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<i>Table of Contents</i>	3
<i>Foreword in English</i>	7
<i>Foreword in Korean</i>	9
LITERATURE	
Mansu KIM <i>Aspects of Korean Literature according to the Stage of Economic Growth: Focused on the Views of America</i>	11
Kang Sok CHO <i>The Recognition and Representation of Poland in Modern Korean Literature – Focusing on 2 Novels Written in Colonial Period</i>	25
CULTURE	
Magdalena ALTYN <i>Dispute between Chinese and Korean Researchers Concerning Territorial Affiliation of the Koguryo Kingdom in the Light of Archeological Excavation</i>	35
Hye Seung LEE <i>Tradition of Korean Landscape. Its Historic Perspective and Indigenization</i>	49
Kyong-geun OH <i>Korean Shamanism – the Religion of Women</i>	71
William STRNAD <i>On Shadow and Form: Korean Nationalism's Digraphic Conflict</i>	87
LINGUISTICS	
Anna BOROWIAK <i>On some Properties of Acronyms Used in Korean</i>	123
Choonkyu LEE <i>Dialects at the Border Between Korea and China</i>	157
List of reviewers	179

<i>Spis treści</i>	3
<i>Wstęp w języku angielskim</i>	7
<i>Wstęp w języku koreańskim</i>	9
LITERATURA	
Mansu KIM <i>Wybrane aspekty literatury koreańskiej w świetle etapów wzrostu gospodarczego: na przykładzie Ameryki</i>	11
Kang Sok CHO <i>Wizerunek i sposób przedstawienia Polski we współczesnej literaturze koreańskiej – na przykładzie 2 powieści z okresu kolonialnego</i>	25
KULTURA	
Magdalena AŁTYN <i>Spór pomiędzy badaczami chińskimi i koreańskimi dotyczący przynależności terytorialnej Królestwa Koguryo w świetle wykopalisk archeologicznych</i>	35
Hye Seung LEE <i>Tradycja koreańskiego malarstwa pejzażowego. Perspektywa historyczna i narodowościowa</i>	49
Kyong-geun OH <i>Koreański szamanizm – religia kobiet</i>	71
William STRNAD <i>W cieniu i formie: konflikt dwuznaków w koreańskim nacjonalizmie</i>	87
LINGWISTYKA	
Anna BOROWIAK <i>O niektórych własnościach akronimów używanych w języku koreańskim</i>	123
Choonkyu LEE <i>Dialekty na granicy koreańsko-chińskiej</i>	157
Lista recenzentów	179

목차 3

영문 서문 7

한글 서문 9

문학

Mansu KIM 경제발전 단계에 따른 한국문학의 양상들: 11
미국에 대한 관점을 중심으로

Kang Sok CHO 근대한국문학 속에 묘사된 폴란드의 25
모습과 인식 - 일제식민지 시기 두 편의 단편소설을
중심으로

문화

Magdalena ALTYN 고고학적 발굴을 통한 고구려 왕국의 35
영토적 소속에 대한 한국과 중국학자들 간의 논쟁

Hye Seung LEE 한국 산수화의 전통. 그의 역사적 관점과 49
현지화/토착화

Kyong-geun OH 한국의 무속 - 여성의 종교 71

William STRNAD 영(影) 및 형(形)에 관하여: 87
한국(조선)민족주의의 이중(二重)문자 갈등

언어학

Anna BOROWIAK 한국어에서 사용되는 두문자어의 123
일부 속성 (屬性) 에 관한 고찰

Choonkyu LEE 북한-중국 국경지역 한국어 방언 실태 157

심시위원들 179

Foreword

This is the second volume of 'International Journal of Korean Humanities and Social Sciences'. It is the only academic journal about Korean in Poland, and its main goal is to develop Korean Studies in Europe. This volume comprises three parts: Part I. Literature, Part II. Culture, and Part III. Linguistics.

Part I opens with a fresh idea of the relation between the development of Korean modern literature and the economic growth, by Mansu Kim, with the main focus on the views of America. In conclusion, the author states that as Korean economy continued to grow, the representation of America and American society started to take on negative and critical undertones. Kang-sok Cho analyses the depiction of Eastern Europe, especially focusing on Poland in Korean modern literature by exploring Kim Kwang-gyun's poems and Lee Hyo-suk's novel *Yeosu* and Lee Moo-yong's *The Century's Daughter*. He points out that the history and political situation of Poland and those of Korea under Japanese colonial rule are similar, and at the times when Korea had been under the long dictatorial rule by martial government, the writers tried to find a new way to ensure democratical progress of Korean society, contemplating on the merits and demerits of a drastic change of Eastern Europe in that period.

The first paper in Part II, by Magdalena Allyn, is devoted to the dispute between Chinese and Korean researchers concerning territorial affiliation of the Koguryo kingdom in the light of archeological excavation. She describes the core subject of the lineage of Koguryo ruins and relics, and examines how the researchers are using the archeological excavations to show the connection in both Koguryo-China and Koguryo-Korea history. Hye-seung Lee provides understanding of Korean landscape painting with some historic consideration. She presents the outline of the features of Korean landscape pictures and suggests the distinctive features between Chinese landscape pictures and Korean ones. Kyong-geun Oh analyzes the main reasons why Korean shamanism is monopolized by women. In conclusion, he states that Confucian-patriarchy in Joseon dynasty was the main reason for that state of affairs pointing out that according to Confucian ideology there must be sexual segregation even in ritual performances for the gods, and men completely excluded women from Confucian

ceremonies, so women needed to find a religion for themselves in shamanism. William Strnad explores the many points of intersection between Korean nationalism and the use and perceptual meanings of Chinese characters. He presents a close view about the fluctuations of the intersections between Korean nationalism and Chinese characters.

Anna Borowiak opens Part III with her paper entitled “Some properties of acronyms used in Korean”. Giving their number and variety she attempts to classify them according to their origin, fields of usage, meaning, lexical familiarity, method of acronymization, graphic form, and founding constituents. Choongyu Lee’s contribution closes the volume. He provides a comparative dialectological study of the dialects of North-Korea and those of the ethnically Korean Chinese near the Korea-China border. His paper offers some valuable datum and trustworthy explanation about dialects and the important linguistic features in that regions.

Academic research into Koreanology is still in the beginning stages, and we have to work hard to develop it. Fortunately, our research staff is complemented by some of the graduates of the Department of Korean Studies at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan who came back with their doctor’s degrees from Korea. At the same time the close cooperation with Korean scholars from Korea is very important for us. Therefore we are very proud that we could make an agreement with the Centre for Korean Studies, Inha University, to co-host our international conference on Korean studies in Poland and in Korea. We hope for more engagement, participation and support from all our colleagues. We heartily thank all of them who have helped us organize the conference and publish this volume.

01 April 2016
Oh Kyong-geun

서문

이번에 폴란드 유일의 한국학 학술지인 ‘International Journal of Korean Humanities and Social Sciences’의 제 2 집을 발간한다. 우리 학술지의 주 목적은 폴란드에서 한국학의 발전을 도모함이다. 실린 논문들은 제 1 부 문학, 제 2 부 문화, 그리고 제 3 부 언어학으로 분류하였다.

제 1 부는 미국관에 주목하여 경제발전 단계에 따른 한국 현대문학의 양상을 분석한 김만수의 논문으로 시작된다. 그는 한국의 경제가 발전함에 따라 한국의 현대문학에서 미국과 미국사회에 대한 부정적이고 비판적인 묘사가 증대되고 있음을 보여주었다. 조강석은 한국현대문학 속에서 묘사되는 동유럽, 특히 폴란드의 모습을 분석하였다. 그는 일제강점기 한국의 문학작품들에서는 폴란드의 역사와 정치적 상황이 한국의 상황과 서로 겹쳐져 묘사되었고, 오랜 군사독재 하에 있던 1980 년대 말의 작가들은 그 당시 동유럽에서 진행되고 있던 급격한 사회변화들의 장-단점을 주시하면서 한국사회의 민주화 발전 방향을 모색했다고 결론짓는다.

제 2 부에서 Magdalena Allyn(막달레나 아우틴)은 고구려의 고고학적 유물들을 놓고 한국과 중국 학자들 간에 펼쳐지는 논쟁을 분석했다. 그는 고구려 유물들의 계통적 특징을 논한 후, 한국과 중국의 학자들이 그것들을 어떻게 중국-고구려 그리고 한국-고구려 간의 역사적 연관성 증명에 이용하고 있는지를 분석하였다. 이혜승은 한국의 산수화를 역사적으로 규명하였고, 특히 한국 산수화의 일반적 특징들을 제시하여 한국과 중국 산수화 간의 차이를 잘 보여주었다. 오경근은 한국의 무속이 세계적으로도 예외적으로 여성들에 의해 독점되게 된 주원인들을 분석하였다. 특히 조선시대의 가부장제에 주목하여 유교사상에 의한 남녀간의 구별이 제례의식에까지 연장되어 남성위주의 유교제례에서 여성들이 전적으로 배제됨으로써 결국 무속에서 자신들의 종교를 찾게 되었음을 밝혔다. William Strnad 는 한자의 사용과 한국의 민족주의가 대면하여 빚어내는 상관관계를 시대변동에 따라 분석하였다. 그는 한자사용에 대한 한국인들의 입장의 변이는 매우 복합적인 현상으로서 한국인들의 정체성 형성을 위한 노력을 잘 보여주는 것이라 했다.

제 3 부에서 Anna Borowiak(안나 보로비악)은 한국어에서 사용되는 두문자어들의 특질을 분석하였다. 그는 한국어에서 사용되고 있는 두문자어들의 수와 그 다양성을 논한 후, 그들의

출처, 사용되는 분야, 의미, 어휘적 유사관계, 생성방법, 문자소 형태, 기본 구성요소 등에 따른 체계적인 분류를 시도하였다. 이준규의 북한-중국 국경지대의 북한과 중국 조선족들의 방언에 대한 연구가 이번 학회지 마지막을 장식한다. 그는 그 지역의 방언들에 대한 귀중한 정보를 제공하고 있으며, 또한 그들의 주요 언어학적 특성들을 설득력 있게 규명하였다.

폴란드에서 한국에 대한 학술적 연구는 아직도 초보적 단계에 머물러있기 때문에, 이제부터는 본격적인 연구가 이루어져야 한다. 다행히 수 년 전부터 아담 미츠키에비츠 대학교 한국학과와 졸업생들이 한국에서 학위를 마치고 돌아와 연구진이 제대로 갖추어지기 시작했다. 그러나 폴란드 현지에서의 한국학 발전을 위해선 한국의 대학 그리고 학자들과의 긴밀한 협력 또한 반드시 필요하고 중요하다. 따라서 앞으로 인하대의 한국학연구소와 한국학 국제학술대회를 공동개최하기로 한 이번의 협약은 매우 다행스럽고 기쁜 일이다. 앞으로도 계속하여 보다 많은 분들의 관심과 참여 그리고 성원을 바란다. 학회개최 그리고 학술지 발간에 도움을 주신 모든 분들께 진심으로 감사를 드린다.

01. 04. 2016

오경근

ASPECTS OF KOREAN LITERATURE ACCORDING TO THE STAGE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH: FOCUSED ON THE VIEWS OF AMERICA

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Abstract: The main topic of this paper is how the economic growth has changed the aspect of Korean novel in the viewpoints of the theory of W. W. Rostow. But the additional topic is Korean's viewpoint on American which had been reflected in Korean novels. Korea has made a long relationship to the United States since 1882. Korea have kept friendly and cooperative relationship to American. But sometimes the relationship was changed rapidly to the opponent or critical attitudes. It should be the universal phenomenon that the people of weak nations begin to have strong nationalistic feelings with the pace of economic growth and gather to show a strong enmity against the strong nation especially against the United States. According to this universal patterns, Korean admired American at first. But after rising to the stage of 'take-off', they began to turn to the opponent and critical attitudes. Finally at the age of high mass consumption, they will not compare to America any more because they belong to the similar economic situation. The economy of Japan, Korea and China rose up to higher level at the rapid speed. But the strong nationalistic feelings remained incessantly among their nations. The "European Dream" is one of the attitudes in which individuals find security not through individual accumulation of wealth, but through connectivity and respect for other nations. Our neighbouring countries and Korea must learn the attitudes of European Dream and try to establish this system in East Asia.

Keywords: stage of economic growth, Rostow, take-off, nationalism, age of high mass consumption, European dream

경제발전 단계에 따른 한국문학의 양상들: 미국에 대한 관점을 중심으로

개략: 본고는 경제발전 단계에 대한 로스토우의 관점을 통해 경제발전이 어떻게 한국소설의 변화와 연결되는지 고찰하고자 한다. 본고는 논의의 집중을 위하여 미국에 대한 한국인의 태도 변화를 중심으로 다루었다. 한국은 1982년 한미수교 이후 130여년간 미국과 직접, 간접적인 관계를 맺어왔다. 이러한 긴 역사 속에서 한국은 미국에 대해 대부분 우호적, 협조적인 자세를 보이지만, 어떤 역사적 상황에서는 대립적, 비판적 태도를 보이기도 했다. 특히 민족주의적 감정이 고조되는 시점에서는 미국에 대해 비판적인 관점을 유지하는데, 이러한 태도는 사실 한국에만 국한된 것이 아니라 경제발전 단계에서 겪는 보편적인 경험이라고 볼 수도 있다. 초기의 한국은 미국에 대해 선망의 시선을 보이지만, 민족주의가 고조되는 ‘도약’의 단계에서는 미국에 대해 경쟁적, 비판적 관점을 보이기도 하며, 대량소비사회로 진입하는 1990년 이후에는 미국에 대한 특정한 시각보다는 자본주의 일반에 대한 비판으로 변화되는 양상을 확인할 수 있다. 일본, 한국, 중국은 이웃나라이면서 급속하게 민족주의 단계에서 대량소비사회로 넘어가는 길목에 놓여 있는 나라들이다. 본고에서는 이들이 편협한 민족주의 감정에서 벗어나는 길이 평화와 공존을 제시하고자 하는 유러피언 드림을 아시아에서 실천하는 길이라는 관점을 제시했다.

키워드: 경제발전 단계, 로스토우, 도약, 민족주의, 대량소비사회, 유러피언 드림

WYBRANE ASPEKTY LITERATURY KOREAŃSKIEJ W ŚWIETLE ETAPÓW WZROSTU GOSPODARCZEGO: NA PRZYKŁADZIE AMERYKI

Abstrakt: Artykuł ma na celu przeanalizowanie wpływu wzrostu gospodarczego na ewolucję powieści koreańskiej w świetle teorii W. W. Rostowa. Koncentruje się na wizerunku Ameryki ukazanej oczami Koreańczyków. Początki stosunków Korei Południowej z USA datowane są na 1882 rok. W większości przypadków stosunki te były przyjacielskie, jednakże odnotowywano także podejścia krytyczne i mniej przychylnie. Jest to typowe dla poszczególnych stadiów rozwoju gospodarczego. Obywatele państw słabszych gospodarczo często przejawiają silne postawy nacjonalistyczne w stosunku do krajów silniejszych, takich jak USA. Podobnie było z Koreą. Początkowo Koreańczycy podziwiali USA, ale z czasem zaczęli widzieć wady amerykańskiego

modelu, co przełożyło się na coraz mniejsze i rzadsze porównywanie się do społeczeństwa amerykańskiego w obecnych czasach masowej komunikacji i społeczeństwa konsumpcyjnego. Jest to spowodowane upodobnieniem się sytuacji ekonomicznej w obu krajach. Mimo, że gospodarki Japonii, Korei i Chin szybko się rozwinęły, postawy krytyczne nie zanikły. Rozwiązaniem jest tzw. europejski sen, czyli postawa, w której jednostki znajdują poczucie bezpieczeństwa nie w gromadzeniu dóbr materialnych, lecz w budowaniu poczucia więzi i szacunku dla innych narodów. Autor postuluje, by w Azji nauczać podejścia tzw. europejskiego snu w stosunku do sąsiadujących państw.

Słowa kluczowe: etapy rozwoju ekonomicznego, Rostow, start, nacjonalizm, era zaawansowanej konsumpcji masowej, *europejski sen*

1. Preface

In 1960 W. W. Rostow published <The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-Communist Manifesto>, which proposed the Rostovian take-off model of economic growth, one of the major historical models of economic growth, which argues that economic modernization occurs in five basic stages of varying length: traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and age of high mass consumption. (Rostow 1960; 4-16)

It became one of the most important concepts in the theory of modernization and social evolutionism in Korea. The elite groups who led the economic development in South Korea served him as if he were a kind of Messiah. In addition, they inserted his theory into textbooks for children. He didn't mention the Korean economy directly, but according to his model, the Korean economic stages are thought to be divided as shown in the table below.

traditional society	-1894	Chosun Dynasty, Gabo Reformation, Donghak Peasant Revolution (1894).
preconditions for take-off	1894-1960	Colony under the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), Independent but divided nation (1948-

		present), Korean War (1950-1953)
take-off	1961- 1988	economic development program; 1 st (1961-1965), 2 nd (1966-1970), 3 rd (1971-1975).
drive to ma- turity	1988- 1996	Labor Movement (1986-1987), Seoul Olympic Games (1988)
age of high mass con- sumption	1996-	the members of OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)

There could be some different opinions about this classification of the periods. Some people can argue that Korea never have reached at the age of high mass consumption. It is my own private opinion which is suggested without help of precise economic data and theory. But most people agree that Korea's economy has advanced very rapidly among the developing countries.

It's not strange to emphasize the fact that Korea is not a fixed entity. It has changed continuously according to the change of social circumstances and mutual communication with other countries. Sometimes Koreans has been regarded as more inferior to others because they could not represent themselves (of course, they were too poor and powerless). They had to be represented by others. These insights can be found at the excellent viewpoint of the famous scholar from Palestine. It is Edward Said who said about the racial, religious, cultural and national identities: "Therefore as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other." (Edward W. Said 1979; 5). In his insights, the identity of Korea would be given in and for the Western world.

The main topic of this paper is 'Changing Aspects of Korean Literature according to the Stage of Economic Growth'. But the additional topic is Korean's viewpoint on American which had been reflected in Korean novels. It contains on the issues of how we view each other: Korea and the United States. It would be related to the view of Korean writers themselves.

2. Korean Novels in Rostovian Stages

One hundred and thirty years have passed since Koreans met Americans. During these times, Koreans experienced many tragic accidents but finally overcame them. According to the Rostovian take-off model (also called “Rostow’s Stages of Growth”), Korea has passed through the stage of economic growth similar to other countries. Rostow's model can be applied to the Korean history and Korean's changing viewpoints on American (Mansu Kim 2007: 204-211).

2.1. At the stages of preconditions for take-off

Chosun Dynasty (traditional Korean government) chose the diplomatic policy which meant a totally secluded, isolated, and closed country in the midst of 19th century. But It met some serious accidents and had to be forced to open its' territory. In 1882, the United States became the first nation which made modern treaty to Korean government. After that treaty, Korean government had to made many ‘unequal treaty’ to another strong countries. Russia, Japan, China, the United States and many European countries had fought each other to get the profits from Korea. At that time, China was too weak and United States was too far from Korea. The best policy which could be taken by Korean government is to seek a kind of power balance and to maintain the independent nation. Most Koreans believed that the United States could be the best friend or helper.

If you go straight eastwards from East Sea in Korea, you can reach to the place where the United States located. The country had originally belonged to the United Kingdom a hundred years ago. Washington who did not want accept the European’s domination and suppression has built an independent nation. Afterwards the descendant have kept the former king’s instructions and managed the nation with good manners. They did not cov-

et other nation's lands and peoples. Also they did not want to be engaged in other nation's political matters. (...) The nation was laid between Eastern and Western world. Owing to their strength, they always could help weaker nations and keep the justice which prevent the strong western world from dominating the weaker peoples. (tr. by Jo Il-mun, 2001; 26-27)¹

This text was written by a Chinese officer of Qing dynasty in 1880. His view is not correct (For example, he describe American president as a King). Besides, it contains the interest of Qing dynasty that meant some fatal threats from Japan and Russia. At that time, Qing dynasty wanted America to be a helper or coordinator between Japan and Russia. But his view of America had a strong influence in Korean society. In this text, America has been regarded as a model of strong, rich, honest and democratic nation. He wanted America would help Korea and Qing dynasty without any imperialist's covets.

Korean novels at that period reflect the positive images of America according to his view. <Bloody Tears (혈의누)> (1907) written by Lee In-Jik (이인직) is known to be the first New Novel in Korea. Lee described America as the land of opportunity. <Heartlessness (무정)> (1918), written by Lee Gwang-su (이광수) is similar to this novel. Two works in this period took America as the land of paradise. The term of honey moon between Korea and America was long because there couldn't be any direct relations during the period of Japanese Occupation.

¹ 조선의 동해로부터 곧장 가면 아메리카가 있으니, 곧 합중국이 도읍한 곳이다. 그 나라는 원래 영국에 속해 있었는데, 백 년 전에 워싱턴이란 자가 유럽 사람의 학정을 받기를 원치 않고 발분자립하여 한 나라를 독립시켰다. 이 뒤로부터 선왕의 유훈을 지켜 예의로써 나라를 세우고, 남의 토지를 탐내지 않고, 남의 인민을 탐내지 않고, 곧이 남의 정사를 간여하지 않았다. (...) 그 나라의 강성함은 유럽의 여러 대지와 더불어 동서양 사이에 끼어 있기 때문에 항상 약소한 자를 부조하고 공의를 유지하여, 유럽 사람으로 하여금 그 악을 함부로 행사하지 못하게 하였다. (조일문 역주, 2001; 26-27)

2.2. At the stages of take-off

After those long times, Korea could get the liberation from the Japanese's Colonial suppression in 1945. Korean writers managed to meet American immediately... The image of the United States remained still as the land of paradise. American was considered still as a kind, genuine and justifiable people.

But some Korean writers began to hate the opportunists who had taken advantage of Americans for their own selfish benefits. Of course, they didn't hate Americans themselves. But partial cracks started to be found between the two countries increasingly. The typical works are found in examples like *Mr. Bang* (미스터 방, 1946) and *Captain Lee* (꺼삐딴 리, 1962). The ugliest opportunist was portrayed in the latter, Jeon Gwang-yong's novel, *Captain Lee*. In this short story, the protagonist, Captain Lee, is a doctor who has continuously obeyed the powerful nations. He obeyed the Japanese officers during the Japanese occupation. However, after the liberation, he changed his attitude and began to obey Russian soldiers who occupied the northern parts of the Korean Peninsula. Then after the Korean War, he changed his attitude again and followed the American officers. He is a typical character of someone taking advantage of the moment and circumstances. One critic described his character as a kind of chameleon.

In 1960s, an economic development plan was executed. Before long, in the 1970s, the Korea's economy--as determined by Rostow--was gradually entering the 'take-off' stage. Political leaders in Korea tried diligently to explain his compliment on economic growth achieved in Korea to the public. Regardless of the fact itself, it was the first time that the Korean people believed their ability and potential power to compete with other nation. They felt some energetic desire to challenge and overcome others.

As time passed by, Korean writers gradually began to have strong nationalistic feelings. Especially after the Korean War (1950-1953), they began to have negative images of the G. I. Joes (American soldiers) and the vulgar, American mass culture. Sometimes they

shouted the slogan “Yankee. Go Home” in novels like *Shorty Kim* (소리 킴), *Dung Land* (분지), *A Scream of Yellow Dog* (황구의 비명), and *Shadows of Weapons* (무기의 그늘). Pak Wan-seo (박완서) and Hwang Seok-yeong (황석영) were the representative novelists in this time.

In 1978, Pak Wan-seo contrasted two characters in her novel *The One who met at Airport* (공항에서 만난 사람, 1978); a strong Korean woman and a weak American man.

Do you think I am doing like this for myself? Never. I am doing it for an American guy. Do you, a chap, think all thirty million Korean peoples manage to live with American's support? But sometimes there is the case that American can live with Korean's support. I am a Korean who supports an American poor guy. He is my husband and an American. I heard that she always shouted like this way. (Park Wan-seo 1995; 280).²

In this short story, 'Narrative I' recovered her national pride by supporting her American husband of no ability. Through the Korean modern history, America has been a strong and consistent helper of Korea. But in this story, Korean wife began to be a supporter of American husband. Even though it is a rare and special case, it is a miraculous reversal between the two nations anyway.

At this stage, Koreans managed to recover their national pride and identity. Koreans could have their vision and belief on their historical heritage and potential capacity. It is a kind of strong nationalism. Sometimes it contains the hatred or enmity against powerful countries such as America, Japan and China.

² 내가 나 먹자고 이 짓 하는 줄 아느냐. 미국놈 먹여 살릴려고 이 짓 한다. 네놈들은 우리 삼천만이 다 네놈들 덕 본 걸로 알지만 한국 사람 덕으로 굶어 죽지 않고 사는 미국놈도 있단 말이야. 내가 바로 미국놈 먹여살리는 한국인이고 내 남편은 그 미국놈이다. 이렇게 호령을 하면서 뼈긴다는 거예요 (박완서 1995; 280).

2.3. At the age of high mass consumption

Some novelists began to consider the United States as two-faced; rich in material civilization, but cruel and uncertain in mental civilization. Thus, it happened that America and its people began to have double images in Korean Novels. *Deep and Blue Night* (깊고 푸른 밤, first written in 1982) is the representative work of this time. A Korean visitor's thoughts on America are expressed in the following sentences from the novel.

On highway, everything was rolling at breakneck speed. Sometimes we fall in the mistaken senses that the rolling objects are not a vehicle but a road itself. (.....) The road seems to be a gigantic conveyer belt. The vehicle on that road seems to be the goods which have been assembled quickly. For Jun-ho who drives a car and for him who sees the map and tries to find circumstances, the only way to overcome the horrible mechanism is to keep their pace during the killing-like war. (Choi In-ho 1994; 375)³

The writer of this novel visited the United States to meet his friend. They traveled together and saw the high way in America. They felt that to ride a vehicle on the American high way was similar to be laid out on the conveyer belt system in the factory. They felt themselves as if they were a vehicle or machine. It is very important to know the fact that they already forgot the nationalistic thoughts and feelings of Korean themselves. Instead of them, they begin to be baffled with the feeling of awe in American capitalism.

Finally, two Koreans on this novel begin to enter the stages of high mass consumption. They are no more interested in the kind of

³ 고속도로에서는 모든 것이 맹렬한 속도로 굴러가고 있었다. 차가 굴러가고 있는 것이 아니라 도로 자체가 무서운 속도로 움직이고 있는 착각에 빠져들게 된다. (...) 도로는 거대한 이동벨트이며 그 위를 굴러가는 차들은 빠르게 조립되는 상품들처럼 보인다. 운전을 하는 준호나 실 새 없이 방향을 잡고 주위를 환기시키는 그나 무시무시한 메커니즘에 이기는 길은 살인과도 같은 전쟁에서 쓰러지지 않는 길이였다. (최인호 1994; 375)

nationalism which was a strong energy in their take-off stage. They already became cosmopolitans. They are not Koreans any more. They belong to the horrible mechanism which make human a commodity on the gigantic conveyer belt system. When they entered the age of high mass consumption, they thought themselves not as nationalistic patriots but as the victim of World Capitalism.

The novel <Shadows of Weapons (무기의 그늘)> (1988) written by Hwang Seok-yeong (황석영) focused on Vietnamese War especially in terms of capitalism. It dealt with Vietnamese, Korean and American. They all gathered at the battlefield to get the money. A Korean said to an American about the essence of that war like these.

I'd rather like to say that I am same to the Vietnamese. The conditions of life we've been through over the past century are same to those of all Asians. White people are fighting quarry bloody claws and teeth to bite each other like beasts at every continents. (.....) Ye soldiers were forced to come here at the dirty back alley, at the dark bar, at the cheap super market, at the garage oily in the bottom of the car. Why? Noble young gentlemen would not come here. You guys, ask to your entrepreneurs and your politicians who have served as a salesman of the rich. It is for them that you were dying at the battlefield of Vietnam like dog.

I know them well. (.....) The capitalist are trying not to retreat their realms according to their commercial principle (Hwang Seok-yeong 1988; book 2, 117-118).⁴

The protagonist said that war resulted from the interest of the capitalists. They regarded this battlefield as a beneficial and profitable market. They came here to get much money. But poor Americans came here to get small money. He said to himself "Dollar! It is the

4 (...) 나는 오히려 내가 베트남인과 같다고 말해버린다. 우리가 겪은 삶의 조건은 지난 한 세기 동안 아시아 사람이면 누구나 당해온 조건이다. 백인들은 사냥감을 다루는 짐승들처럼 여러 대륙에서 피 묻은 발톱과 이빨로 서로를 물어뜯었다. (...) 너희 병사들은 허접쓰레기 같은 더러운 빈민가의 뒷골목에서, 어두운 바에서, 할인표를 오려 갖고 달려가던 슈퍼마켓에서, 기름투성이의 차 밑바닥에서 이리로 끌려왔다. 왜냐구? 도련님은 여기에 안 오니까. 너희들 기업가들과 그들의 세일즈맨인 정치하는 자들에게 물어보렴. 너희가 베트남의 수렁에 빠져 개처럼 죽어가는 것은 그들을 위해서야. 그런 것쯤 나두 안다. (...) 자본가들은 그들의 기업 방침에 따라서 이 발판에서 물러나지 않으려고 안간힘을 하고 있지 (황석영 1988; 하권, 117-118).

leader of the colonial imperialism. It is the certificate of being an American.” In his novel, Korean did not hate all American. He hated not poor American but rich capitalists and politicians as their partner. Poor peoples are all friend regardless of their nationality. The only terrible target is the capitalist and their system of capitalism. At least, it was not related with nationalistic feelings.

2.4. Double Functions of Nationalism

The cities of modernism have double images; one is the land of paradise and the other is that of the hell (Alan Bullock 1991; 58-70). We have experienced the both sides of the modern cities. In the similar reasons, nationalism has double influences; one is love for their own country and the other is hatred against other nations.

In the take-off period, nationalism rendered strong energies to their people. The energies can be used for the achievement of incessant economic growth. Rostow has told about nationalism as following: “nationalism - reacting against intrusion from more advanced nations- has been a most important and powerful motive force in the transition from traditional to modern societies, at least as important as the profit motive” (W. W. Rostow 1960; 26). “But the maturity after take-off period is dangerous time as well as which offer new, promising choices. War arises from the existence and acceptance of the concept of national sovereign nations, as they pursued what they conceived to be their interests in the highly competitive, but also highly oligopolistic circumstances in which they have found themselves” (W. W. Rostow 1960; 108).

According to Rostow’s comments, it would be a tragedy that there is no friendship among the competitive and chauvinistic nations even though they achieved lots of economic growth. The aggression such as war, colonialism and nationalistic struggles would be a great obstacle to enter the stage of high mass consumption. In his viewpoints, most communist nations could not enter the stage of high mass consumption because they didn’t respect the democratic value. As far

as they hold on the nationalistic and socialistic value, they could not enter the stage of high mass consumption (this is the meaning of the subtitle of his book, 'a Non-Communist Manifesto').

