by the Author

Symmetrical shifts used sentences like ‘Shall we drop the honorifics?’ and ‘Let’s drop the honorifics’, with one party essentially asking the other’s agreement to shift speech styles together, and these shifts almost always used the pronoun ‘we’ explicitly or implicitly. Conversely, in asymmetrical shifts, one party asks for or gives permission or asserts a unilateral decision. For example, the speaker might say, ‘Can I drop the honorifics?’ and wait for the other’s reaction. This offer itself does not presume that both parties will speak casually; the speaker will, but the other party may choose not to. In another variation of this type of offer, the speaker might give the other party permission to be more casual. An offer that says, ‘You can talk to me comfortably’ offers a shift from the listener side but does not commit the speaker to a change in speech style. We found that in this case, the speakers usually continue using a polite speech style until the listener said something like, ‘You can do that, too’. However, when the offer said, ‘I will talk comfortably’, that signaled a shift from the speaker’s side, and what the listener would do remained to be seen.

Among 20 couples in the TV program, 12 showed symmetrical shifts, and 8 showed asymmetrical shifts. As all the couples were romantic in the TV show, however, only rarely did anyone insist on using a polite speech style until the end. The couples’ offers nearly always involved a gradual but mutual shifting of speech styles by the time the TV show ended. As it is difficult to generalize this phenomenon with such a small sample, further studies are needed.

6. Conclusion

To study who offers shifts to a casual speech style first and how they offer between a couple, this paper analyzed Korean couples in a Korean reality TV show. This type of ‘reality’ show is supposed to present more natural situations than movies or scripted programs. Therefore, although the show had a small cast and did not involve situations between people of the same age, the study was able to gain insights into people’s practice of shifting speech styles.

The results suggest that when Korean couples shift speech styles, age plays an important role in the relationship. Although some people think that the younger person should bring up this offer first, in our sample, the older people usually offered the shifts first, regardless of gender. However, the results showed that both approaches coexisted. Table 3 shows that older women accounted for the largest percentage of those offering to speak casually, but the numbers include indirect offers that incline the men to shift their responses; conversely, older men were more likely to offer shifts explicitly.

The most common expressions used in the offers were the following: ‘drop the honorific (말을 놓다 *mal-eul noh-da*)’ and ‘talk comfortably (말을 편하게 하다 *mal-eul pyeon-ha-ge ha-da*)’. Using these words, speakers could offer shifts with either a polite or casual speech style. It was not common for speakers to begin speaking in a casual speech style before asking their listeners to do so; it was more common for speakers to offer shifts while talking in polite language. Shifts occasionally occurred during conversations. In these cases, the speakers’ and listeners’ reactions varied, depending on the parties’ intentions. For example, older parties sometimes offered shifts as a way of claiming their status, and they sometimes used the implicit position of power to show their desire to be closer and change the depth of the relationship as soon as possible.

Sentences offering a shift can signal symmetrical or asymmetrical shifts. Mutual shifts from both sides generally used phrases for suggestion such as ‘Shall we drop the honorifics?’. However, asymmetrical shifts often involved requesting permission (e.g., ‘Can I drop the honorifics?’) or giving permission (e.g., ‘You can talk to me comfortably’) or asserting the speaker’s own decision (e.g., ‘I will talk comfortably’). Asymmetrical shifts show only what one side will do, not both. In the TV program, more couples used symmetrical shifts in their first offer, but most reached that point eventually.

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**A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS OF KOREAN MOVIE
“THE HOUSEMAID”
– FOCUSED ON FILMS IN 1960 AND 2010 –**

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Abstract: Korean legendary film director Kim Ki-Young’s 1960 work *The Housemaid* was remade in 2010 by director Im Sang-Soo. The study of the two films can be found as a comparative study of cinematic studies on sound analysis and genre analysis, and a sociological study on social images. However, few studies have looked with a discourse oriented approach. Discourse in the movie is not only a window for communication between characters, but also an important device with non-verbal elements, so it can be said to be discourse has a high importance as an analysis target. This study analyzes the film discourse according to Erving Goffman’s dramaturgical analysis to find out the differences between the characters. This study can be said is meaningful in that it has the characteristics of interdisciplinary

research in linguistics and film studies through discourse analysis of two films with different periods.

Keywords: Korean movie; Kim Ki-Young; *The Housemaid*; Erving Goffman; dramaturgical analysis; discourse analysis.

담화 분석을 통한 영화 <하녀> 비교 연구
-1960, 2010 년도 작품을 중심으로-

초록: 한국의 전설적인 영화감독 김기영의 1960 년 작품 '하녀'는 2010 년 임상수 감독에 의해 리메이크되었다. 두 영화에 대한 연구는 사운드 분석, 장르 분석 등에 대한 영화학적 비교 연구와 사회상에 대한 사회학적 연구 등을 찾아볼 수 있으나 담화 중심의 접근법으로 두 작품을 살펴본 연구는 드물다. 영화에서 담화는 캐릭터들 소통의 창구일뿐만 아니라 비언어적 요소를 갖춘 중요한 장치이므로 분석 대상으로써 그 중요성이 높다 할 수 있다. 본고는 영화 담화를 어빙 고프만의 연극적 접근법에 따라서 분석하여 인물 간의 차이를 확인해보고자 한다. 본 연구는 시기가 다른 두 영화의 담화 분석을 통한 연구로 언어학과 영화학의 학제간연구적 성격을 띠는 것에 의의가 있다고 하겠다.

핵심어: 한국 영화; 김기영; <하녀> ; 어빙 고프먼; 영화적 접근법; 담화 분석.

STUDIUM PORÓWNAWCZE ANALIZY DYSKURSU
KOREAŃSKIEGO FILMU „POKOJÓWKA” –
NA PRZYKŁADZIE FILMÓW Z 1960 I 2010

Abstrakt: Dzieło koreańskiego reżysera Kim Ki-Younga o tytule *Pokojówka* po swoim debiucie w 1960 roku, doczekało się w 2010 nowego obrazu w wizji reżysera Im Sang-soo. Oba te filmy mogą być traktowane jako materiał badawczy nauk filmowych w zakresie analizy fabuły i gatunku, jak i studium socjologiczne obrazu społeczeństwa. Jednocześnie niewiele badań dotyka dyskursu, który w tych filmach jest nie tylko obrazem komunikacji między postaciami, ale także ważnym narzędziem wyposażonym w elementy niewerbalne, uzupełniającym tło komunikacji. Artykuł niniejszy bada więc dyskurs filmowy w świetle analizy teorii dramaturgicznej Ervinga Goffmana, mając na celu ukazanie różnic między bohaterami obu tych dzieł. Wykazuje także cechy interdyscyplinarności badań na styku nauk o filmie i językoznawstwa w postaci analizy dyskursu filmów z różnego okresu.

Słowa kluczowe: koreańska kinematografia; Kim Ki-Young; *Pokojówka*; Erving Goffman; analiza dramaturgiczna; analiza dyskursu.

1. Introduction

Director 김기영(Kim Ki-Young) left legend movies in Korean screen history with his sense beyond the generation. After his huge successful work *하녀* (*Ha-nyeo*, a.k.a. *The Housemaid*), he made *Housemaid* film series: *화녀* (*Hwa-nyeo, Woman of Fire*), *충녀* (*Chung-nyeo, Insect Woman*), *살인나비를 쫓는 여자* (*Sarin nabi-reul jtotnun yeoja, A Woman After a Killer Butterfly*). Among them, *Housemaid*, which is the first movie of his serial works as well as considered to be a monumental work in the history of Korean thriller film. In 2010, director 임상수 (Im Sang-Soo) released the remake of *The Housemaid*, a lot of interests gathered in how he created a new drawing. Then in conclusion, two works has a lot of differences except the basic plot that is the housemaid and male master's sexual relationship shakes the family.

There were studies about the two films, in the aspects such as social characteristics and modernity, cinematic analysis and general review (e.g. Mok Hae-Jung 목혜정 2010; Kim Sun-Jin 김선진 2011; Lee Chae-Won 이채원 2011). However, discourse-centric researches regarding two works are still lacking. Discourse can be seen as an important device to not only the conversations of the characters, but also including the nonverbal elements. Furthermore, it can explore the meaning of the whole work. Therefore, this study has a significant meaning which compares the two films through a discourse analysis as well as runs the research in linguistic and Film Studies.

As that what already been stated above, the two films are different in some ways such as space background, time background and characters, although they share the same basic plot. This study seeks to find the difference between the original and the remake through a discourse analysis tool.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Dramaturgical analysis of Erving Goffman

According to Schiffrin (1994: 5), there are six ways of discourse analysis – speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, variation analysis and conversation analysis. Among them, this paper focused on interactional sociolinguistics, especially Goffman's (1956) dramaturgy in social interaction. The reason for selecting Goffman's (1956) approach as an analysis tool is it can be a link between movie or drama and language.

