

ISSN 2449-7444

Volume 1/2015

International Journal of Korean Humanities and Social Sciences



Institute of Linguistics
Faculty of Modern Languages and Literature
Adam Mickiewicz University
Poznań, Poland

**INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
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International Journal of Korean Humanities and Social Sciences
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al. Niepodległości 4, pok. 218B
61-874 Poznań, Poland
koreanhumanities@gmail.com

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Printed in Poland

ISSN 2449-7444

Circulation 100 copies
Editing and typesetting: AM
Printing: Zakład Graficzny Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza

Printed version serves referential purposes.

<i>Table of Contents</i>	5
<i>Foreword in English</i>	7
<i>Foreword in Korean</i>	9
LITERATURE	
Mansu KIM <i>'The Rule of Three' in the Growth Stories – Gangbaik Lee's Drama "Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter"</i>	11
Kyong-geun OH <i>Korean Sijo Poems and their Transformations</i>	23
Jong-seong PARK <i>Gon, Woo, Seondo Goddess, and Chinese Legends about people in Korean Mythology</i>	39
CULTURE	
Arevik CHAČATRĀN <i>An Investigation on the History and Structure of Korean Shamanism</i>	55
Mi Sook PARK <i>South Korea Cultural History between 1960s and 2012</i>	71
LINGUISTICS	
Olivier BAILBLÉ <i>History of the Dative Markers in Korean Language: from Old Korean to Contemporary Korean</i>	119
Anna BOROWIAK <i>On Some Selected Problems of Korean Abbreviology</i>	137
Jerzy BAŃCZEROWSKI <i>A Rough Path towards a Theoretical Apprehension of Korean Aspect</i>	165
List of reviewers	187

<i>Spis treści</i>	5
<i>Wstęp w języku angielskim</i>	7
<i>Wstęp w języku koreańskim</i>	9
LITERATURA	
Mansu KIM <i>'Zasada trzech' w nowelach – utwór Gangbaik Lee “Gdyby patrzeć na kwiaty w środku zimy”</i>	11
Kyong-geun OH <i>Koreańskie wiersze sijo i ich przemiany</i>	23
Jong-seong PARK <i>Gon, Woo, bogini Seondo i chinskie legendy o ludziach w mitologii koreańskiej</i>	39
KULTURA	
Arevik CHAČATRJAN <i>Badanie historii i struktury koreańskiego szamanizmu</i>	55
Mi Sook PARK <i>Historia kulturalna Korei Południowej od lat 60tych XX wieku do 2012 roku</i>	71
LINGWISTYKA	
Olivier BAILBLÉ <i>Historia sposobu wyrażania celownika w języku koreańskim: od starokoreańskiego do współczesnego koreańskiego</i>	119
Anna BOROWIAK <i>Wybrane zagadnienia z zakresu abrewiologii języka koreańskiego</i>	137
Jerzy BAŃCZEROWSKI <i>Wyboista droga ku teoretycznemu ujęciu aspektu w języku koreańskim</i>	165
Lista recenzentów	187

목차 5

영문 서문 7

한글 서문 9

문학

Mansu KIM 성장담 속의 ‘3 의 법칙’ - 이강백의 희곡
<동지선달 꽃 본 듯이> 11

Kyong-geun OH 한국의 전통시가 시조의 변화상 23

Jong-seong PARK 곤, 우, 선도여신, 그리고 한국신화
속의 인물들에 관한 중국 전설들 39

문화

Arevik CHAČATRJAN 한국 샤머니즘에 관한 역사와
구조 연구 55

Mi Sook PARK 1960 년대부터 2012 년 기간의 한국의
문화정책 71

언어학

Olivier BAILBLÉ 한국어 여격조사의 역사:
고대한국어에서부터 현대한국어까지 119

Anna BOROWIAK 한국어 축약형에 관한 고찰 137

Jerzy BAŃCZEROWSKI 한국어 상 (相) 의 이해로 가는
험난한 길 165

심시위원들 187

Foreword

The Department of Korean Studies was established at the Adam Mickiewicz University (AMU) in 2003, so its history is rather short. However, during that short period it has become one of the most popular studies in the Institute of Linguistics of the AMU as well. Numerous graduates of Korean Studies work actively in various fields as experts on Korea, and every year the next generation of students enrolls to study Korean language. It has been possible mainly due to the fast growing cooperation in business between Korea and Poland. There is the Korean Cultural Center in Warsaw, and the students of Korean Studies are taking initiative in spreading Korean culture by organizing 'The Day of Korean Culture' in Poznan every year.

But the research activities into Korean studies, which are the most fundamental and essential thing for the development of Koreanology in Poland, leaves much to be desired in many ways. It happens so because until now for us the educational activities have been the priority matter, besides we have not had appropriate conditions or materials for the specialized and in-depth research into Korean studies.

We have managed to organize several small international conferences on Korean Studies in Poznan so far. And at last we can publish the first scientific journal on Korean Studies in Poland. In other words, the conferences previously organized were the preparation for that great step. It is natural that in order to develop Korean Studies in Poland first of all one needs well prepared human resources and enough material for scientific research. Unfortunately we still have many serious problems in finding good and appropriate materials for our studies. Nevertheless we exert all possible efforts with determination to publish the first scientific journal on Korean Studies in Poland. Therefore it is our real pleasure and happiness to provide our readership with the first issue.

The main objective of the 'International Journal of Korean Humanities and Social Sciences' is to become a forum for sharing and spreading the results of research into Korean studies. Therefore, the scope of the papers encompasses both humanities and social sciences with the hope that with the flow of time volumes will become more uniform as far as their contents is concerned.

I really would like to thank all of my colleagues from the Department of Korean Studies and from the Institute of Linguistics AMU for their research into Korean studies. My special gratitude is addressed to Park Jong-seong, professor of the Department of Korean Language & Literature at the Korea National Open University, who has always helped me in organizing our international conferences devoted to Korean studies in Poznan and has broadened our contacts with many scholars from Korea. I sincerely hope that this journal will grow and develop steadily but continuously. So I ask all my colleagues for their support and exertion and hope the researchers will contribute their papers to our journal and that way will help us achieve our ambitious goals.

2015. 05. 17
Oh Kyong-geun

서문

UAM의 한국학과는 2003년에 설립되어 그 역사는 매우 짧다. 그러나 그 짧은 기간 동안에 한국학과는 빠르게 성장하여 언어학연구소는 물론 대학의 대표적인 학과로 발전했다. 이미 많은 수의 졸업생들이 다양한 분야에서 한국학전문가로서 활발히 활동하고 있으며, 해마다 더욱 많은 수의 학생들이 입학하고 있다. 그것은 무엇보다도 한국과 폴란드 간의 지속적인 경제협력의 발전에 힘입은 것이 사실이다. 수도인 바르샤바에는 몇 해전부터 한국문화원이 개설되었고, 무엇보다도 UAM이 소개하고 있는 포즈난 지역에서는 우리 한국학과 학생들이 해마다 ‘한국문화의 날’ 행사를 개최하는 등 한국의 문화를 알리는 데 앞장서고 있다.

하지만 정작 폴란드에서 한국학의 발전에 있어 가장 기본적이고도 핵심적인 사항이라 할 수 있는 한국학에 대한 전문적인 연구는 아직도 미진한 실정이다. 개설된 초기부터 지금까지는 주로 학생들에 대한 교육활동이 우선이어야 했고, 게다가 학자들이 한국학에 대한 깊이 있고 전문적인 연구를 수행하는 데 필요한 여건과 준비가 제대로 갖추어지지 않은 결과이다.

UAM의 한국학과는 그 동안 서너 차례 소규모의 한국학국제학술대회를 개최하였고, 이번에 마침내 한국학에 대한 전문적인 학술지를 처음으로 발간하게 되었다. 다시 말해서 그 동안의 학회들은 폴란드에서 최초로 한국학 전문 학술지를 발간하기 위한 준비과정이었다고 할 수 있다.

당연히 폴란드에서 한국학에 대한 전문적이고 깊이 있는 연구가 이루어지기 위해서는 먼저 그에 종사하는 훌륭한 인적자원 그리고 연구에 필요한 다양하고 풍부한 자료들을 확보하는 것이 기본이다. 그러나 아쉽게도 우리는 아직도 매번 자신들의 연구에 필요한 자료의 부족으로 큰 어려움을 겪고 있다. 그러한 어려운 조건/상황에도 불구하고 폴란드에서 한국학 연구를 활성화시키겠다는 일념으로 모든 열정과 노력을 다하여 마침내 폴란드 최초로 한국학 전문 학술지를 발간하게 되었다. 본인은 물론 그 동안 함께 한 모든 이들에게 이것은 정말로 큰 기쁨이요 행복이다.

우리 학술지는 무엇보다도 폴란드에서 한국학에 대한 전문적인 연구활동의 토대를 마련하는 데 그 의의와 주목적을 두고 있다. 따라서 특정한 분야를 가리지 않고 한국학의 모든

분야를 포함하여 출발한다. 하지만 앞으로 각 분야에서의 전문성을 강화해나갈 것이다.

한국 혹은 폴란드정부 등 외부로부터의 아무런 도움도 없이 열악하고 힘든 조건에서 이 학술지가 발간되기까지 수많은 수고와 노력을 아끼지 않은 UAM 의 한국학과와 언어학연구소 모든 관계자 분들께 무한한 감사를 드린다. 그리고 특히 항상 한국학국제학술대회 개최는 물론 한국의 학자들과의 교류협력을 가능하게 해준 한국방송통신대학교 국문학과 박종성 교수께 진심으로 고마움을 전한다.

부디 우리 학술지가 앞으로 계속해서 보다 크고 훌륭하게 성장하고 발전할 수 있기를 간절히 바란다. 그러한 우리의 꿈을 실현할 수 있도록 모든 분들께 아낌없는 협조와 노력, 무엇보다도 많은 논문을 투고해 주실 것을 당부하는 바이다.