Fortunately, I think Korea manages to enter the stage of high mass consumption since 21st century. Recently many Korean writers begin to focus on the shadows of World Capitalism. At least they can pursue the new value beyond narrow nationalism. But the government, mass media and common people still insist on holding the narrow nationalism. I think the struggles between the neighboring nations come from such discrepancy.

3. Conclusion: Beyond Nationalism, Toward Asian Dream

Jeremy Rifkin describes the emergence and evolution of the European Union over the past five decades. He argues that the European Union, which he describes as the first truly postmodern governing body, is already an economic superpower and has the potential to become a full world superpower. According to him, the "European Dream" is one in which individuals find security not through individual accumulation of wealth, but through connectivity and respect for human rights. He argues that this model is better-suited to 21st-century challenges than the "American Dream". He explains Europe's opposition to the death penalty in a historical context; after losing so many lives to wars in the early and mid-20th century, Europe is opposed to state-sponsored killing as a matter of principle. He also discusses the European commitment to "deep play" a notion which is absent in the United States (Jeremy Rifkin 2004; 11-36).

In South Korea this book made a huge sensation and enjoyed unexpected popularity, because Roh Moo-hyun, the former (2003~2008) Korean president, read the book, then inspired by the author's idea and briefly planned his version in Asia. I think Korea, China and Japan could be grouped together like European Union. As E.U. have dreamed 'European Dream', three nations in Far East Asia

could dream 'Asian Dream'. The first step to Asian Dream is to abandon their own nationalism because it means a kind of enmity or rivalry to other countries and cultures.

Let's come back to our topic. At first, Korean writers looked on the advanced nations as a helper. But in the take-off stage, they looked on the advanced nations as an enemy or a rival to overcome. Anti-American Literature (반미문학) became the mainstream of Korean literature in 1980's. But it gradually disappeared when Korean economy entered the post take-off stage (drive to maturity, and age of high mass consumption).

Through the history of Korean modern literature, the meaning and function of nationalism have been changed continuously. Nationalism in the take-off stage was a strong energy to build our pride and national identities. But after that stage, it worked as an obstacle to enter more matured society. As Korean economy advanced to the stage of the developed nations, Korean writers began to widen their views from narrow nationalism to cosmopolitan critic. Now Korean writers are interested in the aspects of postmodern society. Sometimes they enjoy the benefit of high mass consumption. Sometimes they criticize the threat of American style capitalism, Neo liberalism. Anyway, they are far from the neurosis of nationalism. Maybe most contemporary Korean writers dream of a cosmopolitan, Asian/East-Asian community. They dream of overcoming the narrow, aggressive and chauvinistic ideology of nationalism. Choi In-hun's *Topic* (화두, 1994) would be a model for the investigation of such global societies.

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THE RECOGNITION AND REPRESENTATION OF POLAND IN MODERN KOREAN LITERATURE – FOCUSING ON 2 NOVELS WRITTEN IN LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

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Abstract: This paper examines the aspects of the recognition and representation of Eastern Europe in modern Korean literature, especially focusing on the case of Poland. The late colonial period(1930~1945) needs to be considered as significant phase when we are trying to grasp the major aspects of representation and recognition of Poland and Eastern Europe in modern Korean literature. In the literary works written by writers of late colonial period, such as Kim Kwang-gyun (김광균), Lee Hyo-sok (이효석), and Lee Tae-joon (이태준), we can observe that there were much similar historical and political situations between Poland and Korea. That's why Korean writers often tried to mention Poland's situation in metaphorical and analogical ways to express their political opinions, avoiding the censorship of Japanese government. This paper deals with those aspects in modern Korean literature.

Key words: Eastern Europe, colonial period, aesthetic universalism, Lee Hyo-sok, Lee Tae-joon

근대한국문학 속에 묘사된 폴란드의 모습과 인식 - 일제식민지 시기 두 편의 단편소설을 중심으로

개략: 이 연구는 1930년대 후반과 1940년대에 씌어진 한국 소설 중에서 동유럽, 특히 폴란드와의 유비관계를 중요하게 다룬 소설의 정치적 무의식을 추적한다. 1930년대 후반과 1940년대 초반의 소설에서 폴란드가 자주 언급되고 심지어 그것이 작품의 핵심 주제와 깊이 관계되는 것은 전혀 우연이 아니다. 일본 제국주의 세력이 본격적으로 태평양 전쟁 준비에 몰두함에 따라 피식민지 조선의 상황은 더욱 급박해졌다. 조선의 말과 글을 사용하는 것조차 공식적으로 금지되는 현실에서 정치적 상황에 대해 직접적으로 발언을 하기 어려운 작가들에게 폴란드는 우회적으로 참조할 수 있는 중요한 타자로서 기능했다.

키워드: 동유럽; 폴란드; 정치적 무의식; 심미적 보편주의; 타자

WIZERUNEK I SPOSÓB PRZEDSTAWIENIA POLSKI WE
WSPÓLCZESNEJ LITERATURZE KOREAŃSKIEJ – NA PRZYKŁADZIE 2
POWIEŚCI Z OKRESU KOLONIALNEGO

Abstrakt: Praca dotyczy wizerunku i sposobu przedstawiania Polski we współczesnej literaturze koreańskiej. Autor analizuje prace następujących koreańskich pisarzy: Kim Kwang-gyun (김광균), Lee Hyo-sok (이효석) oraz Lee Tae-joon (이태준) i wysuwa wnioski, że można zauważyć wiele podobieństw na płaszczyźnie politycznej i historycznej pomiędzy Polską i Koreą. Z tego powodu koreańscy pisarze przedstawiają Polskę i sytuację w tym kraju w sposób metaforyczny. Wykorzystują przykład Polski do wyrażania własnych opinii politycznych i unikania cenzury japońskiego rządu.

Słowa kluczowe: Polska, okres kolonialny, uniwersalizm estetyczny, Lee Hyo-sok, Lee Tae-joon

Preface

In (South) Korea, the most well-known literary work, which is relevant with Poland, might be Kim Kwang-kyun's poem, <Chuilseojung 추일서정- The sentiment of an Autumn day>. Kim, Kwang-kyun is talented at describing poetic objects with keen sense. The quotation below is from the poem originally published in the journal *Inmunpyoungwon*(인문평론) in July, 1940.

The fallen leaf is the bill of the Polish- refugee government
It reminds me that
Autumn sky of Toruń, destroyed by artillery fire.

Even though Kim, Kwang-kyun has never been to Toruń, the city is represented in this poem as an image of the grief of national ruin. Poland had undergone similar political situations to colonized Korea, so the image of Poland resonates with how Korean would feel under the socio-political context of the era. Poland had been frequently referred in Korean literary works during 193-1942. This phenomenon is neither provisional nor coincidental. Rather, it is the way how writers of colonized Korea reflect their own political situations through the representation of the other, Poland. The primary purpose of this paper is to examine those aspects Korean authors bring forth with the representation of Poland. I will focus on two novels, *Yeosu* (여수) and *The century's daughter* (세기의 딸) published in the period of the political turmoil right after the second Sino-Japanese War.

Korean literature after 1937

The second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937. Japanese colonial government tried to make Korea a massive military supply base. The Korean language was banned from schools in 1938 as part of a policy of cultural assimilation. And all Korean language publications were censored. Some of them were forcefully unified or closed down by Japanese colonial government. All the Korean-language publications were outlawed in 1941.

After the Sino-Japanese War, the policies and regulations of Japanese colonial government became more pronounced, so that Korean authors' work environment in terms of writing and publication became worse. It was very hard for authors to write literary works with their own value- system or worldview in the wake of this strict social milieu.

Hence, it is important to read the representations in the literary works carefully. It is not a coincidence that the representation of Po-

land frequently appeared in Korean novel during that period. It is partly because Korean authors were not allowed to write what they wanted to say in quite a direct way. They could barely reveal their worldview with the representation of the other.

Aesthetic Universalism

Lee, Hyo-sok(1907-1942) is an archetypal novelist who is looking for aesthetic-universalism. His short story *Yeosu(the traveler's melancholy)* was published in 1939. The plot of *Yeosu* is simple. This story is about a road theatre company. The company named 'Serbian show' consists of Eastern Europeans such as Polish, Hungarian, and Czech. They left their home-countries, moved around a lot, and finally arrived at Korea. Mr. Kim, the painter who drew the advertising poster for the company feels affection for them. As the show has performed, sometimes they create tension with each others. But at the same time, they lean on each other for soothing homesickness and hard work. After the performance, they go separate ways.

Let me quote some passages from this novel to understand more.¹

1) "Why is all Polish music so sad like that? Paderewski's music is gloomy, Chopin is the same"

2) "Yes, it is quite sad. I don't know the sadness of the country made its music so sad, or such a sorrowful music made the country sad"

3) "Starhov once dreamed of performing piano concert at the Warsaw national theatre. He wanted to be a world-class pianist. But his dream ended up with the disappearance of Poland."

Mr. Kim, the painter who drew the advertising poster for the 'Serbian Show,' has pity on Starhov, a polish performer, and sympa-

¹ *Yeosu* was serialized in *Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보, The Dong-A Daily Newspaper) from 1939.11.29 to 1939.12.28. Passages are quoted from that newspaper.

thizes with him. His sympathy for Starhov is originated from the same situation of national ruin of Korea. It is important to note that this novel was published in 1939. Around that time, Japan already won the Second Sino-Japanese War and was desperately preparing itself for the full-scale Pacific War. As the preparation for the Pacific War became more serious, the everyday life of people in the colonized Korea became wore off than before. And also, Korean language was strictly prohibited in all the level of school system. Lee, Hyo-sok could barely express the sorrow of national ruin with referring “the other”, Poland.

1) “I have thought that the affection for Europe is not just an aimless longing for the exotic countries, but rather, it is the expression of thirsty for freedom.”

2) “Europe might also be biased, stingy, and disappointing. But utopia won’t happen, so some sort of prejudice can’t be avoidable in the world. Longing for Europe won’t probably be resolved unless I step on the land. This longing is natural and understandable.”

3) “ Even though some parts of the world keep resisting European influence, the modern world has been colored by European culture. In this sense, nostalgia for Europe, the cradle of modern civilization, might be similar with the longing for my own hometown. My mind will be the same with Starhov’s yearning for Europe. Our longing for Europe is sort of longing for the hometown.

Lee, Hyo-sok’s Europe-intentionality is originated from the nostalgia for the hometown. This nostalgia is neither orientalism, nor occidentalism.

Japan justified the Pacific War with so-called “The Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (Dai-tō-a Kyōeiken 大東亞共榮圈).” Some Japanese thinkers insisted that the western-style modernity has been declined. So, the East should take the leading role to establish the new civilization instead of the West.

However, Lee Hyo-sok’s primary concern is neither the East, nor the West. His nostalgia is about somewhere far away from ‘here and now.’ It might be considered as an ultimate nostalgia in that this nostalgia has intentionality for the origin of human being.

In this sense, Lee’s nostalgia is sort of romantic yearning. Even though this yearning is somehow abstract and even seems to be uncritical, this can be considered as an indirect critique on the life of

‘here and now.’ In that sense we can call this attitude as aesthetic universalism meaning pursuing for the universal reconciliation.² Lee’s aesthetic universalism, which contains utopian impulse, yields the critique on the life in this earthly world.

‘The Century of the Fact’, Science, and Patriotism

Lee, Moo-young(1908-1960) is the novelist who deals with the reality of rural areas based on agricultural economy. His novel *The Century’s daughter*(세기의 딸) is about the life-story of Marie Curie, a Polish and naturalized-French physicist and chemist. This novel was serialized in *Dong-A Ilbo*(The Dong-A daily newspaper) from Oct 10, 1939. Unfortunately, this novel was ended incomplete because *Dong-A Ilbo* was compulsorily closed off by the Japanese colonial government in October, 1940. This novel is a fiction based on the biography of Marie Curie, which is written by Marie Curie’s daughter, Éve Curie.

Lee, Moo-young mentions his intention of this novel:

“I didn’t take Marie Curie as a subject matter due to her popularity or the request of the newspaper that I am supposed to publish the novel. Rather, she is from a weak nation, Poland. More crucially, her life is the record of resistance against the world power which invaded her mother-country. I intended to make 15 million Korean woman more patriotic.”

“*The Century’s daughter* foregrounds Marie Curie’s patriotism and her mental anguish than her achievement as a scientist. I have thought that the affection for Europe is not just an aimless longing for the exotic countries, but rather, it is the expression of thirsty for freedom.”

² Terry Eagleton, 「Nationalism: Irony and Commitment」, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, Univ Of Minnesota Press; 1 edition (September 17, 1990)

Lee, Moo-young wrote this novel in 1939. His intension of writing this novel needs to be posited in the socio-political context of 1939. Let's take a look at some parts of prologue.³

- 1) "Laugh heartily, people of Poland"
- 2) "Warsaw, the capital city of Poland was subjugated by and assimilated with the Russian Empire. Meanwhile, the old town of Warsaw seemed as though it was ruined castle. Its avenues seemed to be lonely. However, this old town was the last area that the soul of Poland and its tradition was preserved."
- 3) "Violence can never be beauty. The beauty of violence is cruelty. Its expression is destruction. The beauty of the weak was mercilessly destroyed by the grand power of St. Petersburg. The daily life, language, and ideas of the people of Poland were trampled down by the power."

The quotations above describe the political atmosphere of Poland in the late 19th century. And at the same time, the descriptions reflect Lee, Moo-young's perspective on the socio-political context of Korea in 1939. The descriptions of Poland under the rule of the Russian Empire and the explanations for the prohibition of mother-language are not just for depicting the situation of Poland. The author's intention of the descriptions can be easily presumed. "Poland, Oh! the beautiful virgin named Poland"; this quote explicitly uncovers what the intent of this novel is.

Following quotation is posited in the same context with the quotation above:

"Current Russian politicians are digging their own grave competitively. The just has never been defeated since the human society appears. The just is always in the human being in general, not in the small group of people. However, they ignore, persecute, and even kill the people. We have to denounce any despotic form of government as we regain liberty. Politics should be rendered by liberty and the people [...] The liberty always resists against any despotic regime."

³ *The Century's daughter* was serialized in Dong-A Ilbo(동아일보, The Dong-A Daily Newspaper) from 1939.10.10 to 1940.08.11. Passaged are quoted from that newspaper.

As we have seen, Marie Curies' Poland overlaps with the reality of Korea in this novel. Now, we need to take a look at the second topic of this novel, the attitude for 'science.'

"The Century of the Fact" was one of the philosophical mottos that Japanese imperialism verifies the Pacific War and the logic of "the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." This phrase is originated from Paul Valéry. He says that "the century of order" which has been sustained by the European ethos for a long time had declined by the modern empirical science. Actually, 'the universal order' had given somehow abstract accounts for the pre-modern world. As the order had collapsed down, the lacuna was taken by 'the fact.' In other words, 'The century of the fact' arrived. Paul Valéry's remarks that 'the century of order' has gone, and 'the century of the fact' has come instead. It means that the era of the Eurocentric universalism declined.

Meanwhile, Japanese thinkers in the late 1930s appropriated this phrase for their own sake. They insisted that the Western modernity had declined and 'the Great East Asia' emerged as the center of the world history. According to them, this great change should be accepted not only as the significant event in the history of civilization, but also as the fact that we ought to accept without a doubt. This is the way in which Japanese thinkers in the late 1930s appropriated the remark of Paul Valéry.

This logic of 'acceptance of the fact' led Japan to the logic of overcoming western modernity, and to the logic of the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and the establishment of new civilization. In this way, 'the Century of the Fact' was transformed into the logic of 'what should do.'

Lee, Moo-young took Marie Curie as the protagonist of his novel considering that Poland and Korea were confronting the similar situation. And also, taking Marie Curie, an outstanding scientist, as the protagonist was somehow strategic choice for criticizing the logic of 'the Century of the Fact,' which was appropriated and transformed by Japanese thinkers to verify the logic of 'the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.' Let's take a look at Marie Curie's lines in the novel.

"Scientist does not need to abandon his/her country. The science is a discipline for human being in general. That's true. However, if each nation and

each individual cannot be happy, happiness of human being will also be impossible.”

At this point, Lee, Moo-young emphasizes that the science is not just confined as a tool of totalitarianism. The author delivers his own idea of science, which is a critique on the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, with the voice of Marie Curie, the protagonist. This novel partly aims at criticizing the false logic of Japanese imperialism, so it weighs not on the Marie Curie’s achievement as a scientist, but on her longing for emancipation of Poland. Consequently, this novel shows us that the Japan’s totalitarian appropriation of the logic of ‘the Century of the Fact’ cannot be accepted.

Conclusion

It is not just coincidental that Poland was frequently referred in Korean novels and the representation of Poland is deeply engaged in the main subject of novel in the late 1930s and the early 1940s. In that period, Japan’s preparation of the Pacific War became more serious. The colonized Korea became a massive supply base for the war. Additionally, Korean language was officially prohibited in all the level of school system. Korean authors could not speak of social reality in direct way. As I have discussed, Poland allowed Korean writers to reflect themselves, and more crucially, it became a significant reference with regard to develop the counter-logic against Japanese imperialism.

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DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINESE AND KOREAN RESEARCHERS CONCERNING TERRITORIAL AFFILIATION OF THE KOGURYO KINGDOM IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

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Abstract: The aim of this article is to summarize knowledge regarding dispute about Koguryo territorial and historical affiliation, which occurred on the political and academic level. Between 37 BC and AD 668 ancient Kingdom of Koguryo embraced large area from central Manchuria to south of Seoul. After year 1945, when Korea regained independence, Korean researchers were able to begin their studies on the foundation of the national identity. According to the “Serial Research Project on the History and Current status of the Northeast Border Region” started in China in 2002, Koguryo was an ethnic system in one of the provinces in ancient China. Through this project Chinese historians and archaeologists wanted to incorporate history of Koguryo into the Chinese history, which was not acceptable to Korean researchers. Because of such approach from both sides to this issue, both countries were forced to use archeological excavations and obtained relics in order to show the connection between past and present in both, Koguryo-China and Koguryo- Korea history.

Key words: Koguryo, Northeast Project, Koguryo tombs, Chinese historiography, Koguryo Research Foundation, Kitora Ancient Tomb

고고학적 발굴을 통한 고구려 왕국의 영토적 소속에 대한 한국과 중국학자들 간의 논쟁

개략: 기원전 37 년부터 기원 668 년까지 고대 고구려 왕국은 중앙 만주에서 서울의 남쪽에 이르는 광대한 지역을 차지하였다. 1945 년 해방 이후에 한국의 학자들은 민족의 정체성에 근거하여 그들의 연구를 시작하였다. 2002 년 중국에서 시작된 “동북쪽 변경지대의 역사와 현상에 관한 연구 프로젝트”에 따르면, 고구려는 고대 중국의 동북지역들 가운데 하나였다. 이 프로젝트를 통해 중국의 역사가들과 고고학자들은 중국의 역사에 고구려의 역사를 편입시키려 하였지만, 그것은 한국의 학자들에게는 용납될 수 없는 것이었다. 이 문제에 대한 양국의 그러한 접근방법에 따라 두 나라는 얻어진 고고학적 발굴물들과 고대 유적들을 고구려-중국 혹은 고구려-한국의 과거와 현재를 잇는 연결고리라는 것을 증명하려 했다.

키워드: 고구려, 동북공정, 고구려 고분, 중국 사료 편찬, 고구려연구재단, 기토라 고분

SPÓR POMIĘDZY BADACZAMI CHIŃSKIMI I KOREAŃSKIMI DOTYCZĄCY TERYTORIALNEJ PRZYNALEŻNOŚCI KRÓLESTWA KOGURYO W ŚWIETLE ZNALEZISK ARCHEOLOGICZNYCH

Abstrakt: Celem tego artykułu jest streszczenie wiedzy o debacie dotyczącej przynależności terytorialnej i historycznej Koguryo, która wykształciła się na poziomie politycznym i akademickim. Pomiędzy 37 rokiem p.n.e. a 668 rokiem n.e. starożytne Królestwo Koguryo zajmowało ogromny obszar od środkowej Mandżurii do terenów na południe od Seulu. Po 1945 roku, kiedy Korea odzyskała niepodległość koreańscy badacze byli w stanie rozpocząć studia dotyczące ich tożsamości narodowej. Według “ Serial Research Project on the History and Current status of the Northeast Border Region” rozpoczętego w Chinach w 2002 roku, Koguryo było jedynie systemem etnicznym wchodzącym w skład jednej z prowincji w starożytnych Chinach. Poprzez ten rozpoczęty projekt historycy oraz archeolodzy chińscy chcieli włączyć historię Koguryo do historii Chin, co oczywiście było nie do zaakceptowania przez naukowców koreańskich. Z powodu takiego podejścia obu stron do zaistniałego problemu, oba kraje zostały zmuszone do wykorzystania wykopalisk archeologicznych oraz uzyskanych zabytków w celu pokazania związków między przeszłością i teraźniejszością w przypadku historii na linii Koguryo-Chiny, jak i na linii Koguryo-Korea.

Słowa kluczowe: Koguryo, Northeast Project, Chiny, grobowce Koguryo, historiografia chińska, Koguryo Research Foundation, grobowiec Kitora

The problem concerning Koguryo's territorial and historical connections has its start in the year 2001, when authorities in "Pyongyang applied to UNESCO to have tombs from ancient kingdom of Koguryo registered as North Korean's first "world heritage" sites" (Gries, 2005: 3). The beginning of controversies with China took place in 2002, when new research project- the Serial Research Project on the History and Current State of the Northeast Borderland (동북병강사현장계열연구공정)- has been started. This move allowed China to pursue their claims towards Koguryo historical affiliation. However Northeast Project (동북공정- this is the shorter form for Chinese project) was not just an academic issue, but it also carried large-scale political consequences (Kim: 21). With time the number of Chinese claims regarding Koguryo matter increased largely in number (Yonson, 2006-a). This move created not only political pressure between Korea and China, but also brought out huge emotional reaction among Koreans (Seo, 2008: 40).

As Gries explains, situation concerning "world heritage" sites was solved by UNESCO on July 1st 2004. However, despite the fact that China's sites on the World Heritage List has been named as "Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom", in Chinese media they were still functioning as "China's Koguryo". Not long after that South Koreans came to know about another controversial move from the Chinese side, which was the removal of "Koguryo from the summary of Korean history on the website of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (Gries, 2005: 3). Continuation of such approach was visible in the actions of the Center of China's Borderland History and Geography Research, where researchers who favored government policy, described Koguryo as a "'provincial" vassal kingdom under the suzerainty of China" and not as the independent Korean state which was strong enough to fight back China's power (Choe, 2006). According to Lankov such situation led to a diplomatic crisis as South Korean diplomats demanded clarification of Chinese actions. According to the official Chinese explanation Northeast History Project was something, which should not be connected in any way with political directions taken by the country. In August 2004 both sides agreed to leave the Koguryo

problem to the historians (Lankov, 2006.) Professor Ahn Byung Woo (South Korea’s Hanshin University) fears that the Northeast Asian Project, which now is focused on Koguryo history, in real targets not only Koguryo’s historical heritage, but also can be used for pursuing claims towards Manchuria and even northern parts of Korean peninsula (Gries, 2005: 5-15).

1. Northeast Asian History Project

As Park states “*the Northeast Asian Project is a large scale academic project designed to study the history and present state of China's border areas*”. The main goal of that project was to prove that the Northeast regions, especially territories where Koguryo, Old Choson, Puyo, Parhae were located, belonged to China in both historical and cultural way (2004: 19). Chinese Academy of Social Sciences [zhongguo shehui kexue yuan,中国社会科学院] (CASS) fully directed all associated with the project actions (Washburn, 2012: 131). Chinese provinces: Liaoning, Jilin and Heilung Kiang, as being the ones most interested in Northeast Project research findings, due to their location, declared their full support for launched process (Park, 2004: 19).

Constitution from 1954 clearly shows China’s reasoning for the Northeast Project. According to Kim, government wanted to promote the “*united multiethnic state theory*”, and that is why all China’s border provinces, due to being populated by ethnic minorities, needed to be associated more closely with China. At the same time the aim was to show their distinction from all neighboring countries, so that there would be no doubts as to where culturally, politically and geographically they belong (Kim: 21-22). As Park stated, on the territory of China can be distinguished 55 ethnical minorities, from which ethnical Koreans were showing the strongest connection with their origins. Therefore, to overpower the “*growing nationalistic tendencies*”, which started to be heard more loudly among them, Northeast History Project has been started (2004: 19-20).

2. Chinese approach to Koguryo's history

According to Mark Byington, analysis of articles wrote on the subject of Koguryo in Chinese academic journals since 1950 reveals some interesting information. In the period between 1950 and 1982 the problem of Koguryo's historical affiliation didn't appear in articles published in history and archaeology journals. What's more there was no question concerning Koguryo's place in Chinese historiography, on the contrary it seems that there was more statements about connecting Koguryo with Korean history or at least showing its autonomy from China. However, everything changes in 1983, when the majority of articles associated Koguryo with Chinese history. This way of treating Koguryo by connecting it with China reached the highest point in 1997 (2002:14).

To emphasize Chinese position towards Koguryo, Lee presents opinion of Chinese historian Sun Jinji, who in the year 1986 argued that "*the people of Buyeo and Koguryo had the same lineage as the Chinese in the Northeast region, while the Korean people were a part of the Silla lineage*". This statement meant that author was considering that Koguryo's history did not have any connection with the period in which Three Kingdoms emerged and existed (Lee, 2005: 189). According to Yohnson, Chinese scholars, in Northeast Project, based their demands for Koguryo's historical heritage on two main points:

- the first is that Koguryo had its roots in Han Chinese commandery of Xuantu', therefore its connections with China are much more justified than those with Korea;
- the second one is that according to Ma Dazheng's words Koguryo was "*an influential ethnic group in China's border area in northeastern China between the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC- 24 AD) and the Tang Dynasty (AD 618- 907)*" (2006-a: 1-2).

3. Korean response to Northeast Project

New year- 2003, brought new factor in the “Koguryo controversy” case, in which an application to UNESCO has been sent by the Chinese government. As Chen showed, China wanted to “*register the Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom located on its territory as a World Heritage Sites*”. In December of the same year, due to all actions taken by Chinese side, the South Korean government found itself in a position when a report in which arguments against connecting Koguryo with Chinese history were presented, as well as guidelines to Korean civil society groups regarding taking and responding to Chinese claims, needed to be published (Chen, 2012: 227-241).

Scotfield agrees that according to Korean academics Koguryo kingdom, due to its strength, played the leading role in the Three Kingdoms period, and until the late 7th century occupied north part of the Korean peninsula together with the vast Manchurian region. From the beginning of its existence, and especially after strengthening of its position by the 4th century, Koguryo was able to successfully clash with its southern rivals, as well as its biggest neighbor- China (Scotfield, 2003).

According to Shin, whose opinion was mentioned by Washburn, Koguryo’s importance is based on the fact that it was not just one of the small proto- Korean kingdoms, but the one which was the most genuine. After its establishment and years of development, Koguryo gained position, which made it possible to influence various states, which in the end were able to unite the whole peninsula (Washburn, 2012: 138). Choe Kwang-sik, who according to Yonson “*was a leading South Korean historian and protester in the Koguryo affair*”, shows examples against Chinese changes concerning Koguryo’s territorial affiliation:

1. adding Koguryo’s history to the history of China would mean taking 700 years from Korean history,
2. Koreans would lose the “historical pillar” so much important in the process of creating their own identity,

3. changing the borders by taking Korea's territory located north to the Han River (Yonson, 2006-a: 3; 2006-b).

Two years after the beginning of the conflict between China and Korea, on 1st of March 2004, the Koguryo Research Foundation had been established by South Korean government. Its aim was to promote materials supporting arguments on the subject of Koguryo's historical affiliation with Korea (Lee, 2011: 162). Main goal of the Foundation, which is an scholarly institution sponsoring study and all kinds of research proposals on subjects connected with ancient Korean and East Asian History, is supporting projects, which leads to "*restoring historical truths of Korea and its surrounding regions*". Foundation is an answer to all actions taken by the Chinese government directed against Koguryo's historical affiliation to Korea (Koguryo Research Foundation, 2006).

"Koguryo controversy" became the most important reason for both South and North Koreans to join forces in order to conduct research on Koguryo burial mounds. During the academic conference on Koguryo history and culture organized by Koguryo Research Foundation and the North Korean Academy of Social Science in Vladivostok, both sides agreed to conducting research programs, which were a kind of response to China's registration of Koguryo material findings in Jian as UNESCO World Heritage Sites , as well as to all attempts made by China connected with the Koguryo history, focused on trying to assimilate its history with China's history (The Chosunilbo, 2005).

4. Northeast Project and archaeological findings

According to Hobsbawn, "*archeology is often associated with patriotism in both the "periphery" as well as the "core"*". All Koguryo remains are playing a very important role in the battle between China

and Korea regarding its territorial and historical legacy, what is highly connected with the crucial role of inheritance. Ancestral states are the most important aspects of cultural supremacy among different nations, what also describes overall view on Koguryo's position in Korea's history (Yonson, 2006-a: 6; 2006-b).

Researchers say that in the areas of Jian, China, Pyeongyang and Anak in North Korea they can identify 13000 Koguryo ancient tombs. However, finding mural paintings among those tombs is not an easy thing. Therefore, there are only 20 such tombs on the territory of Ji'an, China and significantly more – 80 on the territory of North Korea (Kim Lena, 2004: 5). Kang Hyun-sook, whose view was presented by Yonson, said that Koguryo tombs with murals definitely were not just simple reproduction of their prototypes in China. What's more, due to archeological findings from the territory of Japan, we can say that they also influenced Japan's funerary culture. She also concluded that all evidences of Koguryo's influence seen not only in Japan but also on the Korean peninsula shows how powerful position it had in the region from the cultural point of view. Therefore, from this perspective all archaeological data, which can be linked with Koguryo culture, should be treated as symbols of heritage and domination of Koguryo culture (Yonso, 2006-a: 5, 2006-b).