Goffman (1956) developed the analysis of discourse in a unique way. He described the personal life of another person 'self' concept projected into the society as well as explained interaction discourse theory by saying the role of 'self' and how it is recognized on others. Each person who has a *self*, gives a definition about the same situation in one's separate way. The definition about one situation can be different by people's experiences, culture patterns and life orders. However, those factors can be formed by the conversation. A *self* realizes one's role through the discourse in an endless interaction then makes social symbol. Goffman compared discourse as a drama. He saw the social aspects that belongs to a discourse with the drama aspects which was the new paradigm at that time. Moreover, he didn't focused on the discourse itself, instead he did a new interpretation of the individual leading the discourse. Apply for the actual life of the various components in the theater is a unique feature of Goffman's theory.

2.1.1 Impression management

Goffman thought 'self' as a result of interaction actors and audiences. Also actors use various strategies in order to define the situation and get an impression on when he goes to situation. To define the situation, he can get some help from speaker and audience. But

Goffman believed that the subject who has a self, defines in perception of the dialogue by oneself and overcome the factors that are hampering analysis and on the situation in the process is more important. Goffman expressed this overcome process as an 'impression management'. Impression is a self-image from others. He classified appearance and attitude of the elements of this impression management as an individual dimension. Such as clothes, speaking way, attitude and intonation can show one's social level, characters and so on.

2.1.2. Role distance¹

When people are acting (living), they think their self-image is not fit with the role, role distance is happened. One's roles are different situationally. Role distance is able to work in life positively. It can give to relax tensions related to prestige, check the appearance of the self-extending beyond the role, reduce the burden even if one does not like the current role and decrease conflicts in interpersonal relationships.

2.1.3. Stigma

Stigma is a spoiled social identity. It can be a prejudice, but Goffman saw it as an individual's another role. Stigma has 3 types. The first one is 'Overt or external deformities'. Physical disabilities belong to it. The second one is 'Known as deviations in personal traits'. The psychological such as beliefs, thought, and mental illness are included to this. The last one is tribal stigma. Affiliation with a specific nationality, religion, or race can belong to it. The stigmatic actor has a

¹ The act of presenting your 'self' as being removed or at a distance from the role you are being required to play. For example, by keeping your eyes open when asked to pray or say grace, you communicate to the group by role distancing, that you are making no commitment to the role (http://sociologyindex.com/role_distancing.htm, accessed November 3, 2020).

tension with audiences, and should manage oneself to protect one's reputation.

However, Goffman provides only illustrative information to flesh out his methodological arguments. He is not concerned with how grammar and lexicon function both to frame what is being said and to affect situated assessments of what is conveyed at any one point in an encounter.

2.2. Discourse function analysis

Additional analysis was performed to compensate for the lack of Goffman's discourse analysis way. Cho Kuk-Hyun (조국현 1999) critically discussed J. R. Searle's functional classification of communication in speech act. Cho Kuk-Hyun (조국현 1999) pointed out the Searle's functional classification has the limitation because it was conducted by an inductive approach. Furthermore, he maintained 'illocutionary act'², which is a core concept of speech act theory, is justified unclearly and Searle only explained through the elements and combination rules as well as cannot find how a conclusion is derived (Cho Kuk-Hyun 조국현 1999: 534-535). With this base, Lee Byoung-Gyu (이병규 2015) introduced the new outline about the discourse function like the following.

² Illocutionary act is a term in linguistics of the various aspects of speech acts. In Austin's framework, locution is what was said, illocution is what was meant, and perlocution is what happened as a result (Kim Sung Yeol 김성열 2015:17).

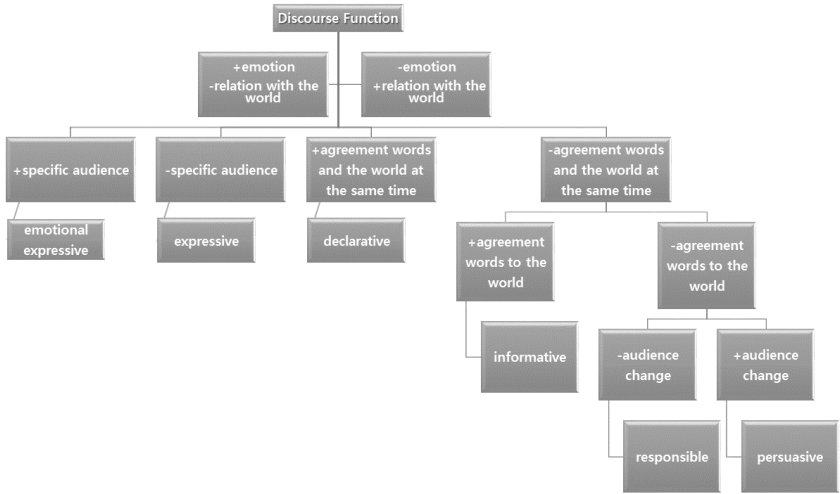


Figure 1. Lee Byoung-Gyu's (이병규 2015) discourse function analysis form.

3. Subjects of study

3.1. *The Housemaid* in 1960

The main characters in the movie are 6 people. The hero 동식 (Dong-sik), Dong-sik's wife, their daughter and son, factory worker 경희 (Kyung-hee) who introduced a maid in the house of Dong-sik, and the housemaid who is leading the film.

Dong-sik is a piano tutor of female factory workers. For economic stability, he also does private lessons in his house. He treats his weak and pregnant wife very well by doing something like massaging her feet and cooking instead of her. On the other hand, he has a passive and timid side by showing that he is dragged by his wife

and housemaid. Dong-sik's wife is a typically good wife and wise mother (현모양처 *hyeonmo yangcheo*, 賢母良妻)³ who does sewing work even when her health is awful during the pregnant and after giving birth the baby. She seems like the most multi-faceted character. At first, she is warm and self-giving, and then became cold-hearted person who tells housemaid to erase her baby. In the end, she lost her husband to housemaid and also shrank back. Dong-sik's daughter who has handicapped legs and mischievous son showed the confrontation with housemaid and adds tension to the movie. Kyung-hee became close to Dong-sik's family while getting private piano lesson from Dong-sik in his house. She introduced housemaid for Dong-sik's house while having a heart for Dong-sik. She is also one of reasons that housemaid seduces Dong-sik⁴. Housemaid is a femme fatale who causes the breakup of the Dong-sik's home. Director explains her personality through her acting. She smokes from her first appearance, and shakes the rat with her bare hands. Audiences can assume her offensive and little bit abnormal personality.

3.2. *The Housemaid* in 2010

The main characters in the remake movie are 6 people, too. The housemaid 은이 (Eun-ee), hero 훈 (Hoon), Hoon's wife 해라 (Hae-ra), chief maid 병식 (Byoung-sik), Hae-ra's mother and Hae-ra's little daughter 나미 (Na-mee).

Eun-ee is quite different from the original character. She is girlish, earnest, naive and silly in some ways. When Hoon comes to her room at the first time, she didn't refuse and even ask to him about the situation. That doesn't mean she waited that situation or enjoyed that. We can assume her stuffy and passive personality from Eun-ee and her friend's conversation. She became abnormal and represents her anger only after her miscarriage. Hoon belongs to the upper class

³ <https://ko.dict.naver.com/#/entry/koko/a65353012d2149a58040aedd06155786>, accessed December 28, 2020.

⁴ After Kyung-hee's piano private lesson, housemaid comes to Dong-sik's room and starts to lure him. She said to him: "Teach me piano like you do to Kyung-hee. I don't want to lose her".

who can get and enjoy all of he wants. For him, Eun-ee is just a plaything for pleasure as well as he thinks that his wife is in a lower position than him, not an equivalent position like normal couples. We can also see how arrogant he is through his behavior and words to his mother-in-law who is generally a difficult person to treat in Korea. Hea-ra is a typical woman from the rich family. Until the middle of the movie, she seems not that bad relatively comparing with other rich people like Hoon, Hae-ra's mother. But after she knew the news that Eun-ee has Hoon's baby, she reveals her true colors. She speaks rough words to Byoung-sik, slaps Eun-ee's cheek as well as makes Eun-ee lost her baby. Hae-ra's mother is a more vicious character. She makes Eun-ee falling down to the ground from the chandelier intentionally in order to Eun-ee's miscarriage even in front of her little granddaughter. And from her lines, we can find how snobbish she is. Generally, the most friendly person to Eun-ee in the movie is Hae-ra's daughter Na-mee. After 'chandelier' incident, she is the only one who says sorry for Eun-ee. And when Eun-ee burns herself to death, she looks at her until the last time through the window. In 2010 *Housemaid*, the most interesting character is Byoung-sik. Some of people compare her and Kyung-hee but their roles and characters are totally different. Byoung-sik has been worked as a maid and butler for a long time since Hae-ra was a child. As after a long period of working, she not only plays her cards right, but also has sharp eyes. She plays a big role in making this movie as a black comedy through her lines like '아더 메치(ah-deo-me-chi)'⁵.