2015. 05. 17

오경근

‘THE RULE OF THREE’ IN THE GROWTH STORIES – GANGBAEK LEE’S DRAMA “LIKE LOOKING AT THE FLOWER IN THE MIDWINTER”

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Abstract: This paper focused on the structure of the growth stories, especially in surveying Gangbaek Lee’s (이강백) drama “Like Looking at the Flower in the Midwinter (동지섣달 꽃 본 듯이)”. It is structured by ‘rule of the three’. In this text, three sons go to seek their mother, they experience the tests three times. Third son wins the game because he succeeds to find his true and alternative mother. It is similar to the story of English fairy tale “Three Little Pigs”.

In Freudian terms, the characters of the both texts are superego, ego and id. The core of the growth story is that third son (id) wins the first son (superego) and the second son (ego) by using his own energy (meaningful labor). In Levi Strauss’ terms, the contrast between the third and the others can be schemed the contrast between culture and nature.

Lee’s drama presents the third son as the real hero who overcomes two elder brothers. The first is so conservative (oversleep), the second is so selfish (overeat). Two brothers were too political or too ideal to become a true, humanistic and warm-minded adult. In his view, ‘drama’ related to the third son is the most humanistic and warm-minded action in the world. These both stories are based on the plot ‘rags to riches’ which contains the success of the poor and powerless. In other words, the poor and weak child can grow to the true hero, and reach the final destination, according to the Gustav Jung’s expression, ‘the Self as a Whole’.

Keywords: growth story, Rule of the Three, nature/culture, superego/id, rags to Riches, the self as a whole

성장담 속의 ‘3의 법칙’ – 이강백의 희곡 <동지선달 꽃 본 듯이>

개략: 본고는 이강백의 희곡 <동지선달 꽃 본 듯이>을 성장담의 관점에서 읽고자 했다. 이 작품은 ‘3의 법칙’에 입각하여 세 명의 인물이 세 개의 시련을 거쳐 자신의 최종 목적지인 ‘어머니 찾기’의 과제에 도달하는 구조를 가지고 있다. 이는 아직 미성숙의 단계에 머물러 있는 셋째 아이가 첫째, 둘째를 극복하고 훌륭한 영웅으로 성장하는 성장담에 속하는 것이며, 이는 영국 민담 <아기 돼지 삼형제>의 구조와 비슷하다.

프로이트의 용어를 빌면, 이강백의 희곡과 <아기 돼지 삼형제>에서 첫째는 초자아, 둘째는 자아, 셋째는 이드에 해당한다. 이들 성장담의 공통점은 이드에 불과했던 셋째가 의미있는 노동을 통해 자연을 극복하고 문명에 달한다는 이야기이며, 이는 레비 스트로스가 설정한 ‘문명:자연’의 구조와도 일치한다.

이강백의 희곡은 의미 있는 노동의 자리에 ‘연극’을 삽입함으로써, 첫째가 보이는 정치 지향성, 둘째가 보이는 관념 지향성을 극복하는 셋째의 인간적인 모습을 제시한다. 지나친 정치 지향, 지나친 관념 지향을 극복하는 셋째의 연극 행위는 지나친 잠 (첫째), 지나친 폭식 (둘째) 를 극복하는 셋째 돼지의 이야기와 중복되면서, 미약한 존재가 위대한 영웅으로 재탄생하는 ‘거지에서 부자로’의 플롯을 재현한다. 이제 미약한 존재는 구스타프 융의 개념을 빌면, ‘전체로서의 자기’에 도달한 셈이다.

키워드: 성장담, 3의 법칙, 자연/문명, 초자아/이드, 거지에서 부자로, 전체로서의 자기

1. Preface

This paper is focused on ‘The Rule of Three’ in the Growth Stories: I chose the drama “*Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter* (동지선달 꽃 본 듯이, 1991)” as the typical model. My questions are these: Why does the third son win the first and second in the growth stories? What does the victory of the third son mean? How are the

characters of three sons related to the psychological term; superego, ego and id? How can we accept the meaning of the growth stories?

Finally I could find the narrative model of ‘The Rule of Three’ is the most powerful way of transmitting the meaning of the growth stories.

2. An Analysis

2.1. Introduction

Gangbaik Lee (이강백, 1947-present) is the most important playwright in Korean Modern drama. He debuted in 1971 and made many masterpieces which have had deep influence on Korean modern drama. His drama *Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter* is one of his most brilliant dramas. It deals in the Relationship between human growth and theatrical experience.

In fact, Koreans are accustomed to this drama’s title because it is borrowed from Korean folk song, “Arirang (아리랑)”. It is often considered the unofficial national anthem of Korea.¹ Milyang Arirang (밀양아리랑) is one of the most popular versions of Arirang. This song contains the same phrase of this drama’s title. Let’s see the following.

Ari arirang suri surirang, arari comes. It goes over the arirang pass.

Look at me please. Look at me please. Look at me please.

Look at me please Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter.

Lover came to me. But I couldn’t exchange greetings even though I met my lover.

I only smiled to him silently (...)

¹ In December 2012, it was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity programme by UNESCO.

[아리 아리랑 쓰리 쓰리랑 아라리가 났네. 아리랑 고개로 넘어 간다.
날 좀 보소 날 좀 보소 날 좀 보소.
동지선달 꽃 본 듯이 날 좀 보소.
정든 님이 오셨는데 인사를 못해 행주치마 입에 물고 입만 방긋 (...)]

In this song, a girl says to a man, “Look at me please.” But he does not know her love for him. A girl say to him one more time, “Look at me please like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter.” The meaning of ‘the flower in the midwinter’ is the beauty, scarcity and higher value for it blooms at the hard-conditioned weather of midwinter.² The playwright wanted to connect the meaning of theatrical experiences to the “flower in the midwinter”. In his view, theatrical experiences contain the essence of beauty, scarcity and higher value.

The original source of this drama came from the old folklore at Jeju island. A mother committed suicide to give her dead body to her hungry babies. They ate the unknown meat wolfishly because they were so hungry. Afterwards they gradually learned that they had eaten their mother’s corpse. Before this however, they went mad in search of their mother. They travelled all over the country but couldn’t find her.

The playwright rewrote this folklore into the drama *Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter*. In his drama, the title word “flower in the midwinter” has another meaning of ‘their lost mother’. Three sons have travelled all over the country to find their lost mother, but they could not find her.

It is clear and distinct that their lost mother cannot come to life again. The only way to meet their mother again is to seek another ‘dual mother’ (Joseph Campbell 1976: 3-22). The playwright seems to assert that the theatre is the only and true way to meet their dead mother again because the theatre contains the essence of mother’s love and warm feelings (This drama was written by the proposal of ‘Korea Actors Association’. The Association introduced the first public performance of this drama to celebrate ‘The Year of Drama and Film’).

² ‘The flower in the midwinter’ is very similar to the Frazer’s keywords ‘Mistletoe’ in *The Golden Bough*. (J. G. Frazer 1993: 608-710).

2.2. On Three Sons

In this drama, three sons are travelling for their lost mother. The first son tries to be a powerful man who can order people to find his mother. He kills a prime minister who has helped him to be a powerful man. At last, he becomes the most powerful man in the country and orders his people to find his mother. He succeeded in finding another mother who resembles her perfectly at least in view of outward appearance. The second son tries to be a monk who can find his true mother in religion. Finally, he rises up to the highest rank of the monk in the country. He has been enlightened that Buddha is more important mother than living and real mother. He has identified the portrait of Buddha as the religious and ideal mother. The third also tries to find his lost mother but becomes a beggar. A group of clowns finds him and teach him the skills of clowning. Finally, he has become the most popular clown who could afford much fun, happiness and entertainment to the poor spectators. He married the poor clown's daughter for she was so poor, but kind and comforting. Previously she had prostituted herself to escape from the threat of deadly hunger. In his mind, she is similar to his own mother who committed suicide to feed her hungry babies. He couldn't find his real mother, but he has found another kind, comfortable and sacrificing mother within his wife. She can be thought to be a true mother. I think Carl Gustav Jung would call her the 'Great Mother'.

\ elements characters	final point	meaning	mother they have found finally
First	prime minister	politics	another mother who resembles her perfectly at least in view of outward appearance.
Second	highest monk	religion	the statue of Buddha as the religious and ideal mother.
Third	beloved clown (actor)	theatre (art)	the spouse who has the mind similar to his mother's.

The third son contrasts with the other two sons. The former is very weak, flexible and humanistic while the latter is powerful, stubborn and anti-humanistic.

2.3. On Three Tests

Greimas reduces Vladimir Propp's thirty-one functions to three categories of the wonder tale, the 'Contract' (agreement, category A), the 'Contest' (fighting, category F), and the communicated 'consequences' of the test (compensation, category C). The word A, F and C mean Agreement, Fight and Compensation. Sometimes we call it briefly as 'preparatory test', 'main test' and 'glorifying test'.³ In this drama, each of three sons must pass three tests. Three tests are constituted as these; preparatory test, main test, glorifying test.

The first son was helpless but accidentally met the prime minister. The prime minister received him as his family because he needed another fake son who should be sent to the neighboring country as a hostage. The first son went to neighboring country as a hostage. By changing his genuine son to fake sons, they gained some profits each other. The first sons could pass the first tests by pretending alternative son. The second test is to become a powerful man. But the highest position of the prime minister was the only one. If the son wants to be the prime minister, he must kill the existing prime minister. Finally he killed the prime minister to rise up to the highest position. The final test is to find his lost mother. He ordered all the people to find her. The people were forced to find her. They barely managed to find her. All they could do is find the counterfeit mother who resembled their genuine mother. Finally, the first son could not meet his lost mother. In other words, he failed the glorifying test. The second son met a group of merchants and monks. He succeeded in his preparatory test because of his sincerity. Next time he separated from the merchants

³ Ronald Schleifer, *A. J. Greimas and the Nature of Meaning: Linguistics, Semiotics and Discourse Theory*, Croom Helm, 1987. p.126.

and followed the group of monks. In the continuation of hard discipline, he finally has risen to the highest monk in the country. It belongs to the main test. But he failed at the point of the last, glorifying test because he could not meet the real, living mother. He thought the statue of the Buddha was the real mother. But it is just his own wish. In other words, he also failed the glorifying test.