According to Chon, on 6th of March Japanese archeologists informed about making a great discovery in the Kitora Ancient Tomb in Asukamura, Nara prefecture. This discovery had been made after completing the investigation of, probably seventh or eighth century mural, where in the burial chamber made of stone researchers found two sacred creatures, and on the ceiling an astronomical chart with the presentation of the sun and the moon. Those mythological beasts are something which were never discovered on the territory of Japan, however on the Korean peninsula they are known very well. Further he said that the one on the east wall is known as "Chongryung" or a blue dragon and the one on the west wall is called "Paekho" or a white tiger. Those two creatures symbolize two of the four directions of north, south, east and west. They are typical decoration motif found in Koguryo murals, but is something unknown in China. Chon said that "*Hyunmu - a snake crossed with a tortoise*" –third presentation situated on the north wall, has been discovered in 1984, before

Chungryung and Paekho's discovery. However, last "god named *"Chujak" or red sparrow which should be present on the south wall has not been found yet*". The discovery in the Kitora tomb surprised everyone with the "accuracy of the astronomical chart, especially putting polestar in the middle and surrounding it with more than 1,000 other stars thought to include the Milky Way". What's more, Chon presents the assumption, which is also represented by other scholars and which says that gold and silver stars connected with each other by red lines were supposed to create a constellation. Two other elements- gold and silver circles- are treated by researchers as sun and moon. Because of such a big similarities between Kitora Tomb murals and Koguryo mural paintings, it is believed that creators of Kitora Tomb must have been associated with Koguryo people, as Chon said probably they were educated in the painting techniques used on the Koguryo territory. All materials coming from that tomb imply that people who built and decorated it must have had great astronomical knowledge (Chon, 1997). According to Dr. Jeon mentioned by Ho, "Koguryo tomb murals were introduced to Japan by monks and craftsmen of Koguryo. Murals of Kitora tombs may have been drawn by immigrants of Koguryo and Japanese painters". Those findings are a very good example showing how close were the relations between those two civilizations at the time (Ho, 2011).

In 2007 the Northeast Asian History Project was finished, however the discussion which had been brought up in the year 2002 did not just disappear. One of the South Korea's newspapers-Hankyoreh, informed its readers about conducted "closed research" on an commemorative stone with inscriptions, which could be dated to the fifth century. "Concerns are being raised," the Hankyoreh piece noted, "that with key figures from the Northeast Project taking part in the research, it is very likely that China will use the results of the study to reinforce its argument that Koguryo belongs to China" (Washburn, 2012: 132). This stele was discovered in Chinese northeastern province –Jilin, therefore it seemed to be obvious, that one of the researchers in the research team was Wei Cuncheng, professor at Jilin University. He played a very important role in the Northeast Project, and according to Park we can even say that he was

the most influential researcher, who was also one of the scholars delegated to represent project's research goals and conclusions within the expert committee . In the subject of the history of Koguryo and Balhae and the southern and northern dynasties period in China he is thought to be in top of the leading scholars. This Koguryo stele, which was probably constructed around the year 414, was actually discovered on July 2012 in Maxian, but the announcement have been made much later, with the start of a new 2013 year. This was the third discovery of a stele, which disclosed information important for Koguryo's history. Before this finding there were discovered two other steles- "*the Gwanggaeto Stele and the Koguryo Stele in Chungju*" (Park, 2013).

5. Conclusion

According to Mark Byington, Chinese claims have no historical basis, however Chinese scholars and politicians have some compelling, in their opinion, reasons for sustaining them. Reactions from Korean government and all scholars involved in research on Korean ancient history, especially Koguryo history are completely understandable, however in his opinion most Koreans treat Chinese claims as just a beginning of their aggression, aggression which can change with time into an active one. Therefore, to understand it more, they should try to see them in a broader perspective. That way they would understand that this is just the most recent phase of a progressing process that can be dated back to the early twentieth century, and which shows development in a new manner since 1993 (Byington, 2004).

Other Korea scholar Andrei Lankov said:

"However, the entire dispute represents the same case of retro-projection of modern identities. The real-life Koguryoans would be seriously surprised or even offended had they learned that in future they would be perceived as members of the same community as their bitter enemies from Silla. Describing Koguryo as "Chinese" or

"Korean" is as misleading as, say, describing medieval Brittany as "French" or "English" or "Irish" (Lankov, 2006).

According to Yonson “*the whole debate is heavily based on the empiricist paradigm*”. Both sides claim to use scientific or academic methods to research the history of Koguryo. They use methods which are given by archeology and by history to bring not complete, but just fragmentary evidences from both of them. As a result Yonson said that we can see that interpretations of same archaeological and historical findings presented on both sides are opposing each other, and what might be more significant they are heavily influenced by political agendas. While observing the whole debate we can be sure of one thing, which is the fact that Koguryo with its history, territory and symbolism is equally important for the accuracy of China and Korea. Because of all those reasons, which are inseparably connected with the demanding of gaining more historically legitimized power, ancient history of Koguryo started to be used for both interested sides as theoretical base (Yonson, 2006-a: 7, 2006-b).

In the opinion of Peter Hays Gries, with whom I agree there can be a very dangerous situation for Chinese and Korean security policies, if both countries will allow the Koguryo controversy to develop into a bigger and more important issue. There is a risk in getting involved into some kind of identity competition, which can lead to “existential combat”, where both sides will constantly try to delegitimize each other in historical matter (Gries, 2005: 14).

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TRADITION OF KOREAN LANDSCAPE. ITS HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE AND INDIGENIZATION

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Abstract: This paper aims to provide general presentation of Korean landscape painting with historic consideration. Some Korean elements of landscape were introduced in the early 5th century, and since the 7th century, mountains have become an important theme in the formation of the image space. From the 10th to the 17th centuries, the Korean landscape developed under Chinese rule. However, in the early 18th century a new painting trend – “Koreanization of the Korean landscape” – appeared and there also had emerged the folk landscape style. Furthermore, in the contemporary Korean landscape there are various attempts towards the search for one’s own artistic vision.

Key words: Korean Art, landscape painting, Korean painting

한국 산수화의 전통. 그의 역사적 관점과 현지화/토착화

개략: 본 논문은 한국 산수화에 대한 전반적인 역사적 고찰을 의도로 하고 있다. 5세기 초 산수화에 한국적인 요소가 도입된 후 7세기 이후 산을 주제로 한 장면은 이미지를 형성하는 주요 주제가 되어 왔다. 10-17세기 한국의 산수화는 중국 양식을 통해 발전하였다. 하지만 18세기 초 «한국 산수화의 한국화»라는 새로운 경향이 일어났으며, 민속 산수화 양식도 나타났다. 뿐만 아니라 한국의 현대 산수화에는 특유의 새로운 예술 세계를 향해 다양한 시도가 나타나게 된다.

키워드: 한국미술, 산수화, 한국화.

TRADYCJA KOREAŃSKIEGO MALARSTWA PEJZAŻOWEGO. PERSPEKTYWA HISTORYCZNA I NARODOWOŚCIOWA

Abstrakt: Artykuł ma na celu przedstawienie koreańskiego malarstwa pejzażowego na tle historycznym. Niektóre element malarstwa pejzażowego pojawiły się w sztuce już w V wieku, a od VII wieku motyw gór stał się ważnym tematem. Od X do VII wieku widać wpływy chińskie na malarstwo koreańskie. Natomiast of XVIII wieku wyraźnie można zaobserwować nowy trend koreanistyczny oraz styl ludowy malarstwa pejzażowego. Natomiast we współczesnym malarstwie widoczne są tendencje do odnajdywania własnej wizji artystycznej w tym zakresie.

Słowa-klucze: sztuka koreańska, malarstwo pejzażowe, malarstwo koreańskie

1. Beginning of the Korean landscape

It's difficult to say, when the beginnings of the Korean landscape emerged. One can only suppose that some elements of landscape were introduced in the three kingdoms period. These include the ones that can be found in the wall painting preserved eg. in the tomb of the early 5th century, from the period of ancient Korean state of Koguryo. A simple mountain motif is shown there (picture No. 1; theme marked within yellow lines). It is the oldest known representation of this theme in Korean art.



Image 1. "Hunting" (*Suryeobdo* 수렵도) in Dokhyngri tomb on a stone wall (409 B.C.)

Similarly, in image 2 coming from a slightly later period, mountains were exhibited; however, this element of the landscape determines the composition of the work to a lesser degree. In both of these wall paintings "mountains" are presented only as a side item, supplementing the dynamic nature of the composition which is an example of the contemporary painting style of ancient Korea.

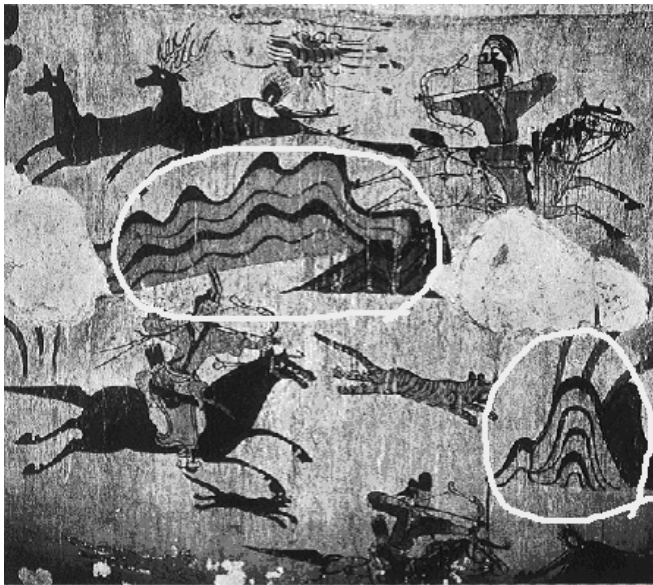


Image 2. "Hunting" (*Suryeobdo* 수렵도) in Muyongczong tomb on a stone wall (the turn of the 5th/6th century)

However, since the 7th century, the mountain theme has been an important element in the formation of the image space. In figure 3, the layout of peaks layers and clouds over them already creates the illusion of perspective, becoming something more than just the background of the whole picture.

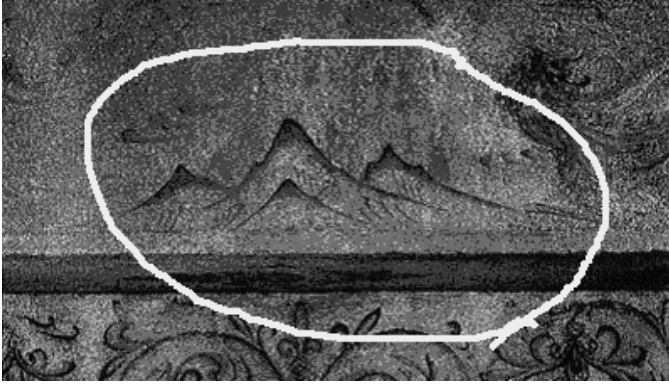


Image 3. "Mountains" (*Sanakdo*) in Gangsodaemyo tomb on a stone wall (7th century)

It is considered that landscape has evolved in the southwestern State of Baekje in the same century. An example might be the impression in a brick (image 4), showing clear motives of landscapes, characterized by completely developed composition of space and perspective, with a clear differentiation among elements of surroundings (ie. the peaks of mountains, trees, rocks, clouds and the monastery visible at the foot). It is worth noting that this work was made in brick. Considering the painting of this period, the landscape was already at a very high level in the 7th century.



Image 4. *Sansumunjeon*. Brick with landscape project. Relief on brick. (7th century)

Unfortunately, there is no information about landscape painting of the next unification period of Shilla (676-935). An important feature of this period is that the names of artists began to appear. For example, in historical bibliographic materials there is a record of an artist named Solgo (솔거), one of the most famous painters of the 8th century. It was recorded that his landscape “Old Pine” (*Noshongdo* 老松圖), which was painted on the wall of the Buddhist temple “Imperial Dragon” (*Hwangryongsa* 皇龍寺), was so realistic that birds could land on it. According to this record, it is believed that in the 8th century the type of “landscape of blue-green” (*Cheongrok sansuhwa* 靑綠山水畫) was introduced, which is an important step in the realistic style of painting pines. This period includes the beginning of the Chinese painting school’s influence in Korea.

2. The influence of Chinese schools (10-17 century)

The period of the Goryeo Dynasty (高麗 918-1392) is the time in which the Korean landscape developed under Chinese rule. The characteristic feature of the teaching is based on "deliberate copying the works of masters" (*Jeonimosa* 轉移模寫). In the East Asian tradition of painting, such duplication was not regarded as a worthless action or appropriation of an artistic idea. Imitation of great artists was an expression of respect for the traditions and values of past generations and the recognition of the worth of their art. In this way, the student enters into the soul of a master - artist. He learns to recognise the form, colour, and technique from him.

During these periods, almost all educated Koreans followed mainly Chinese artists. For Asian artists, Guo Xi (郭熙 1020-1090) was an important figure. This Chinese artist had a big impact on the Korean painters and the way they created their works.

The main follower of Guo Xi style became An Kyon (安堅 of the 15th century.) - one of the greatest painters in the earlier period of the Korean Chosun Dynasty. He is known mainly through landscape under the title "Dream Visit to the Land of Peach" (*Mongyudowondo* 夢遊桃源圖 1447). This picture was painted at the request of the son of King Anpyong, who had told the painter, what he would like to see. During the dream Anpyong had seen a happy land that we call paradise. An artist An Kyon painted the dream of the king's son and thus created one of the most famous Korean paintings depicting both life on earth and that in paradise.

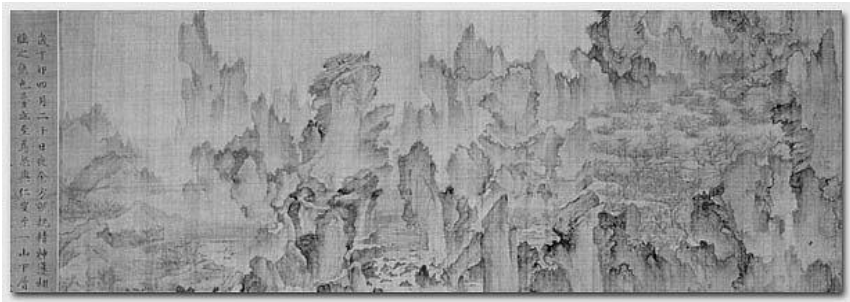


Image 5. An kyon, “Dream Visit to the Land of Peach” (1447) Watercolours and ink on silk

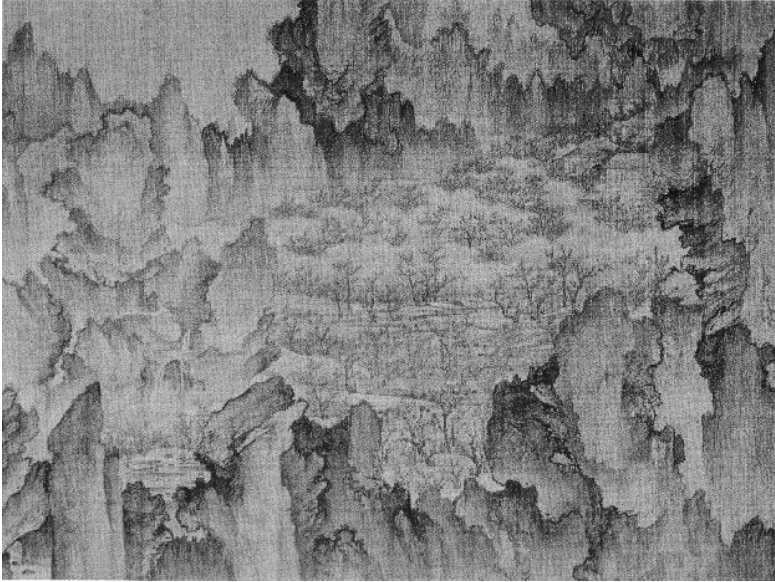


Image 5-1. Fragment of the “Dream Visit to the Land of Peach”

In the landscape we can see a variety of events that combine into a harmonious whole. Interestingly, in those days images which were painted on scrolls were viewed from right to left. However, the picture of An Kyon it is the opposite, which is extremely rare. It was his deliberate intention of the painting. Another interesting feature of this image are the inscriptions made by An Kyon containing his comments - philosophical thoughts. The painting on a long scroll is preserved to this day. On the basis of this work we can reproduce the painting style of the Chinese artist Guo Xi.



Image 6. Gou Xi, “Early spring” (1447 r.). Watercolours and ink on paper.

Guo Xi claimed that a good picture should give the recipient the impression that he may feel he can walk within it, could stay or live within it - which would be the best possibility. Landscape should be visually appealing and must produce an almost sensual feeling of the atmosphere of the place. This rule had a huge impact on the work of subsequent artists. Chinese and Korean painters tried to achieve this by accurate reproduction of even the smallest details of nature, e.g. pine-needles, clumps of grass, whirlpools or cavities in rocks.

Therefore, the essential elements of the images are, generally speaking, mountains and water, those which literally consist of the Chinese and Korean word for landscape, Sansu (San 山 - mountains, Su 水 - water). Mountains give the impression of strength and durability. A lonely peak, surrounded by a mountain range symbolizes the power of sovereign authority over the subjects. Water is also a symbol of strength. Seemingly weak, submissive, by flowing is gaining strength, passes the entire surface of the earth. Its power washes out even the hardest rock. The water also represents destiny or fate.



Image 7-1. Yi Inmun, “Eternal mountains and rivers” (1447) Part 1. Water-colours and ink on silk.

A well-known Korean painter who created his works of landscapes in the years 1745-1821 was Yi Inmun, associated with the Chinese North School. His 8.5-meter-long scroll titled “Eternal mountains and rivers” (Gangsanmujindo 江山無盡圖), is considered by many to be the largest existing traditional Korean landscape, which inspired the title and form of the 12th century Chinese paintings, which during Yi Inmun’s lifetime was in the collection of the Emperor of China.



Image 7-2. Yi Inmun, "Eternal mountains and rivers" (1447). Part 2. Water-colours and ink on silk.



Image 7-3. Yi Inmun, "Eternal mountains and rivers" (1447) Part 3. Water-colours and ink on silk.

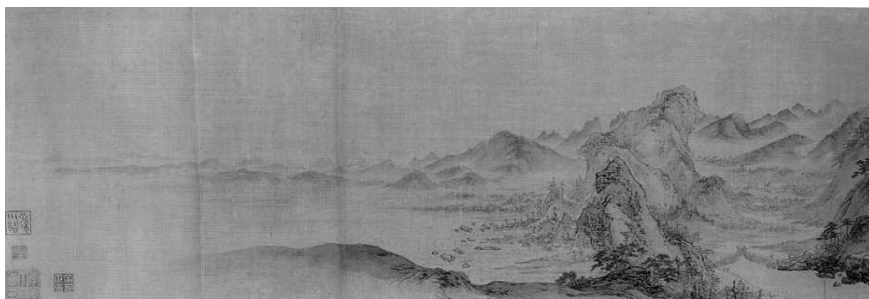


Image 7-4. Yi Inmun, "Eternal mountains and rivers" (1447) Part 4. Water-colours and ink on silk.4. Akwarela i tusz na jedwabiu.

3. Koreanization of a landscape: acquisition over imitation

In the early eighteenth century a new painting trend appeared in the Korean landscape. It is called “Koreanization of the Korean landscape”. Korean-style landscapes could not remain entirely Chinese, because there were many differences in the cultural identity and in the forms of nature of these two separate countries. A pioneering role was played by an extraordinary brilliant artist who had the courage to break with the past traditions and develop his own style of landscape painting. It was Jeong Seon (1676-1759). Initially, his early paintings mimicked Chinese patterns, but later he developed his own style, called “realistic landscape (*Jingyeongsansu* 眞景山水)”. Rather than paint idealized scenes according to the Chinese manner, he began to paint what he saw and what he really loved. He used his well-known painting techniques from China, especially the so-called “small and large axe-cuts (*Jeolpajunbeob* 浙派皴法)”.

Jeong Seon’s own interpretation of “axe cuts” style captures the image’s sharp edges, granite rocks and clumps very accurately, highly typical of the landscape of Korea. Chong Son believed that slavish devotion to detail does not necessarily give the atmosphere of reality or realism. He used iterative long and short strokes of black ink, then added a bit of coloured inks, with which he obtain good results when painting the landscape of “Diamond Mountains” (*Geumgangjeondo* 金剛全圖). Viewers may well feel the mood of the mountains and towering cliffs and forests.



Image 8. Jeong Seon. "Diamond Mountains" (1734) watercolours and ink on paper.

A more impressionist style, than that of Jeong Seon, was developed by Kang Sehwang (1713-1791), who, using colorful paints, painted a series of “Scenic Spots of Songdo – the old capital of the Goryeo Dynasty” (*Songdo gihaengcheob* 松都紀行帖). It shows clear outlines of massive rocks with stylized pine trees and vaguely sketched human figures.



Image 9. Kang Sehwang, a series of *Pond with White Rocks*. Watercolours and ink on paper.

Artists who did not represent a very high level of painting created their works in a different way, because landscapes belonging to folk art could take more fantastic form. Folk artists, like any other great artists, were particularly fascinated with the unique atmosphere of Geumgang (金剛山) which means Diamond Mountains. This land of countless rocky peaks, which for a long time was associated with the existence of gods and spirits, has been immortalized in legends and art. Monks and hermits could find their shelter in the Diamond Mountains. Painters wanted to present the grandeur of these mountains with all kinds of methods known to them. Sometimes the composition of images show some complex forms of the real view. We often notice an artist's good skills but shapes, colours and situations are imaginary. They are characterized by the spontaneous simplicity. The

emotions Diamond Mountains evoke, inspire both professional and amateur painters.



Image 10. Author unknown, *The Diamond Mountains* (the turn of the 18th/19th century) watercolours and ink on paper

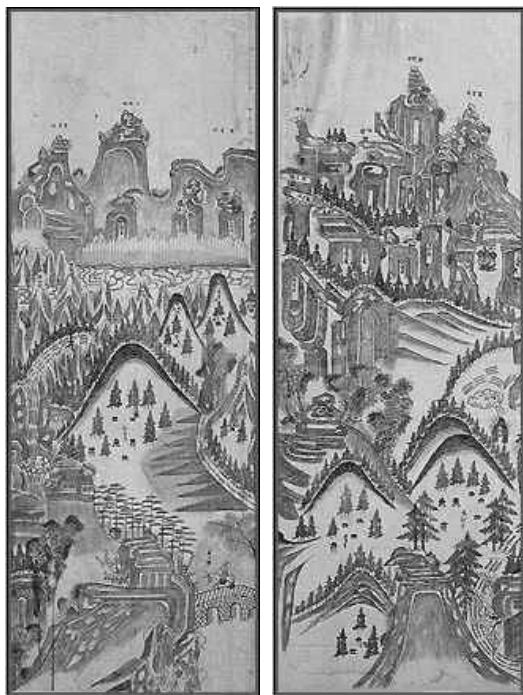




Image 11. Author unknown, folk painting motif of *The Diamond Mountains* (19th century) watercolors and ink on paper

Artists belonging to the lower classes were not bound by pro-Chinese trends nor created works under their influence. Therefore, in the landscapes of folk painters, there often were fantastic elements. These images have the same elements and format as the other ones, and their vertical formats were a good base to present high cliffs and waterfalls. Here as well there are real or imaginary landscapes. Just like Jeong Seon, folk artists were particularly fascinated by the *Geumgang*, the Diamond Mountains.

Some of the 20th century painters successfully imitated the style of the West, but the East Asian tradition still had a strong influence on the Korean imagination. An artist whose work shows traces of scholarly tradition of Chinese, local (Korean) originality and his own sense of landscape atmosphere of the early twentieth century was Yi Sangbom

(1897-1972). Because of the use of fuzzy, muted colours, calligraphic brush use and trade of realism his style was often compared with the work of Chong Son. In his case, however, the use of colours - rotten greens, browns and deep grays - aimed at reflecting the mood of fall and winter - is much more suppressed. The trees in his paintings are often naked and less expansive than in Jeong Seon's landscapes.



Image 12. Yi Sangbom, "Early Winter" (1926) watercolours and ink on paper

In the contemporary landscape (this only applies to works of landscapes made in the context of continuing the tradition of Korean painting), Korean artists are trying different ways to build their own artistic world. Some lean towards the search to deepen possibilities of ancient painting techniques (eg. Lee Youtae 1916-1999) or strive to combine tradition and folk elements (eg. Kim Gichang 1913-2001). Some attempt to reconstruct Chin'gyongsansu of Chong Son giving this action

contemporary meaning (e.g. Oh Yonggil 1946-).



Image 13. Lee Youtae, *Sacred Peaks Sollak* (1965) watercolours and ink on paper



Image 14. Kim Gichang, *Landscapes* (1970) watercolours and ink on paper



Image 15. Oh Yonggil, *River* (1987) watercolours and ink on paper

4. Conclusion

Beginning with the Three Kingdoms period, the tradition of Korean landscape painting has developed continuously. It is true that there had been a strong prevailing influence of Chinese schools on Korean landscape (mainly in the 10th–17th centuries), but the spirit of Korean art has not been buried under the advancing foreign techniques. During the Joseon dynasty, Chinese styles which were introduced earlier, were Koreanized. The germination of “true-view” landscape painting - the depiction of actual sites in Korea - began to emerge in documentary painting. Especially, from the 18th century, a cultural golden age led by a new Korean scholar group “self-awareness and national pride” which declared “we are different from the Chinese”. These indigenous characteristics made it possible for various attempts towards the search for one’s own artistic world in the contemporary Korean landscape to emerge.

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KOREAN SHAMANISM – THE RELIGION OF WOMEN

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Abstract: Shamanism is one of the oldest religions that have existed around the world. But Korean shamanism is very exceptionally in the world, because it is monopolized by women. This article focuses on the main reasons for that state of affairs. Korean shamanism has never been accepted by the ruling class as an official religion. It was not supported by the elites of the society, so it has functioned only at the margin of culture and society. Confucian-patriarchy in the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897) was one of the main reasons why Korean shamanism became the religion of women. According to Confucian ideology there must be sexual segregation in the household, and it was extended even to ritual performances for the gods. Men satisfied their religious needs through Confucianism, but they completely excluded women from it. As women were excluded from Confucian ceremonies they needed to find a religion for themselves. The gods worshiped in shamanism and the shamanistic ritual itself were treated by the ruling class as coarse and vulgar, suitable only for people of lower classes and women. The gods in Korean shamanism are not providing people with noble ideals or dreams, they just support human beings by protecting them against bad luck and bringing them good luck. A Korean shamanistic ritual consists mainly of dances and singing. Shamans communicate with their gods in a trance induced by dancing vigorously. In the Joseon dynasty dominated by Confucian ideology it was very unsuitable for men.

Keywords: Korean shamanism, *gangsinnmu*, *seseupmu*, shaman illness, *gut* (shaman rites), *han*, Confucian ideology, patriarchy, Korean Buddhism, Korean fundamental religion

한국의 무속 – 여성들의 종교

개요: 샤머니즘은 가장 오래된 종교들 가운데 하나이며 전세계에 걸쳐 존재한다. 그런데 한국의 샤머니즘은 세계적으로도 매우 예외적으로 여성들에 의해 점유되어 있다. 이 논문은 그러한 현상의 주요 원인들을 규명하고자 한다. 역사적으로 한국의 무속은 지배계층에 의해 단 한 번도 공식적인 종교로서 받아들여진 적이 없었다. 즉, 한국의 무속은 사회의 엘리트-지식인층으로부터 지지를 받지 못했기 때문에, 단지 주변문화로서 기능할 수밖에 없었던 것이다. 조선시대(1392-1897)의 유교적 가부장제는 한국의 무속이 여성의 종교가 되는 주원인들 중의 하나였다. 유교사상에 의하면 가사에 있어 반드시 남녀의 구별이 있어야 하는 바, 그것이 신을 위한 종교적 의례행위까지만 연장된 것이었다. 남자들은 유교의례를 통해 자신들의 종교적 욕구를 충족시키면서도 그것에서 여성들을 철저히 배제하였다. 여성들이 유교적 의례에서 배제됨에 따라 결국 그들은 자신들만의 종교의례를 찾지 않을 수 없었다. 남성 지배계급은 무속에서 섬겨지는 신들과 무속의례를 저속하고 조잡한 것들로서 오로지 하층민 혹은 여성들을 위한 것이라 여겼다. 한국무속의 신들은 인간에게 깊은 사상 혹은 고매한 가르침을 주는 존재가 아니라, 단지 불행을 막고 복을 가져다 줌으로써 그들의 삶을 안전하게 보호하고 도와주는 존재들이다. 한국의 무속의례는 주로 춤과 노래로 구성되어 있다. 무당은 격렬한 춤을 통한 무아지경에서 신과 교통하는 것이다. 하지만 유교사상이 지배하는 조선시대에 그러한 것은 남성들에게 받아들여질 수 없는 것이었다.

키워드: 한국무속, 강신무, 세습무, 신병(神病), 굿, 한(恨), 유교사상, 가부장제, 한국불교, 한국근본종교

KOREAŃSKI SZAMANIZM – RELIGIA KOBIEŃ

Abstrakt : Szamanizm jest jedną z najstarszych religii i istnieje niemal na całym świecie. Koreański szamanizm wykazuje jednak pewne cechy szczególne odróżniające go od innych form tego zjawiska na świecie, gdyż jest zmonopolizowany przez kobiety. W artykule zostaną przedstawione główne przyczyny tego faktu. Koreański szamanizm nigdy nie został zaakceptowany przez klasę rządzącą jako oficjalna religia, nie był także popierany przez elitę społeczeństwa i w związku z tym musiał funkcjonować jedynie na marginesie kultury koreańskiej. Konfucjański patriachat w czasie dynastii Joseon (1392-1897) istotnie przyczynił się do tego, że koreański szamanizm został religią kobiet. Według ideologii konfucjańskiej, w sprawach rodzinnych należy dokonywać segregacji płciowej, która została rozszerzona nawet na sferę rytuałów religijnych. Mężczyźni zaspokajali swoje potrzeby religijne praktykując konfucjanizm, ale całkowicie wykluczali z niego kobiety. Skoro zaś kobiety zostały wykluczone z

rytuałów konfucjańskich, musiały znaleźć jakąś religię dla siebie. Bogowie czczeni w koreańskim szamanizmie oraz sam rytuał szamański były bowiem traktowane przez klasę rządzącą jako trywialne, wręcz wulgarne i nadające się jedynie dla ludzi klas niższych i kobiet. Bogowie szamanizmu koreańskiego nie są istotami dostarczającymi ludziom szlachetnych ideałów lub marzeń a jedynie pomagają im w życiu codziennym chroniąc przed nieszczęściami i gwarantując szczęście. Koreański rytuał szamański składa się głównie z tańców i śpiewu. Szamani komunikują się z bogami-patronami w transie osiągniętym poprzez energiczne i energetyczne tańce. Należy jednak pamiętać, że w zdominowanym przez ideologię konfucjańską okresie panowania dynastii Joseon takie zachowanie było postrzegane jako bardzo nieodpowiednie dla mężczyzn.

Słowa kluczowe : koreański szamanizm, *gansinmu*, *seseupmu*, choroba szamańska, *gut* (szamański rytuał), ideologia szamańska, patriarchat, koreański buddyzm, koreańska religia fundamentalna

1. Shamanism in Korea

Shamanism understands the world not through any natural phenomena, which could be explained scientifically, but believes that the supernatural power controls the world. Such shamanistic thinking captivated the hearts of Koreans for thousands of years. Therefore their social lives strictly follow Confucian values, but still their mentality is still deeply rooted in shamanistic ideas of the world. The system of thought/philosophy of the Koreans was seriously influenced by Buddhism during the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), by Confucianism during the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), and in modern society by rational and scientific thinking. But the shamanistic way of thinking did not disappear, it just deeply permeated to their minds and still exerts influence on their lives (Lee Gyu-tae 2000: 5) Therefore Korea is one of the places where shamanism has been clearly preserved until today. It may be that the main reason for the continued existence of shamanism in Korean society is due to the sincere desires of the people, especially those who are suffering from poverty and anxiety. Throughout their long history in Korea, shamans have had a role as entertainers for the people in addition to their religious functions (*An introduction to Korean culture* 2004:126, 133). It was also possible due to the fact that

in Korean traditional society there was no monotheistic religion. As one knows well, a monotheistic religion does not tolerate any other religions.