⁵ 아니꼽고 더럽고 메스껍고 치사하다 (disgusting, dirty, nauseous, shameful), <https://zh.dict.naver.com/#/entry/kozh/ed4edc0b26c74b6c9251aa9484e5b164>, accessed December 28, 2020.

4. Discourse analysis

4.1. Discourse analysis criterion

As stated above, this paper applied 3 criterion ‘impression management, role distance and stigma’ from Goffman. But, Goffman provides only illustrative information to flesh out his methodological arguments. He is not concerned with how grammar and lexicon function both to frame what is being said and to affect situated assessments of what is conveyed at any one point in an encounter. Therefore, this paper applied one more criteria, discourse function analysis. Lee Byoung kyu (이병규 2015) introduced new analysis form based on Cho Kuk Hyun (조국현 1999). However, this system is not only inconsistent but also not fit to into the discourse, in other words conversation. Among them persuasive and responsible functions are used in a lot of conversations, while expressive function usually belongs to writings such as essays, travel notes and diaries. This problem is happened because they defined the ‘discourse’ unsurely. This paper defines ‘discourse’ as spoken language and written language is ‘text’ (Jung Hee-Ja 정희자 2008: 23). Therefore in movie discourse, criterion should be different. Three basic factors are as follows.

- 1) Speaking to the audience or speaker (oneself)
- 2) Existence of the specific audience
- 3) Requirement of the behavior change.

Using those 3 standards, this paper made different criterion about discourse functions as figure 2.

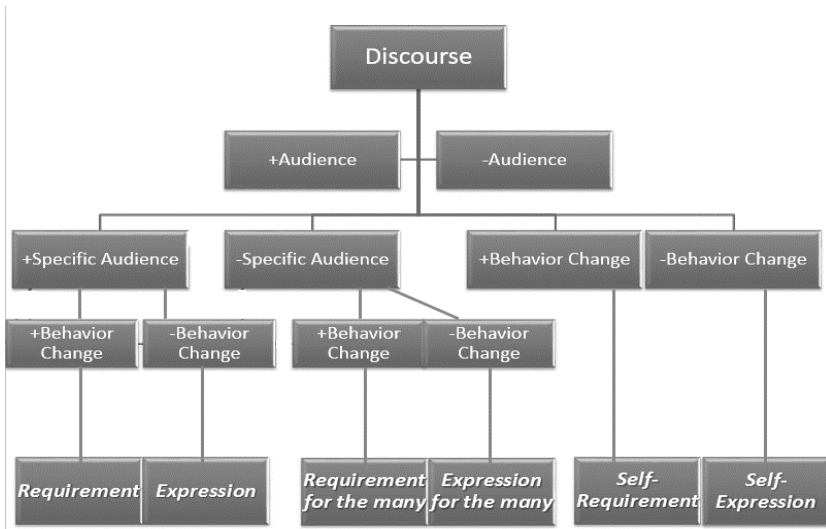


Figure 2. The discourse function analysis form.

4.2. Discourse analysis

This paper analyzed similar scenes from the original and the remake. Let us look at the scenes one by one ⁶:

⁶ There are 6 discourse functions in figure 2. Abbreviations of the name are indicated in the discourse analysis as follows:

Requirement: REQ.

Expression: EXP.

Requirement for the many: REQ.M.

Expression for the many: EXP.M.

Self-Requirement: S.R.

Self-Expression: S.E.

(1) The first appearance of a housemaid (1960)

housemaid: 담배 싫은가봐 It seems like you hate smoking. - EXP
Kyung-hee: 담배 피는 처녀가 어딴어? What happened to that 'pure' girl? * - EXP
housemaid: 그르치만, 난 여기 있는 여공들한테 배운걸? Well, I learned from the other factory girls. -EXP
Kyung-hee: 그런걸 본받다간 제뜨기가 돼. If you keep picking up those habits, you will be like a crashing plane⁷. -EXP
housemaid: 제뜨기? A plane? -REQ
Kyung-hee: 휴우우 쿵! Whooooo boom! -EXP
housemaid: 아이 불쌍해. Wow, pitiful. -EXP
Kyung-hee: 세상일은 다 그르케 되는 거야. 음악선생 댁에 갈 생각 읊어? Everything will be like that. How about heading to the music teacher's house? -REQ
housemaid: ** 았았던 자리엔 폴도 안 난다던데. I heard he's a stingy bastard. -EXP
Kyung-hee: 돈만 받으면 되잖어. If you just make some money, it'll be fine you know. -REQ
housemaid: 얼마 줘요? How much do they pay? -REQ
Kyung-hee: 내가 천원 보태서 오천원 주지. I'll add one thousand won, and give you five. -REQ
housemaid: 보따리 싸야겠군. It's a done deal. -S.R.

(2) The first appearance of a housemaid (2010)

Eun-ee's friend: 지붕꼭대기에서 누가 떨어졌구나봐. Seems like someone fell from the roof! -EXP
Eun-ee: 자살이야? Is it a suicide? -REQ
Eun-ee's friend: 모르지. Don't know. -EXP
Eun-ee: 구경가보자 언니. Sis, let's go see. -REQ
Eun-ee's friend: 어머 미쳤나, 사람이 죽었다는데 구경은 뭘 구경이냐. Are you crazy? How could you say that when someone's dead? -EXP
Eun-ee: 가보자 이따가! Then, let's go later on! -REQ
Eun-ee's friend: 희한한 애 다 보겠네. You're so weird! -EXP

⁷ like a jet crashing (during the war that they have seen), her life will be destroyed or can't find a man because of smoking.

From the housemaid's first appearance, we can find her character is not a typical woman during that time. Maybe she got stigma kind of 'bad girl' from this scene, because of the cigarette.

In the remake first scene, we can see both of the housemaids' characters are totally different. Eun-ee nagged her friend to go and see a person's suicide place in a naive voice. Her intention seems not deep. It is just a curiosity like a child.

(3) Meeting of Eun-ee and Byoung-sik (2010)

Byoung-sik: 어쨌든 남의 집에 허락도 없이 들어간 격이니 미안해요. Anyways, I am sorry for going in your room without permission. -EXP

객식구를 새로 들인다는 일이 워낙 조심스러워서. You know, we have to be careful during the process of hiring new members. -EXP

뭐 이력서랑 소개서 다 받아봤구, 또 이렇게 면접도 하구 있지만, 난 나 대로 어떻게 하고 사는 사람인지 알고 싶었어요. Anyways, I have received and reviewed your resumé and recommendation letter and thus wanted to interview you. Furthermore, I had to see how you live in order to consider you. 이해해줘요. I hope you understand. -REQ

Eun-ee: 네... Sure.... -EXP

Byoung-sik: 말이 별로 없군. 입이 무겁네. It seems like you've got nothing to say. You're lips are sealed. -EXP

평택에 쪼끄만 아파트두 있다며? You have your own place, right? -REQ

Eun-ee: 네, 전세 졌어요. Yes, I rented it out. -EXP

From (3), housemaid (Eun-ee)'s personality is exposed more clearly. Byoung-sik is trying to find Eun-ee's character. And when Eun-ee got passed, Byoung-sik will be her boss. That is why she doesn't try to manage her impression. For people in high positions, they don't need to disguise themselves in front of the people in low positions. On the other hand, Eun-ee's behavior is very calm. We can assume that is part of the impression management as an employee.

(4) The housemaid's first day of work (1960)

Byoung-sik: Dong-sik: 누구야. Who is that? -REQ

Kyung-hee: 선생님이 먼저 부탁한 애예요. That is the maid that you asked about before. -EXP

Dong-sik: 오, 그렇군. Oh, I see. -EXP
(housemaid found the rat and captured its tail with a bare hand.)
Dong-sik: 쥐는 약으로 잡도록 해. 쥐약을 선반에 있으니. Trap
the mouse with poison! It's in the cupboard. -REQ

(5) The housemaid's first day of work (2010)

(Eun-ee and Byoung-sik is standing behind Hae-ra.)
Hae-ra: 자세한 애긴 아줌마랑 다 하신거죠? 저두 아줌마만 믿고
들이는 거예요. 잘 부탁해요. You talked with the lady about
exactly how things work around here, didn't you? The reason I hired
you is because I trust only her. Please do you're best. -REQ
Eun-ee: 천만에 말씀 제가 잘 부탁드리겠습니다. Of course I will
do my best. -REQ
Hae-ra: 배 진짜 부르죠. I am really showing! -EXP
Eun-ee: 네 진짜 그러네요. Yes, you are. -EXP

The housemaid didn't make audiences disappointed. She doesn't care about her impression or stigma. From her first work day, she shows her raw personality by catching the rat⁸ with a bare hand.