The third son joined the group of clowns. By joining the group, he also has passed the preparatory and main test. When he became the leader of the clowns, he decided to marry the maiden whose father was the previous group leader. At first her father refused his proposal because he knew his daughter prostituted herself to escape from the threat of deadly hunger. But the third son said to him that he could forgive her prostitution because he knew exactly the conditions of the extreme poverty. In addition, he said that she was the real mother of this clown group because she sacrificed herself to feed on them. We can agree that she was the real mother who replaced his lost mother. The action of the third son can be considered the only success in the glorifying test, which the other two could not achieve.

It is thought that the playwright has the intention to compare the three son's attitudes to politics, religion and theatre. Only the third son could achieve the glorifying ending because he chose the theatre instead of politics or religion. In his view, theatre is the synthesis of the powers (politics) and the ideal world (religion). Only the theatre can afford the full satisfaction of human life.

\ tests characters	beginning (preparatory)	middle (main)	end (glorifying)
First	adopted son of the prime minister	killed him to be the prime minister himself	found the similar mother in outward appearance.
Second	group member of the monk	rose up to the highest rank of the monk	found the spiritual mother in inward religion.
Third	group member of the clown	was chosen to be a leader of the clown group	found the alternative mother in his wife

2.4. Concluding Remarks

This play has been constituted by ‘the rule of three’. Three persons, three tests were given in it. The first son became the prime minister, the second became a high ranking priest. But they could not find their true mother despite their efforts and masculine successes. They had experienced many difficulties and overcome them, but rarely learn the meaning of love. Only the third son could have reached his destination owing to his love for woman and theatre.

His stage that the play shows through life corresponds to the archetypal stages of human development. His life from birth to rebirth corresponds to the process of the theatre. The idea of a second birth is found at all times and in all places. The motif of dual mother is an archetype to be found in many variants in the field of mythology and comparative religion and forms the basis of numerous “representations collectives.” (Joseph Campbell 1976: 63) Three sons wanted to find their dual mother. The first and second failed to find their true dual mother. Only the third can meet his lost mother within his wife. In other words, he can grow into an adult and reach ‘the Self as a Whole’.

3. Adaptation of The Rule of Three

3.1. Meaning of the Rule of Three compared to *Three little pigs*

Three little pigs begins with the title characters being sent out into the world by their mother, to “seek their fortune”. The first little pig builds a house of straw, but a wolf blows it down and eats him. The second pig builds a house of furze sticks, which the wolf also blows down before eating the pig. The third pig builds a house of bricks. The

wolf fails to blow down the house. He then attempts to trick the pig out of the house by asking to meet him at various places, but is outwitted each time. Finally, the wolf resolves to come down the chimney, whereupon the pig catches the wolf in a cauldron of boiling water, slams the lid on, and cooks and eats him. In another version the first and second little pigs run to their brother's house and after the wolf goes down the chimney he runs away and never goes back to eat the three little pigs, who all survive (see the website of Wikipedia).

In Freudian Terms, the character of first little pig belongs to the realm of the superego. He is not willing to work because he is afraid of being blamed by his parents. His inevitable choice is not to work and to sleep. During sleep, he can escape from being blamed because he does nothing he can be blamed. According to the Freudian observation, this behavior is common among the elder brothers. The second little pig belongs to the ego. He must win the elder's right for survival. So he wants to eat more than his elders. According to the Freudian observation, this selfish behavior is common among second brothers.

The third was too weak and young to make his own house and to live by himself. But he has 'his energy for his life (Libido)'. At first, he was too immature. But using his vital energy for life, he gradually grows to be an adult who can make his own house and keep himself and his brothers from the attack of the wolf (savage, nature). He is the true hero of folk tales.⁴

The story uses the literary rule of three, expressed in this case as a "contrasting three", as the third pig's brick house turns out to be the only one that is strong enough to withstand the wolf. In Levi Strauss' terms, the first and second belongs to the "nature", the third to the "culture" (김만수 2012: 359-374).

⁴ Bettelheim analyzed fairy tales in terms of Freudian psychology in *The Uses of Enchantment* (1976). He discussed the emotional and symbolic importance of fairy tales for children. Bettelheim suggested that traditional fairy tales allowed children to grapple with their fears in remote, symbolic terms. If they could read and interpret these fairy tales in their own way, he believed, they would get a greater sense of meaning and purpose. Bettelheim thought that by engaging with these socially-evolved stories, children would go through emotional growth that would better prepare them for their own futures.

	explanation	Freudian Terms	Levi Strauss' Terms
First	not willing to work, only sleeping idly...	superego	nature (house of straw and sticks)
Second	not willing to work, only eating selfishly...	ego	
Third	immature but having his own energy for living...	id	culture (house of bricks)

3.2. Type of the Rule of Three

‘Three’ occurs so insistently in the folk tales familiar from childhood. Again and again, we see how things appear in threes: how things have to happen three times; how the hero is given three wishes; how Cinderella goes to the ball three times; how the hero or the heroine is the third of the three children. The rule of three is a writing principle that suggests that things that come in threes are inherently funnier, more satisfying, or more effective than other numbers of things. The reader or audience of this form of text is also more likely to consume information if it is written in groups of threes. From slogans (“Go, fight, Win!”) to films, many things are structured in threes. Examples include *Three Little Pigs*, *Three Billy Goats Gruff*, *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* (Christopher Booker 2010: 229-238).

A series of three often creates a progression in which the tension is created, built up, and finally released. Similarly, adjectives are often grouped in threes to emphasize an idea.

4. Conclusion

In the next tables, we can meet the schema of superego, ego and id. This schema can be adapted to *Three little pigs* and *Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter*.

	<i>Three little pigs</i>	<i>Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter</i>
super-ego	The first pig	The first son
	sleeping too much, too inactive... He is afraid of being punished by his parents when he works at his will... So he had better not work...sleep idly against his will. Sleeping is the safest way of his life.	too responsible for his duty... He act as if only he is responsible for the duty... He cannot help escaping from his destiny of the leader for he is the First son...
ego	The second pig	The second son
	eating too much, too greedily... He must overcome the elder brother...eat more than the elder brother... So he became more selfish....	too selfish.... He escapes from himself into the religion... He is satisfied with his mind... In his religion, all is filled up in the image of Buddha...
id	The third pig	The third son
	too young, but laborious and clever... He was too young and too immature... but had his will and intelligence... Finally he overcame the two brothers because he works hard at his own energy (libido).	At first, he was too weak and instinctive... He chose singing, dancing, playing... Finally, he could find another true mother within his wife and the theatre...

We can also recall the Bruno Bettelheim's suggestion that traditional fairy tales allowed children to grapple with their fears in remote, symbolic terms. If they could read and interpret these fairy tales in their own way, he believed, they would get a greater sense of meaning and purpose. Bettelheim thought that by engaging with these socially-evolved stories, children would go through emotional growth that would better prepare them for their own futures. We can also confirm

this 'rule of three' in the Modern Korean Drama *Like looking at the Flower in the Midwinter*.

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KOREAN *SIJO* POEMS AND THEIR TRANSFORMATIONS

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Abstract: *Sijo* is an original genre of short Korean poems with a strictly defined structure reflecting the rhythm of a traditional Korean song. *Sijo* poems are the only traditional genre of Korean poetry, which is still practised by contemporary Korean poets. It gained tremendous popularity during the reign of the Joseon dynasty, especially among the Confucian scholars and noblemen who ruled the country. *Sijo* poetry has undergone a transformation as far as the topics and structure of *sijo* poems are concerned. Initially the authors of *sijo* belonged to the ruling class and were solely men (Confucian scholars). But with the passage of time and the development of society the representatives of the middle class started writing *sijo* poems as well. The *sijo* transformations also included the linguistic changes, which may be observed through the course of *sijo* history. The topics also changed as new types of *sijo* appeared beside traditional *sijo* devoted mainly to Confucian ideas formulated in a refined language.

Keywords: *Sijo*, *Dan-sijo*, *Yeon-sijo*, *Saseol-sijo*, *Gangho-sijo*, *Gyohun-sijo*, *Gagaek-sijo*, *Confucianism*, *Confucian scholar*, *Gisaeng*

한국의 전통시가 시조의 변화상

개요: 시조는 한국 전통시가의 운율을 바탕으로 엄격하게 규정된 형태와 구조를 지닌 한국 고유의 단시이다. 시조는 한국의 전통시가들 중에서는 유일하게 현재까지도 창작되는 장르이다. 조선시대에 시조는 지배계급이었던 사대부-

유학자들 사이에서 크게 애호되었다. 시조는 그 역사 속에서 주제 및 형태가 변화되었다. 애초에 시조의 작가들은 지배계급인 양반·사대부 남성들에 국한되었으나, 시간이 지나고 사회가 발전 변화함에 따라 중인계층의 사람들도 시조를 창작하게 되었으며 여성으로서는 유일하게 기생이 동참했다. 고상한 언어로 주로 유교이념을 표현하던 전통시조 이외에 새로운 형태의 시조들이 나타남에 따라 시조의 언어는 물론 주제 또한 변하게 되었다.