Korean shamanism was not like the other universal religions and did not have any fixed religious dogma, generalised scriptures, unified organisation of priests, but as a natural religion could for a long time spread deep roots in the people's daily life. People naturally avoid misfortune and pursue happiness in their life. Shamanism performs a very practical function in a man's life as a religion, which provides him with peace and happiness in this world, not with the redemption of a soul or the life after death. Traditionally Koreans were very practical in their religious life. Therefore one may say that the very practical aspect of Korean shamanism is one of the main reasons for its continual influence on Korean contemporary society in spite of the great changes in it. Koreans frequently perceive every religion through fortune or misfortune, which may be brought upon them by it. That is the typical phenomenon in their religious life that is deeply influenced by shamanic concepts. Because shamanism concentrates mainly on how I or my family can earn a material profit/benefit in this world by paying tribute to gods rather than on emphasis on universal virtues such as love, mercy, wisdom, justice, transcendence, freedom, immortality etc (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 179).

It should be stressed here that shamanism is the fundamental religion of Koreans and the core of their traditional culture. But for most Koreans shamanism is just a primitive superstition, and they treat it with disdain. That is because of Confucian ideology in the past and European education in modern times. The Korean government has tried to do away with shamanism through the modernisation of Korean society in the 1960s and 1970s, but shamanism did not vanish at all, it is rather flourishing in the contemporary society adapting itself to new circumstances. Only its form has changed.

2. Korean shamans

The Korean shamanism may be divided into 1) the northern type and 2) the southern type. *Gangshinmu* is the shaman of the northern type, which means a possessed shaman. It is characterised by ecstasy, different costumes, singing, and dancing in the ritual service. Not everyone may become a *gangshinmu*, because the most important qualification for the shaman is experiencing the so-called 'shaman illness'. They are mystical and act individually.

The 'Shaman illness' is a 'pathological phenomenon' given as a sign by a god/spirit who wants somebody to be his shaman (Choi Gil-seong 1999: 363-364). A person shall suffer from an unknown illness with bodily pain and mental exhaustion. They will often dream of demons or gods, and they will experience hallucinations and illusions even during the day. They may take a variety of medications, but there is nothing that makes them feel better. Consequently, a person goes to a shaman who knows about 'shaman illness'. The illness may be overcome only when a haunted person accepts the spirit and becomes a shaman. From that moment that person will have supernatural power and can act as a medium between a human and spirits.

The southern type is *seseupmu*, which means a shaman by succession, who does not fall into the ecstasy during the shamanic ritual. This is a profession so any person can become a *seseupmu*, although it is usually practiced by women. As a rule, a mother-in-law teaches her daughter-in-law how to conduct and perform ceremonies and rituals. They are strictly connected with people of a village where they work (like as a parish priest). They are rather artistic or ceremonial and work in a group.

Gangshinmu as a private being/independent shaman works freely everywhere, but *seseupmu* can work only in his/her district. So with the collapse of the traditional society *seseupmu* is in progressive decline, but *gangshinmu* is becoming more prevalent with the growth of urbanisation and individualisation (Choi Gil-seong 1999: 365).

3. Shamanistic rite *gut*

The structure of Korean shamanism consists of god, shaman (priest), and believer, so there is no difference from any other monotheistic religions (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 23). It means that the main purpose of shamanism is receiving help from god by the shaman's mediation between men and god. A believer can communicate with gods only through the shaman. One can say that in this case a shaman is the same as a Catholic priest.

The most important function of the shaman is the performance of rituals to help people solve their problems, which they cannot solve by themselves. According to shamanism all misfortunes and sorrows suffered by a human being are caused by angry gods or the souls of dead people (Yun I-heum et al. 2001: 85), therefore the ritual service is performed for pacifying a deceased spirit through a shaman in order to achieve harmony and reconciliation between people and spirits.

Korean shamanism is very similar to animism, because in Korean shamanism people worship all the things in the world giving them contact with divinity (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 79-80). In Korean shamanism even an unimportant soul/spirit is not ignored. It was said that if they were treated inappropriately they would bear resentment/regrets and do harm to people, so Koreans were always trying to be good to them in order to they would not have any resentments. But in Korean shamanism there are many gods with resentment, and if their resentment/grudge is greater they are treated as a more powerful god. That is one of the specific characters of Korean shamanism. According to shamans in the world of mortals there are many problems because of the resentment of the souls of the deceased and spirits. For that reason a shaman performs *gut* in order to satisfy their grudge through the communication between them and people (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 82). However, the main purpose of shamanistic ritual performance is the expulsion of misfortune and the calling for happiness that is good fortune, health, wealth, and longevity for family members. Those four are the most highly valued things in life for

Korean people (An introduction to Korean culture 2004: 133). Here one can see the pragmatism of Koreans in their religious life.

Gut is a very complicated and elaborately organised ritual, so a shaman must learn a lot about it in order to perform it properly. Generally it takes them about ten years (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 38). It is significant evidence that Korean shamanism is a pure religion, which, in its own way, is well organised and has a long tradition. In general, there are twelve stages in the shamanic ritual. At each stage, the shaman wears different clothes in various colours and forms, which may include official dresses, a military uniform, a monk's costume etc.

But *gut* comprises three main stages:

1. inviting a god to attend the ritual,
2. entertaining the god to make him/her happy and willing to help (give advice how to solve a problem),
3. sending the god back to the other world (Choi Gil-seong, 1996: 131-133).

During this ritual a female shaman dances and sings all the time - the Korean drum is the most important instrument here. She experiences ecstasy by dancing vigorously. When in trance she hears the words uttered by a god, and then she passes the message to her clients. That is the most important element of *gut* ceremony.

Confucianism could not be fit for/be capable of carrying out the matters connected with death, which is the biggest fear for men, because it had a very weak religious function. It did not approve of the life after death, so it could offer/provide only ancestral memorial services to the issues/matters of death. Therefore during the Joseon dynasty when parents, for example, lost their beloved child they could only perform the shamanistic ritual *gut* to comfort themselves in their sorrow. (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 121). For that reason taking care of the marginalised and ignored people in society was the duty/assignment of shamanism. Especially women who were excluded by the ruling class and men could do for themselves only one kind of religious ceremony, and it was *gut*. Confucian ritual for the souls of ancestors is absolutely masculine/manly, but *gut* is all composed of women. Both shaman and believers are all women. Men are there just as the musicians or helpers. In a word, *gut* was for women and was a space of liberation of women

(Choi Jun-sik 2009: 119).

Consequently due to women, Korean shamanism could survive during the Joseon dynasty despite all kinds of oppression.

4. How did Korean shamanism become the religion of women?

As has been mentioned above Korean shamanism is almost monopolised by women. In general shamans are women who perform all the rituals. It is not a feature of shamanism in general, but only of Korean shamanism (Choi Gil-seong 1996: 68). Of course there were other reasons for that, but first of all in Korea shamanism was rejected by the ruling class, by people who had power in the state. When Confucianism and Buddhism were adopted by Korea from China (about the 3-4th century) the ruling class gave up shamanism and it started to function at the margin of culture. In a word, Korean shamanism was not supported by the social elites for over 1600 years and that is why it had no chance to develop into a higher culture (Yun I-heum *et al.* 2001: 118).

It is known that in human history religions could be accepted and supported by the ruling class when they were helpful for them in the reinforcement of their political power. In that case the monotheistic religions were most effective, because there must be only one God in heaven, and only one ruler on earth. The ruler justified his political power on earth as a representative of the God. As a result these religions were able to develop into global high/universal religions through the compromise with political powers. It means that they must fulfil/perform a function in a society as a political ideology. But if a religion could not do or was not fit for that, it could not grow or might even die out. For that reason even Buddha at the end also had to become a God to his believers. Originally Buddhism was a religion of own efforts/self-reliance and Buddha taught people to judge all things only

by their own rational judgment. But because of his believers he became a God, the same as in other religions, except for the positions of the Creator or the last arbiter. Now in Korea Buddha is no longer the “Enlightened One” or a great teacher/master for his believers, but he is just a great spirit/deity. For the ordinary/common believers Buddhism is just a religion, which helps them in realising/fulfilling their wishes (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 159-163). But Korean shamanism is not a religion, which in collusion with the political authority takes control of men. On the contrary it serves men. In other words, in Korean shamanism men are not for gods but gods are for men, therefore it could not be useful for reinforcement of political power, and consequently was rejected by the ruling class. However one may say that Korean shamanism is a very humane religion, because it is not related to any political power and just reacts mostly to the emotions and desires of people.

Confucianism was the most exclusive teaching among the Asian teachings. Additionally it did not approve of the supernatural power or the spirits/ghosts. So it was a fatal blow to shamanism. The teachings of Confucianism strongly emphasised rationality. But shamanism was far from rationality and furthermore women played a central role in its rite. Therefore for the Confucian scholars shamanism was just a vulgar thing, and they wanted to be rid of it as quickly as possible (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 109-110). Consequently the shamans and also Buddhist monks were degraded to the lowest class, and for them entry to the castle town/capital city was banned. Thus shamanism became a religion for the lower class, especially for women.

In Korean traditional society the status of men was higher than the status of women and the image of women was rather negative, so if in Korea there was any sexual discrimination it was because of the Confucian-patriarchy in the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897). According to Confucian ideology there must be sexual segregation in the household, and it extended even to ritual performances for the gods. Traditionally, appeasing domestic gods was primarily a housewife’s responsibility, so men engaged in ancestor worship according to Confucianism, but never concerned themselves with the house gods (*An introduction to Korean culture* 2004: 123). The gods worshiped in shamanism and the shamanistic ritual itself were treated by Confucian scholars as coarse

and vulgar things, only for the people of lower class and women, because gods in Korean shamanism are not beings providing people with noble ideals or dreams. They just support and protect the life of a human being by protecting people against bad luck and bringing them good luck.

Very often the Koreans considered that women were more inclined to shamanism than men, because their educational level was lower than that of men. So they were confident that if women were educated they would forsake shamanism. To some degree it was reasonable as in the past for a long time women did not have any chance of an education, and most intellectuals were men with a Confucian education. However one should understand here that women are more dependent on religions regardless of their educational level, because they are naturally more religious than men (Choi Gil-seong 1996: 68-69). Essentially the religious beliefs are not based on rational thinking. It is not only true for women but also applies to men. The diffusion/spread of education may make men less religious, but it is possible only to a certain extent. It means that, faith/religious belief is not a thing, which is inversely proportional to knowledge or education.

In the Confucian society of the Joseon Dynasty there was no room for women and their religious activities. Men satisfied their religious needs through Confucianism, but they completely excluded women from it. Moreover, Confucianism focuses strongly on rationality, so it was unable to give any answers to abstract matters, especially about the life after death. As women were excluded in Confucian ceremonies they needed to find a religion for themselves. Besides Confucianism there was also Buddhism in Korea, but as is known Buddhism is a self-reliant religion, so it was too difficult for uneducated people and women. Besides, Korean shamanism not only does not discriminate against women, but it worships minor gods including many goddesses rather than almighty male-gods, and gives people the mostly earthly fortunes such as wealth and health etc. Consequently women could satisfy their religious needs only through shamanism. In a word, it was the only belief the women could rely on. And the only ritual service they could perform to ease their grief for

their lost family members was the shamanic ritual *gut*.

Gut was the only occasion where the women of the Joseon Dynasty could express their feelings without any restrictions, so it was for them the only means of liberation. Moreover, shamanism was the belief providing for the people of lower class and seeks only good fortune of individuals, so it could not include complicated and difficult religious or philosophical ideologies. Instead of them, Korean shamanism developed to the utmost its elements, which the people could understand sensuously like songs, dances and the mechanism of wish fulfilment etc. The shamanistic ritual *gut* consist of songs and dances from the beginning to the end. But they are not just for amusement. They are the religious means to achieve communication with gods, because Korean shamans communicate with their gods in a trance that occurs or is achieved through songs and dances (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 136). They do not use any other artificial means such as alcohol or hallucinogenic substances. Nevertheless, in the Joseon dynasty dominated by Confucian ideology the structure of shamanistic ritual considered was very unsuitable for men.

Anyway here one should remember that Korean shamanism symbolises the greatness of Korean culture, because it tolerated a religion only for women in the period of pre-modern society. However, unfortunately it was not a religion, which was acceptable to or suitable for a modern society.

5. Conclusion

The main reason why Korean shamanism became the religion of women was because of the Confucian-patriarchy during the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897). Korean shamanism did not have any fixed religious dogma/doctrine, generalised scriptures, unified organisation of priests, universal virtues, and profound philosophical ideologies, so it could not be supported by the ruling class. Furthermore its ritual

consists mainly of dances and singing.

During the Joseon dynasty Confucianism despised shamanism as a superstition and tried to do away with it, but it was rather a kind of a religious suppression and also was not a proof of the superiority of education to religious belief. Nevertheless in the period of modernisation the Korean government pursued the policy of abolishing superstition. It has been an on-going process from the time of enlightenment and the Japanese colonial period. But shamanism did not fade away from Korean society. It did not disappear, only has changed its form to adapt to modern society. Now there are about ten thousand Protestant ministers, the most numerous denomination among the clergy of the universal religions in Korea, but there are about twenty to thirty- thousand shamans (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 126).

The foreign/imported religions, Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism etc., strove to assimilate Korean shamanism, but the result was rather the reverse. Especially in Korean Protestantism there are many elements from shamanism. Seemingly Korean shamanism does not present any resistance to foreign religions, but it changes their teachings to fit within its own frame (Jang Nam-hyeok 2002: 12-13). The Korean people at the crisis and the fall of their nation, especially during the Japanese colonialism (1910-1945), accepted Christianity, but it was not the result of their good or thorough understanding of Christian doctrine. For them Christianity was rather a symbol of Western culture, which was considered better than the values of Korean traditional culture, and they felt the sense of security as if they had gained a strong guardian for themselves in churches, which were managed by the Western missionaries who enjoyed privileges of extraterritoriality (Lee Gyu-tae 2000: 10-11). Therefore it is advisable to regard shamanism from the religious point of view, not from the political or educational policy.

Korean shamanism is significant as a specifically Korean religious phenomenon that is monopolised by women. It is a very indigenous component of Korean religion and culture, thus it is also a precious cultural heritage of the Korean nation. Except for the culture of the social elite, the substantially greater part of Korean traditional

culture is rooted in shamanism (Choi Jun-sik 2009: 20). Thus shamanism is the essence of Korean art, culture, and even religion. Folk music, songs, dances, clothes, drama (*pansori*) include the many elements of shamanism.

However in the contemporary society there is no chance for Korean shamanism to develop as a religion, because for over a century the Koreans have looked at their traditional culture as well as shamanism through the eyes of foreigners. Koreans know almost nothing about shamanism and shamanic rituals, treat it with disdain and regard it as a primitive superstition. But now Koreans should openly admit that shamanism is a part of their culture and their religion. They should also develop its positive features.

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ON SHADOW AND FORM: KOREAN NATIONALISM'S DIGRAPHIC CONFLICT

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Abstract: This paper is an examination of the many points of intersection between Korean nationalism in both Koreas, and Chinese characters (Hanja), as well as a contextualization of the historical and, at times, antithetical relationship or binary consisting of Hanja and Han'gŭl (Chosŏn'gŭl). Emerging from liberation the two Korean states over the next several decades would “engage” Hanja with diverse and fluctuating positions and approaches at different times. These responses have ranged from the abolition of Hanja or the enforcement of Han'gŭl (Chosŏn'gŭl) exclusivity, to the re-establishment and strengthening of Hanja education. Koreans for over a century have responded to “issues of script” based on socially-created narratives. This phenomenon can be viewed through constructivist paradigms, or can be interpreted as implemented pragmatic policies exemplifying instrumentalist nationalism. This paper's assertion is that Korea's vacillating response regarding Korean nationalism's digraphic conflict is eloquent of the complex confluences that formed Korean ethnic nationalism, and therefore, Korean national identity.

Key words: Korean ethnic nationalism, constructivism, instrumentalism, Chinese characters (Hanja), Han'gŭl (Chosŏn'gŭl) exclusivity

**영(影) 및 형(形)에 관하여: 한국(조선)민족주의의
이중(二重)문자 갈등**

개요: 본 논문은 남북한의 민족주의와 한자 사이의 많은 교차점을 분석하는 것뿐만 아니라, 한자와 한글(조선글) 간의 역사적 때때로는 상반되는 관계 및 이중성을 맥락화하는 것이다. 해방 후 수십 년 동안 남북한의 한자에 대한 입장과 정책은 다양하게 변화해 왔고, 그것은 한자폐지 혹은 한글(조선글)전용의 강제로 시작하여 한자교육의 재건이나 강화 등으로 나타났다. 한 세기 이상에 걸쳐 한국(조선)인들은 “문자의 문제”에 대해 사회적으로 이루어진 내러티브에 입각하여 반응했다. 이 현상은 구성주의 패러다임을 통해 볼 수 있으며, 또는 도구적 민족주의를 증명하는 실용 정책의 구현이라 해석될 수도 있다. 본 논문은 한국(조선) 민족주의의 이중(二重) 문자 갈등에 관한 변동적 반응이 한국(조선)의 민족주의 즉, 한국(조선)의 정체성을 형성해 가는 복잡한 합류점임을 밝힌다.

주요단어: 남북한의 민족주의, 구성주의, 도구주의, 한자, 한글(조선글)전용

W CIENIU I FORMIE: KONFLIKT DWUZNAKÓW W KOREAŃSKIM NACJONALIZMIE

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł stanowi wieloaspektowy przegląd „punktów styecznych” między koreańskim nacjonalizmem w obu Koreach a chińskimi znakami (Hanja). W tym aspekcie ukazuje również kontekstualizację historyczną, występujący niekiedy przeciwstawny wiążek czy istniejącą „podwójność”, która składa się z Hanja i Han’gŭl (Chosŏn’gŭl). W powstałych po wyzwoleniu dwóch państwach koreańskich w ciągu kolejnych kilku dekad znaki chińskie były nadal stosowane różnorodnie w różnym czasie. Zastanawiano się nad zniesieniem (likwidacją) Hanja i wprowadzeniem wyłącznie pisma koreańskiego, jak i nad przywróceniem i umocnieniem edukacji Hanja. Koreańczycy od ponad wieku odnoszą się do „kwestii pisma” w oparciu o społecznie tworzone narracje. Zjawisko to może być rozważane (analizowane) przez paradygmaty konstruktywistyczne lub może być postrzegane (tłumaczone) jako wprowadzenie pragmatycznych zasad ukazujących instrumentalny nacjonalizm. W kontekście koreańskiego nacjonalizmu pokazano konflikt dotyczący stosowania w Koreach dwuznaku (podwójności pisma: Hanja i Han’gŭl (Chosŏn’gŭl), co powiązane jest z kształtowaniem się koreańskiego nacjonalizmu etnicznego, a zatem i koreańskiej tożsamości narodowej.

Słowa kluczowe: Koreański nacjonalizm etniczny, konstruktywizm, instrumentalizm, znaki chińskie (Hanja), pismo koreańskie Han’gŭl (Chosŏn’gŭl)

1. Nation, National Identity and Nationalism

A nation and its national identity, and therefore, its nationalism, are “historically contingent, context-driven, and defined and redefined in negotiation and transaction”. (Jenkins 1997: 143) Korean nationalism, essentially a form of ethnic nationalism, remains a key organizing principle of Korean society, both North and South. Korean nationalism, depending on context, has been described as exhibiting the following characteristics: anti-imperialism, post-colonialism, anti-communism, diaspora nationalism, and state nationalism. Shin Gi-Wook rejects extreme notions of primordialism related to Korean ethnic nationalism, and has observed that the concept of a modern construction of Korean nationalism is similar to that of other nations emerging during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Shin’s caveat, however, is that Korean nationalism was embedded in a particular social reality and history, the essence “without which, Korean nationalism cannot be conceptualized”. (Shin 2006: 8-10)

In this paper, the author agrees with the premise that Korean nationalism is essentially ethnic and that this ascribes a shared identity. However, beyond that assumption the constructivist and instrumentalist approaches related to nationalism and political behavior overlap and can serve to refine inquiries into the policies and programs of both Koreas pertaining to issues related to scripts.

Constructivism is a theory that political behavior of state actors can be understood as largely socially constructed. Scholarly arguments are as follows: (1) cultural elements, mainly norms, shape the national interests and state policies; or both (2) cultural or institutional elements of states’ global or domestic environments, mainly norms, shape state identity; (3) variations in state identity, or changes in state identity, affect the national interests, policies of states, or both; (4) configurations of state identity affect interstate normative structures, such as regimes or institutions; and (5) state policies both reproduce and reconstruct cultural and institutional structure. (Jepperson et al. 1996: 52-53) Alexander Wendt (1992: 398) writes that “identities are the basis of interests”, and “actors define their interests on the process of defining situations”. National identity defines “the group that the state is supposed to serve and protect”, and therefore, defining a na-

tional identity is associated with national objectives that the state is expected to champion. (Horowitz et al. 2007: 3-4) This suggests that national identity provides a “cognitive framework for shaping its interests, preferences, [and] worldview.” (S. S. Kim 2004: 41-42)

Identity is the most fundamental concept that constructivists use, and is constituted in relation to difference. The process of acquiring a specific identity is termed “identification”, and it proceeds at the same time with the process of differentiation. William Bloom (1993: 51-52) describes identification as a mechanism for internalizing attitudes, mores and behavior, which in turn, can evoke a shared group identification through meaningful and real experiences. Identification can be made only if the situation or environment is positive and beneficial to an individual or a group. Popular support for any identification comes only if the identification provides a meaningful interpretation of an experienced reality.

Bloom’s observations are a logical transition in considering instrumentalism as it pertains to the topic of this paper. Instrumentalism, related to the actions of state actors, is defined as a group or nation’s use of identity as a means of mobilization and as a tool of to achieve their interests. Inherent in this general description is an emphasis on analysis of material interests (economic, defense and security), interests that ultimately correlate with political motivation and consequentialist ethical reasoning. Ernst B. Haas, while recognizing the socially constructed nature of modern nationalism, assumes “the dominance of instrumental motives among actors”, further elaborating that state actors “choose to act as nationalists for instrumental reasons”. (Haas 1997: 34) Language is a cornerstone of identity in the context of modern nationalism. Eric Hobsbawm’s conclusion (Hobsbawm 1996: 1078) is that language has the potential for “political self-assertion”. This seems to support the logic of a reverse-engineered intuitive explanation that political self-assertion can enlist language in the achievement of political goals.

2. Modern Korean Nationalism and the Politics of Language (prior to 1945)

It is essential to underscore the historical relationship between Hanja and Han'gŭl exclusivity (*Han'gŭl chŏnyong*) as it is referred to in the South, or Chosŏn'gŭl exclusivity (*Chosŏn'gŭl chŏnyong*), as is expressed in the North, at least within the parameters of this article. Modern Korean nationalism begins to form in the late nineteenth century as a reaction against the foreign incursions into the country. The Tonghak Peasant's Uprising of the 1890s, which precipitated the First Sino-Japanese War, was a conservative uprising against local scholar-official abuses. There were, however, powerful anti-foreign elements in Tonghak rhetoric, stemming, in part, from the Japanese mercantile penetration of the Korean economy of the late nineteenth century. The Kabo Reforms (1894-1896) officially brought to an end the civil service examination system predicated upon mastery of Hanja and classical Chinese texts. Han'gŭl was touted as the new official script. (Eckert et al. 1990: 225)

Michael E. Robinson has described the publication of *The Independent* (1896-1899), and its use of Han'gŭl, as "a deliberate statement of cultural unity and linguistic identity." (Robinson 2007: 24) Chu Si-gyŏng, a language scholar and minister of education during the Empire of Korea period, first advocated the eradication of Chinese characters and the installment of Han'gŭl as the exclusive orthography for Korean daily newspapers in 1897. Chu and other Korean language purists based their promotion of a Han'gŭl-only policy on a belief in the superiority of the native Korean language and script over foreign languages and scripts (Janasiak 2012: 223; Park 1989: 118-119, cited in Lovmo 1999) the rhetoric of which is still occasionally used in both Koreas. Chu wrote that ending the use of Hanja and perfecting the use of Han'gŭl was the principle means for "ending the habit of aristocratic cultural slavery to Chinese culture". (Robinson 2007: 34)

With Korea's independence from Chinese political hegemony at the turn of the century, the Han'gŭl-only movement grew with the formation of modern Korean nationalism, constituting a linguistic nationalism (in the case of Korea, Han'gŭl or Chosŏn'gŭl nationalism). (Song 1994: 206) By 1900, the use of classical Chinese as a written form of official communication was popularly seen as not being modern and a symptom of cultural dependence, reflected by the then growing use of the term *sadaejui* ("serving the great") (Robinson 1988: 34), referring to what had been Korea's relationship with China. In 1907, Chu Si-gyŏng published "Essay on Korean Language

and Letters” in which he lamented the failure to widely use Han’gŭl to “transform the thoughts and broaden the knowledge of the entire population”. For Chu and many other Korean scholars in the early twentieth century, the use of Han’gŭl was synonymous with creating a new and truer identity as a nation; a corollary was that Hanja was an obstacle to the achievement of that identity. (Shin 2006: 37)

The Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) was awash with attempts to impose rigid political, social and cultural controls over the Korean population. After the widespread protests and social unrest of the March First Movement of 1919, the Japanese government instituted a “cultural policy” (*bunka seiji*), which allowed for a reopening of the public sphere in colonial Korea. (Eckert et al. 1990: 278; Robinson 2007: 66) In 1921, Korean language scholars formed the Korean Language Research Society (*Chosŏn’ŏ yŏn’guhoe*, later the Korean Language Society, or the *Hangŭl hakhoe*), which led the movement to purify the Korean language, including championing Han’gŭl exclusivity. The Korean language movement was a prominent nationalist project that attempting to maintain Korean cultural identity in the face of colonial racism. The movement prospered during the 1920s and 1930s and was associated with linguistic and literary research and publications, as well as mass literacy movements (in Han’gŭl) supported by the Japanese colonial administration to increase the literacy of the Korean population (Robinson 2007: 65-67) until 1934.

After the implementation of the cultural assimilation policies of Japan in the mid-1930s, which attempted to extirpate Koreans of their national identity, the activities of the Korean language movement continued, despite the allegedly “provocative” nature of their work, such as the publication of Han’gŭl materials. Numerous members of the Korean Language Research Society were jailed in 1942, where many of them died. (King 2007: 209-210; Song 2001: 132; Robinson 2007: 67) At one trial, Korean language scholars were charged with the crime of “working to ensure the future independence of Korea by reviving the national spirit (*kukhon*) and fostering national strength through a cultural movement”. (H. S. Lee 1973: 41, cited in Robinson 2007: 68) According to Mark Peattie, one of the central assumptions of Japanese racism and assimilation pertaining to the Korean colony was the “same script, same race” (*dōbun dōshu*) paradigm that hearkened back to late nineteenth century Pan-Asian ideology of racial and cultural affinities of nations in the Sino-centric sphere juxtaposed

against Western nations. (Peattie 1984, cited in Shin 2006: 42) The assimilation policies of the Japanese occupiers promoted Korean nationalism to be characterized by a distinctively Korean-centered view of East Asia. (Shin 2006: 42)

Shin Gi-Wook (2006: 116-119) has described the emergence of modern Korean nationalism as consisting of two periods with different narratives. Shin argues that in the period of the 1890s to the years prior to the start of Japanese occupation in 1910, Korean nationalism was predicated upon the universalist values of modernization, in national response to the collapse of the Sino-centric world and the increasing influence of foreign powers; in the second period, emerging toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Korean nationalist's central narrative was dominated by particularism in the form of ethnicization of Korean nationalism as Japan strengthened its domination of Korea. (Shin 2006: 39-40; Haarmann 1993: 154-157)

The foundational components of modern Korean nationalism are relevant to the formation of narratives concerning an often oppositional relationship between Hanja and Han'gŭl: Han'gŭl was symbolic of both modernity and/or the essence of "true" Korean identity, whereas Hanja became associated with the contradictions of pre-modern Korea: political incapacity and foreign domination by China, and a rich heritage of scholarly brilliance. The historical Hanja-Han'gŭl binary came to be defined along divides within Korean identity itself, and has continued to recapitulate for over a century.