The first appearance of Hae-ra also shows her impression. She is doing her yoga and Eun-ee and Byoung-sik are standing behind her. We can assume that Hae-ra thinks her yoga is more important than saying hello to the newly coming housemaid. Then, through Hae-ra and Eun-ee's voices, we are able to know that they are having a typical relationship between rich hostess and the housemaid. Hae-ra's voice is high and confident, while Eun-ee's voice tone is low and timid.

(6) The relationship with children (1960)

housemaid: 뭘 보고 있어? - What do you need? -REQ
son: 나 물 줘 줘. (housemaid gives a glass of water.) Give me some
water. -REQ
daughter: 그 물 먹지 말어. Don't drink it! -REQ
son: 왜에? Why not? -REQ
daughter: 쥐약이 들었으니까. There's rat poison in there! -REQ
housemaid: (housemaid gives a glass of water again) 야. Hey! -REQ

⁸ Rat is similar to housemaid. They are invisible and go some route which family don't use. And they lived where no one live.

(Son shakes his head. Housemaid takes away a glass of water and shows them drinking. And then close the kitchen door.)

(7) The relationship with a child (2010)

(Eun-ee listens this conversation during her working.)

Hae-ra: 새로운 아줌마 좋아? Do you like the new housekeeper? -REQ

Na-mee: 내가 너무 예쁘니까 그 아줌마는. She really likes me. -EXP

Hae-ra: 아줌마가 그랬어? Did she say that? -REQ

Na-mee: 아니. No. -EXP

Hae-ra: 그럼 어떻게 알았는데? So how do you know? -REQ

Na-mee: 얼굴에서 나와요. It showed on her face. -EXP

Even as a child, Dong-sik's son makes his role as a master in front of the housemaid. This behavior is quite different when he was with his family. From his line linked up to daughter's saying, we can find out why they don't have a good impression for housemaid. Moreover, housemaid doesn't try to make her impression better. She takes away a glass of water, and drinks till the end with a defiant stand. Through her actions, she makes her stigma very firm.

In 1960 movie, the only one character who has the first type stigma (overt or external deformities) is Dong-sik's daughter. Later, Dong-sik and Dong-sik's wife tell her "We can be happy if you can walk". This is kind of harsh stigma for a girl.

Eun-ee is a kind housemaid. At first meeting with Na-mee, Eun-ee keeps looking at her face and smiled. From her action, Na-mee starts to have a good feeling. Na-mee use 'that lady' and it seems like Eun-ee is not there, but she is serving dinner and listening all of things.

(8) Having a good feeling to hero (1960)

(He gives back cigarette to housemaid and lights a fire.)

Dong-sik: 우리 집에선 좋은 걸 배워. You should learn good things in our house. -REQ

housemaid: 나두 경희마냥 피아노를 배우구 싶어요. (She stretches her hand to Dong-sik) I want to learn to play piano like Kyung-hee. -REQ

Dong-sik: 얘기해두지만 피아노는 절대로 만지면 안돼. 알았지. As I told you before, you must never touch the piano, got it? -REQ

(9) Having a good feeling to hero (2010)

(Hoon 이 피아노 치는 장면을 보고 놀라워 함. 대사는 없음 -
Eun-ee is amazed to see Hoon's playing the piano. There is no
dialogue.)

Before this scene, Dong-sik's son saw housemaid's cigarette and made fun of her as a punk and gave her cigarette to Dong-sik. Dong-sik gives back to her the cigarette and lights a fire and then, she shows her ambition or jealousy to Kyung-hee from here.

Interesting factor is housemaid hardly suffer a role distance. Role distance is happened to people when they feel impression managements are hard. We can find it from Dong-sik. He tries to be a good father and husband. But after spending the night with the housemaid, he lives in agony. However the housemaid scarcely gets any role distances because she doesn't manage her impression.

(10) The first night of the housemaid and the hero (1960)

Dong-sik: 웬일이야 What is it? - EXP

housemaid: 추워서 더 밖에 못 있겠어요. It's too cold outside. -
EXP

담배 하나 줘요. Give me one cigarette -REQ

이 판에 나도 수지 좀 맞춰야죠... I also need to take advantage of
this arrangement. - EXP

(she is holding Dong-sik)

Dong-sik: 이거 못봐? Don't grab me! -REQ

이젠 너까지 못되게 구니. You're also pushing me around. -EXP

housemaid: ㅎㅎ 이까짓 담배 아까워서요? 미스 조 옷을 찢은 건
괜찮구요? Does one cigarette really count as 'pushing you around'?
Do you see ripping Miss Cho's clothes as acceptable?

아주머니한테 일러주까부다. 두 사람이 신나게 놀드라구. I
might just tell your wife. It seems like you two are having fun. -
EXP, the hidden meaning is REQ

Dong-sik: 얘! YOU! -REQ

(Housemaid goes to her room from the piano room. Dong-sik
follows her.)

housemaid: 여기 들어오셨으면 약속하세요. 나도 피아노를
배워주구, 미스 조마냥 껴안아두 주겠다고요. Since you came in
here, promise me that you'll teach me to play piano and embrace me
like Miss Cho. -REQ

Dong-sik: 너 미쳤니? Are you crazy? -REQ
housemaid: 난 죽어도 좋으니까 미스 조에게 지긴 싫어요. Even if I die, I hate the thought of losing to her. -REQ
(She is holding Dong-sik again. She is taking off her clothes. Dong-sik is trying to go out, but she blocking the way. She holding him and go inside the room.)

(11) The first night of the housemaid and the hero (2010)

Hoon: (He comes with wine) 쉬이이이. Shhhhhhhhh. -REQ
(Gives wine to Eun-ee)
Hoon: 다 마셔요. Drink it all. -REQ
(Eun-ee drinks wine)
Hoon: 함 봐요. 이불 치워버려요. Just let me see. Take off the blanket. -REQ

In the original film, housemaid actively lures Dong-sik during the wife's absence. Dong-sik is too powerless to fight with housemaid. He tries to refuse her several times, but at last he lost. At this point, we know that he failed to managing impression as a good husband and father. Furthermore, he is stigmatized as a cheating husband.

During the night of family vacation, Hoon visits Eun-ee's room suddenly. Then, he forced her to drink wine and requires to her to remove the blanket very naturally. In 1960 movie, housemaid character doesn't care about her impression as well as in the 2010 film, Hoon is the most unselfconscious about the impression management. He went to Eun-ee's room even his wife and daughter were sleeping under the same roof.

(12) The After that night (1960)

Dong-sik: 피아노를 만지지 말어. Don't touch the piano! -REQ
housemaid: 여보. Honey. - EXP
Dong-sik :미쳤니? Are you crazy? -REQ
housemaid: 뭐 잘못됐어요? Did I do something wrong? -REQ
Dong-sik: 다신 여보라고 부르지마. Don't call me "Honey"! -REQ
housemaid: 당신은 너무 해요. You are so mean.- REQ
Dong-sik: 당신도 그만 뒤. You should stop. - REQ
housemaid: 뭐래두 첩이 됐으니 하녀보단 나은게 있어야 되잖아요? Anyways, now that I am your second lover, shouldn't you be treating me better than this?- REQ

Dong-sik: 아무 소리두 말란 말야! Would you stop nagging already?
– REQ

housemaid: 화내지 마세요. 아주머니가 오시면 서로 모른척
해야죠. 난 처녀가 아니예요. 이젠 시집가기 다 틀렸어요. 제발
버리지 마세요. 앞으론 하녀 월급도 안 받구 담배도 안 필테니.
내두지만 마세요. Don't be angry. If your wife comes in, pretend it
never happened. I am not a virgin anymore, so I can no longer be
married. Please don't kick me out. From now on, I won't ask for
money or smoke, so don't ignore me! – REQ

(Dong-sik covers his face with his hands painfully.)

(13) The After that night (2010)

(Eun-ee did make-up and goes to the piano room with his breakfast.
Hoon nods her come to his side. There is a check on the piano.)

Hoon: 집어 넣으세요. Take it with you. – REQ

(Eun-ee blinked and rolled her eyes, then comes out with the check.
She sits on stair and looks at the check.)