키워드: 시조, 단시조, 연시조, 사설시조, 강호시조, 교훈시조, 가객시조, 유교, 사대부, 기생

1. Introduction

Sijo is an original genre of short Korean poems with a strictly defined structure reflecting the rhythm of a traditional Korean song. So one may say that *sijo* is the most indigenous Korean poem. Its form is very different from poems found in foreign literature. It is a genre with the longest tradition in the history of Korean poetry, which in fact means that despite its short form (it is a poem composed of three lines); it is the most important type of poetry among traditional Korean poetry genres. Additionally, it should be stressed here that *sijo* poems are the only traditional genre of Korean poetry, which are still written by contemporary Korean poets.

In the period of modernisation at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century Koreans, without any reservation, accepted European science and civilization also copying European literary genres, which to some extent caused the relegation of traditional Korean literature to the sidelines or the verge of extinction. It may be even said that almost all traditional literary genres ceased to exist with the exception of *sijo*, which was saved for future generations by being incorporated into the so-called “modern literature” under the name of “modern *sijo*”.

This paper has been written for foreigners and persons dealing with Korean literature abroad to give them some insight into a specific form, the structure and artistic beauty of *sijo*. The author also discuss-

es the changes of the format, topics and authors in the course of the history of *sijo* development and transformation.

2. Emergence and development of *sijo* poems

Sijo poems were first written at the end of the Goryeo dynasty (about the 14th century). When the Goryeo dynasty became extinct, and a new dynasty, the Joseon dynasty, was established with the Confucian ideology, *sijo* had become the most popular type of poetry among the ruling Confucian scholars and noblemen. It gained tremendous popularity during the reign of the Joseon dynasty.

Sijo was primarily private poetry written in Korean as it was very suitable for expressing one's own feelings and thoughts. Additionally, due to the rhythm, it was very easy to be sung. For a very long time scholars and noblemen wrote poems called *hansi*. This poetic form was written in Chinese characters and was not readily adaptable for singing. *Hansi* was written by the social elite, who wished to emphasise their superiority over the other social classes (that it was the erudite class of society able to read and write Chinese characters). Such poems could be recited, as it was extremely difficult to sing them in a foreign language. Therefore, *sijo* became the main genre of Korean literature, also for the nobility (Gyojae pyeonchan uiwonhoe 1996: 70).

Generally one may distinguish two stages in *sijo* development, that is to say: 1) till 1876 (the period of Korean isolation, when the so-called traditional *sijo* was created), 2) after 1876 when the so-called modern *sijo* was created.

Until the end of Joseon dynasty there was no one name for this type of poetry. There were various names in use and each of them was used depending of the situation in which the poems were sung: for instance the song – *ga* (가, 歌), *gagok* (가곡, 歌曲), *gayo* (가요, 歌謠), the short song – *dan-ga* (단가, 短歌), mode of singing this type of poems – *sijo* (시조, 時調), *sijeolga* (시절가, 時節歌), *sijeol-dan-ga* (시절단가, 時節短歌) etc. The name *sijo* was not used as a name for

a literary genre but only as a name for a specific form of a song. Therefore the following Chinese characters were used to name it: ‘時調’ (*sijo* ‘new style of music’) instead of ‘詩調’ (*sijo* ‘genre of literature’) (Seong Giok, Son Jongheum 2008: 253). So in order to understand *sijo* properly one needs to understand its features of the song.

‘*Sijo*’ is an official name of this genre of poems, which started being used in the period of modernism especially when the so-called “Movement for the restoration of *sijo*” became active in the second decade of the 19th century. The activists of the movement copied the first part of the name of the music *sijochang* (시조창, 時調唱), which emerged in the mid 18th -century as a new mode of singing poems called *sijo*. *Sijochang* was a new style of music, which was easy to sing and which could be sung not only by musicians but also by the general population. The song was also composed of three lines similarly to *sijo* poems (Seong Giok, Son Jongheum 2008: 255, 259-260).

3. Structure and rhythm of *sijo*

3.1. The structure of typical *sijo*

Hyang-ga, *Gyeong-gi-che-ga*, *gasa*, *sijo* are traditional Korean poems, which have a very fixed form. Of these three, *sijo* has the most precisely formulated form and rhythm. That is why it may be stated that the secret of the beauty of *sijo* as a poem is intrinsic in its strictly defined form and verse structure. The taste and artistic beauty of those poems results from their elegant and noble mode of expressing the emotions of an individual in a very succinct form.

Pyeong-sijo is the most typical version of *sijo* having the following syllabic structure:

verse 1:	3	4	<u>3 [4]</u>	4
verse 2:	3	4	<u>3 [4]</u>	4
verse 3:	3	5	4	3

Sijo poems are composed of three verses. This constitutes a proof that these poems are the direct successors of the long poetic tradition of Korea in which one may observe literary pieces with three verses where the last line ends with an exclamation mark.

The most typical *sijo* is composed of 12 rhythmic units (four units in each verse) which amount to about 45 syllables – usually with 15 syllables in each verse. There are also less typical forms of *sijo* having from 41 to 50 syllables. The syllables in the first and second verse may be grouped into arbitrarily chosen combinations of three- and four- syllable units.

However, the third verse was composed of the strictly obeyed sequence of syllable units (3 5 4 3), even if the naturalness of speech was affected.

Each verse is divided into two thematic units, which may be compared to sentences. Each thematic unit is composed of two rhythmic units. Therefore, a classical *sijo* poem is composed of six thematic units devoted to one topic.

Additionally, the structure of *sijo* is based on the following rhythm ‘repetition – change’, which means that the first and second verses are the same as far as the number and length of rhythmic units are concerned, whereas the third one is different as its second rhythmic unit is twice as long as other rhythmic units.

first verse:	4	4	//	4	4
second verse:	4	4	//	4	4 – repetition
third verse:	4	<u>4+4</u>	//	4	4 – change

Such structure serves the purpose of expressing emotions and thoughts, which are expressed in the first and second verses by summing them up in the last one where the rhythm is changed (Seong Giok, Son Jongheum 2008: 288-289). In other words the author expresses some concept or a poetic thought in the first and second verses but it is precisely formulated no sooner than the third one. Thus, the poetic imagination or the topic, which is expressed in the first and

second verses has no specific poetic significance and does not transfer any information needed to understand the ideas. Those concepts are realised in the last verse so without it the reader cannot understand the poem and the poetic concept of the author. This is the essence of the specific structure of *sijo*.

The structure based on ‘repetition – change’ is not only the external scheme for *sijo*, but it is also the source of the artistic power of creation. Because of that *sijo*, which is the shortest among Korean poems, is also the best organised as far as its structure is concerned. The structure is very useful for intense expression of the features of objects described by the author and it also reveals the most characteristic features of *sijo*.

3.2. The rhythm of typical *sijo*

Typical *sijo* is a short form, which is composed of three verses and each verse is composed of four rhythmic units. Each rhythmic unit is of the same length. The length is not measured in the number of syllables but in the length of the rhythm. In other words one rhythmic unit may be composed of two, three, four or even five syllables but as far as pronunciation is concerned the length is always the same. The length of the rhythmic unit is not dependent on the number of syllables.

The rhythm of typical *sijo* is established by dividing the poem into 6 sentences (thematic units) composed of 12 rhythmic units:

verse 1:	3	4	//	3 [4]	4
verse 2:	3	4	//	3 [4]	4
verse 3:	3	5	//	4	3

As one sees from the example presented above, rhythmic units are composed of 3, 4 or 5 syllables. Rhythmic units in the first and second verses are composed of three or four syllables, and in the third verse of three, four or five syllables. Despite the fact that the number

of syllables in a rhythmic unit may vary from 3 to 5, their recitation length, as already mentioned, is the same. Because the longer or shorter rhythmic units are sung or recited quickly or slowly to make them of equal length.

Example of typical sijo

추강에 밤이드니 / 물결이 차노매라
 3 4 3 4
 낚시 (를) 드리치니 / 고기아니 무노매라
 3 4 4 4
 무심한 달빛만신고 / 빈배저어 오노라
 3 5 4 3
 <월산대군, 月山大君>
 Night is on the autumn river / the water is cold
 I cast a line / but fish do not bite
 I row back an empty boat / loaded with unfeeling moonlight.
 <Prince Wolsan>

4. Types of *sijo*

In general, there are two main types of *sijo*:

1. *Pyeong-sijo* (*dan-sijo* – typical short *sijo*, *yeon-sijo* – complex of *dan-sijo*)
2. *Saseol-sijo* (long *sijo* or the so-called prosaic *sijo*)

Pyeong-sijo is standard and simultaneously the proper type of *sijo*. It was the most proper type of the song, which was used by Confucian scholars in order to express their emotions and thoughts in an intense and improvised way. It was possible due to the short form of these poems.

Pyeong-sijo may be divided into *dan-sijo* and *yeon-sijo*. *Dan-sijo* is a typical *sijo*, which has already been discussed in detail above.

Yeon-sijo

It should be stressed here that due to their length *dan-sijo* poems were too short to express much in them. Therefore, one may also encounter the so-called complex *sijo* poems that is to say a few *sijo* poems, generally from three to ten, joined into a longer poem, in which the stanzas are separate *sijo* poems creating together one thematic whole. Such combinations of *sijo* poems are called *yeon-sijo*.

The poems are usually arranged in accordance with 1) time (for instance the four seasons of the year), 2) space (for instance they describe the beauty of places or areas visited), 3) Confucian ethical rules (for instance the five moral disciplines in relations between people). It should be remembered here however that each poem had a personal nature and could be sung separately. In general, *sijo* was written for singing rather than reading and a poem for singing does not need to be very long. Contemporary songs are very similar in this respect.

The number of *yeon-sijo* is definitely more limited than *dan-sijo* and the majority of authors were Confucian scholars. As far as the quality is concerned, there are many better *yeon-sijo* than *dan-sijo* (Seong Giok, Son Jongheum 2008: 301). So the majority of *sijo*, which are highly valued in Korean literature, are *yeon-sijo*.