3. Script Binary in the Two Koreas

3.1 North Korea

The character of the five years after liberation in the northern part of the Korean peninsula has been described by Charles K. Armstrong as "revolutionary". (Armstrong 2003: 241) Contributing to the profound

transformation in the North was the political orientation and approaches of the Soviet Union's occupation of Korean north of the thirty-eighth parallel. The Soviet communist's ideological predisposition to conceptualize the desires of post-colonial peoples for revolution made their administration seemingly more attuned to the aspirations of the Korean people. The Soviet occupation forces expeditiously saw to the surrender of Japanese forces and the expulsion of Japanese persons from the North to Japan. The emphasis on economic and social justice for the masses, albeit totalitarian, was generally supported, except for targeted groups, such as large landowners, wealthy merchants, Christians, and those Koreans who had "collaborated" with the Japanese occupation government. (Weathersby 1993: 16)

The Soviet Civil Administration (*Grazhidanskia Administratsiia*) recognized the legitimacy of the popular "people's committees" which had come into existence in the late summer of 1945, using these organizations as a means of refining political control. (Eckert et al. 1990: 330-331; Weathersby 1993: 5) The rapid and thorough implementation of Soviet-supervised land reform in 1946, in which lands of what had been seen as exploitive large landowners were redistributed to former tenant farmers was a fulfillment of long-held desire for social and economic reform. The reaction of most Koreans in the North to this program was a sense of "post-colonial" rectification, and highlighted the convergence of Korean aspirations and the politics of liberation and revolution espoused by Soviet forces who occupied the North until 1948. (Armstrong 2003: 38-47; Cumings 1981: 384-396)

One advantage of the Soviet occupation forces was the number of Korean interpreters. According to Andrei N. Lankov, by early 1946, there were some 140-150 Soviet Koreans in Soviet occupied Korea. (Lankov 2002: 118) Other figures for actual Korean-speaking Soviet Koreans range from an estimate of approximately 300 (Suh 1967: 317, cited in Cumings 1981: 554), to "thousands" of interpreters virtually all of whom were from a long-established Korean-Soviet population. This language connectivity with the population was better enabled the Soviet Union's rapid rendering of assistance in a variety of projects designed to enhance Korean economic and technical recovery, projects often utilizing Soviet Korean civilians. (Scalapino and Lee 1972: 318 and 383)

The issue of illiteracy was of concern for both emerging centers of political power in a divided Korea. Two Japanese surveys of

Korean literacy among the adult population during the Japanese occupation period, conducted in 1930 and 1944, indicated the literacy rate in Korea to be no higher than approximately 23 percent. In 1945, at the time of liberation, only 35 percent of school-age children were attending primary and secondary schools in newly liberated Korea, this out of a population of 21 million; an additional 3.5 to 4 million Koreans were living in the Korean diaspora by the end of the war. (Caprio and Jia 2009) One-fourth of the population in North Korea, an estimated 2,300,000 people, were counted by the new government as illiterate (Song 2015: 482-483), though some statistics put the number as high as 2,500,000. (Popov 1958: 194, cited in King 2007: 210-211)

“Eradication of Illiteracy” programs were instituted during and after the formation of the North Korean state under the leadership of Kim Il Sung. As part of these programs Chinese characters were identified as impediments in quickly achieving literacy, as the native phonetic alphabet was infinitely easier to master. (Kumatani 1990: 90) The impetus in the North was greatly hastened by the efforts of a Korean communist who had been living in China, Kim Tu-bong. Kim, who returned to Korea in 1946 and who was a noted linguist and disciple of Chu Si-gyŏng, pressed the emerging North Korean leadership to implement Chosŏn’gŭl exclusivity. (C. G. Kim 2006: 36) By September 1946, there were some 10,000 schools of national writing (Chosŏn’gŭl) operating in the North. During the winter of 1947/1948, an estimated 951,320 people learned to read and write Korean. (Popov 1958: 195, cited in King 2007: 211)

The elimination of Hanja was consistent with communist ideology, since Chinese orthography was considered as “property of only a few, [and as]...feudalistic”. (C. W. Kim 1978: 167, cited in Lovmo 1999; Song 2015: 483) For North Korea, the elimination of illiteracy (and Chinese characters) was “an essential prerequisite to enable the party and the government to spread their policies among the people”. (Kumatani 1990: 91) In 1947, newspapers began printing without the use of Hanja; by 1949, Kim Il Sung had ordered the total eradication of Hanja, making temporary exceptions only in the case of classical references, scientific and proper names, and then only in parentheses. (Kumatani 1990: 91-92) The government evidently understood the necessity to augment people’s understanding of the meaning these Sino-Korean words through the temporary use of Chinese orthography. The efforts to eliminate Hanja during this period is thought to

have encouraged the study of Chosŏn'gŭl, which in turn helped the North achieve a literacy rate for virtually all adults by the end of 1948. (C. W. Kim 1978: 166, cited in King 2007: 211) North Koreans who were opposed to the full abandonment of Hanja (because of the resulting confusion in the vocabulary system) were dealt with by being publicly denounced as “the remains of the overthrown exploiting class, sectarian factors deeply influenced by flunkeyism, doctrinism, and reactionaryism”. (Lovmo 1999)

The political climate in North Korea following the signing of the armistice in July 1953 is relevant to the official encouragement of Chosŏngŭl exclusivity. In post-Korean War North Korea, with the ongoing process of collectivization, the membership in the Korean Worker's Party expanded greatly, from 750,000 at the end of hostilities in 1953 to 1,164,945 by 1 January 1956. Collectivization of agriculture implied a reorganization of the local bases of political power. By April 1956, 56.8 percent of party members were from the poor peasant class. (J. W. Kim 1975: 184) A recognized need for literacy skills beyond the basics to mass indoctrination and mobilization was behind the program. The majority of new party members were from the poor peasantry, which suggested lower levels of education and higher rates of marginal literacy. Politically, the official elimination of Hanja in North Korea was sensible given the need of Kim Il Sung to solidify his political power base among the new political cadre.

The symbol of the Korean Worker's Party displays the societal elements of the Korean socialist state and is suggestive of an irony in post-Korean war North Korea that merits mentioning. Contained in the symbol are: the sickle (agriculture, farmers (*nongbu*)), the hammer (industry, laborers (*kŭlloja*)), intersected by a vertical brush (civil service, technocrats (*samuwŏn*)), while the party cadre (*kanbu*), are implied by the symbol in its entirety. A legacy of Korean history was the traditional desire of Koreans, both North and South, to hold office. This terminal value had been perpetuated by the civil service exam (*kwagŏ*) system, based on mastery of Chinese characters and classical Chinese learning. After 1953, farmers increasingly left the agricultural sector to become technocrats, and by 1958, with the party ranks swollen to 12 percent of the adult population, the technocrats were estimated to be as much as 20 percent of the adult population. During the commencement of the Chŏllima Movement, as much as 50 percent of the technocrats were transferred to the industrial and agri-

cultural sectors to alleviate widespread labor shortages. (J. W. Kim 1975: 195-196; Szalontai 2005: 118-122)

Until 1948, North Korea had used mixed script in its official texts including its party newspaper, the *Rodong Sinmun*. That year, Kim Il Sung ordered the Workers' Party to stop using mixed script (*Kukhanmunjongyong*) and start using Han'gŭl exclusively. Although Hanja had been abolished from official texts, North Korea continued to have Hanja education in the years following the signing of the armistice in 1953. During this time, elementary and middle school students were supposed to be taught 600 characters and high school students were to be taught additionally 1,200 characters, with an ultimate goal of 2,400 characters for university students. (M. S. Kim 1999) Even after 1956, when the People's Republic of China adopted simplified Chinese characters (*kanch'eja*), North Korean schools continued to teach traditional Chinese characters (*chŏngja*), as it has done until to the present. (Kuiwon 2014)

The transnational rhetoric of communism has been described as having been used by Korean revolutionaries as a means of achieving national objectives: liberation and independence. Korean communists were strongly nationalistic. Kim Il Sung's nationalist rhetoric reflected this tendency, and included concepts of restoring the "purity and unity" of the Korean people. Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism were the foundations of the establishment of the North Korean nation-state. (Shin 2006: 152-156) Kim Il Sung's own evolving position on Chosŏn'gŭl exclusivity versus maintaining Hanja in the national educational curriculum demonstrates the conflict inherent in the Korean script binary as it relates to Korean nationalism.

Despite the official pronouncements of Chosŏn'gŭl exclusivity from the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948, the North Korean regime exhibited continued desire to instruct Hanja as exhibited by the 1959 publication of the Chinese Character Textbook (*Hanmun kyogwasŏ*), which was designed to instruct eighth to tenth grade students on Sino-Korean terms in mixed script. (Hannas 1997: 67) Kim Il Sung wanted to maintain cultural links with overseas Koreans and because it was needed to have mastery of Cultured Language. (King 2007: 213) It seems reasonable, that these cultural links were in no small measure related to the Korean residents of Japan (*Zainichi*) which was a source of financial support and legitimacy in the legitimacy war between the two Koreas, particularly through the

pro-North General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Chōsen Sōren*). (Shipper 2010: 59-60)

Of historical importance to Hanja use and education in the North are the two “conversations (*kyosi*) with linguists” conducted by Kim Il Sung in 1964 and 1966. In the 1964 conversation, Kim noted that the presence of Hanja in South Korean newspapers and books suggested that North Korea, in order to be aware of developments in the South, should strengthen the teaching of Hanja (M. S. Kim 1999) for the purposes of achieving unification. (C. J. Kim 2006: 37) Kim Il Sung had concluded that with Chosŏn’gŭl exclusivity being the new policy, there were clear indications that Hanja education was often neglected. In the same 1964 conversation, Kim announced his intention to reintroduce Hanja education, lamenting that university graduates in North Korea had a difficult time with Korean language because of their lack of Hanja knowledge. (Hatori 1991: 270, cited in King 2007: 213-214)

In 1966, Kim Il Sung ordered that Hanja instruction be reinstated as part of the curriculum in North Korean secondary education. In 1968, the government in P’yŏngyang established a required standard of 2,000 characters to be taught from the first year of North Korean junior school (grade five) through advanced middle school. (C. J. Kim 2006: 37) The curriculum was termed “foreign orthography”. (Hannas 1997: 68; M. S. Kim 1999; J. K. Kim 2006) By 1969, the 2,000 characters mandated for instruction throughout the six years of advanced middle school were to receive two hours of instruction per week. (King 2007: 214) The Hanja instruction was distributed as follows: 1,500 for grades five through eight, and another 500 characters for grades nine and ten. In 1970, at which time Kim Il Sung observed that the students’ achievement in Hanja was “weak”, university students were supposed to learn an additional 1,000 characters, coming to a total of 3,000 characters. (Yi 1989: 372, cited in Hannas 1997: 68-69; M. S. Kim 1999) Teachers were supposed to instruct students on how to write Chinese characters, identification of constituent character radicals, and practice the use of technical Sino-Korean vocabulary in the classroom. (Kuiwon 2014)

In addition to the observation that Hanja learning was relevant for North Koreans to keep informed about South Korea, Kim Il Sung’s thinking was directly related to his plans to reunify the peninsula through revolution in the South. (King 2007: 214) After his pro-

nouncement of the “Equal Emphasis Policy” in 1962, North Korea had launched a military buildup dedicating as much as 30 percent of its total budget to defense. Beyond the thinking related to political ties with China, Kim Il Sung increased the number and frequency of military provocations between 1967-1969, in what some historians have called “The Second Korean War”. (Bolger 1991: 1-5) Kim’s strategy was, in part, driven by the presence of widespread poverty in the South, political opposition to Park Chung Hee, and the United States increasing involvement and buildup in Vietnam. On a personal level, Kim Il Sung surely remembered his advantage as a young partisan having had a middle school education, which he had obtained while his family lived in Manchuria. (Lankov 2002: 51) Relative to the standards of the 1930s and 1940s, Kim Il Sung was an educated person and knowledge of Hanja was useful in his rise to power, at least among Korean partisans, many of whom were illiterate. (Suh 1988: 6) Most available materials strongly indicate that Kim believed that the North could successfully engineer a revolution in the South; the North Korean population would be at an educational disadvantage compared to the larger Southern population who had a better grasp of Hanja. (Szalontai 2005: 18)

In 1971, a new Hanmun textbook for use in North Korean university history departments was disseminated. The work contained 3,323 Hanja largely based on lexicon drawn from Kim Il Sung’s *Selected Works* and the overwhelmingly political language of other communist publications. In March 1972, a “Mixed Script Reader” (*Kuk-Hanmun tokbon*) was published. Yi Yun-p’yo has speculated that the lexicon selected for the 1972 reader was based upon applicability to high-level Korean used in modern contexts. (Yi 1989: 372, cited in Hannas 1997: 68) In the preface of the reader, Kim Il Sung relates the mastery of Hanja to address potential problems with communication with South Koreans when the ultimate goal of national unification was achieved. (Song 2015: 485)

Amid these developments related to Hanja, North Korea from the 1960s through much of the 1980s was conducting language reform. The language reform policy of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea) was based on communist ideology. This resulted in a removal of Sino-Korean terminologies, and a gradual simplification of speech levels, making North Korean speech appear more “egalitarian” than South Korean speech. (Yeon 2007: 151 and

154) North Korea called their standard speech “Cultured Language” (*Munhwaŏ*), largely based on P’yŏngyang speech, and to a lesser degree, the idiolect of Kim Il Sung. (Kumatani 1990: 105-106) In the process of language reform, the North replaced many Japanese loanwords and Sino-Korean terms with newly coined native words. The North Korean government was able to solve the “homophone problem” that exists in Sino-Korean terms by simply deleting certain words with similar sounds from their lexicon. (Lee and Ramsey 2000: 309-310)

Kim Jong Il was named the successor to his father at the Sixth Party Congress in October of 1980. Thereafter, the younger Kim began to play an increasing role in issuing guidance and directing activities in the North. Throughout the 1980s, Kim Jong Il, while serving as the chief of the powerful North Korean National Defense Committee, often rendered guidance on the need to strengthen Hanja education in the North. (J. K. Kim 2006) After the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, Kim Jong Il continued his father’s directives regarding the importance of Hanja to North Korean education, this despite the fact that Hanja use was declining in South Korea. In a Hanja textbook published in during his years as leader, Kim Jong Il particularly noted that the preponderance of Korean scientific jargon was Sino-Korean. There had been some concerted efforts in the 1960s to “purify” scientific jargon particularly in the medical field that were heightened in the 1970s, but these efforts failed and North Korean scientists returned to using Sino-Korean by the late 1980s. Kim Jong Il stated the following:

“To further develop our country’s sciences and language, to achieve independent reunification of our fatherland, and to completely resolve our nation’s problems, we must still learn Hanja”. (Kim Jong Il quoted in Kuiwon 2014)

There are numerous other quotes and comments attributed to Kim Jong Il related to Hanja education. In April 1994, with the publication of the text *Cultured Language Learning (Munhwaŏ haksŭp)*, Kim Jong Il pointed out that students must learn Hanja in order to properly speak the very “life of the Korean language”. (J. K. Kim 2006) On 11 August 2000, while in Beijing, Kim Jong Il was reported to have criticized the prevalence of an “obstinate moral obligation” to Chosŏn’gŭl exclusivity. Lastly, on 18 June 2005, Kim emphasized that knowledge of Hanja was necessary so that the language of the two

Koreas would not become “differentiated” (*ijilhwa*) from each other. (J. K. Kim 2006)

3.2 South Korea

The liberation of Korea and the subsequent occupation by American forces in the South brought expectations of change among Koreans. In the sector south of the thirty-eighth parallel, the trajectory of the American occupation provided a substantially different one compared to the Soviet occupation in the North. The Americans committed two serious errors. The first was an attempt to retain members of the hated former colonial administration until stability was established. This decision was reversed after strong public protest. Second, the American occupation forces immediately rejected the legitimacy of the people’s committees which spontaneously emerged in August and September 1945 throughout Korea, conceiving of such organizations as being fronts for “leftist/communist” agitation. (Cumings 1981: 137-142 and 267-268; Gills 1996: 34-37) The traditional American understanding of liberation and nation-building was not emphatically revolutionary, but rather, more about consensus building and institutional or procedural foundations for “democracy”. The Americans were indecisive, blinded by their own projection of American democratic aspirations onto the Korean social setting, and usually failed to appropriately interpret the political dynamics of post-liberation Korea, which included demands for economic and social justice. (Henderson 1968: 113-136) United States forces, unlike their Soviet counterparts in the North, conceptualized the trusteeship as a means of forging institutional frameworks for establishing a left-right coalition government that would form the basis of a new state. (Taylor and Taylor 1995: 254; B. B. C. Oh 2002: 4-5; Kang 2005: 179-181)

The Americans have been criticized for dependence on English-language Korean interpreters, most of whom were well-educated and from the landed-interests of the *yangban*, or Koreans who had worked for, or in cooperation with the Japanese occupation government. The slow pace of land reform was an example of the vested

interests stonewalling popular sentiment; land reform was not passed until 22 June 1949, only after much pressure from the Americans; the much awaited land was incrementally implemented throughout the decade of the 1950s. (Nahm 1996: 382) The emerging administration of Syngman Rhee in the Republic of Korea (1948-1960) depended on support of a police force composed of Koreans who had worked for the Japanese police force. Additionally, the media and the education system in the South, dominated by Japanese-era journalists, continued language use practices established during the Japanese occupation period, which meant the continued use of Hanja. This was consistent with the generally conservative character of the centers of power of South Korea. (B. B. C. Oh 2002: 5)

In the years of the American occupation of the South (1945-1948), the literacy rate in Korea was fairly low, with estimates ranging between 20-40 percent. Commencing in 1945, the Korean Language Society (*Han'gŭl hakhoe*) actively advocated Han'gŭl exclusivity and the eradication of all Hanja from Korean writing. In November 1945, the Korean Education Council (*Chosŏn kyoyuk simŭijhoe*) (Hannas 1997: 69) moved to examine the issue of Hanja in education. On 8 December 1945, the council voted to eliminate Hanja from elementary and middle schools textbooks. An American official working for the Department of Education under control of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) named Paul S. Anderson, wrote in 1948 of the difficulty posed by Chinese characters in the South; Anderson observed that Hanja prevented “mass literacy so essential in a modern nation” and that as long as it was essential to read Hanja literacy would “remain the possession of the educated elite”. (Anderson 1948: 508-510, cited in King 2007: 215) While there were certainly forces in the South favoring the curtailment or outright abolition of Hanja, a number of factors conspired against them. First and foremost among these was the simple fact that, unlike in the North, where any and all individuals with former ties to local elites and the Japanese colonial administration were purged, and the United States military occupation officials in the South ended up leaving largely intact the members Japanese-educated elite and officialdom, all of whom were well-versed in Hanja. (King 2007: 215)

In June 1948 the Ministry of Education launched a “Reclaim Our Language” movement, and the Korean Language Society submitted a proposal. Han'gŭl-only usage was initially passed by the Nation-

al Assembly on 30 September 1948, but was amended the next day under pressure from conservative, pro-Hanja elements to include the following caveat: “For the time being, however, Hanja may be used together with Han’gŭl”. On 9 October 1948, South Korea enacted, “The Law Concerning Hangul Exclusivity” (*Han’gŭl chŏnyong-e kwanhan pŏmnyul*), also known as Law Number 6. (Hannas 1997: 69) The law stated, “Public documents of the Republic of Korea shall be in Han’gŭl; however, when necessary, mixed script can be used”. (*Han’gŭl chŏnyong-e kwanhan pŏmnyul chejŏng*, 1948) The passing of the Han’gŭl Exclusivity Law was done in a post-independence period filled with nationalist fervor, without protracted debate. Some scholars have speculated that this was the beginning of the inconsistent South Korean policy variations concerning Hanja throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. (King 2007: 215-216)

In 1951, the Ministry of Education published an official list of 1,260 characters for common use and recognition, of which 1,000 were to be learned in elementary and middle school. (King 2007: 216) By the end of 1953, however, South Korean law stipulated that students through the end of junior high school (grade eight), were to be taught 1,787 Hanja. (M. S. Kim 1999) Indeed, the government made attempts at officially proclaiming “Han’gŭl exclusivity” in 1954 and 1956, but with little or no success; the opposition within the government was unwilling to implement a Han’gŭl exclusivity program. (Sohn 1991: 196) However, the first “abolish illiteracy” (*munmaeng t’oech’i*) campaign targeting adults was launched by the Ministries of Education, Interior, and Defense from 18 March to 31 May 1954, reducing adult illiteracy from 27.7 percent to 7.9 percent of the population. Basic literacy was defined as basic mastery of Han’gŭl, and the campaigns continued to be conducted every spring for the remainder of the decade. (Seth 2002: 92)

The Korean Language Society, after a decade of attacking the use of Hanja and advocating Han’gŭl exclusivity, finally convinced the government to approve new guidelines of a *Revised Han’gŭl Plan*. The Council of Ministers, under pressure from Han’gŭl exclusivity proponents, decided to ban the use of characters, and beginning in August 1957, police were reportedly even given orders to remove any signs from businesses written in “foreign scripts”, not just those in “Hanja”, as well as attempting to extend the ban related to public notices and selected government documents. The media and educated

Koreans, however, protested the plan as removing an important link to Korea's cultural heritage and the East Asian cultural context. (Song 2005: 166; Hannas 1997: 70; King 2007: 216) The law became fully implemented in January of 1958, when guidelines were promulgated requiring that all public documents should be in Han'gŭl. Despite the ban there was a caveat that if the word was difficult its Hanja would be written in parenthesis after it. (Sohn 1991: 196; *Han'gŭl chŏnyong silch'ŏn 'yogang sihaeng* 1958)

Syngman Rhee frequently used instrumentalist nationalism, couched in anti-Japanese and anti-communist references, for the purpose of state and regime survival in the face of Communist threats both internal and external, and later to enforce notions of legitimacy, before, during and after the Korean War. The reversal of the Syngman Rhee administration regarding Han'gŭl exclusivity was a very political decision. The government likely saw the program helpful in bolstering its standing in a segment of the population, with little or no education, which still demanded social and economic justice (Y. P. Hong 1999: 151-152), particularly in light of the success of the Han'gŭl-only adult literacy campaigns.

Ultimately, the specific domestic political reasoning for the reversal was related to the decreasing public support for the regime, exemplified by the relatively successful presidential candidacy of Cho Bong-am, a Moscow-educated, former communist and popular progressive received 30 percent of the popular vote in the 1956 election. The popularity of his mass-centered economic policies, and uncompromising nationalist line "no United States, no Soviet Union" (Y. J. Kim 2015: 70), won favor with a number of South Koreans. Moreover, the increasing support for the opposition Democratic Party, particularly in rural areas, which had been a dependable source of support for Rhee's Liberal Party (Nahm 1996: 405; C. Y. Pak 1980: 149-150), was another motivation for garnering support among rural voters.

In November 1957, the number of Hanja for daily use was officially expanded to 1,300. This had been designed to limit number of characters used in South Korean newspapers. The original 1957 guidelines for Han'gŭl exclusivity were not universally implemented, as many official documents from this time were still written in mixed script. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, it remained mandatory for South Korean public schools to teach students 1,000 Hanja starting from elementary school. Academics continued to recommend an in-

crease in the number of characters taught. (Song 2015: 480; Kuiwon 2013) Then in February 1963 the government decided to return to mixed script in school texts and manuals; this would be fully implemented in 1965. The government decision was met with strong opposition, which included proposals to eliminate textbook Hanja in parentheses. In 1964, the Minister of Education published a list of 1,300 Chinese characters for instructional purposes (Song 2005: 166), with 600 to be taught in elementary schools, 400 in junior high schools, and 300 in high schools. (Sohn 1999: 77; Hannas 1997: 70)

The ascension of Park Chung Hee to power in the May Revolution of 1961 brought about abrupt economic changes. Park launched a program of export-led economic development, which as of the early 1960s, was a reflection of dependency theory. Dependency theory was an approach to economic development in contrast to modernization theory, originating in the plight of Latin American countries that were under “American exploitation”, and were thus in a state of perpetual dependency. Dependency theory recommended export-led economic strategies for peripheral national economies. (McCormack 2011: 192) The legitimization of the 1961 coup was to portray Korea’s past in an unfavorable light, suggesting an internal lack of political cohesion that invited foreign invasions, the loss of national identity, and the rise of flunkeyism as well as the lack of innovation in economic life and the resulting vicious circle of poverty and underdevelopment. (Moon and Jun 2011: 123) Park patterned his concept of economic nationalism based on prewar Imperial Japan’s desire to achieve a “rich country, strong defense” (Japanese, *fukoku kyōhei*, Korean, *pu’kuk kang’wi*), the state-developmental model which included a commitment to rapid economic development and establishing a strong national defense. (J. H. Kim 1978: 6) But Park Chung Hee also espoused the importance of national morality (*kungmin toŭi*) as a necessary component of national reconstruction, (Y. J. Kim 2011: 96) a concept which Park consistently injected into the logic of the May Revolution and many of his policy decisions while serving as president of South Korea.

By 1966, however, Park began to realign his view of nationalism, with a new found rhetoric emphasizing the legacy of Korean traditions, as in his 1966 state of the union speech:

“In order to establish a firm national identity and to overcome social apathy, [South Korea] should reaffirm the superior legacies of [its] culture and tradi-

tion and foster the creation of a new culture on the basis of these legacies”. (Park Chung Hee quoted in Moon and Jun 2011: 123)

With this rediscovery of Korea’s traditional national identity, Park began large public works programs to preserve and restore cultural relics and historical sites, as well as glorify national myths, symbols and ritual through the glorification of national heroes, including Admiral Yi Sun-sin (1545-1598) and King Sejong (1397-1450). Park launched a program of revival of the national spirit in 1968, an example being the introduction of the pledge of national allegiance. The Park Chung Hee regime placed a new emphasis on the “glorious national history”, opening the Academy of Korean Studies, which literally means the “Institute of Korean Spiritual Culture”, with the mission of establishing and constructing historical sites, museums and monuments to famous historical figures throughout the nation. The 1968 “Charter for National Education” (*Kungmin kyoyuk hŏnjang*) established a curriculum for primary and secondary schools rich in support for Park’s economic nationalism. The phrase “We are born with the historical mission of restoring our nation”, was to be memorialized by all students. The Charter made the subject of “national history” an obligatory subject in all universities. (Moon and Jun 2011: 123-124) Park’s political strategy was to strengthen his support among conservative voters by appealing to what were universally held notions of the Korean nation.

Characteristic of Park’s adaptable nationalism were his early criticism of Confucianism and his attempt to establish Han’gŭl exclusivity. During Park Chung Hee’s 1963 presidential campaign, the candidate criticized a famous Korean Confucian scholar from North Kyŏngsang Province, Park’s native province and a key source of political support. The critique of Kim Sŏng-il was that he and other Confucian scholars and officials had wasted national energy on “empty theory and futile debate” (*kong’il kongron*). Much of the conservative population responded negatively. During the 1970s, Park subsequently reversed himself, praising Confucian virtues of propriety and filial piety, and Korean Confucian scholars, to including affixing their images to Korean *wŏn* notes: Yulgok (Yi I) (1536-1584) on the 5,000 *wŏn* note in 1972, and T’oegye (Yi Hwang) (1501-1570) on the 1,000 *wŏn* note in 1976. (K. O. Kim 1996: 217-218; Moon and Jun, 2011: 123-124)

Park Chung Hee's attempt to establish Han'gŭl exclusivity in the 1960s and early 1970s, in addition to revealing changes in his own nationalist politics, demonstrated the potential for controversy along the intersecting fault lines between Korean nationalism and the Hanja-Han'gŭl binary. In 1966, Park prepared a secret memorandum in 1966 to commence a national program to gradually phase-out the use of Hanja in media and education. On 6 January 1968, the Korean Language Society appealed to Park to implement an all-Han'gŭl program applicable to both private and public sectors. (Hannas 1997: 70) Park reasoned that Han'gŭl exclusivity was suggestive of "modernity" and seemed to be consistent with his drive toward economic modernization.

On 14 March 1968, Park Chung Hee issued the following instructions to the relevant ministries: the Ministry of Education was to reduce the number of characters taught from 1,300 to 700 by 1969. Afterward, by 1972, Hanja was to be totally eliminated from all textbooks. The Ministry of Public Information was to supervise and enforce the reduction of the number of Hanja used in newspapers and other printed materials from 2,000 characters used as of 1968 to 1,300 characters by 1969, 700 characters by 1970, and achieving Han'gŭl exclusivity by 1972 (*Park Chung Hee chŏng'gwŏn-ŭi han'gŭl sich'aek yŏnp'yo* 2005); the Ministry of Government Administration was to gradually overview the reduction of the number of Hanja used in public documents and business cards; and lastly, the Office of Court Administration was to gradually mark with Han'gul the family records, registration, registration entries, and lawsuits. (M. S. Kim 1973: 349-350, cited in Hannas 1997: 71; Kuiwon 2013)

Park Chung Hee, on 25 October 1968, publicly revealed his Han'gŭl exclusivity initiative, appealing nationalist sentiments:

"It has been over 520 years since King Sejong promulgated Han'gŭl. To not use Hangul exclusively and be reluctant is to be anti-independent, and not to have a modern way of thinking. It is behavior that drives many of our countrymen, who do not know Hanja, away from our culture". (Park Chung Hee quoted in Kuiwon 2013)

The new policy, his "Five-Year Hangul Exclusivity Plan" (*Han'gŭl chŏnyong o-kae-nyŏn kyehoek*), also known as "Prime Minister's Instruction No. 68" was to be accomplished through legislative and ex-

ecutive means. Adding to the momentum of implementation, a further change in policy away from Hanja occurred in 1968-1969 when a Committee for the Exclusive Usage of Han'gŭl was created by the President of South Korea and the Minister of National Defense announced that the Korean military would use only Han'gŭl in its written materials. (King 2007: 216) Invoking the spirit of national independence, the government also banned Hanja from all school manuals in 1969. (Kuiwon 2013) The deadline for total elimination of Hanja was later advanced to 1 January 1970, to preempt countermoves by opposition. Park Chung Hee emphasized it would be illegal to teach Hanja and use mixed script textbooks in public schools in all grades, from elementary school to high school. By 1970, most basic textbooks for South Korean students had been rewritten into an all-Han'gŭl form. The propaganda stating that Korea was entering the new "Han'gŭl Age" (*Han'gŭl sedae*) started proliferating throughout Korean society. (Hannas 1997: 70-71; Kuiwon 2013)

The initiative sparked intense political debate. A poll by the *Joongang Ilbo* in 1970, revealed a deep division among South Koreans, with only 54 percent of those surveyed in support of the plan. In addition, many academics, writers, and journalists voiced their opposition to the initiative. Some went as far as calling the Hangul Exclusivity initiative unconstitutional. After public outcry, Park Chung Hee attempted to placate the opposition by stating that he personally found Hanja important to Korean culture and history. (Kuiwon 2013)

In December 1971, the Park Chung Hee administration reversed its position, and ordered the teaching of Hanja in public schools. The impetus for the reversal appears to have been at least three considerations related to domestic politics. First, an open petition of 140 prominent citizens of diverse political persuasions expressed their opposition to an all-Han'gŭl program, and proposed a reintroduction of Hanja education. (Hannas 1997: 71) Second, Park's political confidence was undoubtedly eroded from his narrow victory over Kim Dae Jung in the presidential election held on 27 April 1971. Park won with a margin of victory of only 946,928 votes. Third, Kim Dae Jung's campaign rhetoric of "mass participatory economics" and scathing denunciations of the Park administration as corrupt fed into popular dissatisfaction with the government's failure to address a broad range of social and economic issues stemming from rapid development. Social unrest continued for the remainder of the year until

Park Chung Hee declared a state of national emergency on 6 December 1971. (H. A. Kim 2004: 124-126; Kang 2005: 206-207)

In 1972, the government only permitted optional Hanja education in middle schools and high schools. It still maintained the ban on Hanja education in elementary schools and the prohibition on mixed script in textbooks other than Hanja textbooks. While many middle and high schools in Korea did restore Hanja education, there were plenty that did not. The South Korean government in 1972 published a new list of 1,800 basic Hanja for secondary school education, and then officially reintroduced Hanja into South Korean school textbooks in 1974. A politically sustainable stasis was struck in 1976 when the Ministry of Education agreed to keep Hanja education out of elementary schools and the 1,800 Hanja would be taught in special courses, rather than part of language and humanities instruction. (Hannas 1997: 71-72)

Clarity of meaning and ease of use was a controversy regarding the Han'gŭl exclusivity law, which as of 1970, provided for the eventual elimination of difficult Sino-Korean terms in government statutes. Supporters of Han'gŭl exclusivity argued that comprehensibility would be enhanced if "opaque Sino-Korean words" were replaced by pure Korean terminologies. Park Chung Hee himself criticized this argument, denouncing the wholesale conversion to pure Korean words as "too unrealistic", and questioned the notion of using "overly contrived pure Korean coinages for perfectly natural, well-established Sino-Korean words". (Park 1989: 130 and 137, cited in Lovmo 1999) In August 1977, the Ministry of Education once again noted that because of ambiguity from Han'gŭl-only in high-level vocabulary, publishers were required to use English language glossaries for such all-Han'gŭl terminologies. (Hannas 1997: 72-73)

The result of Park Chung Hee's attempt to establish Han'gŭl exclusivity was that Koreans who attended school during this time and a large percentage of the subsequent generations were never formally taught Hanja. In the following decades, the percentage of Hanja use in Korean writing plummeted. The authoritarian regime of Chun Doo Hwan maintained fragments of Park Chung Hee's Han'gŭl exclusivity policy, such as discouraging the reading of Confucian classics viewing them as subversive anti-authoritarian material. A 1956 survey of South Korean adults revealed that a majority read a pure Han'gŭl text slower and with more difficulties than a mixed-script text. By 1977,

that had changed dramatically, with a reported 80 percent of surveyed adults able to read pure Han'gŭl text with greater facility than mixed-script texts. (Taylor and Taylor 1983: 90; Kuiwon 2013)

Over the last two decades, scholarly discourse has proliferated regarding two byproducts of globalization: integration and fragmentation. Global incursion into the national space of a nation, that is, a bounded community, is asserted to be accompanied by a rise in nationalism. (Sabanadze 2010) Anthony D. Smith observed that globalization, as with modernization, inevitably produces social and cultural disruption, and nation-states often react to upheaval by promoting ethnic and national solidarity. (Smith 1995, cited in Shin 2006: 214) In the case of South Korea, this was demonstrable in the paradigmatic changes related to globalization in the post-Cold War era (S. B. Kim et al. 2002: 7-8), and in the "script nationalism" in both Koreas, in which Han'gŭl (Chosŏn'gŭl) have increasingly been esteemed as a symbol of national purity and a defense against foreign influences resulting from modernization and globalization. (King 2007: 232-233)

Shin Gi-Wook has correlated globalization/modernization and the assertion of nationalism in the political behaviors of the administrations of Park Chung Hee, Kim Young Sam, and Kim Dae Jung. The relationship between Park's attempt at Han'gŭl exclusivity and his nationalist shift in 1966 which included the resurrection of nationalist symbols and figures, and his drive to national economic modernity, according to Shin, parallels Kim Young Sam's emphasis on the history of Korea's democratic heritage by promoting Korean heritage and culture, while pursuing a globalization (*segŷehwa*) strategy. (Shin 2006: 214-216; J. K. C. Oh 1999: 135-136) In the 1990s, organizations such as the Research Institute for Education in the Korean Language and Writing spearheaded a drive to restore mixed-script, as exemplified by such books as *Research on the Orthography of the National Language*. (Taylor and Taylor, 2014: 177) Books like *In* 1993, for the first time in 30 years all public schools in all grades in South Korea were allowed to teach Hanja. (Kuiwon 2013) Interest in Hanja among South Koreans in the 1990s expanded because of the potential for economic opportunities with China and Japan. (S. H. Park 1994: 34); however, Taylor and Taylor (2014: 177) suggest that the trend, was in part, prompted by complaints of older readers to restore the use of Hanja in daily South Korean newspapers.