After that night, housemaid calls herself as a second (mistress) in a blameless attitude. She keeps talking about her requirements, even though after Dong-sik expresses (expressed) his agony and pain. Only after Dong-sik shouted out, she changed her attitude. We can tell this is the first impression management of housemaid. It means this is the first event which makes her scared (or bothers her). She makes her as a pity woman in order to make Dong-sik can't ignore her and that night.

In the remake, the reaction is too cliché. Rich man gave his money, and poor woman felt deeply disappointed. Before Hoon's money, Eun-ee thought herself differently like the housemaid in 1960. She did make-up heavily and go in to the Hoon's piano room proudly. Then, Hoon's money made her feel a role distance. Through the money, she realized that she is still nobody for him. And we can see Hoon barely use expression function. Everything is requirement and order.

(14) Lost Child (1960)

(Wife goes to the back of housemaid who is playing the piano without melodies.)

Wife: 애 아버지한테 들었어. 네가 태중에 있다는 걸. I heard from my husband that you're pregnant. -EXP

housemaid: 나가라면 나가겠어요. 전에 있던 숙소에 가서 여공들한테 선생님의 애를 가졌다면 멕여는 줄거예요. 억울하다고 생각해서요. If you tell me to leave, I guess I will have no other choice. I'll go back to the place I stayed before and tell the factory girls that I am having the teacher's baby, and they will take care of me. They will agree that it's unfair. -EXP, hidden meaning is REQ

Wife: 내 말 좀 들어. 여자끼리는 서로 통할 수도 있구, 서로 힘이 될 수도 있지 않아? Listen to me. Between women, can't we put everything out there? -REQ

물론 떳떳한 남편이 있다면야 애도 쓰고 먹을 것을 먹고 애 낳는 것도 도울 수 있지만 넌 아무 도움도 못 받을테니 난 네가 불쌍하기 짝이 없어. (She is holding housemaid's hands) Of course, if you have an honorable husband, I can help you, feed you and be there when you have your baby but because you don't have one, I feel sorry for you. -EXP

이렇게 됐으니 내가 힘이 돼 주마. Because it ended up like this, I have another idea. -REQ

난 너를 귀여운 동생처럼 생각해왔어. I have always thought of you as my cute younger sister. -EXP

housemaid: 전 아주머니 하란대로 하겠어요. 전 아주머니 괴롭히고 싶진 않아요. (housemaid cries) I will do as you say. I don't want to bother you. -EXP

Wife: 그럼 이렇게 해줘 Then, do this for me. (She whispered to housemaid, then housemaid sobs over the piano) -REQ

(Wife went back to the first floor)

Dong-sik: 어떻게 됐어? How did it turn out? -REQ

Wife: 며칠 안으로 대책을 세우기로 했어요. In a few days we planned the necessary steps. -EXP

Dong-sik: 고맙소 Thanks. -EXP

Wife: 공든 탑을 쉽게 무너뜨릴 수야 없잖아요. The life that we built together (The tower that cost us strenuous effort to erect/ Hard work is never wasted) cannot easily be destroyed, you know. -EXP (housemaid 의 비명소리. 계단 아래로 housemaid 가 쓰러져 있다.)

(15) Lost Child (2010)

Hoon: 허. Huh. -S.E

Eun-ee: 옴쓰~ Oops~ -S.E

Hoon: 아줌마 거기서 뭐 하는 거예요? Excuse me, what are you doing? -REQ

Eun-ee: 몸이 좀 으슬으슬해서요. Well, I was a bit chilly. -EXP

들어와서 같이 하실래요? Would you like to join? -REQ

Hoon: 허허허허 Hohohoho (어이 없다, feels absurd) -S.E

Eun-ee: 싫음 관두고. If you don't want to, no pressure. -EXP

쌍둥이들 나왔어요? Were the twins born? -REQ

Hoon: 아줌마 왜 이래요? Why are you being like this? -REQ

Eun-ee: 저 임신했어요. (Hoon is astonished) 근데 이 집
사모님들한테 들켰어요 다. 뒤지게 맞았어요 뺨따구.

1 억주시겠대요 애 띠면. I got pregnant, but the house Mesdames
found out and they slapped me. They told me that if I get the
miscarriage surgery, they will give me 1 million dollars. - EXP

근데 나 낳을거예요 이 얘기 But no matter what, I will have this
baby. - S.R + REQ

Byoung-sik : 자네 거기서 뭐하는 짓이야? 당장 기어나오지 못해?
What do you think you're doing? Get out right now! - REQ

(Eun-ee vomits blood)

Eun-ee : 당신네 요만큼도 날 인간 취급하지 않았다는 거 알아요.

I know that you all are treating me like shit -EXP

하지만 이 얘기 당신 얘기예요!! But this baby is yours!! -REQ

(She discharges blood in bathtub.)

Dong-sik confessed to his wife the truth by taking the risk of the ruin of his impression. After much consideration, she goes to the housemaid's room and starts to persuade her to remove her baby in a soft but strong manner. From this scene, we can see two new roles of female characters. Dong-sik's wife was a very calm and kind person and housemaid was doing everything in order to achieve what she wants. However, at this part, they changed and show us different aspects. We don't know which characters are real. According to Goffman, maybe these are also their genuine personality like a persona. And Dong-sik is still very weak and dependent on the two women⁹.

⁹ This is can be seen from the following conversation: "Dong-sik: How did it turn out? Wife: In a few days we planned the necessary steps. Dong-sik: Thanks."

Also from the 2010 film, we can see a new Eun-ee. In 1960, the housemaid seduced Dong-sik during his wife's absence. In 2010, Eun-ee became little bit awkward when Hae-ra is gone for giving birth her twins. Eun-ee shows a huge role distance from this part. She doesn't care who she is, and who Hoon is. She insists her baby is Hoon's, over taking a bath in Hoon and Hae-ra's bathtub.

5. Conclusion

The two works have the same basic plot that tragedy occurs after a housemaid enters a wealthy family. It can be seen that the important parts of the film's center are the same, and the study compared and analyzed those seven scenes focused on discourse (The first appearance of housemaid, The housemaid's first day of work, The relationship with children, Having a good feeling to hero, The first night of the housemaid and the hero, The After that night and Lost Child). However, the backbone of the movie was similar, the character of the housemaid and the hostess were different. As well as new characters Byoung-sik and the mother of the hostess in the 2010 appeared to create a new story.

There were studies about two films, such as the social characteristics and modernity, genre analysis and general review. However, discourse-centric researches regarding the two works are still lacking. Discourse can be seen as an important device to not only the conversations of the characters, but also including the nonverbal elements. Furthermore, it can explore the meaning of the whole work. Thus, this study made a discourse functional analysis framework based on Erving Goffman's (1956) dramaturgical analysis and Lee Byoung-Gyu (2015) discourse analysis framework to find out the two films through discourse. Based on this, it was intended to analyze the discourse of the same scenes, which is the center of movies in the 1960s and 2010s to identify the differences.

The limitation of this study is that the entire script was not covered. Therefore, in the future, to proceed with research to fill in the gaps while dealing with the entire script of one work through a discourse approach.

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TRANSGRESSION OF LEGAL TEXT IN LATE JOSEON KOREA – FOCUSING ON “HEUMHEUMSINSEO” – ¹

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Abstract: This article aims to shed light on the transgression of legal text in Late Joseon Korea. Legal text of Joseon contains ‘self-confession’ that reveals the cracks of *yechi* 예치 禮治, dominance under the Confucian norm. In this regard, this article reviews the principles of penal administration and legal culture in late Joseon period which functioned as the mechanism to produce dominant discourses to control transgressions. In particular, focusing on *Heumheumsinseo* 흙흙신서 欽欽新書 written by Jeong Yakyong 정약용

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丁若鏞 (1762-1836), which contains most diverse types of legal texts, this article takes the transgression of genre of legal texts into consideration. Through this, how the secular genre of legal text obtains the cultural reality and reveals the suppressed social discourse would be explained.

Keywords: legal text; Jeong Yakyong; *Heumheumsinseo*; *Simnirok*; *Chugwanji*; transgression; Late Joseon.

조선후기 법텍스트의 ‘경계 넘기’- <흙흙신서>를 중심으로-

초록: 조선시대의 법텍스트는 예치 禮治의 균열 지점을 드러내는 ‘자기 고백’을 담고있다. 본고에서는 조선후기 행정 刑政 운영의 원리 및 법문화가 사회 질서를 유지하는 지배규범의 기제로서 작동하는 양상을 검토한다. 또한 조선후기 행정서이자 관례집인 *흙흙신서* 欽欽新書를 중심으로 조선시대의 법텍스트의 장르적 ‘경계 넘기’를 고찰한다. 이를 통해 세속적 장르의 법텍스트가 억압된 담론을 드러내는 문화적 현실성을 획득하는 양상과 의미를 확인해본다.