Example of yeon-sijo

강호에 봄이 드니 미친 흥이 절로 난다 [봄, spring]
탁료계변에 금린어 안주로다
이 몸이 한가하움도 역군은 이샷다

강호에 녀름이 드니 초당에 일이 업다 [여름, summer]
유신한 강파는 보내나니 바람이로다
이 몸이 서늘하움도 역군은 이샷다

강호에 가을이 드니 고기마다 살져 잇다 [가을, autumn]
소정에 그물 시러 흘려 띄여 더더 두고
이 몸이 소일하움도 역군은 이샷다

강호에 겨울이 드니 눈기 띄 자히 남다 [겨울, winter]
삿갓 빗기 쓰고 누역으로 오슬 삼아
이 몸이 칩지 아니하움도 역군은 이샷다

<강호사시가 - 맹사성>

Spring has arrived, so joyful it is
I play at the bank of the stream, enjoying my wine and fish
My life is so comfortable thanks to my gracious king

Summer has arrived, I have nothing to do in my hut
The faithful river sends me wind,
Fresh wind thanks to my gracious king

Autumn has arrived, the fish are fat
I take my fishing net to the boat, I throw it anyhow
I can live so peacefully thanks to my gracious king

Winter has arrived, a thick cover of snow is everywhere
I will put on my straw hat askew, my straw coat
It is not cold thanks to my gracious king
<Gangho sasiga - Maeng Saseong>

Saseol-sijo

Saseol-sijo emerged in specific conditions in the second half of the dynasty of Joseon, when long poems flourished and negative phenomena of social structures started to become visible as a result of which the old social divisions were to collapse. Most of the *saseol-sijo* were written anonymously so one cannot discuss their authors. However, taking into consideration different conditions and circumstances, one may state that their authors were usually people from the middle-class (Jo Dong-il, Seo Jongmun, Pak Jongseong 2012: 323-324).

Saseol-sijo differs from *pyeong-sijo*. It is longer and that is why it is also called a long *sijo*. It is too long to explain its character with the logical formality of *pyeong-sijo*. Although it is still composed of three verses, the number of rhythmic units in a verse is not determined. Typical of that type of *sijo* is the rhythm of recitation, which results from the division into rhythmic units recited between breaths.

The long form changed the nature of *sijo* and resulted in the emergence of specific aesthetic values distinguishing it from *pyeong-sijo*. It is the aesthetics of ‘divergence/deviation’ acquired by awakening and separation from the aesthetics of *pyeong-sijo*, which boasts

cleanliness, elegance and nobility. Long words written in *saseol-sijo* are usually rhetorical tools helping to reveal emotions. In other words it is the exaggeration by long enumerations. It is the linguistic tool and the pathos of laughter. Therefore the typical features of the aesthetics of *saseol-sijo* include nimbleness, fun and caricature, et cetera.

However, *saseol-sijo* rarely diverges from the poetic world of *pyeong-sijo*, which expresses momentous emotions or internal feelings for the same mood or one idea.

Example of saseol-sijo

First verse: 바둑이 검둥이 청삽사리 중에 조 노랑 암캐 같이 얄밟고
жат피오라

Second verse: 미운 님 오게되면 꼬리를 회회치며 반겨 내닫고 고은
님이 오게되면

두 발을 벋떡디고 코쌀을 쩡그리며 무르락 마오락 캉캉 좃난 요
노랑 암캐

Third verse: 이튿날 문밖에 개 사육새 웨난 장사 가거드란 찬찬 동혀
내야 주리라

<육당본, 청구영언>

First verse: Spotted dog and black dog and shaggy blue hound — but this
yellow bitch is the wiliest in the pack.

Second verse: Comes an unwanted guest, she'll wag her tail with pleas-
ure and follow behind his heels, but for a friend of mine she'll stiffen her
legs and bare her teeth and bark her head off.

Third verse: You yellow bitch! Tomorrow if I hear that man outside
shouting “Any dogs for sale?” I will tie you and sell you straight for dog
meat.

(Translation from *The Bamboo Grove: An Introduction to Sijo* edited by
Richard Rutt: 231)

5. Topics of *sijo*

Sijo may be topically divided into

- 1) *gangho-sijo* (강호시조),
- 2) *gyohun-sijo* (교훈시조),
- 3) *uguk-sijo* (우국시조),
- 4) *aejeong-sijo* (애정시조).

It should be remembered that in the majority of cases the authors and lovers of *sijo* were Confucian scholars.

Sadaebu (사대부, 士大夫), Confucian scholars, were people who constituted a new political power. They used Confucian ideology at the end of the Goryeo dynasty. They finally managed to overthrow the old dynasty and establish a new, Joseon dynasty (1392-1910). Forming an actual ruling power, they could decide the shape of politics, society, culture, etc. Their *sijo* is much more philosophical and ideological than the poems written by people from the middle-class or *gisaeng*. The presented ideology is usually limited to Confucian ideology.

Consequently, the poems presenting Confucian ideology were developed in two main directions: 1) *gangho-sijo* (강호시조) and 2) *gyohun-sijo* (교훈시조) (Seong Giok, Son Jongheum 2008: 332-333).

Gangho-sijo is the main genre written by the ruling class of noblemen (called: *sadaebu*) about 강호한정 (江湖閑情, *gang-ho-han-jeong*, lit. quiet life close to the nature). So they were devoted to 'Quiet and happy life close to the nature'. They sung about the delights of rural life in harmony between men and nature.

It was not only a song about a quiet and happy life close to nature, about resting and having fun or about human life. Poems revealed the increased interest in nature of the *sadaebu*. *Gangho-sijo* expressed the torments that they suffered in their private lives as scholars living among society.

Gyohun-sijo primarily expresses duties in inter-human relations, which must be fulfilled in order to make people live in harmony. In other words, it was a social poetry which was written to teach people morals and ethics.

It may seem that *gangho-sijo* and *gyohun-sijo* are two opposing poles, with different aspirations that is to say on the one hand perfecting oneself and on the other hand teaching others. However, if one looks at them from the Confucian point of view and Confucian teachings, one quickly realises that a human being must first perfect oneself and only after achieving that objective may he start teaching others. So those two aspects are always inter-related, combined together as two sides of a coin and that is why they became the main topics of *sadaebu-sijo* (Gyojae pyeonchan uiwonhoe 1996: 75).

Uguk-sijo (우국시조) is devoted to social problems discussed from the point of view of the ruling class.

Especially in the second half of the Joseon dynasty, after the war with Japan (in 1592) and China (in 1676), the poets frequently wrote about Confucian ideology and the bravery of men fighting for their country.

Uguk-sijo content definitely focuses on the anger and sorrow suffered by the author who was unable to save and protect his motherland. It may also be devoted to the criticism of the ruling class who, after the war, stopped fighting for the freedom of their own nation and country and continued quarrelling about power.

Aejeong-sijo (애정시조) are poems written primarily by *gisaeng*. In general the authors of *sijo* were men. As far as women are concerned, the only ones who wrote *sijo* were Korean *gisaeng*.

Gisaeng lived in a specific social situation at that time. They formally were classed as people of the lower social classes. But among women they were the only ones who could join noble men in their social lives. That is why apart from being taught how to sing and dance, they also had to be able to read and write poems in Chinese characters in order to enable the men, Confucian scholars, to enjoy their time. In other words, their education was the highest among women. Therefore, they also needed to be very intelligent. It was a prerequisite for them to be able to know *sijo* very well because during various parties and festivities they were singing *sijo* written by men. *Sijo* poems written by them reflected the specific social status they enjoyed. It means that their poems were devoted mostly to tragic love they experienced, their tragic fate – they were officially forbidden to marry so love and marital maternity were beyond their reach. That is

why they generally sang about sorrow or suffering resulting from parting with a beloved one, and love, which could not be continued.

Sijo poems written by them were devoted to love and the problem of burning, hopeless and forbidden love (misery of separation of lovers, solitude, waiting for the beloved man, etc.)

The Confucians did not write about love as they considered the topic improper. According to them *sijo* poems should be refined and full of dignity. But *gisaeng* were not afraid to write about the taboo topic and thus they enriched the range of topics of *sijo*.

As they were not ashamed to sing in public about love, which was treated as a taboo topic by the noble scholars, they managed to achieve the freedom and liberty of poetic tenderness in the world of *sijo*. Writing about love, beauty and nostalgia, lingeringly they were able to create a beautiful and artistic mood in their poems.

Sijo by *gisaeng* Hwang Ji-ni (her dates of birth and death are unknown), who is the most famous *gisaeng* for her beauty, intellect and artistic skills living in the times of Joseon dynasty:

동짓달 지나긴밤 한 허리를 버혀내어
춘풍 니불 아래 서리서리 너헛다가
어른님 오신날 밤이여든 구뵈구뵈 퍼리라

I wish I could cut out the waist of this deep mid-winter night
And curl it softly, softly under the warm spring quilt
And slowly, slowly spread it on the night my love comes back
(*Love in mid-winter night* 1985: 37)

In the second half of the rule of the Joseon dynasty (at the end of the 17th century and in the 18-19th centuries) *sijo* poems begin to describe the feelings of men and their contemporary life. The change in the topics was mostly caused by the fact that among the authors of *sijo*, next to the noblemen, one may also find the representatives of the middle class.

In the second half of the 18th century there were numerous great singers and poets such as Kim Cheon-taek and Kim Su-chang among others who could sing and write *sijo* very well. There were also those such as Lee Se-chun, who were professional singers of *sijo*. *Sijo* created by them is called *gagaek-sijo* (가객시조). Due to the rapid devel-

opment of commerce and entertainment culture in the 18th century they became the main lovers of *sijo* in cities and they exerted an important influence on its fundamental transformation in the second half of the Joseon dynasty.