Kim Dae Jung pursued reinvigoration of Hanja more than all post-authoritarian presidents, and made many attempts at reversing Han'gŭl exclusivity policies. In 1999, one year after his election, he announced his intentions to reintroduce Hanja in public documents and in education. This was met with great resistance. (Song 2005: 167) The government's announcement of plans to reintroduce Hanja-Han'gŭl parallel use was immediately the object of widespread protests by the forces of the proponents of Hangeul exclusivity. (J. H. Lee 1999) Typically, the criticisms included concerns over the academic burden on students at the cost of other subjects, and called the reintroduction of Hanja was an "affront to national sovereignty" and a "regressive" act. During the Kim Dae Jung presidency, Hanja in a smaller font size was placed below Han'gŭl, on road signs, bus stops, and on subway signs. In education, Classical Chinese was re-introduced as a one year elective in public high schools in 1999 and Hanja Proficiency Test (*Hanja'nŭngnyŏkgŏmsasihŏm*) results above a certain ranking were admitted as a publicly recognized qualification (*Kukka'gong'injagyŏk*) in 2001. (Song 2005: 167; Kwiwon 2013)

4. Conclusion

The staying power of the bifurcated narrative related to Hanja and Han'gŭl (Chosŏn'gŭl), still prominent in both Koreas, remains strong. In North Korea, despite Chosŏn'gŭl exclusivity in the media and the extolling of the script as being a superior writing script, early in the reign of the new North Korean leader, Kim Jong Un, the North Korean government reported that the new leader had composed a Classical Chinese poem at the age of three. The importance of Hanja was reiterated in a North Korean Hanja textbook published in 2013, in which Kim Jong Un explains to students that Hanja education is not only necessary to improve Korean language vocabulary, or to be used in trade with neighboring countries, but is to be mastered as a vehicle to bring about "revolution in South Korea". Evidently, the symbolic power of mastery of Hanja is still potent for some North Koreans. Yet, despite official support of Hanja learning, there appears to be a lack of

uniformity in Hanja education in the North. Most recent North Korean refugees, who are often from the lower classes, have never been exposed to the script. Anecdotal evidence from North Korean defectors who have had Hanja education strongly suggests a rudimentary retention of Hanja. (Kuiwon 2014)

Korean nationalism's digraphic conflict is a lively topic in the South. In 2013, for the first time since Park Chung Hee's Han'gŭl exclusivity program, all public elementary schools in Seoul were permitted to teach Hanja causing contentious debate. (Cho 2013) The results of a 2014 Gallup poll on attitudes related to Hanja was revealing. Pollsters asked was whether Hanja was "Korean" or "foreign." The results were as follows: 47 percent responded Hanja was "foreign"; 48 percent answered it was "Korean"; and 7 percent were undecided or did not answer. This was statistically the same as the answers from a 2002 poll. (*Han'guk sayong-e daehan insik chosa – 2002/2014nyŏn pigyo*) The results of the two polls underscores the relationship between script and identity and the continuing Korean digraphic conflict between Hanja and Han'gŭl. (Haarmann 1993: 144)

A 2014 government study on the issue of Hanja instruction in South Korea recommended no expansion past the current 1,800 Hanja limit through high school. The document states:

"The flood of nationalism, which had aimed to nurture the 'people' to be loyal through some limited language education, drove Chinese character into being considered not only a vestige of Japanese imperialism, but also as an outdated, insignificant relic". (W. J. Kim 2014: 7-9)

The study recommends that the educational energies of students might be better spent "growing the right personality" and cultivating "reasonable values", which would, according to the study, better accommodate "curriculum to the modern demands of education". (W. J. Kim 2014: 7) The study's conclusions may reflect an attempt by the Park Geun Hye administration to strike a medial position between a divided electorate. Curiously, the argument of focusing education on cardinal moral values seems a faint reflection of Chu Si-gyŏng's arguments in the late nineteenth century; perhaps a testimony to the vitality of Korean nationalism's conflicted embrace of the Hanja-Han'gŭl binary.

A survey of the policies of both Koreas over half a century related to the use and instruction of Hanja and Han'gŭl (Chosŏn'gŭl) indicate that both scripts can serve the instrumental function of repre-

senting the virtues and identity of the Korean nation, but not with graceful synchronicity. Korea's digraphic conflict will likely continue to be intractable in the shadow of nationalism's formation related to script. Expressing the views of the author of this article is a paraphrasing Chen Ming-Jer: this will not transcend paradox while lost from the Middle Way. (Chen 2002: 183-184)

A daunting ritual in composing an article is deriving an appropriate title. The intellectual trajectory of this "thought piece" seemed reasonably straightforward, at first. However, as the layers of the subject were unfolded, the initial title, though having topical sufficiency, was wanting, perhaps in need of metaphor to capture something of the "soul of the article." The author searched Korean language poetry, both traditional and modern, looking for paradox. At last, contained in the below cited poem was something useful.

八月十五夜 (팔월십오야) (추석날밤)

The Night of the 15th Day of the Eighth Month (Ch'usök Night)

李荇 (이행) (1478-1534)

Yi Haeng (1478-1534)

平生交舊盡凋零 (평생교구진조령)

The friends that I have made in life are all dead;

白髮相看影與形 (백발상간영여형)

My shadow and form, with earlocks white, take each other in.

正是高樓明月夜 (정시고루명월야)

Atop a high loftbuilding, the moon is bright tonight,

笛聲淒斷不堪聽 (적성처단불감청)

And I cannot bear the cold sound of the flute.

Yi Haeng, a civil official working in Kyöngsang Province, wrote this poem on Ch'usök night in the year 1520. In the poem, the speaker's melancholy is clearly pronounced. It has been speculated that Yi was considering lost "friends", some of whom were victims of literary purges in 1504 and 1519. In the second line, the poet uses a common poetic expression "shadow and form" (*yöng yö hyöng*), also translated as "shadow and body". The poet is lamenting those he has

lost, and that his only company are his own shadow and body, gazing at one another in the moonlight. Min Pyong-su's analysis and Michael J. Miller's translation (Min, 1999: 108-110) brought forth an explanatory metaphor, part of which was used for the title, along with Harald Haarmann's use of the phrase "digraphic conflict". (1993: 144) The speaker in the poem projects his internal landscape onto the world around him. It seems that more than through linear thinking, the intersections between Korean nationalism and the Hanja-Han'gŭl binary are better expressed in the language of this poem; the poem renders in words the ethereal confluence of thought and identities that have travelled on the arcing light of the dead, across memory, and across time.

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ON SOME PROPERTIES OF ACRONYMS USED IN KOREAN

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ABSTRACT: Abbreviation process in Korean applies to both lexical and grammatical units (cf. Borowiak 2015). This article however focuses only on one type of the former, namely acronyms. The formations in question are created in the lingual process, which could be called *acronymization* and are a convenient means of expression widely used in various fields of contemporary civilization such as science and technology, economy and public life, media, marketing etc. Despite their undeniable popularity the subject of *acronymology* is given relatively little attention in relevant literature, which concentrates mainly on morpheme-based word-formation and thus downplays acronyms as being e.g. unpredictable ‘non-rule governed innovations’ (cf. Bauer 2001). The 20th century however, as Szadyko (1997: 127) points out, belongs to acronyms - that is why the subject definitely deserves more attention.

The aim of this article is to identify, analyze and classify acronyms used in Korean. Abbreviations of this particular type, as this paper will attempt to show, although rarely and rather briefly discussed, are in fact extremely numerous in Korean language. Taking into consideration their number and variety the attempt to classify them according to origin, fields of usage, lexical meaning and familiarity, the method of formation, graphemic form and the type of founding constituents is made.

Keywords: Korean language, lexical abbreviation, acronym, acronymization, acronymology, classification criteria

한국어에서 사용되는 두문자어의 일부 속성(屬性)에 관한 고찰

논문초록: 한국어에서의 축약 과정은 각각 어휘적인 단위와 문법적인 단위에 의해서 이루어진다(Borowiak 2015 참조). 그러나 본 연구는 전자의 방법 중 하나인 두문자어(acronym)에만 초점을 맞춘다. 논의하고자 하는 어휘적인 단위의 축약은 두문자화(頭文字化, acronymization)라고 명명할 수 있는 언어 과정에 의해 형성되며, 현대 사회의 여러 분야, 즉 과학과 기술, 경제와 공적 생활, 대중매체, 마케팅 등의 분야에서 불가결하고 편리한 표현 수단으로 사용된다. 이러한 두문자어의 부정할 수 없는 대중성에도 불구하고 두문자론(頭文字論, acronymology)의 주제는 대체로 형태소에 중심을 두는 조어법에 있어서 상대적으로 적은 관심을 받고 있다. 또한 두문자어를 예측이 불가능한 '비규칙적으로 규정된 혁신'(Bauer 2001 참조)으로 여기고 경시한다. 그러나 Szadyko (1997: 127)가 지적한 바와 같이 '20세기는 두문자어의 세기이다.' 따라서 이 분야의 연구에 더욱 주목할 만한 가치가 있음을 밝힌다.

본 연구의 목적은 한국어에서 사용되는 두문자어를 찾아내고, 분석·분류하는 데에 있다. 본고에서는 매우 드물고 간략하게만 다루어지는 이 독특한 형태의 축약형이 실제로는 한국어에 수적으로 대단히 많이 존재함을 제시하고자 한다. 그리하여 두문자어의 수와 다양성을 염두에 두고 어원, 사용 분야, 어휘적인 의미와 친숙함, 형성 방법, 서기소(書記素)의 형태 및 구성 요소의 특성에 따른 분류를 시도할 것이다.

주제어: 한국어, 어휘적 축약, 두문자어, 두문자화(頭文字化), 두문자론(頭文字論), 분류기준

O NIEKTÓRYCH WŁASNOŚCIACH AKRONIMÓW UŻYWANYCH W JĘZYKU KOREAŃSKIM

Streszczenie: Proces abrewiacji w języku koreańskim dotyczy zarówno jednostek leksykalnych, jak i gramatycznych (por. Borowiak, 2015). Niniejszy artykuł skupia się jednak tylko na jednym rodzaju tych pierwszych, a mianowicie na akronimach. Wspomniane formacje powstają w procesie językowym, który można nazwać *akronimizacją* i są wygodnym środkiem ekspresji szeroko stosowanym w różnych dziedzinach współczesnej cywilizacji, takich jak nauka i technika, ekonomia, życie publiczne, media, marketing itp. Pomimo swej

niezaprzeczalnej popularności, zagadnieniu *akronimologii* poświęca się w literaturze przedmiotu stosunkowo niewiele uwagi. Wynika to zapewne z faktu, iż koncentruje się ona głównie na słowotwórstwie, opartym na analizie morfemów jako jednostek składowych i w związku z tym bagatelizuje akronimy, traktując je jako nieprzewidywalne „innovacje, nieoparte na regułach” (por. Bauer, 2001). Jednakże, jak wskazuje Szadyko (1997: 127), wiek XX należy do akronimów, dlatego też temat ten zasługuje na zdecydowanie większą uwagę. Celem niniejszej pracy jest wskazanie, przeanalizowanie oraz sklasyfikowanie akronimów używanych w języku koreańskim. Abrewiacje tego właśnie typu, choć rzadko i raczej pobieżnie omawiane w publikacjach poświęconych koreańskiemu słowotwórstwu, w języku koreańskim bardzo często występują. Biorąc pod uwagę ich liczbę oraz różnorodność, podjęto próbę sklasyfikowania ich na podstawie takich kryteriów, jak: pochodzenie, obszar zastosowania, rozpoznawalność, sposób tworzenia, forma graficzna oraz rodzaj elementów składowych.

Słowa kluczowe: język koreański, abrewiacja leksykalna, akronim, *akronimizacja*, *akronimologia*, kryteria klasyfikacji

1. Introductory Remarks

The abbreviation of various linguistic units such as words, syntagmas and even whole sentences is nothing new. Szadyko (1997: 116) and Podracki (1999: 11) explain that the tendency to economize in expression is presumably as old as handwriting itself, since it was already known and frequently used in Roman and Medieval Times. Algeo (1973: 269) assumes that it can be much older and date back even before the Roman Times. Cannon (1989) and Asher et al. (1994) highlighting its long history give examples from Hebrew and Latin - MILH from ‘*Mi Iolh Lnv Hshmilh*’ meaning ‘Who shall go up for us to heaven?’ and INRI from ‘*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*’ meaning ‘Jesus the Nazarene, King of the Jews’ respectively. Asher et al. (1994: 80) also impart that over the centuries, even whole sentences have been reduced, exemplifying it with French RSVP from ‘*répondez s’il vous plaît*’.

Despite its long history, the habit of shortening of words and phrases started to spread in Europe only at the beginning of the 20th century, especially during the First World War, which was under the influence of the press and war messages (cf. Czarnecka & Podracki 1995: 9). The usage of systematically created initialisms began however, as Cannon (1989) points out, with World War II and, as a consequence, led to the formation of new items, that are not always formal. Further expansion of abbreviated forms after 1945 is basically recorded all around the world.

Even though lexical abbreviations such as clippings, blends, and acronyms are frequently coined and extensively used, it is the acronym to which the 20th century belongs. This is the very reason why Szadyko (1997: 127) calls the 20th century ‘the era of acronyms’. Their growing popularity however was also noticed by Algeo (1980: 270-271) who in order to signal the considerable number of acronyms and *alphabetisms* being used between 1930’s and 1970’s by the US administration introduces the term ‘the alphabet soup’. He also observes, on the basis of entries in the dictionaries of acronyms, the effects of so-called ‘acronymia’ defined by Collins Online Dictionary as ‘a great enthusiasm for creating acronyms’.

Nonetheless not only linguists but also press noticed the phenomenon of the increase in the number of acronyms. Time magazine in the article titled ‘The Agonies of Acronymia’ (10th July 1970) refers to extensively coined and used acronyms such as PAMIPAC (Personnel Accounting Machine Installation-Pacific Fleet). William Safire - The New York Times’ reporter is convinced that ‘the recent state of acronymia (...) can be combated only by resolute ridicule’ and in his article from 24th February 2002 he makes fun of bizarre acronyms formed by the Pentagon, which he calls ‘professional acronym creators’ describing one of them as somebody, who has ‘achieved acronymic immortality’ since he came up with an acronym PATRIOT which stands for ‘Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism’. He also refers to a cartoon in Punch Magazine, which showed marchers under a banner titled COCOA – the Council to Outlaw Contrived and Outrageous Acronyms.

Despite the undeniable omnipresence of acronyms in

various aspects of our everyday life, although not always welcomed in formal registers of the language, morpheme-based word-formation concentrated on morphemes as word components, discusses the subject of acronyms along with clippings and blends rather briefly.

The tendency to focus basically on regular ‘rule-governed processes’ like derivation and compounding was noticed by Cannon (1989: 119). As an example of words that are not necessarily bound by such rules since their crucial dependence on orthography he gives *initialisms*. The lack of predictability is the very reason why Bauer (2001) and other linguists downplay those ‘non-rule governed innovations’. Algeo (1980: 272) however remarks that of the various kinds of shortenings the largest subgroup are forms such as ‘acronyms, *alphabetisms* and the like’. Asher et al. (1994: 80) while describing the ‘Alphabet-based Word-creation’ remark that acronyms are ‘a vigorous part of modern vocabulary expansions’ and that they ‘are more the product of word-creation than of word-formation’. They even perceive them as ‘orthographically conceived items’ with ‘a necessary place in the vocabulary’ (cf. p. 80). Furthermore, the authors also consider acronyms to be ‘the most creative, freewheeling creations in vocabulary today’. That apparent irregularity of forms of acronyms not only opens the door for creativity and playfulness but also for unconventionality, which to Fandych (2008: 117) is one of the reasons of their unprecedented popularity and productivity (in English in recent decades). The great number of dictionaries of such ‘consciously made’ items proves the utility of *initialisms* and reflects the dynamic nature of word-formation in rich forms, which sheds a light on the overall process of vocabulary expansion – as Asher et al. (1994: 81) further elaborate.

The aim of this research is to identify, analyze and classify acronyms used in Korean. Despite their ubiquity and the benefits from their usage such as to facilitate memorization of long terms or to adopt the names of foreign provenance in question in the target language without the necessity of translation (e.g. NATO, GDP etc.) the subject of *acronymy* is hardly taken up and discussed by

Korean linguists, despite the fact, that acronyms have already established their position in mass media and everyday life and thus definitely deserve greater attention.

2. An Acronym – Different Approaches to the Definition

Acronym is a kind of abbreviation, which is to act as shorthand for long terms especially when concerns the terms frequently referred to. The term ‘acronym’ is a coinage from Greek ‘*akros*’ meaning ‘tip’ and ‘*ónyma*’ meaning ‘name’ (cf. Online Dictionary Reference). The technical term was coined by Bell Laboratories’ researcher and its first known use was in 1943 (cf. Baum 1962: 48, Algeo 1973: 272, Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary and others). Nevertheless Cassidy (1993: 400) referring to supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary from 1972 indicates that the term ‘acronym’ had been in oral use before 1943.

Although there is no doubt as to the etymology of the term itself, defining it appears to be somewhat difficult taking into account its similarities to other words constituting a large group of abbreviations. There is no clear classification of abbreviated forms, which undoubtedly is caused by the lack of strict definitional criteria and the semantic intransparency of the forms in question, which leads to the overlapping of their categories and confusion. That is why there seem to be no consensus on what an acronym really is.

The dictionary definitions of the term ‘acronym’ presented in both online and traditional dictionaries define it with different degrees of precision – as shown in the below Table 1. Although lexicographers do list acronym as a headword instead of defining it, they also put a note to check for another headword namely *abbreviation*.

Table 1. The dictionary definitions of an ‘acronym’

Dictionary	The definition of an ‘acronym’
Online Etymology Dictionary	a word formed from the first letters of a series of words
Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary	a word (as <i>NATO</i> , <i>radar</i> , or <i>laser</i>) formed from the initial letter or letters of each of the successive parts or major parts of a compound term; <i>also</i> an abbreviation (as <i>FBI</i>) formed from initial letters - <i>initialism</i>
Dictionary.com	1) a word formed from the initial letters or groups of letters of words in a set phrase or series of words and pronounced as a separate word, as <i>Wac</i> from <i>Women’s Army Corps</i> , <i>OPEC</i> from <i>Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries</i> , or <i>loran</i> from <i>long-range navigation</i> 2) a set of initials representing a name, organization, or the like, with each letter pronounced separately; an <i>initialism</i> 3) an <i>acrostic</i>
Müldner-Nieckowski (2007:8-9)	resultant forms (which are proper names or concepts) formed from initial components of a phrase such as letters, speech sounds (phones) or syllables (not always all of them) and which do function or can function as an independent word

All of the above definitions relate to the structure of acronyms, however only *Dictionary.com* mentions its pronounceability as a word, and only Müldner-Nieckowski refers to the fact that they do or can function as autosemantic words.¹

¹ Nevertheless not all lexicographic works have the term ‘acronym’ as their entries. ‘응용언어학 사전’ by 박경자 et al. (2001), ‘Encyklopedia Językoznawstwa Ogólnego’ by Polański et al. (2003) and ‘Encyklopedia Języka Polskiego’ by Urbańczyk et al. (1999) and can serve as examples here. Even though the first one gives definitions of specialist terms such as ‘developmental interdependence hypothesis’, ‘free morpheme constrains’ or terms related to word-formation field such as ‘affix’ or ‘prefix’ neither the term ‘acronym’ nor ‘abbreviation’ in nowhere to be found. The two just cited encyclopedias do give examples of acronyms while enumerating the kinds of abbreviation referred to as shortenings – pronounced as words and those pronounced as individual letters - *alphabetisms* or *initialisms* though they do not use the term either (cf. 2003: 537, 1999: 351 respectively).

Not only lexicographers but also linguists tried to define the term ‘acronym’, nevertheless some of their proposals do not eliminate ambiguity concerning the definition. Stockwell & Minkova (2001:7) for example perceive acronyms ‘as a special type of blend.’ adding that a ‘typical acronym’ takes the first sound from each of several words and makes a new word from those initial sounds.’ If it is pronounced as a word, it is treated as a true acronym, however on the convenience pronunciation’ sake, if e.g. apart from the first consonant the first vowel is also taken, this kind of shortening is described as being ‘half-way between blends and acronyms’. On the basis of their definition, one can ask a question: ‘How a unit being included into the class of blends can at the same time be ‘half-way between’ themselves and blends?’

Baum (1962: 49-50) on the other hand distinguishes acronyms from blends on the basis of the degree of shortening of their constituents. The examples of acronyms given by Haller & Macris (1968: 207) suggest that clippings as *ad* (from ‘advertisement’) as well as blends (e.g. *brunch* from ‘breakfast’ and ‘lunch’) were also included here.

Certain discrepancies not only concern the definition of an acronym but also the classification of shortenings as well. Cannon (1989: 106) uses *initialism* as an inclusive term for abbreviations and acronyms – the categories of shortening, while for Rúa (2004) the term initialism is a superordinate comprising both acronyms and *alphabetisms*. Fandrych (2008) on the other hand uses the term acronym to cover both pronounceable formations such as NATO and those with letter-by-letter pronunciation, namely *initialisms*.

In the face of a growing number of acronyms and the dictionaries dedicated to them, Algeo (1973: 271) asks several very important questions concerning the nature of acronyms, some of which were answered by Cannon (1989: 106), who stipulates two conditions of *initialisms* - an inclusive term for abbreviations and acronyms, as already mentioned:

- (i) except of an infrequent one or two letters inserted for orthographic purposes every constituent in the *initialism* must have a known lexical source (excluding e.g. items like ‘A-line’, because A has no such source)
- (ii) no constituent word in the source can be preserved intact.

As one can see from the above criteria the lexical structure of the source word and the fact that all constituents must be reduced to some extent decide whether a word is an *initialism* or not. Rúa (2004: 120) remarks that these criteria can be satisfied by some blends as well, she gives no examples though. According to her research central acronyms can be written in capitals (e.g. SALT – ‘Strategic Arms Limitation Talks’), less central items include two initials per source word taken from more than one word or the choice of letters which are not initials, the bigger combination the less central item is (e.g. BORAX from ‘BOiling ReActor eXperiment’), peripheral items are a combination of initialized and clipped constituents (e.g. Algol/ ALGOL from ‘ALGOrythmic Language); initials and full constituents (e.g. LIMEAN from ‘London Interbank MEAN rate’), initials and chemical symbols or formulae (e.g. *Na* - ‘sodium’), or words which lack original expression (e.g. ‘*qwerty*/ QWERTY’)(cf. p. 125-6).

There are several approaches to the classification of acronyms, some of them are as follows:

- (i) *pure and impure acronyms* (Baum 1962);
- (ii) *acronym, mesonym, ouronym* (Haller & Marcis 1968);
- (iii) *letter acronyms* (pronounced as words or as individual letters), *syllable acronyms* and *acronyms of mixed structure* (Paruch 1970, Czarnecka et al. 1995, Müldner-Nieckowski 2007 and others);
- (iv) *letter-naming type* and *letter-sounding type* (Kreidler 1978);
- (v) *acronyms of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th order* (Algeo 1978);
- (vi) *central, less central and peripheral acronyms* (Rúa 2004).

On the basis of books on Korean language both written and published in South Korea one can remark that the inquiry of *acronymy* in Korean is basically nonexistent. That is why finding in-depth or elaborate analysis on this subject is nearly impossible.

General reference books on Korean, which take up the subject of word-formation discuss it in a brief manner and fail to mention the existence of acronyms in Korean (cf. 이승희 1955, 최현배 1961, 허웅 1983, 고영근 1991, 남기심 & 고영근 2006, 나찬연 2007 etc.). Monographs entirely devoted to word-formation issues focus only on traditional morpheme-based word-formation processes and also fail to mention their existence (cf. 시정근 1994, 김창섭 1996, 김정은 2000, 최규일 2009 etc.).

As far as lexicographic works are concerned, in few dictionaries the term ‘acronym’ is not listed as an entry although its definition (without the term being used however) constitute the second part of the definition of an ‘abbreviation’ (Kor. 준말) as in 이희승 (1982) or 양주동 (1988).

Table 2. The definition of an ‘abbreviation’ in Korean dictionaries

Dictionary	Definition
이희승 (1982: 3400)	1) a shortened word coming from a word, which consists of two or more syllables; 2) a word created by taking only the first letter from words and conveniently used as a kind of a symbol e.g. U.S.A.
양주동 (1988: 566)	1) shortening of words or a shortened word e.g. 새새(form 사이사이 meaning ‘intervals, spaces, gaps’) 2) a word created by combining first letters from words or a phrase etc. and used as a symbol instead of them e.g. ‘The Bank of Korea’ - Kor. 한은, M.P. - Kor. 엠피

On the basis of given examples the definition proposed by 양주동 appears to be more inclusive than the one by 이희승 since it also includes words created from compounds (and not only syntagmas) as in ‘The Bank of Korea’ – 한은 (an abbreviated form from a compound noun 한국은행, which in fact is written a single word according to 표준국어대사전 and thus can be treated as one word). Although the definition does not say so, the given example confirms that *acronymy* applies also to whole syllables and not only to first letter of each word, as in just cited ‘한은’.

홍순성 (1993: 153-5) apart from defining acronyms as

words formed from initial letters of words, divides them on the basis of their morphological structure into those created from two words e.g. ‘한일’ (from ‘한국 일본’ meaning ‘Korea and Japan’) and those formed from a compound word e.g. ‘한은’ (from ‘한국은행’). Nevertheless both formations not only are morpheme abbreviations (and not letter ones) but also seem to come from two words, although the second one comes from the abbreviation of a compound built from nouns such as ‘Korea’ and ‘bank’ (Kor. ‘한국’ and ‘은행’ respectively) meaning ‘The Bank of Korea’.

김진우 (1985: 136) to the above definitions of an acronym, adds that an acronym is a word built from first letters or first syllables, which became a requirement for a word to become an acronym in Korean. 이지양 (1993: 10) notices however that there are almost no examples of new words built from the first letters in Korean, by which he means in Hangeul. He provides no examples of those though. Also 이재현 (2005: 380-381) convinces that in Korean initial abbreviation of Hangeul words does not take place. ‘ㅇㅅ’ (from 연세대학교) – is a kind of example difficult to find both in spoken and written Korean he elaborates. Even if ‘ㅇㅅ’ would be written it would still be read as [ieung] (Kor. ‘이응’) and [siot] (Kor. ‘시옷’) respectively and consequently only the graphic form would be reduced, the pronunciation however would be much prolonged (4 syllables instead of 2 letters). 송철의 (2008: 85) notices that although the ‘Korean Orthography’ (Kor. 한글 맞춤법) uses the term ‘abbreviation’ (Kor. 준말), it is not properly defined. In this context he refers to lexical units such as ‘노동조합’ meaning ‘labor union’ reduced to ‘노조’ and United States of America shortened to ‘U.S.A.’ and even though only the latter is called an ‘acronym’, the author is convinced that it would not be unreasonable to call the former the same term too, despite the fact that their features are not homogenous (cf. p. 89). He explains that the former cannot be recognized as a blend since blends are formed from the first syllable of one word and the back part of another one, while ‘노조’, as he explains, is formed from the first syllable of

both words.²

이지양 (1993: 10) convinces that acronyms along with blends have a special place among words which are the outcome of abbreviation. Nevertheless, the examples of both kinds of abbreviations that he provides are very similar and only on their basis, it is difficult to grasp the difference between them. Since ‘연개’ meaning ‘smog’ from ‘연기’ (smoke) and ‘안개’ (fog) is treated as a blend, while ‘국교’ from ‘국민학교’ meaning ‘an elementary school’ as an acronym. One can only presume that the difference lays in the fact that the second one is a compound, which could confirm that 이지양 perceives as acronyms words which, could be also analyzed as complex clippings. He also stipulates that ‘acronyms are words formed from the first letters or (only) the first syllables and are used as a sign (or a symbol).