주제어: 법텍스트; 정약용; *흙흙신서*; *심리록*; *추관자*; 경계 넘기; 조선후기.

TRANSGRESJA TEKSTU PRAWNEGO W PÓŹNYM JOSEON –
NA PRZYKŁADZIE „HEUMHEUMSINSEO”

Abstrakt: Artykuł ma na celu zwrócenie uwagi na zjawisko transgresji w tekstach prawnych okresu późnego Joseon. Ówczesny tekst prawny zawiera ‘wyznanie winy’, które ujawnia naruszenie dominującej normy konfucjańskiej *yechi*. W artykule dokonano przeglądu zasad wymiaru sprawiedliwości i kultury prawnej późnego okresu Joseon, które funkcjonowały w ramach kontroli transgresji jako mechanizmy tworzenia dominujących dyskursów. Analiza treści *Heumheumsinseo* 흙흙신서 欽欽新書 autorstwa Jeong Yakyonga 정약용 丁若鏞, uwzględniająca zagadnienie najbardziej zróżnicowanych rodzajów tekstów prawnych wyjaśnia także sposób, w jaki świecki gatunek tekstu prawnego wtapia się w rzeczywistość kulturową i ujawnia stłumiony dyskurs społeczny.

Słowa kluczowe: tekst prawny; Jeong Yakyong; *Heumheumsinseo*; *Simnirok*; *Chugwanji*; transgresja; późne Joseon.

1. Legal text: the mirror and prism of society

Legal text contains “the self-confession of society” which consist of “the most anti-social realities in public region obliged to recognize” (Kang Hyejong 강혜중 2009: 125). It clearly shows the gap, disjunction, and conflict between dominant norms or regulations. In addition, it reveals the strategies of the ruling class in bringing perceived reality over to its side. This is why the argument regarding transgression focuses on legal text. Transgression means what has been widely believed as a violation of authoritative prohibition or defiance against it. The transgression reflects the ‘refraction’ of social values and virtues in various legal texts and also the cultural transgression of legal texts functions as a ‘prism’ of pre-modern Korea.

The representative volumes on the legal texts of the late Joseon include *Chugwanji* 추관지 秋官志, *Simnirok* 심리록 審理錄, and *Heumheumsinseo* 흙흙신서 欽欽新書, which were published within the 18-19th century. Through these volumes, we are able to inspect official documents regarding the penal administration, legal principles, legal reasoning, applications, and cultural diversity. Both the juridical and cultural transgression appearing in the legal texts can be explored by reviewing these three books.

In particular, with concentration on *Heumheumsinseo* which contains most diverse types of legal texts and the explanation of legal writing, the transgression of genre of legal text also can be taken into consideration. *Heumheumsinseo* written by Jeong Yakyong 정약용 丁若鏞 (1762-1836) has been highly evaluated as a contribution to his scholarly work of, so-called, *sirak* 실학 實學.

Intriguingly, *Heumheumsinseo* consists of precedents adapted from various literary texts including poem, *jeon* 전 傳 (‘prose on the life of person’), *yadam* 야담 野談 (‘quasi-fictional tale’) or *yasa* 야사 野史 (‘unofficial historical story’), novel, and personal notes in

addition to official documents of relevant criminal cases.² This textual hybridity or heterogeneity represents the secularity of cultural transgression, of which associated cultural validity stems from both the literary texts, which have been categorized as being inferior due to their informal nature, as well as lowbrow texts and notes based on personal experiences from the author who were dismissed from his administrative post. Such legal texts provide us with the opportunity to observe what was perhaps silenced or suppressed in the social system, showing a type of transgression that challenges the authority and orthodox methods of the traditional convention.

2. Legal system and culture in late Joseon

As it is generally known, during the Joseon dynasty, the *Great Ming Code* *대명률* *大明律* was applied to criminal cases in principle. However, as Choi Chongko *최종고* has pointed out, “Korean people were regulated by these Confucian legal norms of Chinese origin and there were often conflicts between these Chinese rules and Korean indigenous customs” (Choi Chongko *최종고* 2006: 220-252). Therefore, specific domestic crimes were mainly regulated by penal law in the following texts: *Gyeonggukdaejeon* *경국대전* *經國大典*, *Sokdaejeon* *속대전* *續大典* and *Daejeontongpyeon* *대전통편* *大典通編*, among others.

In the late Joseon period, an intensification and diversification of crimes had increased. However local officials failed to keep up with such social changes and fell short of implementing the newly systemized penal ministrations. As a result, more penal laws and specialized publications for penal administration were established than ever before. Moreover, the pursuit of efficient rulings of local society

² The uniqueness and importance of its written style was analyzed in earnest for the first time through a close examination of its textual characteristics by Kang Hyejong 강혜중 (2009) in aforementioned thesis. This previous study had explored not only ‘the cross sections’ of realities being mirrored through an array of criminal cases, but also the way their descriptions acted as ‘cracks’ which had been engendered from and within multi-layered discourses under the cover of dominant social norms.

led to publications of numerous administrative handbooks for magistrates.

Nonetheless, systemized books for executing criminals still barely existed. This was primarily due to the negative perceptions on the execution of penal law deeply rooted in Confucianism and a lack of knowledge of laws. Therefore, officials were required to improve their understanding of the penal law and administration. Under such social atmosphere, at the command of King Jeongjo 정조 正祖 in 1781, the Minister of Justice Kim Nojin 김노진 金魯鎭 appointed practitioner Park Ilwon 박일원 朴一源 for the publication of *Chugwanji*. Since its first publication, it was revised several times with the final version being completed in 1791. At the same time, King Jeongjo also proceeded to publish *Simnirok*, which organized and categorized written judgments and other criminal records by year and religion.

The following paragraph written by King Jeongjo appears in *Chugwanji* and suggests the basic concept and intention to promote the publication of legal texts.

“Generally, punishment serves as the means to sub-serve rulings. It motivates people to avoid sin and enforces proper behavior, helping them to avoid being imposed by penalties. I hope the people will not violate this law, but if they do, the level of punishment should be carefully considered depending on whether to punish or forgive them in the pursuit of the elimination of punishment. Isn't it marvellous?”
(*Chugwanji*, vol. 1. *Heumheuljeonchik*. Joseon Sidae Beopryeong Jaryo. Translation by the Author)

The quote above is from “Eojeong Heumheuljeonchik Yuneum 御定欽恤典則綸音” written by King Jeongjo and it is included in *Chugwanji*. In the above passage, punishment is regarded as a supplementary measure or a necessary evil for the existence of an idealized “society without punishment”. As such, the prudent attitude toward imposing punishment was regarded as being generated from in 仁 which is the *Gunja* 君子 (‘Confucian gentleman’)’s virtue of

³ The original text is as follows: “蓋刑者，輔治之具也。使民而遠罪，以有是也，使民而遷善，亦有是也，欲其不干于是也。如其干也，而又底慎於適輕適重之分，惟辟非辟，惟有匪宥，欽哉。期于無刑，豈非祥歟?”(추관지 권 1, 흥훈전적, 조선시대법령자료, http://db.history.go.kr/law/item/level.do?levelId=jlawb_200_0010_0090_0020_0130&position=1 (accessed December 6, 2020).

loving people. The principle of regulation of this world was *ye* 예 禮 ('the rules of propriety') which "[c]overs the entire gamut of ceremonial or polite behavior, secular as well as religious" (Bodde and Morris 1967: 19), underpinning the operation of Joseon.

This standpoint is in contrast with that of legalist *beopga* 법가 法家 Shang yang 商鞅, who said, "*Ye-ak* 禮樂 ('decorum and music') is a sure sign of obscenity and debauchery", while, "Punishment gives birth to strength, strength to tenacity, tenacity to dignity and dignity to virtue. Therefore, virtue is the offspring of punishment and strongly advocates the necessity of punishment." (Jeon Myungyong 전명용 et al. 1990: 390).

It seems that King Jeongjo and government officials adhered to the traditional Confucian stance for law and punishment which could never be unilaterally discarded in reality. However, at the same time, King Jeongjo's active attempts to arrange official records for penal administration by publication indicates his will to unveil transgressions and process them properly.

The following quote from "Weizheng 爲政" in *The Analects of Confucius* is a manifestation of the perspective of law and punishment under Confucian norm.