In general the world of *gagaek-sijo* does not differ much from *saedabu-sijo*. It is so because their authors usually wanted to imitate the culture of higher classes that is to say *sadaebu*. They did not write *gyohun-sijo* or *uguk-sijo*, which discussed teaching the masses or worrying about the motherland. Teaching people and protecting the country are the tasks of the ruling class. That is why *gangho-sijo* written by them usually presents the image of an extra-terrestrial nature rather than harmony with nature (which is typical of *sijo* written by *sa-daebu*). They usually concentrated on pleasure derived from human life spent in such nature. It means that they wrote directly about the beauty of nature.

5. Summary

To summarise, *sijo* poetry has undergone a transformation as far as the topics and structure of *sijo* poems are concerned.

Initially the authors of *sijo* belonged to the ruling class and were solely men (Confucian scholars). With the passage of time and the development of society the representatives of the middle class started to write *sijo* poems as well. But in the history of *sijo* the most famous and highly regarded *sijo* poets were: rulers and noblemen (Confucian scholars).

First the rhythm of *sijo* poems was changed as the authors departed from the strict rhythmic units in particular verses. Next, the long *sijo* developed in which even the length of verses was not limited by the number of rhythmic units at all. The *sijo* transformations also included the linguistic changes, which may be observed in the course of *sijo* history. The topics also changed as new types of *sijo* appeared adjacent to traditional *sijo* devoted mainly to Confucian ideas formulated in a ponderous language. The new types of *sijo* were devoted to

daily life of people, sometimes were even coarse or vulgar and were written mainly by ordinary people.

A poem with a fixed form may have artistic beauty, which is built in the course of long history. *Sijo* is a poem with such fixed form making it sophisticated and beautiful. Therefore, it has its poetic value and there are reasons why it exists as a poetic genre.

What is typical of *sijo* is the regular number of rhythmic units, which are composed of syllables. Some poems of modern *sijo* frequently omit that and as a result cannot retain the beauty of rhythmic *sijo*. They focus on the revival of *sijo*, but claim that its traditional fixed form cannot be preserved (Lim Jongchan 1996: 298). However, a poem with a fixed form, contrary to free verse, must adhere to the rhythm. Otherwise, it is no longer a fixed verse poem. Thus, *sijo*, even a contemporary one, which does not obey the form, cannot be considered *sijo*.

What distinguishes a free verse from a fixed verse is the rhythm, which constitutes a specific artistic beauty. So the real beauty of *sijo* stems from its fixed verse form and harmony between its form and contents. If *sijo* imitates the structure of free verse, it loses its artistic beauty and the reason for its existence. To conclude, one may not agree with some contemporary poets who claim that the traditional form of *sijo* is too complicated and difficult to express poetic contents.

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GON, WOO, SEONDO GODDESS, AND CHINESE LEGENDS ABOUT PEOPLE IN KOREAN MYTHOLOGY

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Abstract: Gon and Woo are mythological persons who were born in China and who performed all their tasks there. That is why they are present in Korean myths from time to time, for instance in the myth about Dangun or the kingdom Goguryeo, and finally they achieve universality and credibility. On the other hand the holy mother Seondo was the daughter of the Chinese emperor who acquired supernatural powers and went to Korea where she stayed. Consequently Koreans did not know much about what she did in China. As a result she became accepted by Koreans as the common goddess of mountains called differently in different regions.

From the point of view of the Korean nation Ju Wonjang and Seol Ingwi are heroes from China but at the same time despite being persons of low birth as commonalty they managed to become heroes. It is an extremely important aspect for Koreans. Although they actually attacked Goguryeo and forced Korea to obey China, for the Korean commonalty such historical experiences could be of different significance. As far as myths about Chinese heroes are concerned, the Korean commonalty seemed to be interested first and foremost in their skills and strength, which were so great that there was no authority in Korea powerful enough to withstand it.

In my opinion for the Korean commonalty the concept of nation was something in the form of an imaginary community, which should arise at any moment by chance and should unify people strongly. The Korean commonalty expressed in legends and folktales its strong will to identify themselves with people beyond national divisions in order to save themselves from their hard everyday life. Folktales usually do not present any issue fully. They only present a specific situation or a particular day or something typical of China, etc. By treating Chinese heroes as if they were

their own, the Korean commonalty took advantage of them in some sense. I think it was their strategy enabling them to fulfil their dreams by living the life of others.

Key Words: Gon, Woo, Dangun, kingdom Goguryeo, the holy mother, Chinese heroes, nation

곤, 우, 선도여신, 그리고 한국신화 속의 인물들에 관한 중국 전설들

국문초록: 곤과 우는 중국에서 자신의 출생과 소임을 다한 존재들이다. 그런 까닭에 고유명사로서 우리 신화의 이곳저곳에 사후적으로 연계되면서 단군 신화나 고구려 신화와 보편적 성격을 다져나가는 데에 활용된다. 반면, 성모는 중국 제실의 딸이었다가 신선술을 익혀 우리 땅에 들어와 좌정한 성모여신 중국에서의 특별한 행적을 부각시키지 못했다. 우리 땅에 좌정한 이후 제실의 딸이면서 도래 여신적 존재인 성모로서의 성격은 보통명사화해서 여느 우리 땅의 여산신과도 흡유할 수 있는 방식으로 호명되는 운명을 받아들여야 했다고 본다. 이 점이 둘 사이의 차이이고 곤·우와 성모를 달리 수용하는 방식의 차이라고 생각한다.

주원장이나 설인귀나 우리네 민중들의 시선에서는 중국의 영웅이면서 동시에 자신들과 같은 미천한 처지에서 영웅이 된 존재라는 공통점을 갖는다. 그들이 조선에 사대의 예를 강요하거나 고구려를 침탈한 주역이지만 오히려 침탈의 역사적 경험이 민중들에게는 다층적인 함의를 갖게 하는 요인으로 작동했다고 볼 개연성이 있다. 역사적 인물을 매개로 한 중국에 대한 인물전설의 인식은 침탈의 주역으로서 지닌 영웅적 능력, 곧 우리 내부의 어떤 권력도 함부로 제어하지 못하는 그 능력에 초점을 두고 있다.

우리네 민중들에게 민족이라는 인식은 임의적이고 일시적인 상황에서 등장해서 굳건하게 공동체를 결집시키는 상상적 공동체의 성격을 갖는다고 생각한다. 고단한 현실의 문제를 해결하는 방식이 있다면 국적이나 민족을 넘어서서 동일화하려는 몸짓을 설화의 전승을 통해 구현한다. 설화는 일상의 전 영역을 전시간적으로 감당하지 못한다. 특별한 날에 특별한 상황에 특별한 중국의 그 무엇을 사후적으로 되새김질할 뿐이다.

핵심어: 곤. 우. 단군. 고구려. 성모. 중국 영웅들. 민족

1. Introduction

The author is of the opinion that the China, which is present in Korean myths, is depicted as an unreal persona hidden backstage. When one looks into the backstage, however, one discovers a completely unex-

pected vision of China. China as an object described in myths is real and paradoxical at the same time. In other words it may be said that in Korean myths China is presented as an object, which is relegated to the sidelines by the internal paradoxes. At the same time it has something unreal ingrained in it and that unreal element attacks those paradoxes from its hiding place. It is a paradoxical mechanism existing in myths, which is similar to the liar's paradox.

2. Korean mythology and one of the aspects of mythical references to China

2.1. Gon and Woo in Goguryeo mythology

In order to understand how important the Goguryeo mythology is for North East Asia and for comprehending China, one needs to focus on the Chinese myths about Gon and Woo. These myths will be analysed through the prism of Korean mythology. Additionally, if one wishes to research into Gon and Woo one must go back to the times of their ancestors that is to say Hwangje (Yellow Emperor), Nakmyeong and Gye (names given in chronological order). However, one needs to limit the investigation as this paper is not devoted to the research into Chinese mythology.⁵

Hwangje, called the Yellow Emperor, is a person officially recognised by the Chinese nation as their God-Progenitor. Gon and Woo were appointed as his descendants and that is why they are extremely important when establishing the genealogy/pedigree of the mythology related to the Han nation. Nakmyeong, born by Hwangje, is a link between Gon and Hwangje because Nakmyeong gives birth to a white horse which becomes Gon. Gon, in turn, is a multidimensional person.

⁵ I have already mentioned some of this part in my previous article. See Park Jong-Seong (2004).

Who are Gon and Woo? Here are a few excerpts about them:

- 1) The yellow Emperor gave birth to Nakmyeong, Nakmyeong gave birth to the White Horse, and the White Horse became Gon,
- 2) Once upon a time, he was executed in the Woo Mountains for disobeying the Yellow Emperor but after his death he transformed into the Yellow Bear and immersed himself in the waters of Woo-yeon lake,⁶
- 3) Gon died in the Woo Mountains, but after his death he transformed into the Yellow Bear and immersed himself in the waters of Woo-yeon lake,
- 4) the God ordered Chukmyeong to kill Gon in the Woo Mountains but after his death Woo emerged from his belly,
- 5) They were cutting out his belly with the Odo sword, and Woo arose from it,
- 6) Woo brought the floods under control and reached the mountain called Hwanwon. There he transformed into a bear. He said to Master Dosan [...] “You may bring me food only when you hear the drum”. But Woo stepped on a stone which hit the drum. Master Dosan came and saw him as a bear. The bear ran away thinking that is was a disgrace. When he reached the Sungo mountains, Gye was born. Woo ordered the rock “Give back my son” and the rock opened itself to the north and Gye was born.

It is said that Gon became the Yellow Bear and jumped into the lake called Woo-Yeon. Moreover, Woo also became a bear and became the god of water, which means that he can control waters. So Gon and Woo, the father and the son, are described in a similarly as persons transformed into bears. One cannot say that the superhuman power of controlling waters is strictly connected with bears' powers, but at least people identified both powers in that way.