In books on Korean published outside of South Korea, the subject of *acronymy* is given some attention – still too little, since the reference to them is limited to literally short paragraphs. Although Lee & Ramsey (2000), Miho & Kwak (2008) and others give a brief discussion on word-formation related topics, they do not mention acronymy. Lee & Ramsey (2011: 305) however discussing vocabulary trends in Contemporary Korean such as native neologisms and loans, in section devoted to ‘other vocabulary trends’, which ‘now characterize the lexicon’, by which the authors mean abbreviations, they make a short notice of acronyms. They define them as ‘East-Asian type of acronym[s]’, which combine the first syllables of the name or term’s constituent elements. We can find 3 examples such as ‘공동 위원회’ shortened to ‘공위’ and ‘노동조합’ abbreviated to ‘노조’, meaning ‘joint commission’ and ‘labor union’ respectively.

On the basis of the above considerations, one can confirm the variety of definitions and classifications of acronyms. Nevertheless in this article the traditional classification of acronyms proposed by Paruch (1970: 10-11), Czarnecka & Podracki (1995: 13-4), Müldner-Nieckowski (2007:8-9) and others will be followed. As a consequence acronyms will be divided into 4 groups according

² It is worth to mention however that blends can also be built from the beginning of each word as it is in e.g. *cyborg* built from *cybernetic* and *organism*. Which makes the definition not transparent enough.

to their constituents' properties, which can be either initial individual letters or first syllables of words. Those formed from initial letters will be divided according to their pronunciation into those pronounced as words and those pronounced as individual letters. Apart from the letter and syllable acronyms there are also those of mixed structure formed from both types.

3. Acronyms Used in Korean

Algeo (1973: 270) remarks that any alphabetical writing system invites the making of acronyms. Giving the fact that Korean does have an alphabetic writing system, the question concerning the possibility to form this particular kind of lexical abbreviation should be easy to answer. However, given the differences in syllable structure of *Hangeul* and other alphabetic writing systems, the question may not be that easy to answer. Even though syllables in Korean, unlike in other alphabetic writing systems, form a sort of blocks corresponding to syllables they also reveal some restrictions e.g. they do not allow more than one consonant in the syllable-onset, which makes the Korean syllable structure unique.

As mentioned above, acronymy is not the subject Korean linguists discuss. If they do refer to acronyms at all, they do it very briefly. Usually three terms are used to describe them, namely:

- (i) 머리글자말 (cf. 홍순성 1993: 153, 이재현 2005: 380),
- (ii) 두문자어 (cf. 황명권 & 정도현 2011, 최경은 2005: 8),
- (iii) 두자어 (cf. 이지양 1993: 10-11, 송철의 2008: 89).

이재현 (2005: 382) notices that a concept corresponding to English term 'acronym' does exist in Korean, but rather than calling it '머리글자말' it would be appropriate to call them '머리음절말' or '두음절말', which can be translated as '*syllable acronym*'.

3.1. Criteria of Classification of Acronyms

Acronyms, as this paper will attempt to show, are extremely numerous in Korean language. On the basis of relatively small data, gathered for the purpose of this research, they can be classified according to the following criteria:

- (i) Origin,
- (ii) Fields of usage,
- (iii) Conveyed meaning,
- (iv) Lexical familiarity,
- (v) Method of formation,
- (vi) Graphemic form,
- (vii) Type of founding constituents.

Each of the above criterion will be discussed in the following sections of this paper.

3.1.1. Origin

Numerous acronyms used in Korean language can be largely divided into two groups on the basis of their origin, namely:

- (i) the ones of foreign (Western) affiliation (see ex. 1.1) and
- (ii) those coined in Korean (see ex. 2.2).

Acronyms from the first group are usually direct borrowings mainly from English and used as internationalisms. Among them are those: a) written only in Roman script, b) written in Roman script or transcribed into Korean, c) written in Roman script or translated into Korean.

The second group can be further subdivided into acronyms, which, are:

- (i) made on the basis of English translation of Korean names,

- (ii) both partially Romanized and partially translated names,
- (iii) made on the basis of *Hangeul* (which are in fact Sino-Korean words).³

(3.1) Direct borrowings

A. Written in Roman Alphabet

- a) LED (light-emitting diode)
- b) IC (integrated circuit)
- c) JCT (junction)

B. Written in Roman or Korean alphabet

- a) UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) - Kor. 유네스코
- b) NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) - Kor. 나토
- c) NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) - Kor. 나사
- d) IQ (intelligence quotient) - Kor. 아이큐
- e) FM (frequency modulation) - Kor. 에프엠
- f) LPG (liquefied petroleum gas) - Kor. 엘피지
- g) USB (universal serial bus) - Kor. 유에스비
- h) GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) - Kor. 가트
- i) TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) - Kor. 토플

C. Written in Roman script or translated into Korean⁴

³ *Hangeul*-based acronyms are referred to as ‘East-Asian type of acronym[s]’ (cf. Lee & Ramsey, 2011) or ‘*syllable acronyms*’ (cf. 이재현, 2006: 382). Nevertheless due to their close resemblance to blends, caused by the lack of strict definitional criteria and thus inability to differ these two categories of lexical abbreviations in an unambiguous way they will not be discussed here. Nevertheless those formations are briefly referred to in the section 3.6. of this article while addressing the question of their graphemic form.

⁴ Although Korean version does exist shorter version in used more frequently.

Anna BOROWIAK: On Some Properties of Acronyms...

- a) GPS (Global Positioning System) - Kor. 지피에스
- b) SUV (Sport Utility Vehicle) - Kor. 스포츠 실용차
- c) EU (European Union) - Kor. 유럽연합
- d) FTA (Free Trade Agreement) - Kor. 자유 무역 협정
- e) CEO (chief executive officer) - Kor. 최고 경영자, 시이오
- f) ESL (English as a Second Language) - Kor. 제2언어로서의 영어
- g) FAQ (frequently asked questions) - Kor. 자주 묻는 질문
- h) Q&A (question and answer) - Kor. 문답
- i) A/S (after service) - Kor. 애프터 서비스
- j) YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) - Kor. 와이엠시에이, 기독교 청년회

(3.2) Coined in Korean

A. English translation of Korean names followed by *acronymization*

- a) 대한민국 → Republic of Korea → ROK
- b) 비무장 지대 → Demilitarized Zone → DMZ
- c) 교육부 → Ministry of Education → MOE
- d) 국방부 → Ministry of National Defense → MND
- e) 국방정보본부 → Korean Defense Intelligence Agency → KDIA
- f) 세누리당 → New Frontier Party → NFP
- g) 새정치민주연합 → New Politics Alliance for Democracy → NPAD
- h) 한국 증권 거래소 → Korean Stock Exchange → KSE
- i) 한국 외환 은행 → Korea Exchange Bank → KEB
- j) 기업은행 → Industrial Bank of Korea → IBK
- k) 한국정보보호진흥 → Korea Information Security Agency → KISA
- l) 국제협력단 → Korea International Cooperation

Agency → KOICA

m) 대한항공 → Korean Air Lines → KAL

n) 서울방송 → Seoul Broadcasting System → SBS

B. Partial Romanization and partial translation of Korean names followed by *acronymization*

a) 신한은행 (*shinhan eunhaeng*) → Shinhan Bank → SHB

b) 문화방송 (*munhwa bangsong*) → Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation → MBC

c) 경희대학교 (*kyunghee daehakgyo*) → Kyung Hee University → KHU

d) 건국대학교 (*konkuk daehakgyo*) → Konkuk University → KU

e) 한국외국어대학교 (*hankuk eogugeo daehakgyo*) → Hankuk University of Foreign Studies → HUFUS⁵

One can observe from the semantic point of view that for some acronyms the resultant forms of English translation of Korean forms do not always convey the exact meaning as the Korean source forms. In other words, the meaning of an acronym does not completely correspond with the Korean name. This is of course a matter of translation and not the acronymy itself (see ex. 3.3).

(3.3) a) SNU (Seoul National University) - Kor. 서울대학교 (literal translation 'Seoul University')

b) KBS (Korean Broadcasting System)
- Kor. 한국방송공사 (literal translation 'Korean Broadcasting Company/ Public Corporation')

The reason for such extensive usage of acronyms of foreign

⁵ Nevertheless not every university has its Romanized and abbreviated form. *Hanyang University* (Kor. 한양대학교) or *Osan University* (Kor. 오산대학교) can serve as example here. The same applies to numerous government institutions.

origin and the creation of new ones used mainly as proper names instead of their full versions in Korean, which are e.g. English translations of Korean names, could be the fashion for foreign languages especially English for political and economic reasons as well as a natural consequence of globalization and the growing need for the effective communication between Korea and the West.

Usually when talking about loanwords being used in the target language with a different writing system from the source one, the need of e.g. phonological or graphic adaptation is being referred to. Since Korean has its own alphabetic system one could presume that the first adaptation to go would be the graphic one. Meanwhile, the above-mentioned examples reveal that the adaptation of acronyms of foreign origin, which in fact can be treated as conventional loanwords to Korean writing system appears to be none. This results in using acronyms in their intact form as in English - their source language. Even though some acronyms do undergo graphic adaptation to Korean writing system, the above-mentioned zero-adaptation appears to be more space-efficient, taking into account specific syllable structure of Korean (cf. e.g. IQ - Kor. 아이큐; two letters vs three syllables). Nevertheless as 'NATO' (Kor. 나토) or 'NASA' (Kor. 나사) show, Korean equivalent can be as long as the source acronym is (four letters or two syllables each). The situation of acronyms created on basis of English translation of Korean source forms is somewhat different since in many cases as e.g. in KDIA (Korean Defense Intelligence Strategy, Kor. 국방정보본부) *Hangeul* notation of the name, namely '케이디아이에이' is not used. KAIST however coming from 'Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology' is either referred to as '한국과학 기술원' or simply '카이스트'. The Korean name is obviously much longer than its acronymized form. Of course in order to find more accurate information on such proportions a statistical research would be needed.

3.1.2. Fields of Usage

Acronyms became an inevitable necessity in various fields of contemporary civilization such as science and technology, economy, public life and politics. They are also present in widely understood mass media, marketing and commercials, military, geography, etc. Taking into account their extensive usage one can say that they became a part of the communication reality we live in and everything indicates that we cannot do without them. A few acronyms from the field of economy will serve as examples here.

- (3.4) a) GDP (Gross Domestic Product) - Kor. 국내 총생산
- b) GNP (Gross National Product) - Kor. 국민 총생산
- c) KOSPI (Korea Composite Stock Price Index)
 - Kor. 한국종합주가지수, 코스피 지수

3.1.3. Conveyed meaning

Acronyms used in Korean language regardless of their origin can designate various entities. Some of them are listed in the below ex.

(3.5)~(3.9).

(3.5) Names of countries⁶:

- a) ROK (Republic of Korea) - Kor. 대한민국
- b) USA (United States of America) - Kor. 미국

(3.6) Names of companies, institutions and organizations:

- a) KAL (Korean Air Lines) - Kor. 대한항공
- b) KEB (Korea Exchange Bank) - Kor. 한국외화은행

⁶ In 1977 Korea Press Foundation (Kor. 한국언론진흥재단) published a list of abbreviated forms of names of countries (and major cities) in order to systematize their notation.

- c) MOE (Ministry of Education) - Kor. 교육부
- d) KTF (Korea Telecom Freetel)
- Kor. 주식회사 케이티프리텔

(3.7) Professionalisms from various fields – mainly science, technology, medicine (Refer to examples given in the following section 3.1.4.)

(3.8) Job titles/ persons:

- a) CEO (Chief Executive Officer) - Kor. 최고 경영자, 시이오
- b) VIP (Very Important Person) - Kor. 요인, 귀빈, 비아이피
- c) MC (master of ceremonies) - Kor. 사회자, 엠시
- d) PD (producer) – Kor. 프로듀서, 피디
- e) DJ (disk jockey, deejay) - Kor. 디제이

(3.9) Names of POP bands:

- a) DMTN (Desire Motivation Timing Now)-Kor. 디엠티엔
- b) GI (Global Icon) - Kor. 지아이
- c) BTL (Beyond the Limit) - Kor. 비티엘

3.1.4. Lexical familiarity

Acronyms are shortened forms of commonly used names and expressions and as such are known by the general public, however a large number of them stay understandable only to specific communicative community. In the context of the language of the younger generation it is worth to mention intentional *acronymization*.

A wide knowledge of acronyms depends on the frequency of their usage especially in the context of country's development or endangerment – one can presume. That is why acronyms from science and hi-tech fields, on development of which South Korea places enormous importance, is not a surprise. Some of them such

as HD-TV, UHD-TV, LED, LTE, GPS, PC, PDF, IQ, AIDS, SARS, MERS and many others function as proper nouns and are very well known to the general public presumably all around the world.

Nevertheless there is a considerable number of acronyms, which usage is limited to particular professions and thus stays understandable only to specialists from the fields in question. Those coming from military and medicine fields will serve as examples here.

- (3.10) a) KADIZ (Korean Air Defense Identification Zone)
- Kor. 한국방공식별구역(韓國防空識別區域)
- b) KAIS (Korean Air Intelligence System)⁷
- Kor. 한국공중정보체계
- c) KCOIC (Korean Combat Operations Intelligence Center)
- Kor. 한국전투작전정보본부(韓國戰鬥作戰情報本部)

- (3.11) a) ACH (adrenocortical hormone) - Kor. 부신피질호르몬
- b) ACP (Acyl-Carrier Protein) - Kor. 아실기 운반 단백질
- c) REM (rapid eye movement) - Kor. 급속 안구 운동
- d) ME (metabolized energy) - Kor. 변형된 에너지

3.1.5. Method of formation

Not every word which is spelled with capital letters and thus resembles an acronym really is one. In some words as in KIA (Kor. 기아), in the name of Korean popular singer ‘PSY’ or in the title of a song by EXO ‘XOXO’ meaning ‘hugs and kisses’ it appears that the capitalization was done deliberately in order to add unique character to words (or phrases) used as proper nouns.

Even though most of the acronyms used in Korean are true acronyms there are also examples like ‘YTN’ which can be treated

⁷ KAIS however can also stand for Korea Advanced Institute of Science (Kor. 한국과학기술원).

as a *reverse acronyms* or *bacronyms*. The above-mentioned ‘YTN’ was made on the basis of *Yonhap Tongsin* (Kor. 연합뉴스) meaning ‘Yonhap News Agency’, but its meaning can be interpreted as ‘Yesterday, Today and Now’ or ‘Your True Network’ - everything depends on what the current slogan of the agency is. Sometimes acronyms show author's creativity as in ‘KOREA’, which stands for ‘Keep Optimistic Regardless of Every Adversity’.

A considerable number of newly coined names of Korean idol groups also confirms the undeniable influence that English has on Korean. Some of these names, as exemplified in the below ex.(3.12), can be treated as *bacronyms*.

- (3.12) a) H.O.T. (High-five Of Teenagers)
- Kor. 핫, 하이 파이프 오브 틴에이지즈
b) M.I.L.K. (Made In Lovely Kin) - Kor. 밀크
c) N.EX.T. (New EXperiment Team) - Kor. 넥스트

One can presume that they are written with stops simply in order to distinguish them from already existing homonymic words since the great majority of acronyms used in Korean is written unstopped and without spaces (cf. paragraph 3.1.6.).

3.1.6. Graphemic Form

Graphemically Roman alphabet based acronyms usually consist of 2 to 5 letters, which are usually all capitalized and written without space or hyphen. They generally contain representation only for every autosemantic constituent (as in ex. 3.13). Although there are also some exceptions as in ‘BEXCO’ (Busan Exposition and Convention Center, Kor. 벅스코), where the last constituent, namely ‘Center’ is omitted or ‘KOSPI’ (Korea Composite Stock Price Index, Kor. 코스피지수), where the second constituent, namely ‘Composite’ is missing.

Sometimes the representation concerns also function words such as prepositions, conjunctions etc., as exemplified in the below

ex. (3.13), although in most cases function words tend to be ignored and thus omitted. The underlined elements as in ex. (3.14) and (3.15) are not reflected in the acronymic formation.

- (3.13) a) ROK (Republic of Korea) - Kor. 대한민국
b) MOE (Ministry of Education) - Kor. 교육부
c) MOU (Ministry of Unification) - Kor. 통일부
- (3.14) a) KAIST (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology) - Kor. 한국 과학 기술원, 카이스트
b) KISTI (Korea Institute of Science and Technology Information) - Kor. 한국과학기술정보원
c) SMOE (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education) - Kor. 서울시 교육청
d) NPAD (New Politics Alliance for Democracy) - Kor. 새정치민주연합

Apart from the above-mentioned examples, which consequently use or omit all synsemantic units while forming acronyms, there are also examples, which include only some of them. This phenomenon could be dictated by the convenience of pronunciation.

- (3.15) a) MOTIE (Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy) - Kor. 통산업부
b) MOSF (Ministry of Strategy and Finance) - Kor. 기획재정부

As exemplified above, acronyms used in Korean are usually unstopped and unspaced capital letters, regardless of the fact that in some cases grammatical words are unrepresented in the acronymic creation. Nevertheless on the basis of names of Korean popular music idol groups listed in the below ex.(3.16) and (3.17) or *bacronymes* illustrated in paragraph 3.1.5., one can confirm the existence of stopped formations as well. Among them are also examples where the stop is omitted after the last letter (as in ex.

3.17). One can presume that using stops is supposed to make the acronym look somewhat special, different from already existing e.g. SES meaning ‘socioeconomic status’ or milk – a common diary product.

- (3.16) a) S.E.S. (Sea, Eugene, Sho) - Kor. 에스이에스
- b) M.I.L.K. (Made In Lovely Kin) - Kor. 밀크
- c) N.EX.T. (New EXperiment Team) - Kor. 넥스트

- (3.17) a) M.I.B (Most Incredible Busters) – Kor. 엠아이비
- b) B.A.P (Best Absolute Perfect) - Kor. 비에이피
- c) V.O.S (Voice of Soul) - Kor. 브이오에스

Writing some names with a colon as shown in the below ex.

(3.18) - is also worth mentioning, since it differs from the above examples. Here the acronym is formed from the first syllable of each constituent forming the Romanized Korean name, which means that the acronym is not, as in other examples, the abbreviation of English name (translated into Korean) but the Korean one.

- (3.18) ZE:A (Children of Empire)
- Kor. 제국의 아이들 (*jegugui aideul*)

Here however, only as far as ‘a’ - the the second part of the acronym is concerned there is no doubt as to Romanization, because Korean ‘아’ is romanized into ‘a’. The first part may raise some doubts though since Korean ‘제’ is not written as ‘ze’ by any of the most widely used Korean language romanization systems such as McCune-Reischauer Romanization, Revised Romanization of Korean (from 2000) nor Yale Romanization. According to the first system ‘ㅈ’ as an initial consonant is written as ‘ch’ (while final as ‘t’). The second one proposes to write the syllable-onset ‘ㅈ’ as ‘j’ (syllable-coda as ‘t’) while the last system as ‘c’. Curiously enough in Yale Romanization ‘z’ appears. It is however used to write the Middle Korean letter ‘△’ called *bansiot* (Kor. 반시옷) and not ‘ㅈ’.

Lee & Ramsey (2000: 63) mention however that ‘The

affricates *c*, *ch* and *cc* (‘ㅈ’, ‘ㅊ’ and ‘ㅉ’ respectively) are always palatalized (...) [and] since there is no *z* in Korean, Koreans 'hear' English 'z' as /c/; thus Korean with insufficient mastery of English sounds pronounce English 'zoo' in a way that Americans hear as 'Jew'. The way in which Korean ‘ㅈ’ is heard as English ‘z’ could be an explanation of ‘ZE:A’s name.

Apart from the above-mentioned formations there are also those written with a hyphen. K-POP from ‘Korean POP’ meaning ‘Korean popular music’ (Kor. 케이팝) can serve as an example here. Although K-POP is written with uppercase letters, nevertheless since its second component is a resultant form of back clipping of a word ‘popular’ used to describe the type of music, the formation has to be treated as a hybrid rather than a true acronym.

Besides K-POP there are also forms, which do resemble acronyms but are not them. This concerns internationalisms with a mixed structure (lower and upper case letters) such as kW (Kilowatt, Kor. 킬로와트) and MHz (megahertz, Kor. 메가헤르츠) as well as formations with numbers such as 4WD (four-wheel drive). This also concerns items such as KRW (Korean Won – Kor. 한화). All of them are just graphic shortenings read as full forms. That is why in this research - following Młodyński (1974) they will be considered abbreviations and not acronyms. Similar situation can be observed with partially acronymed names as in ‘NH Bank’ coming from ‘*Nunhyup* Bank’ (Kor. 농협은행), which also have to be treated as hybrid formations since the second part stays intact.⁸

It is worthwhile to notice that apart from the extremely numerous capitalized Roman alphabet-based formations there are also *Hangeul*-based examples, which as already mentioned, are referred to as ‘East-Asian type of acronym[s]’ (cf. Lee & Ramsey, 2011) or ‘*syllable acronyms*’ (cf. 이재현, 2005: 382). Nevertheless their close resemblance to blends, caused by the lack of strict

⁸ The same applies to a considerable number of Korean music band names created with numbers (e.g. B1A4 ‘One Blood Type B, Four Blood Type A’ or ‘Be the One, All for One’ – Kor. 비원에이포, 4L ‘Four Ladies’ – Kor. 포엘, 2AM - Kor. 투에이엠, 2PM - Kor. 투피엠). They also have to be treated as hybrid formation for the number is read in its full form.

definitional criteria, makes it difficult to distinguish them in an unambiguous way. The lack of distinction between capital and lower case letters in Korean does not help the case either. Without a shadow of a doubt, the definite distinction between *Hangeul* syllable acronyms requires further research, nevertheless few examples analyzed as acronyms by the above-mentioned scholars will be given in the below ex. (3.19). The first two examples are forms abbreviated from compound nouns (written as one word), while the last two constitute noun phrases. It is also worth mentioning that all of them are in fact Sino-Korean words written in *Hangeul*.

- (3.19) a) 노조 (노동조합) - Eng. labor union (Hanja - 勞動組合)
b) 입시 (입학시험) - Eng. entrance examination
(Hanja - 入學試驗)
c) 공위 (공동위원회) - Eng. joint commission
(Hanja - 共同委員會)
d) 노사 (노동자 사용자) - Eng. employee and employer
(or 'labor and management', Hanja - 勞動者 使用者)

3.1.7. Type of founding Constituents

Acronyms used in Korean can also be divided according to the properties their founding constituents have. Among them are letter acronyms (pronounced either as regular words or individual sounds), syllable acronyms and those of mixed structure. The examples of each type are given below.

- (3.20) Letter acronyms pronounced as words
(also called *orthoepic acronyms*)
a) ROK (Republic of Korea) – Kor. 대한민국
b) MOE (Ministry of Education) – Kor. 교육부
c) MOTIE (Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy)
- Kor. 통산업부

- (3.21) Letter acronyms pronounced as individual sounds
(also known as *alphabetizes*)
- a) IBK (Industrial Bank of Korea) - Kor. 기업은행
 - b) MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation)
- Kor. 문화방송
 - c) SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) - Kor. 서울방송
- (3.22) Syllable acronyms
- a) COEX (Convention and Exposition)
- Kor. 코엑스, 종합 전시장
- (3.23) Acronyms of mixed structure
- a) BEXCO (Busan Exposition and Convention Center)
- Kor. 벅스코
 - b) POSCO (Pohang Steel Company)
- Kor. 포스코, 포항제철의 개명
 - c) KOSIS (Korean Statistical Information Services)
- Kor. 국가통계포털
 - d) KOICA (Korea International Cooperation Agency)
- Kor. 국제협력단
 - e) KOSPI (Korea Composite Stock Price Index)
- Kor. 한국 종합 주가 지수
 - f) KOSTAT (Korea Statistics) - Kor. 통계청

Apart from the above formations, there are some that can be perceived as hybrid compounds. One of them is very well known to the general public and thus frequently used ‘SKY대’. The word is a combination of an acronym built from the first letter of names of the three best universities in South Korea namely – *Seoul National University, Koryo University and Yonsei University*. The second part is a back clipping from *daehakgyo* (Kor. ‘대학교’) meaning university.

4. Concluding Remarks

Despite the undeniable presence of acronyms in various aspects of everyday life, the subject of acronymy, which goes far beyond the morpheme-based mainstream word-formation, is not eagerly taken up and discussed by linguists – including Korean ones. Therefore finding an exhaustive analysis of acronyms in relevant literature is difficult.

The aim of this research was to identify, analyze and categorize acronyms used in Korean language. Although it was based on comparatively small dataset, it confirmed the existence of a considerable number of acronyms in Korean. Several criteria according to which they can be classified were proposed, namely: the origin, fields of usage, conveyed meaning and lexical familiarity, method of formation, graphemic form, and founding constituents. Since acronyms are items derived from written etyma rather than spoken ones, there was no need to divide them according to the criterion of spoken or written language as their source.

As far as the origin is concerned, the great majority are Roman alphabet based formations, which can be divided into the direct borrowings mainly from English and those coined in Korean, which are either English translations of Korean names or partially Romanized and partially translated names. Both of them reveal the changes in Korean lexicon influenced by the expansion of English lexicon, which is a consequence of globalization. There is also a group of *Hangeul*-based formations (Sino-Korean words), nevertheless due to their similarities to blends and the need for further study on them, they were presented in this research only in a very brief manner.

Taking into account the Korean writing system and its block-syllable structure, it is easy to presume that the acronyms of foreign origin, since written in linear order, were the first to be used before those coined in Korean. It is very unlikely that acronyms would be written in Korean alphabet (as they are in Latin) since Korean does not have ‘F, V, Q’ letters and such notation in *Hangeul*

would make the communication ineffective. Acronyming the name of ‘the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy’ (MOTIE) to ‘ㅁ오
ㅌ이예’ or its original Korean form *tongsaneopbu* (Kor. 통산업부) to ‘ㅌㅅ어ㅍ’ is technically possible although it would violate syllable structure, since Korean does not allow two consonants in syllable-onset, which means that only the last three letters would in fact form a syllable ‘seop’ (Kor. ‘섭’). This would result in a situation, where the first letter, namely ‘ㅌ’ not being a vowel and thus not having the ability to form a syllable would have to be left alone (cf. *tseop*, Kor. ‘ㅌ섭’).

Even though in informal register of the language several frequently used formations resembling acronyms such as ‘ㄱㅅ’ from ‘감사’ meaning ‘gratitude, appreciation, thanks’ do exist, they have to be treated as abbreviations since they are nothing but orthographic abbreviations read as full forms. Nevertheless their existence reveals yet another dimension of the enormous influence that English has on Korean.

Semantically acronyms are distributed in various subject areas such as politics, economy, science and technology, medicine, geography, military etc. A great majority of them are the names of organizations of various kinds and professionalisms from various fields or disciplines. Usually when an acronym is used in Korean for the first time (except for the very well known ones) its full version is also given. However in many cases it is used along with Korean translation, which may appear inefficient.

As far as the lexical familiarity is concerned two groups of acronyms can be found, namely those known and used only by a specific communicative community such as students, professionals etc. and those, which are known and used by the general public (although there are also acronyms known by the general public yet used mainly by a specific milieu). Acronyms thanks to the tendency to form homonyms can be used as a kind of a password within a particular group. It especially concerns the language of the young generation.

As regards to the method of formation the overwhelming majority of acronym are here so-called *true acronyms*, even though

some *reverse acronyms* were also found.

Graphemically Roman alphabet-based acronyms used in Korean generally consist of 2 to 5 letters, are written with capitals without periods and with no punctuation marks whatsoever. Although few examples confirm the existence e.g. of stopped formations, which are to help to differentiate the acronym from already existing homophones. Acronyms usually contain a representation for every lexical word while function words tend to be inserted for the pronunciation reasons.

A group of well-known and thus frequently used acronyms (without adaptation to Korean writing system) confirm, that the process of their assimilation is very advanced, if not finished. Despite the fact that in many cases Korean equivalent for the word does exist, for the sake of so-called language economy, only some of them are written in *Hangeul*, while a great majority is simply used in an intact form as a loanword and function as proper nouns, which means that they can take particles or create a hybridal phrases.

Even though this research discussed several properties of acronyms used in Korean it definitely did not exhaust the topic. Although the statistical research on acronyms has yet to be done, it is easy to notice that the number of acronyms in Korean grows with every year, that is why the subject definitely deserves greater attention. The author hopes to continue the research in due time.

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DIALECTS AT THE BORDER BETWEEN KOREA AND CHINA

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Abstract: In this paper, we seek a closer comparative dialectological study of the dialects of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean dialects of the ethnically Korean Chinese near the Korea-China border. Accessible resources published in English and other languages besides Korean are particularly necessary in these times of increasing instability in the North Korean regime and foreseeable cases of asylum seekers. Speech samples are discussed to illustrate the relative difficulty of distinguishing between North Korean and Korean-Chinese speakers, compared to distinguishing between North Korean and South Korean speakers. Based on an overview of previous literature, some guidelines are developed for identifying some distinguishing characteristics of these speech communities. Continuing dialectological research with refugees and field research making direct comparisons between these communities are necessary for further and up-to-date insight.¹

Key words: North Korea, Korean-Chinese, Korean dialects, asylum, LADO

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¹ Note on Romanization: In this paper, the Revised Romanization of Korean with assimilation is adopted for ease of reading.

개략: 이 연구는 북한과, 북한-중국 국경 부근에 거주하는 한국계 중국인들의 방언 비교 분석을 다룬다. 북한 정권의 불안정과 난민의 증가가 예견되는 지금, 한국어 외에도 영어 및 다른 언어로도 볼 수 있는 자료물이 시급히 필요하다. 본고는 남-북한 방언 구분보다 북한-조선족 방언 구분이 더 힘든 점을 음성 샘플 분석을 통해 보이고, 문헌 분석을 바탕으로 이 방언들의 구분되는 특징을 찾는 데 유용한 지침을 제시한다. 지속적인 새터민들과의 협력과 비교방언학 현지조사를 통해 최신 정보를 더 구축해야 할 것이다.

키워드: 북한; 조선족; 한국어 방언; 망명; 출신지 결정을 위한 언어 분석

DIALEKTY NA GRANICY KOREAŃSKO-CHIŃSKIEJ

Abstrakt: W niniejszym artykule przedstawione zostanie badanie dialektologiczne dialektów, jakimi posługują się użytkownicy języka Demokratycznej Republiki Ludowej Korei oraz koreańskich dialektów etnicznych u Koreańczyków pochodzenia koreańsko-chińskiego na granicy koreańsko-chińskiej. Badanie tych dialektów jest obecnie niezmiernie istotne zwłaszcza w kontekście politycznym i społecznym (w zakresie osób mogących ubiegać się o azyl). Przytoczone i omówione zostają przykłady próbek mowy by zilustrować trudności w odróżnianiu osób z Korei Północnej od osób posługujących się dialektami etnicznymi koreańsko-chińskimi. Punktem wyjścia dla zobrazowania tych trudności jest uprzednie zestawienie próbek mówców północnokoreańskich i południowokoreańskich. W oparciu o dotychczasową literaturę przedmiotu, sformułowane zostają wskazówki dotyczące sposobów identyfikacji mówców należących do tych wspólnot komunikatywnych. Wskazana jest także konieczność kontynuacji badań w tym zakresie.