"The Master said, 'If the people be led by regulation, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishment, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good.'" ⁴
(Weizheng, Chinese Text Project Online)

It has been generally believed and 'outwardly declared' that the rectification of people the above mentioned could be only made by *deok* 덕 德 and *ye* 예 禮. This Confucian virtue was believed to lead to an idealized society ruled by the sage king which is based on the idea of *seongseonseol* 성선설 性善說 ('the theory that human nature is fundamentally good'). From this perspective, Mencius referred to

⁴ The original text is as follows: "子曰：道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥，道之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格。" The English translation of this quote from the Chinese Text Project Online Open Access Digital Library (<https://ctext.org/confucianism?searchu=%E9%81%93%E4%B9%8B%E4%BB%A5%E6%94%BF>; accessed December 6, 2020) has been partially modified by the Author as needed.

suojisim 수오지심 羞惡之心 (‘a sense of shame’), as one of the four innate virtues given to man by the universe.

This system of self-sanction as ashamedness has been mentioned to be better than a system of penalty. Yun Gi 윤기 尹愷 (1741-1826), an elite who lived in the late Joseon period, wrote an essay entitled “To make one feel shame is even more severe than to punish one (恥之甚於刑之)” in his collection of literary works *Mumeongjajip* 무명자집 無名子集. In this context, shame, as Murphy pointed out, shows the “subtle but important” difference from “guilt”. He argues that causing one to feel “shame” is a more powerful tool than “guilt” by “disobedience to authority,” as shame triggers a “narcissistic wound” (Murphy 2012: 94-113). This thought supports the theory that the primary practical notion to judge and regulate transgression in the Confucian system was centered on the internalization of ashamedness to prevent ‘disenchantment’ from the fear of ashamedness.

In this mechanism, if one violated social norms and regulations, he or she was not only made to feel shame alone but also on their family, brought on by the inner cultivation of Confucian virtues. This is one of the more adequate grounds for explaining the concept of punishment as a complementary measure to preventing transgression in the traditional legal system. However, through this mechanism, transgression could not be eliminated and was made ironically for the better.

“I think *siyeok* 弑逆 (regicide and parricide) should be subject to capital punishment without consideration of the circumstances. No history book is known to contain such cases and only in *Yucheongjip* 留靑集 are there cases of murder involving mother, elder brother, husband and master etc.” (Pak, Seokmu 박석무 and Jeong Haeryum 정혜림 1999: 45-46; translation by the Author)⁵

The above excerpt from “Kyeonsayoui 경사요의 經史要義 (Essential Meanings of the Classics and Histories)”, the first chapter of *Heumheumsinseo* hints at the importance of the silent response to social humiliation. The main reason why Jeong tried to collect more specific cases is because it was considered a taboo to even speak of serious offences in public places for debate. Consequently, some of

⁵ This quotation had been analyzed by Kang Hyejong 강혜중 (2009: 50-51).

the significant transgressions regarded as taboo were rarely found in written records, which hindered jurisprudential scrutiny.

Therefore, the true nature of the transgressions that violated the Confucian norm was difficult to grasp. Such example could be traced along in the following specific case mentioned in an unofficial historical story included in *Heumheumsinseo*. In the story a so-called *hansa* 한사 寒士, which means a ‘male scholar *sunbi* 선비 in poverty’, is forced into performing fellatio and ends up killing his offender by afflicting a dental wound in his penis. There is a subsequent debate on whether the *hansa*, the victim of the sexual harassment, should be charged with manslaughter. While asking for sympathy on behalf of the victim, citing extenuating circumstances, the administrator in charge of the case asks his superior and governor, “Wouldn’t you also attempt to hurt your sexual offender orally if you were the one being sexually assaulted?” He is quickly condemned by his superior for making “an obscene” comment (Pak, Seokmu 박석무 and Jeong Haeryum 정해림 1999: 83-84)⁶.

This shows how the case about a man who was sexually harassed, is subsequently processed and how accumulated Confucian values controls the mechanisms of social abhorrence and regulates transgression via ‘the experience of collective disgrace.’ Therefore, disgrace becomes a measuring stick for judgment of transgression and the most potent form of social censoring system, while paradoxically assuming the role of an obstacle for the rational solution to the problem of transgression, which also leads to the underexposure of specific legal cases to officials.

3. Legal text as a transgressive media

Legal documents such as criminal records, interrogation reports, and judgments were penned by from petty official to the king in charge of each part to process criminal cases. All the three books of *Chugwanji*, *Simnirok* and *Heumheumsinseo* contain such legal documents selected according to their respective object.

⁶ This case is dealt with in detail in Kang Hyejong’s thesis (Kang Hyejong 강혜중 2009: 52-53).

The structure of *Chugwanji* is largely based on the roles and types of criminals, while *Simnirok* includes all the cases classified by year and region. For example, in the case of “Sangbokpu 상복부 詳覆部” a chapter of *Chugwanji*, it is made up of five sections classified by the nature of the crimes: “Gyebok 계복 啓覆 (Re-trying a Condemned Criminal)”, “Yunsang 윤상 倫常 (Three Bonds and Five Relationships in Confucianism)”, “Boksu 복수 復讐 (Revenge)”, “Ganeum 간음 姦淫 (Adultery)”, and “Simni 심리 審理 (Trial)”. While each section of *Simnirok* contains a list of cases, named after a criminal, sorted by the year of their occurrence followed by the respective region. In other words, the contents of *Simnirok* are not reconstituted based on the theme or the objective and the editor’s intention is not apparent in the textual structure. These two books only consist of official documents about criminal cases.

On the other hand, *Heumheumsinseo* consists of five chapters including literary texts: “Kyeongsayoui 경사요의 經史要義 (Essential Meanings of the Classics and Histories)”, “Bisanguncho 비상준초 批詳窩抄 (Critique on Exemplary Criminal Records)”, “Sanghyeongchuui 상형추의 祥刑追議 (Detailed Analyses of Criminal Cases)”, “Uiyulcharye 의율차례 擬律差例 (Differential Classification of Legal Application)”, and “Jeonbalmusa 전발무사 剪跋蕪辭 (Humble Discourses over the Cases under the Lights at Night)”. Each chapter is systematically organized with the whole book itself identifying the general objective of the penal administration. It also includes a wide range of precedents including those from China and Korea as well as private experiences. The source of the cases discussed in *Heumheumsinseo* are at times described in detail while others are not, but it is clear the Jeong Yakyong has included a wide range of cases he found in various literature including unofficial historical stories, law books, Buddhist scriptures, and novels etc.

The process for penning legal records constitutes reproducing a series of probable stories by those involved in the incidents. It is often discovered that rhetoric was actively used, strategically, as a means of persuasion to provoke the readers’ empathy in the criminal records. This pertains to the fact that legal text, which consists of extreme conflicts between characters, is hermeneutic and also contains characteristics that give it literary value. Especially, literary texts adapted in *Heumheumsinseo* manifest this feature clearly.

In its first chapter, “Kyeongsayoui”, unofficial historical stories and quasi-fictional tales were included as precedents for the

awareness of the extended reality, so that it could be acknowledged as having the same value as an official historical incident. In addition, novels by Yu Xiangdou 余象斗, so-called *gongan xiaoshuo* 公案小說, which deal with the story of a government office solving a crime, are included in the second chapter entitled “Bisangjuncho” as model cases for penal administration. This was considered an unprecedented cultural transgression at the time as it led with a literary genre novel, which had never before been acknowledged by the institution due to its overly secular nature into the nobility’s mainstream literature.

Such as quasi-fictional tales and novels were of secular genres that often described the transgression of social taboos in a sensuous manner and, hence, genres that were not easily adopted and openly enjoyed by the nobility. Jeong Yakyong acknowledged the perspectives and utility of the cases reenacted in the texts that reflected such secular values and refused to cling to the convention and authority of the texts, adding new value in accordance with the objective of *Heumheumsinseo*’s publication. This diversity brings out the true nature of such controlled anti-social discussions and highlight peculiar stories from within *Heumheumsinseo* as probable truths.

The literary texts of *Heumheumsinseo* were similar in a way that they all were useful educational material that effectively described to the readers the various cases of transgression and how they were legally processed. The stories that previously existed in different strata begin to take on an equal position as they become the subject of his probable case studies based on his perspective and are transformed into case samples worthy of being consulted for a trial. The classification of the stratum of different stories in *Heumheumsinseo*, in the traditional sense, has become meaningless. In other words, this book has not only demonstrated the transgression of legal text by crossing the cultural boundaries and but also reflected the awareness of cultural transgression at that times.