What seems to be interesting is the fact that Gon, who was killed in the Woo Mountains, became the Yellow Bear and then jumped into the waters of Lake Woo. As he was the god of waters, we intuitively see his strict connection with water. His connection with the lake led to the next mythological event that is to say the birth of his grand-son called Gye.

There are also records saying that after his death Gon became the Yellow Bear and from the fragments cut off from his belly the dragon

⁶ There is another story about Gon in *Classic of Mountains and Seas*[山海經]. “Gon’s body does not decompose for three years after death. When his body is cut by sword named O[吳刀], Gon is transformed to Yellow Dragon.”

arose, and the dragon became Woo (Ryu Dae-Pyeong (劉大平), ed., 2003: 74). However, when it comes to the power of controlling waters, the legends are unanimous claiming that Woo became a bear. Therefore, it should be assumed that Gon and Woo are the gods of waters, they control waters and at the same time are Gods-Bears.

On the other hand, Nakmyeong, who was appointed the father of Gon, is also called Jeonuk. Here is the record attesting it:

There was a fish called the lady Fish who was half-human and half-fish and who was the resurrection of Jeonuk.

Dae-Woo has a body that is half-human and half-fish.

In accordance with these records Jeonuk and his grand-son Woo are both portrayed as half-human and half-fish. It suggests that Jeonuk, Gon and Woo in Chinese mythology belong to one family as a grandfather, father and son. What is more, Gon after his death became the Yellow Bear or the Dragon and jumped into Lake Woo, so Jeonuk, Gon and Woo are persons featured as water gods. Therefore one may claim that the Chinese, when creating the Chinese gods as the gods of five fundamental substances, made Jeonuk the God/Emperor of the North and Hyeonmyong – the god of waters, his assistant/helper.

It may also be assumed that making Gon and Jeonuk direct descendants of the God of Heaven also made them a mixture of the God of Heaven and the God of Waters. However, the record that the Emperor/God of Heaven ordered Chukjung to kill Gon because the latter failed to control the flood suggests that there was a conflict between them, which is to say between the God of Heaven and the God of Waters.

On the one hand, as a result of such relations or conflicts between the God of Heaven and the God of Waters the pedigree of Chinese gods was established in the following manner: the God of Heaven/Emperor – Nakmyeong – Gon – Woo – Gye. On the other hand, due to some unknown reason other gods have been added to the genealogy of Chinese gods.

Gye is the son of Woo, and his mother first had to become a stone to give birth to him. While giving birth she broke into two

halves, so her son is typified by a mythical element of being “born of stone”. It is also said that Gye became the king after his father-founder of the Ha state, but after he acquired the ‘nine songs of heaven’ he became conceited and started leading a licentious life. Finally, the God of Heaven punished him and his state was annexed to the state of Yugung.

To summarise, Gon and Woo as the descendants of the Emperor (the Emperor is the former God of Heaven who created mankind and Yin-Yang energy so they could breed well) are gods or divine humans having specific features and nicknames such as ‘the God of Heaven’, ‘the White Horse’, ‘the Dragon’, ‘the Bear’, ‘the Woo Lake’, ‘the Born of Stone’. The genealogy of Chinese mythology (the Emperor – the God of Heaven – Nakmyeong – Gon – Woo – Gye) is similarly depicted in the Goguryeo mythological characters (Hwanung – Hwanin – Dangun – Haeburu – Geumwa – Jumong). The Emperor / God of Heaven and some of his descendants originate from the Chinese mythology. Thus, it is worth comparing them with the persons appearing in the myths about the foundation of the Goguryeo state (Former Joseon – North Buyeo – East Buyeo – Goguryeo).

The relation between them is as follows:

I generation

Yellow Emperor (God of Heaven)

Hwanung (God of Heaven)

II generation

Nakmyeong/Jeonuk (half-man and half-fish/God of Water)

Hwanin (God of Heaven)

III generation

Gon (Bear/Dragon/Woo Lake)

Dangun (Bear)

Haemosu (God

of Heaven/Dragon/The Mountain of the God Bear)

IV generation

Woo (Bear/Dragon)

Haeburu

Jumong (Dragon)

V generation

Gye (Born of Stone)

Geumwa (Born of Stone/LakeGon)

If similar mythical elements appear just from time to time in single myths and there is no strict connection between them then there is

no need to investigate similarities between them closely. However if there are similar elements, which seem to be counterparts in myths that have been officially used to provide genealogy then they are worth investigating.

First one must turn one's attention to the fact that Gon became the Yellow Bear after his death, and Woo also became a bear and ruled over water. Additionally, Woo was born out of the belly of Gon. In the Korean myth of Dangun his mother was initially a female bear, and later she became a woman who had a relationship with Hwanung. How did she give birth to him? One may compare Dangun's mother with Gon due to the motive of a bear. People frequently perceive them as separate persons as they assume that Gon is a male God. Is that really true? Analysis of another fragment may reveal more:

In accordance with "*Cheonmun*" in the chronicle of *Chosae* "*Woo who was born out of Gon's belly*" Gon is not a God but a Goddess. There are also mythical miracles concerning the birth of Woo – 'his mother became pregnant after swallowing the moon from the well', 'Woo was born when the belly of his mother, the daughter of Yusin, was cut out,' etc. – they are typical products of matriarchal society (Jeong Jang 1982).⁷

So if there is a possibility that Gon is a Goddess there are no more problems finding similarities between Gon and Dangun's mother. There is only one difference between them. The mother of Dangun had a relationship with Hwanung/the God of Heaven when she became a woman and stopped being the bear. Gon, in turn, had no relationship at all.

A bear is also the feature of the relationship between Haemosu and Yuhwa:

Before him, Haeburu—the King of the Northern Buyeo already escaped to the Eastern Buyeo. When he died, his son Geumwa succeeded to the throne. One day, at Lake Ubalsuin in the southern part of the Taebaek Mountains Geumwa found a woman and asked her who she was. She told him 'My name is Yuhwa and I am a daughter of Habaeka. When I was playing outside my house with my younger sisters a man told me that he was Haemosu – the son of the God of Heaven. He took me to a house by the River Yalu at the foot of the mountain

⁷ I quote this part in Seon Jeong-Gyu (1996: 110).

Woongsin (God Bear) and he made love with me. He left and never came back.’

The mountain of the God Bear is the place where Haemosu had a relationship with Yuhwa. If one analyses this example in the narrow sense then the mountain is the Holy Mountain connected with the God Bear. However if one looks at this example in the broader sense remembering that it is the holy place where Jumong– the founder of the state Goguryeo was born, also connected with the God Bear, then one learn that Goguryeo is the successor of Gojoseon, that is to say the former Joseon.

Geumwa and Gye were both born out of the stone. Geumwa went to Lake Gonyeon, and Gon jumped into Lake Woo. Those similar elements remind one of the fact that it is likely that both myths have the same pedigree.

Additionally when Gon became a bear he jumped into Lake Woo-yeon, but the researchers of Chinese mythology interpret the name of the lake in the following manner ‘it is a place where the sun sets’.⁸ Again, one may find similarities between those two myths. Gon jumped into the lake where the sun sets, and a female bear – the future mother of Dangun entered the cave where there was no light. In other words Gon jumped into the lake when the sun sets and at this moment our hero Woo is born, and a Bear – the future mother of Dangun– entered the cave where there was no sun and became a woman. Then she united with Hwanung – the God of Heaven and gave birth to Dangun, the founder of Gojoseon.⁹

⁸ For more about this, see these two books. Seon Jeong-gyu (1996); Lee In-Taek (2000). In this part, what I have focussed on is a possibility of connection between ‘Gon/the lake Woo’ and ‘Dangun/the cave’. Gon has features of both god of water and god of sun. Gon acquires the position of god of sun after being identified as a descendant of the Yellow Emperor. However, Gon finally jumps into the Woo-yeon when Gon is transformed into a bear after being killed by the God. It can be interpreted that Gon goes back to the own place where there is no sun. Therefore, the relation between Gon and Woo-yeon is similar with the relation between Dangun and the cave, and it is possible to say there is some significant connection and meaning.

⁹ In Korea, a divine feature, which is related to a bear and water is usually concerned with maternal line. On the other hand, in China, because Gon, Woo, and Nakmyeong show a divine feature related to a bear and water, it may be said ‘complex’ not like in Korea.

Records concerning a direct relationship between Dangun and Woo may be found in another fragment:

Dangun married the daughter of Habaeka and they had a son who was called Buru. Buru was the king of the Easter Buyeo. When the King Woo, called all princes, Dangun sent his son Buru to the meeting. In the eighth year of the reign of Woo in the Chinese state Ha, Dangun and entered the mountain Asadal and became the God of the Mountain.

This fragment may be considered a proof of the fact that a Korean historian Gwongeun was aware, however, not in the historical context, of a certain relationship between Dangun and Haemosu and between Dangun and Woo. Therefore one may claim that Korean mythology with the pedigree (Dangun→Buyeo→Goguryeo) and Chinese mythology (Yellow Emperor→Gon→Woo→Gye) are strictly connected with each other.¹⁰

It is a natural thing when one looks at them outside the framework of the Middle Ages universalism. In spite of that one should turn one's attention to the fact that there are specific Chinese elements, which are mixed into the mythology of Goguryeo. In other words how did it happen that Gon and Woo pervaded into the mythological genealogy of Goguryeo, that is to say how Dangun became connected with Woo as well as Geumwa with Gon and Woo.