Słowa kluczowe: Korea Północna (KRLD), mniejszość koreańska, dialekt koreański, azyl, analiza językowa służąca ustaleniu kraju pochodzenia (LADO)

1. Motivation

Problems of starvation and human rights violations under the regime of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (henceforth, North Korea) are increasingly coming to light through the media (e.g., BBC's Panorama "North Korea Undercover," Bradburn, 2013) and popular fiction and non-fiction literature (e.g., *Nothing to Envy*, Demick, 2009). The recent change in the leadership from Kim Jong-il to his son, Jong-un, has led to instability in the regime, as observed in

the execution of Jang Sung-taek, Jong-un's uncle. According to the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC, 2013), there are 1,321 refugees and asylum seekers originating from North Korea (as of 2013), but this is a great underestimate, due in part to refugees concealing their identities (see, e.g., the International Institute of New England, 2012). In the Republic of Korea (South Korea), the main destination for asylum seekers from North Korea, there were more than 15,000 defectors as of 2008 (National Institute of the Korean Language, 2009), and a more recent estimate states that there have been more than 26,000 defectors to the South (The Korea Herald, December 26, 2013). The South Korean media suspect there is and will continue to be a flow of defectors including top government officials (e.g., The Korea Herald, December 26, 2013).

In these sociopolitical circumstances, it is important to facilitate and improve procedures for asylum seekers originating from North Korea. Defectors, however, often lack the documentation to prove their identity and origin, because they must hide their identity during their precarious time in neighboring countries, some of which send them back to North Korea against the principle of non-refoulement. Consequently, there are several obstacles to distinguishing genuine asylum seekers from 'economic migrants' (Eades, 2005a; McNamara, 2005; Fraser, 2009). In the case of North Korea, the greatest challenge is posed by Chinese nationals of Korean descent. The majority of the roughly two million Korean-Chinese people live in Northeast China, especially Yanbian in Jilin Province, and most of them speak a North Korean dialect, with regional variation.

One procedure used in asylum cases is Language Analysis for the Determination of Origin (LADO), adopted by many governments including Australia and Sweden, and the language variation among the different North Korean dialects across the Korea-China border is critical to successful analysis, particularly in light of a recent report on false refugee claimants from Northeast China (New Focus International, August 4, 2013). While the focus of the paper is not the validity of LADO in general, it is worth pointing out the particularly difficult challenges in distinguishing between the Korean dialects on either side of the border, given the scarcity of native speakers of North Korean dialects outside North Korea, not to mention those with linguistic training. The South and North Korean dialects have diverged over the

period of division, and South Koreans get only minimal, occasional exposure to Northern dialects through the media. Further, while there is a tradition of Korean dialectological research covering North Korean provinces and Korean-Chinese communities, much of the literature is written in Korean. There are interesting studies that deserve wider attention, including recent reports published by the National Institute of the Korean Language (NIKL) in Korean. An overview of old and new findings would be useful, especially for governments that do not work with native speakers of any Korean dialect.

2. Introductory Description

There are only a few accessible resources written in English on the dialects near the Korea-China border. Some English references on North Korean dialects include papers by Ross King, who has worked extensively on Korean dialects (e.g., King, 2006), particularly those of immigrant populations, as well as Sohn (2001), Yeon (2012), and Ramsey (1978) with a historical focus, particularly on South Hamgyeong.

This section provides a summary of the main characteristics of the two main North Korean dialectal regions, Hamgyeong and Pyeongan, that distinguish them from the standard South Korean dialect (see Fig. 1.), based on the linguistic descriptions in the references above, which are available in English. These two regions account for over 90% of North Korean defectors (NIKL, 2009).



Figure 1. Administrative divisions of North Korea.

First, Hamgyeongbukdo (North Hamgyeong Province), Hamgyeongnamdo (South Hamgyeong Province), and Ryanggangdo (formerly mostly South Hamgyeong) form the Hamgyeong dialectal region, and the majority of North Korean defectors originate from this region, particularly North Hamgyeong. The ‘Yukjin’ area in Northeast Hamgyeong (currently the districts of Onseong, Hoeryeong, Gyeongwon, Gyeongheung, and Buryeong) shares some characteristics with the Pyeongan dialect, as discussed below.

Second, Pyeonganbukdo (North Pyeongan Province), Pyeongannamdo (South Pyeongan Province), and Jagangdo (formerly

North Pyeongan) form the Pyeongan dialectal region. South Pyeongan surrounds the capital, Pyongyang, and the Pyeongan dialect is often considered the ‘standard’ dialect (*munhwaeo*).

Main characteristics

(examples with South Korean counterparts in parentheses)

(1) Hamgyeong

- pronunciation of Sino-Korean word-initial r [r] (also orthographically): rodong (SK nodong ‘labor’); ryeoksa (SK yeoksa ‘history’)
- High-Low pitch accent
- palatalization of velars/glottals /k, k^h, h/ > [tɕ, tɕ^h, ɕ]: /kil/ > [teil] (SK [kil] ‘road’)
- no palatalization of alveolars /t^h, t/ > [tɕ^h, tɕ]: /pat^hi/ > [pɕt^hi] (SK [pɕtɕ^hi] ‘field-NOM’)

(2) Pyeongan

- pronunciation of Sino-Korean word-initial r [r]
- no palatalization of alveolars /t^h, t/ > [tɕ^h, tɕ]
- pronunciation of /tɕ/ as dental [tɕ̚]
- lack of vowel rounding distinction (/ʌ/ vs. /o/)

Modern Korean in South Korea has undergone palatalization of alveolars before /i, j/, but the Pyeongan dialect and the Hamgyeong dialect in the Yukjin area are known not to have undergone this process. (In recent data (NIKL, 2009, p. 36), however, all North Korean regions seem to show this partial lack of palatalization, and the particular lexical item seems to be a bigger factor, showing wide variation from 8% to 69% overall lack of palatalization depending on the word.) These characteristics generally make the North Korean dialects very distinct from the South Korean ones, despite some similarities in pitch accent and vowel simplification between the Hamgyeong dialect and the Gyeongsang dialect in Southeast Korea. Because there is little traffic or language contact across the border between the North and the South, these characteristics help distinguish North Koreans from South Koreans quite easily.

In contrast, some characteristics are shared by the provinces of North Korea, and are probably preserved in the dialects of the Korean-Chinese communities as well, making linguistic determination of origin difficult within the North, or between North Korea and North-

east China. On the Chinese side of the border, there is a population of approximately 1,830,000 Korean-Chinese people (2010 Chinese census), mostly in the provinces of Jilin (57%; with most of them being of Hamgyeong descent), Heilongjiang to its north (18%; mostly of South Korean descent, particularly Gyeongsang), and Liaoning to the southwest of Jilin (13%; mostly of Pyeongan descent) (see Fig. 2). An early generation of migrants moved to China to seek economic opportunities, and a large group of migrants moved there for political reasons during the Japanese colonization (1910-1945).



Figure 2. Provinces of Northeast China.

3. Recent Data on North Korean Dialects

In 2009, the National Institute of the Korean Language (NIKL) published a preliminary report on a project for developing a language adaptation training program for North Korean defectors. This report is available online, but only in Korean. The report (NIKL, 2009) provides us with much needed information on the current dialectal situation in North Korea (albeit with a varying range of exposure to South Korean dialects), with useful statistics that allow a rough estimate of regional and individual variation. Such quantitative information was lacking in most of the earlier literature. The report contains a study of the characteristics of speech of 40 North Korean defectors, mostly from North Hamgyeong. In this sample of speakers, about 60% were from Northeast Hamgyeong surrounding Yukjin, and 27% from Yukjin in the extreme Northeast. According to a 2008 estimate by South Korea's Ministry of Unification, nearly 70% of the new settlers in South Korea were from North Hamgyeong, and an additional 10% from South Hamgyeong, leaving only about 20% from the other provinces.

The authors pointed out the following characteristics, some of which were discussed above:

- (1) lack of rounding distinction between /ʌ/ vs. /o/, and /u/ vs. /u/ (in 30-40% of the sample; both are phonemic distinctions in South Korean dialects)
- (2) clear distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/ (in the entire sample)
- (3) n insertion in Sino-Korean words: geum[n]yung (SK geumyung 'finance') (60-90%); n drop in native Korean words: /sol-nip/ > [sorip̚] (SK [sollip̚] 'pine needle,' cf. Lee, 1972) (60-100% depending on the word)
- (4) double engma instead of single engma in certain contexts
- (5) lack of /tʰ, t/-palatalization (10-70% depending on the word and morphosyntactic context)
- (6) dropping of /w/ in certain diphthongs (30-50%)
- (7) non-standard consonant cluster simplification, especially for /lb/ > [p̚] (SK [l]) (40-90%)

(8) free pitch accent (SK fixed stress accent) (see p. 52 for a list of patterns that diverge from the standard South Korean dialect)

(9) pronunciation of word-medial r [r] in Sino-Korean words: na[r]yeol (SK nayeol ‘arrangement’), sing[r]yang (SK sing[n]yang ‘food’)

4. Korean Dialects in China

Literature written in English on the Korean dialects of Korean-Chinese communities is quite limited.

Ito and Kenstowicz (2009) studied Mandarin loanwords in Yanbian Korean. While it is not very likely that asylum seekers claiming to be from North Korea would use Chinese loanwords frequently, a close comparison between the Yanbian pronunciation of a sample of Korean words in their study and the North Korean pronunciation from other sources reveals an interesting difference:

- (1) Yanbian: dudeureoGI ‘(nettle) rash’
North Korean: dudeuREOgi
South Korean: duDEUreogi

This is also consistent with Park’s (2003) claim that the rightmost accented pattern is the default pitch pattern in Yanbian Korean. It may thus be feasible to develop a vocabulary list of reliably distinctive pronunciations based on dialectological research.

Park (2003) pointed out some other important phenomena, including the phonemic borrowing of /f/ in Chinese loanwords in Yanbian Korean (the pitch accent pattern does not preserve the original Chinese tonal distinctions faithfully):

- (2) /’faŋci/ ‘house’
 /’p^haŋci/ ‘a fatty’
 /’paŋci/ ‘stick’ (p. 17)

The /f/ phoneme is not part of the Korean inventory, and even for highly frequent English loanwords with the phoneme /f/, South Koreans typically use /ph/. (Being accurate with the /f/ pronunciation in loanwords may even seem as if one is showing off her/his English

skills.) Another phenomenon is (incorrect) hypercorrection of the default Yanbian pitch accent pattern for loanwords from South Korean, with stress on the first syllable. In other words, even for South Korean words that have stress on the final syllable (e.g., *insaeng* ‘life,’ *yeohaeng* ‘travel,’ *musik* ‘ignorant’), Yanbian speakers sometimes produce the predominant first-syllable stress pattern of standard South Korean to replace their rightmost pitch accent pattern. These hypercorrections may be another point of divergence between the Korean-Chinese and North Koreans.

The NIKL published a report (NIKL, 2012) based on a survey of the three Chinese provinces above and Qingdao, with a new community of Korean-Chinese people, regarding their language use and metalinguistic attitudes. This report is available only in Korean, but is important for comparison between the dialects across the Korea-China border. The authors described a rapidly increasing influence of the Chinese language and pressure toward linguistic integration in these communities. The report includes lists of direct loanwords from Mandarin (typically a Northeastern dialect) into their Korean dialect and novel Sino-Korean words replacing those in North Korean dialects (e.g., *gwangjangmu* ‘public dance’; NIKL, 2012, pp. 227-228).

Some of the most frequent words, such as kinship terms (NIKL, 2012, Section 5.2.2.), may not be easy to correct deliberately in rapid conversation, and thus deserve particular attention. Note some forms that differ from the standard South Korean form (although these are only some among many alternative forms):

- (3) ‘mother’ (SK *eomeoni*)
Jilin, Heilongjiang: *eomani*, *eomeoi*
Liaoning, Qingdao: *mama*
(cf. NK: (*e*)*omani*, *eomeoi*, *eomai*)
- (4) ‘father’ (SK *abeoji*)
Jilin, Heilongjiang: *abuji*
Liaoning, Qingdao: *ppa*, *ppappa*
(cf. NK: *abaji*, *abuji*)
- (5) ‘grandfather’ (SK *harabeoji*)
Jilin, Heilongjiang: *aba(n)i*, *halbae*, *harabuji*
Liaoning, Qingdao: *halbae*, *abai*, *keunabae*
(cf. NK: *keurabani*, *abani*)

- (6) ‘grandmother’ (SK *halmeoni*)
Jilin, Heilongjiang: *amae, halmae, halmai, halmeoi*
Liaoning, Qingdao: *halmae, halmeoi, amae*
(cf. NK: *keulmani, amae*)

We see more diverging patterns between North Korea and China, e.g., *halbae* in (5) and *halmae* in (6), which are used by Korean-Chinese people of Gyeongsang (Southeast Korean) descent, and thus much less likely in North Korean speech.

According to Park (2003), the close political alliance between China and North Korea in the 1960s-70s led the Chinese premier at the time, Zhou Enlai, to promote explicitly the standard North Korean dialect of Pyeongyang (located within South Pyeongan) for Yanbian rather than the standard South Korean dialect, but due to the predominantly Hamgyeong roots of the Korean-Chinese in the region, the official language policy does not seem to have had much impact on everyday language use. After the economic reform of China and the ensuing influx of South Korean businesses and culture, many Yanbian TV journalists and entertainers have adopted a South Korean accent by now. The Yanbian TV programs, some of which are easily accessible, are thus not the best resources for studying the Yanbian Korean dialect unfortunately.

5. Speech Samples

In this section, we explore to what extent the known North Korean dialectal features and lexical items documented in previous literature appear in recently recorded speech samples of Korean speakers. These recordings were obtained from an immigration service in Europe, and were made for the purpose of LADO. I analyzed speech samples from anonymous speakers claiming to be from various regions of North Korea, and the data illustrate some of the characteristics discussed above. For simplicity, we disregard age, gender, and family origins in this discussion. Each sample was approximately 15 minutes long in net duration, and each speaker spoke about their origin and back-

ground. For this paper, we have selected 22 speech samples in which the claimed origin from a Northern province was very likely to be true, based on both the accent and their local knowledge. Note that, strictly speaking, the true origin of these speakers is unknown, and thus one should not draw any conclusions from these recordings. Our aim is to provide an indication of which features documented in the literature would appear to be particularly helpful in the linguistic analysis of speech samples in the context of an asylum procedure.

The following section describes linguistic features within two groups of speakers: those who claim to come from Hamgyeong and Ryanggang (Northeast), and those who claim to come from Pyeongan and Pyeongyang (Northwest). As will be discussed below, it is certainly feasible on the basis of established linguistic features to distinguish speakers of Northern dialects from South Koreans, but it is extremely difficult to distinguish between North Koreans and the Korean-Chinese or estimate their length of possible stay in China and/or South Korea without further knowledge of the dialectal differences across the Korea-China border.²

5.1. Claimed Origin: (a) Hamgyeong and Ryanggang (formerly mostly Hamgyeong)³

Phonology

(1) dropping of /n/ before /i/:

Interviewees #1, 6 [mɛi] (SK [mɛni] ‘much’);

#5, 6 [hɛlmɛi] (SK [hɛlmɛni] ‘grandmother’);

² Due to the brevity of the samples, however, it is important to note that not being listed for a feature in this section does not necessarily imply a lack of the relevant feature in the speaker.

³ Claimed origin of the interviewees: #1, 2 Hoeryeong; #3, 4 Gyeongwon/Onseong; #5 Hyesan; #6 Hwaseong/Cheongjin; #7 Hoeryeong; #8 Cheongjin; #9 Huchang/Dancheon; #10, 11 Riwon; #12 Cheongjin; #13 Hoeryeong; #14 Huchang; #15 Onseong; #16 Yeonsa; #17 Cheongjin; #18 Onseong.

#6, 18 [øi] (SK [øni] ‘not’); #17 [ɛdʑumøi] (SK [ɛdʑumʌni] ‘ma’am’)

(2) dropping of /w/ in certain diphthongs:

#1 [hɛɾʌŋ] (SK [hwɛɾʌŋ] ‘Hoeryeong’);

#2 [hɛŋʑʌŋ] (SK [hwɛŋʑʌŋ] ‘environment/condition’);

#7 [hɛŋgɛɾ] (SK [hwɛŋgɛɾ] ‘60th birthday’);

#11 [hɛʌsʌk] (SK [hwɛʌsʌk] ‘talcum’);

#13, 17 [hɛhɛk] (SK [hwɛhɛk] ‘chemistry’)

(3) pronunciation of Sino-Korean word-initial r [r]:

#3, 4, 14, 16 rodong (SK nodong ‘labor’);

#3 ryeohaeng (SK yeohaeng ‘travel’);

#5 rokhagi (SK nokhwagi ‘recorder’);

#6 roksaek (SK noksaek ‘green’);

#7, 11 ronggu (SK nonggu ‘basketball’);

#10, 15 rihae (SK ihae ‘understanding’);

#11 riik (SK iik ‘benefit’);

#13, 16 ryeoksa (SK yeoksa ‘history’);

#16 rimsan (SK sallim/imsan ‘forestry’)

(4) lack of palatalization of alveolars:

#4 kkeu[tʰ]imnida (SK kkeu[tɕʰ]imnida ‘That’s it./This is the end.’);

#10 kkeu[tʰ]igo (SK kkeu[tɕʰ]igo ‘it is the end, and [...]’);

#5, 18 ba[tʰ]i (SK ba[tɕʰ]i ‘the field (nominative case)’);

#12 ba[tʰ]imnida (SK ba[tɕʰ]imnida ‘it is farmland’)

(5) palatalization of velars:

#10 ga[tɕʰ]aunikka (SK ga[k̚]aunikka ‘because it is close’)

(6) non-standard assimilation/consonant cluster simplification:

#10: sinseonno (SK sinseollo ‘hot pot’);

#12 yeodeopssal (SK yeodeolssal ‘8 years of age’)

(7) pronunciation of /ʌ/ as [o], and /w/ as [u]:

#8 samch[o]lli (SK samch[ʌ]lli ‘3000 leagues’), g[u] ir[u]m (SK g[w] ir[w]m ‘that name’);

#18 h[o]mu (SK h[ʌ]mu ‘futility’)

(8) #10 ttakkatta (SK tokkatta ‘they’re the same’), geojin (SK geoeui ‘almost’)

(9) tense pronunciation: #4 gagi [tɕ]eone (SK gagi [tɛ]eone ‘before going’), #18 [ɕ]ibiwol (SK [ɛ]ibiwol ‘December’)

It is important to keep in mind that Speakers #1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 13, 15, and 18 claim to be from the ‘Yukjin’ area; further, #9 and #14 are purportedly from Huchang (currently ‘Kim Hyong-jik County’), a

region in Ryanggang Province bordering Pyeongan, even though King (2006) grouped it together with Hamgyeong linguistically. No distinct patterns emerge between these subgroups (besides the VP particle *-ri* below for Speakers #1, 3, and 18 purportedly from the Yukjin area; see Morphosyntax).

Morphosyntax

(1) characteristic sentence-enders:

#1 *eodi gamdu* ‘where are you going?’;

#3 *meoraemdu* ‘what is (s)he saying?’;

#6 *jyaeneun eodiseo wasseumme* ‘where is that person from?’;

#7 *ige eolmamdu* ‘how much is this?’;

#16 *eodi gatta omdung* ‘where have you been?’;

#17 *mohamdu* ‘what are you doing?’

(2) negation:

#6 *deureo mot bwasseumnida* (SK *mot deureo bwasseumnida / deure-oboji mot haesseumnida* ‘I haven’t heard’), *mideo ai jineungemnida* (SK *an mideojineungeomnida / mideojiji an(h)neungeomnida* ‘I couldn’t believe it’);

#12 *ara mot deudeoyo* (SK *mot aradeureoyo* ‘One can’t understand’)

(3) relative clause:

#8 *algeon deneun* (SK *aneun geoseun* ‘as far as I know, in my knowledge’)

(4) VP particle *-ri*:

#1, 18 *joreophamyeonseori* ‘after graduating,’ *naeryoomyeonseori* ‘as one comes down’,

#3 *haegamyeonseori* ‘while doing’

The non-standard position of the negation particle within the VP seems unique to the Hamgyeong dialect (King, 2006), and has not been observed in Pyeongan speech.

Lexicon

(#3) *oksikki* (SK *oksusu* ‘corn’), *doti* (SK *dwaengi* ‘pig’)

(#4) *deodeolgi* (SK *deodeok* ‘mountain herb, *Codonopsis lanceolata*’), *rorak* (SK *byeo* ‘rice’)

(#4, 6) *bense* (SK *mandu* ‘dumpling’)

(#5) *gugangwon* (SK *chigwa* ‘dental clinic’), *geuruppa* (from Russian *gruppa*; SK *geurup* ‘group’)

(#6) *gasae* (SK *gawi* ‘scissors’)

(#6, 18) *noreum* (SK *nori* ‘game’)

- (#7) *roim* (SK *imgeum* ‘wage, pay’), *buseukkae* (SK *agungi* ‘furnace’), *sakari* (SK *seoltang* ‘sugar’)
(#7, 12) *ipssal* (SK *ssal* ‘rice’)
(#8) *siksujeol* (SK *sikmogil* ‘arbor day’)
(#8, 13, 15) *jangmadang* (SK *sijang* ‘market’)
(#9, 18) *nyum* (SK *alluminyum* ‘aluminum’)
(#11) *bbangtong* (SK *hwamulkan* ‘train car’)
(#12) *jjaeopo* (SK *jaeil gyopo* ‘Korean Japanese (sent to North Korea)’)
(#12, 15) *gangnaengi*, *gangnae* (SK *oksusu* ‘corn’)
(#14) *rajio* (from Japanese; SK *radio* ‘radio’)
(#16, 17) *mongrankkot* (SK *moran(kkot)* ‘peony’), *gyowon* (SK *gyosa* ‘teacher’), *amae* (SK *halmeoni* ‘grandmother’), *abai* (SK *harabeoji* ‘grandfather’)
(#17) *tteuraktoreu* (from Russian *traktor*; SK *teuraekteo* ‘tractor’), *jabatteugae* (SK *sujebi* ‘dumpling soup’), *detteurong* (SK *tetoron* ‘Tetoron’), *dundeok* (SK *eondeok* ‘hill’), *bbanjjakjji* ‘bright fabric’
(#18) *gojo* (dummy filler)

These numerous examples demonstrate that distinguishing a North Korean dialect from standard South Korean should not be difficult, but pinpointing the exact area of a speaker’s origin near the Korea-China border remains a challenge, especially due to some language contact in the area among merchants. For example, Speaker #3 used the word *georeumai* ‘pocket,’ which, according to the NIKL dictionary (http://www.korean.go.kr/09_new/dic/local/word_local.jsp), has been documented in an area of Yanbian not far from the border city that the speaker claims to come from. Another word, *jeopgan* ‘hospitality’ (from Speaker #4), has not been documented in any known references.

5.2. Claimed Origin: (b) Pyeongan and Pyeongyang⁴

Phonology

(1) pronunciation of /ʌ/ as /o/:

Interviewee #19 nawas[o] (SK nawas[ʌ] ‘after getting out’);

#20 s[o]ngch[o]ngun d[o]kch[o]nsi (SK s[ʌ]ngch[ʌ]ngun d[ʌ]kch[ʌ]nsi ‘Seongcheon-gun (district) Deokcheon-si (city)’);

#22 g[o]ns[o]l (SK g[ʌ]ns[ʌ]l ‘construction’), tt[o]k (SK tt[ʌ]k ‘rice cake’), bob (SK beob ‘law’)

(2) dropping of /w/ in certain diphthongs:

#21 [hɛŋ tɛŋ jʌp̃] (SK [hwɛŋ tɛŋ jʌp̃] ‘Hwang Jang-yop’)

(3) pronunciation of Sino-Korean word-initial r [r]:

#21 [r]yeonseup (SK yeonseup ‘practice’)

(4) lack of palatalization of alveolars:

#22 [tʰɛi] (SK [tɛʰɛi] ‘difference’)

Lexicon

(#19, 22) *gangnaengi* (SK *oksusu* ‘corn’)

(#20) *wenggeuria* (SK *heonggari* ‘Hungary’), *gaejjak* (SK *sangja* ‘box’), *roim* (SK *imgeum* ‘wage’)

(#22) *gojo* (dummy filler); *namsae* (SK *namul* ‘(wild) vegetable’), *ryeryu* (from Japanese *reru*; SK *reil* ‘rail’)

While the dialectal characteristics of this region that differ from standard South Korean are not as numerous, it is nevertheless not difficult to detect these unique phonological characteristics and lexical items above even within a brief speech sample. The greater challenge again is to tell true defectors from this region apart from Korean-Chinese individuals.

⁴ Claimed origin of the interviewees: #19 Pyeongyang; #20 Bukchang; #21 Ryongcheon/Pyeongyang/Suncheon; #22 Pyeongyang.

5.3. Lexicon Specific to North Korea

The following are some lexical items from the speech samples that apply specifically to the North Korean sociopolitical system:

bowibu ‘state political security department’

anjeonbu ‘ministry of public security’

inminban ‘people’s group’

gongmu dongryeok jikjang ‘equipment maintenance (department)’

hamonika jib/sataek ‘houses built close together; harmonica house’

rogan ‘labor management’

bunjo(jang) ‘group (leader)’

gukdon ‘(North Korean) currency’

bunjuso (SK *pachulso* ‘security office’)

godeungjunghakgyo (SK *junghakgyo* ‘middle school,’ *godeunghakgyo* ‘high school’)

gongminjeung (SK *jumindeungnokjeung* ‘ID’)

There has also been a multi-year project for creating a comprehensive comparative North-South Korean dictionary by scholars from both South and North Korea (<http://www.gyeoremal.or.kr/eng/jsp/index.jsp>).

5.4. Discussion and Guidelines for Analysis

These numerous phonological and lexical examples demonstrate that, despite the mutual intelligibility between the North and South Korean dialects, they are quite distinct (see also Yang, 2013). Due to the unique sociopolitical circumstances on the Korean peninsula with a long history of division with minimal language contact across the North-South border, it is relatively easy to distinguish a Northern dialect from a Southern one. In contrast, it is much more difficult to distinguish a North Korean from a Korean-Chinese based on currently available knowledge because of the North Korean ances-

try of the majority of the Korean-Chinese (except for those from Heilongjiang).

In these speech samples, eliciting the most typical characteristics of their dialect in pretend situations of casual conversation usually led to the production of the dialect-specific sentence-enders. Eliciting typical sentence-enders of the speaker's dialect thus may be a useful procedure for learning more about the person's origin. Having speakers imagine different levels of politeness contexts (e.g., speaking to a younger friend, an older friend, one's grandparent, a friend's parent, etc.) may also be useful in eliciting dialect-specific markers of politeness, which is a prominent aspect of Korean.

Other socio-/metalinguistic aspects of speech are sometimes strong signs of the speaker's origin: For example, the terms the speaker uses to refer to his/her own people, language, country, and political leader may give us clues to his/her recent experiences and how much time (s)he spent outside the country of origin. After a lifetime under an oppressive regime in which informing on reactionaries is encouraged, it would take more than just a few months in hiding to switch completely to a consistently third-party (non-North Korean) system of language habits and word choice due to the particular sociopolitical context, although one should be aware of possible counteracting factors, such as communication accommodation (to a South Korean interpreter or a foreign government official) (cf. Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 1991). In addition, with regard to the intensive training reported in the media (New Focus International, August 4, 2013) for the Korean-Chinese preparing to apply for asylum as North Koreans, these metalinguistic aspects are probably more malleable and easier to modify at the level of conscious awareness than subtle articulatory or morphosyntactic differences.

Further, for governments and agencies that practice LADO, it is critical that a linguistic expert and a trained native speaker collaborate in real time in writing up the final version of the analysis report. LADO reports that I have seen sometimes contain incorrect descriptions of the target language which even an untrained native speaker would detect easily. Such reports appear to have been prepared initially with a native speaker's observations, and subsequently revised by a non-native linguist single-handedly for the final draft, just based on reference grammars without direct consultation again with a native

speaker. In order to combine their valuable expertise, linguists and native speakers should work in tandem on each case (cf. Cambier-Langeveld, 2012) and finalize the report together at the very least. While it is true that relying too heavily on native speakers without proper linguistic training is undesirable for purposes of LADO (Fraser, 2009), the same is true for relying just on professional linguists without a native speaker's knowledge of the language.

In the case of asylum seekers claiming to be from North Korea, it may be practically impossible to find all the required expertise combined in one person, namely, a native speaker from the claimed area of origin (North Korea) with sufficient linguistic-dialectal training, or a near-native specialized linguist with extensive firsthand experience in the North Korean dialects. There are two broad alternatives for finding adequate consultants: (1) to provide a native speaker of a North Korean dialect with the necessary linguistic training for the purposes of LADO, or (2) to provide a linguistically trained native speaker of a South Korean dialect with the necessary dialectal training for recognizing characteristics of a North Korean dialect, along with training materials such as speech samples with a confirmed origin. In both cases, specialized training by a 'supervising linguist' is necessary (Cambier-Langeveld, 2012). For the latter option, which is more feasible, further efforts are needed in developing accessible resources for learning the differences between the dialects of South Korea, North Korea, and the Korean communities in China. In the case of South Korea, such efforts would prove useful for organizations such as the Ministry of Unification and the National Intelligence Service.

6. Concluding Remarks

Obtaining refugee status can be a matter of life and death for asylum seekers, especially North Korean defectors, who would be considered political prisoners if sent back. Anyone who contributes to the decision-making process in asylum cases must take each procedure seriously and do their utmost to improve its accuracy. In the case of North

Korea, there are two things linguists can do and should do urgently: (1) to make the existing knowledge more accessible, but with due caution at the same time against potential abuse; and (2) to conduct further dialectal research to compare the variants across the Korea-China border. There are valuable resources on either North Korean dialects or Korean-Chinese dialects, but resources directly comparing the two regions are scarce, and the information on dialectal variation must continue to be updated.

Continuing field research around the border areas would provide the most accurate insight, but due to practical restrictions with North Korea, it would be best to collaborate with recent refugees whose origin has been confirmed with a high degree of certainty. Recent studies, especially from the NIKL, with quantitative measures of regional and individual variation among North Koreans and Korean-Chinese individuals contribute critical information; however, as the findings have only been published in Korean, it is important to share the knowledge in other languages for language experts and language analysis practitioners around the world.

Besides distinguishing Korean-Chinese applicants from North Korean defectors, there is also the issue of preventing abuse of asylum by ‘asylum shoppers,’ who, after obtaining refugee status in one country, apply later for asylum in yet another country. The full extent of legal considerations is beyond the scope of this paper, but nevertheless an important issue for national governments to settle.

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