In pre-modern East Asia, there have been continuous discussions on *a* 雅 and *sok* 俗 (‘refined’ and ‘vulgar’) as aspects of criticism that operated on the control and management of traditional culture. During this process, *a* 雅 was considered to be right or legitimate, while all that was secular were considered heretical that have lost their legitimacy. Following this tendency, the concept of ‘雅 and 俗’ appears in Liu Xie 劉勰’s *Wenxindiaolong* 文心雕龍 as a critical terminology, exerting significant influence on literary criticism, demonstrating that social regulation of artistic value is

continually occurs in the cultural sector as well. During this process, cultural products that were not considered mainstream were classified as inferior and *migam* 미감 美感 (‘aesthetic feeling’) were controlled and managed within this mechanism. From this point of view, Jeong Yakyong broke down the cultural boundaries through *Heumheumsinseo*.

When a subculture that is created and enjoyed by the people gains a certain power, it gains logic against regulations. Therefore, crossing cultural boundaries can change the perception of people who enjoy culture, and ultimately support the possibility of bringing about change to the value of dominant social ideologies. From this point of view, legal texts in *Heumheumsinseo* shows the breaking down the respective cultural boundaries through text style.

The story like “제사번간 題辭煩簡 (The Complexity and Simplicity of Magistrate’s Judgment)” which pokes fun at magistrate whose foolishness could not be openly discussed in public but yet could be passed on in the form of secular texts. This story is included in the collection of fun short stories titled *Eosusinhwa* 어수신화 禦睡新話, written in Chinese characters in 1812 during King Yongjo’s reign by Jang Hanjong 장한중 張漢宗 (1768-1815), who was an officially appointed court painter. Such story exposes and criticizes the inabilities of authoritative figures who, “[b]eing familiar with just 시부 詩賦 (‘a poem and fu’) in Chinese character or 잡예 雜藝 (trial talents)”, become completely inept when are appointed governor and give their duties to their conniving petty officials, “[b]eing at a complete loss as a result” as Jeong Yakyong mentioned in the preface of *Heumheumsinseo*. The power of subversive genre of legal text reveals the reality of legal system.

4. Conclusion

Until now, we have taken a close look at the transgressions and secular values centered on legal texts from late Joseon era. By examining the perception of law and penal administration of Joseon society, we looked at the way that transgressions are generated and regulated in legal system and discovered how cultural transgressions are triggered through the editing method of the legal texts.

In the Confucian system of Joseon, the transgression has been judged and regulated in the mechanism of internalization of ashamedness to prevent disenchantment from the fear of ashamedness. Therefore, in the legal texts written by authorities or literati, it is often found that they attempted to create a narrative that would patch up the social disjunction and conflict within the discourse and the system of Confucianism. It is because transgressions were regarded as evidence to prove that *deokchi* 덕치 德治 ('the rule of virtue') was not reflected in reality.

This article reviewed the transgression of legal texts which consists of multi-layered range of genres revealing what has been silenced against the dominant norm. *Heumheumsinseo* organically composed of not only incorporating various judicial theories and cases, but also Jeong Yakyong's personal experiences as a government official as well as his memoirs from his days of exile. Although the legal texts in *Heumheumsinseo* were planned to be reference for magistrates in investigating criminal cases, they provided counter-hegemonic discourse that was silenced in official documents.

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**THE REVIEW OF “TRANSLINGUAL WORDS.
AN EAST ASIAN LEXICAL ENCOUNTER
WITH ENGLISH”
BY JIEUN KIAER, 2019. ROUTLEDGE
LONDON AND NEW YORK,
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The book, which I decided to review, is another scientific monograph written by Professor Jieun Kiaer from University of Oxford, UK. This book is quite compact and with an interesting approach to the subject of the lexicon, which treats this issue more in terms of penetration of modern functioning than previously common historical-typological approach. It

is certainly an interesting and future-oriented research aspect for linguistics.

The book consists of three (3) parts, each of which focuses on another aspect of the issues in the analyzed language vocabulary (primarily English – which is indicated in the title; East Asian languages such as Korean, Chinese and Japanese).

The first part is devoted to outlining the very concept of the notion of *translingual words* introduced by the Author. The Author emphasizes in the introduction (part I) that she is aware of the widespread contemporary linguistic changes that also affect the lexis of a given language, at the same time defining the introduced concept as: “Translingual words are words that live across the borders of languages. These words constantly travel and re-settle in different languages. As a part of their adaptation processes, they gain local forms and meanings.” (Kiaer 2019: 1). At the same time, Kiaer indicates a research goal, describing it as the need to change from a monolingual model to a multilingual model, which would allow the accumulation and accumulation of translingual terms in a global lexicon. For this purpose, the use of modern Internet tools (online databases, social media or online varieties of English) is the right approach, allowing the findings to be placed in a broad context.

As already mentioned, the first part is devoted to the issue of the lexicon crossing linguistic borders. This label covers not only the terms of loanwords from Asian languages in English, but also an occurring linguistic correlations (especially lexical) between these languages. It also raises the question of linguistic assimilation deadlines originally borrowed and now no longer treated as foreign because of their dissemination on the Internet. The correlation between languages and their online availability influences not only the increase in the share of loanwords in languages but also their accustoming and the accelerated process of assimilation. Hybrid terms are also no longer a complete novelty, and their presence is becoming more frequent and less and less aware. They are no longer treated as linguistic anomalies that arose by chance – they are words and phrases as important as others. The author even describes it as a *linguistic currency*: “Hybrid words are not subsidiary or temporary words but are a crucial linguistic currency for those who are constantly exposed to multiple languages.” (Kiaer 2019: 22). A separate section is devoted to culturally immersed words, which are distributed among the groups and interests. This affects the individual popularized phrases originally embedded in a particular culture (eg. Kiaer

gives Korean *hallyu*, *aegyo* and Japanese *kawaii* or *Tamagotchi*). This is the introduction to section 4, which discusses *translingual words* based on the lexicon and then transfers it to the global lexicon, examining in the context of form, meaning and origin. Kiaer derives this concept from the idea of *translanguaging* by García and Wei (2014) and later findings of Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015), pointing out that: “a language provides a communicative environment with a set of phonological and morpho-syntactic rules together with specific social conventions.” (Kiaer 2019: 42). This part is particularly interesting because of the global approach, pointing at the same time to the process of deriving meaning from the local language to the global language level.

Part II of the book focuses on the history of the emergence of Asian terms in English. The Author places Japanese, Chinese and East Asian terms in general against the background of historical, political, trade and cultural contacts. Kiaer pays special attention to terms of Chinese origin, at the same time emphasizing their transformation process in a linguistic assimilation into Korean or Japanese, and at the same time perceiving them in English as being of Chinese origin. By analyzing words and phrases related to culinary, philosophy or regions, Kiaer also tries to outline the direction of the individual words geopolitical transfer to finally reach the stage of lexical linguistic variations due to electronic and printed media use, and the degree of word integration into English. This part is accompanied by a three case analysis of Asian terms in press texts written in English, making the author’s argument credible. The problematic issue of the East Asian terms romanization in English is also noteworthy.

Part three (III) – the last one – is also devoted to terms of foreign origin, but in the opposite direction than in the first two parts of the book – it discusses the issue of English terms in aforementioned East Asian languages. The historical background of introducing English terms into Japanese, Chinese and Korean is analyzed as the most common methods of English lexicon transfer by translation or transliteration. In addition to history in brief, some present conditions are also indicated, especially these related to technological development and progress, as well as motivation to incorporate terms related to the users attitude.

The depiction of the formal language approach of the various institutions in China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan to the terms of English origin is particularly interesting. This subsection is an introduction and a logical bracket with the next subsection (9), dealing with the problem of creating English words through the prism of the leading Asian language.

Kiaer refers to the creating lexis functioning rules by compounding, shortening, clipping, derivation and blending of local and English words, devoting some attention to morphemes related to internet vocabulary (*web-*; *-net*), also discussing the linguistic phenomenon of Chinese-born English words (*WeChat*; *Weibo*) and word-formation shifts of English terms with a semantic shift in Korean.

The last chapter focuses on the semantics of selected categories of words related to fashion and cosmetics, society and culture, food and foreign brands, emphasizing not only frequent semantic shifts but also word-formation tendencies, especially in the field of technology (prefix *e-*, *eco-*, words *smart* or *cyber*) .

The book is written substantively and discusses quite complicated word-formation issues in relation to English and Korean, Chinese or Japanese languages in a pleasantly accessible way. Mostly modern vocabulary was used as a research material reflecting the researcher's approach to demonstrating the linguistic transgression of borders. From the structural point of view, the book is also well-written and the individual chapters and parts connect very well, binding the introduced issues. I believe this is a monograph that every Koreanist, and in a broader context also an orientalist researcher working on the relationship between East Asian languages and English, should take a closer look at.

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