One may explain it in the following manner: the mythology of an ancient nation is frequently formulated by its original as well as foreign elements. In Korean mythology Gon and Woo do not appear in a chronological order. Simply in a natural automatic way one associates them with each other when reading about the Yellow Emperor and the Woman Bear, mountains of the God Bear, Lake Gonyeon, Geumwa, Dangun and so on. It is possible due to the fact that Gon, Woo, wom-

¹⁰ It is enough to be a fundamental discussion how to interpret a phenomenon of homogeneity between a myth of Korea and of the Han of China [漢族]. It is easy to say that one is original and the other is derived from an original one, which can occur in a dominance relation or even master-servant relationship. However, since a myth is not only a history of the country (or nationality), but also a religion, philosophy, and literature, one need not make a useless controversy about originality. Abandoning one's own myth and taking another's myth never happened. That can be guaranteed by the example of the Hungarian myth and Jeju Island's myth.

an Bear, Dangun, Geumwa, Gonyeon are all mythical heroes in Eastern Asia.

2.2. The mythology of Silla and the motive of the holy mother

The holy mother has a very special place in the myths about Hyeokgeose the founder of the kingdom of Silla and his wife Alyeong. There are numerous holy mothers such as holy mother Seondo, holy mother Seosul, holy mother Dongsin and so on. Therefore researchers have had doubts for a long time whether they were separate figures or just one?

It is certain that the holy mother is connected with Chinese Taoism and that is why her connection with folk beliefs is of special importance. In the opinion of the author of this article, the holy mother after having been received in Korea, in contrast to Gon or Woo, failed to be referred to by her own name and adopted local names thus losing its Chinese features. It means that she was changed into a common goddess who was still called the Great Mother or Holy Mother. The holy mother in Christian culture is perceived in a very similar way. It frequently happens that she is the goddess of folk beliefs or she is simply one of the folk gods.

In Korea the holy mother became a common noun. What does it mean?

Seondo, Seosul or Dongsin function only as personal pronouns, which describe the character of the holy mother. What is interesting is the fact that Kim Busik went to China at the times of the Song dynasty as a king's envoy and paid tribute in the temple Usinto the holy mother Seondo, whom he identified as the holy mother Dongsin, for whom a Chinese official Wangyang previously had written a funeral speech.¹¹ Kim Busik who was a historiographer drew such a conclu-

¹¹ For more information see Kim Jong-Kun (2009: 43-63).

sion instantaneously. There is a likelihood that he thought that all of the mothers are Taoist figures with one common name.

But the Buddhist monk Ilyeon called the holy mother Seosul – holy mother Seondo. It was probably because of the fact that at that time there was a mountain called Seosul, but there was no mountain called Seondo. Thus it seems then the holy mother Seondo was usually understood as the goddess of mountains and the mountain Seondo, which did not exist in fact, was a symbol of the common holy mountain.

There are arguments according to which there were separate cults for the holy mother and for the traditional mountain goddess in the mountains of Jiri. However, it is very difficult to agree with this opinion. From the moment when the holy mother cult (typical of Chinese Taoism) pervaded into Korean culture, she became a common goddess of the mountains. Therefore the holy mother is no longer associated with the holy mother Seondo in Korea. She became a common goddess of mountains there and additionally was featured differently depending on regions where her cult was practiced.

Due to that she also participated in building the kingdom of Buddha in the territory of Silla, and was the Great Mother who gave birth to the son – the great King. As a wife of the God Banyashe was the goddess of weaving. Being the Dragon she gave birth to Alyeong, she also gave birth to the son and the daughter who married and became the founders of the kingdom.¹² And that way she contributed to the creation of the myth about the marriage between a brother and a daughter. She was also the holy mother who helped Lee Seongye, the founder of the Joseon dynasty, to win a war.

As we can see the holy mother has different features and personalities in Korea; her religious authority of Taoism spreads and pervades Buddhism. She helps her husband gain power by making him wear a court garment which she has sewn herself. In the critical moment of the war she interferes to protect the mother land, and so on. Although Koreans accepted the holy mother who came from China, they changed her. She was no longer a Taoist goddess but a universal goddess helping people in different matters. So the fate of the holy

¹² It is interesting to observe that Nüwa and Fuxi are linked by the specific motif, marriage between brother and sister.

mother is completely different to the fate of Gon and Woo, who are accepted in Korean mythology without losing their specific features.

Gon and Woo are mythological persons who were born in China and who performed all their tasks there. That is why they are present in Korean myths from time to time, for instance in the myth about Dangun or the kingdom Goguryeo, and finally they achieve universality and credibility. On the other hand the holy mother was the daughter of the Chinese emperor who acquired supernatural powers and went to Korea where she stayed. Consequently Koreans did not know much about what she did in China. As a result she became accepted by Koreans as the common goddess of mountains named differently in different regions.

3. Korean legends about Chinese personas – JuWonjang, Nuruhachi, Han Cheonja, SeollIngwi

Among the former Chinese emperors the following appear most frequently in Korean folk stories: JuWonjang, Nuruhachi, and Han Cheonja.¹³ We should also mention Lee Semin the first emperor of the Chinese dynasty, who is such an important personage that at the island of Jeju there was a special shaman ceremony to pay homage to him.

In general, anecdotes about their mythical incredible births are passed on orally. It is said that Lee Semin is the son of the unknown father, being an extraordinary persona such as a dragon or a gigantic snake and so on. It is said that his father secretly entered his mother's room in the middle of the night and he inseminated her or that he gained the best place as a result of geomancy and due to that he became an Emperor, etc.

However, the myths mostly focus on their history from the moment of birth till the moment of gaining power. One may find no information about their lives after gaining power. It is probably due to

¹³ In order to see the oral literary pieces and its meaning of Korean legend about cheonja [天子] see Seo Dae-Seok (2011).

the fact that folktales are not interested in specific events from the history of a given nation. We should, however, turn our attention to the fact that Lee Semin and Nuruhachi being the Emperors of China attacked Goguryeo and Joseon, that is to say Korea. Thus it is very difficult for Koreans to accept them as great heroes. Nevertheless there are legends about them in Korea.

When investigating the anecdote about the birth of Han Cheonja one may draw a conclusion that he could have been either JuWonjang or Nuruhachi. The legend tells of JuWonjang who was born into a poor, common family. He made his way to the Emperor's throne on his own. The Korean commonality probably perceived him as a hero because he was of low birth, as they were, and yet he managed to overcome all difficulties and became an emperor. They could have perceived him also as a man who was chosen by the God of Heaven to become an emperor. The stories about Nuruhachi are completely different as it is said that he was born into the family of a wealthy landowner and he is perceived negatively as a person of great talent who attacked the Korean nation inflicting enormous suffering.

The author is of the opinion that in the world of Korean folktales they were not discriminated against because of their nationality. It should also be stressed that there are not many tales about their births in China.

The story of SeolIngwi does not differ much.¹⁴ In the town of Paju in Korea there is a tale about him. The tale tells that he was born in the Gamak in this region but he could not speak until he reached 15. He ate a lot and he was incredibly strong etc. In China in turn there are legends only about his extraordinary deeds during wars.

Emotional closeness with and acceptance of China or Chinese historical characters among the Korean nation is a direct result of the Korean historical experiences. What may be interesting is the fact that in accordance with some records Lee Semin, the founder of the Dang dynasty in China, is the progenitor of the Lee family in the region of Jeonjuin Korea. It is hard to prove it because the pedigrees of those two families seem to be different. But it should be remembered that

¹⁴ About the Seol Ingwi legend see Lee Ki-Huyng (2006).

tales and legends about Lee Semin are not totally based on historical sources.

If one realises that the government of Korea was the source of suffering of the people who inhabited the island of Jeju, then one may easily understand that even the Chinese ruler Lee Semin could have been considered a great and kind-hearted emperor, whom the people could easily accept. To conclude, it simply could have happened due to the very hard life led by the people of Jeju.

JuWonjang, the founder of the Ming dynasty in China, is connected with Lee Seonggye, the founder of the Joseon dynasty in Korea. According to the legends initially JuWonjang was in a much worse situation than Lee Seonggye. But he cheated him and in accordance with Taoist geomancy gained a better place. That is how he became the Emperor of China. It may also be said that JuWonhang was more ambitious than Lee Seonggye, and that is why he became an Emperor of China whereas Lee Seonggye became the King of Korea. Of course this legend expresses a very simple concept that the Emperor of China is a much greater and more important person than the King of Korea.

But the Korean commonalty had other arguments to support its belief:

1. China was a very big state and Korea was a small one,
2. an Emperor – the representative of Heaven – ruled in China, whereas in Korea the King ruled,
3. there was some emotional closeness to JuWonjang, and distance to Lee Seonggye,
4. life under the reign of Lee Seonggye was hard,
5. the only person who could protect the Korean nation against the unjust, excessively burdening reign of Lee Seonggye and his vassals was JuWonjang due to the fact that he was of low birth but nevertheless he managed to become an emperor.

The superhuman deeds of Lee Semin, the founder of the dynasty Dang in China, were passed on in shaman songs in the island of Jeju, but not in the mainland of Korea. It is an example of the fact that his features and function were changed in Korean folktales.

From the point of view of the Korean nation JuWonjang and SeolIngwi are heroes from China but at the same time despite being

persons of low birth as the commonality they managed to become heroes. It is an extremely important aspect for Koreans. Although they actually attacked Goguryeo and forced Korea to obey China, for the Korean commonality such historical experiences could be of different significance. As far as myths about Chinese heroes are concerned, the Korean commonality seemed to be interested first and foremost in their skills and strength, which were so great that there was no authority in Korea powerful enough to stand against it.

In my opinion for the Korean commonality the concept of nation was something in the form of imaginary community, which should be resurrected in any moment by chance and should strongly unify people. The Korean commonality expressed in legends and folktales its strong will to identify themselves with people beyond national divisions in order to save themselves from their hard everyday life. Folktales usually do not present any issue fully. They only present a specific situation or a particular day or something typical of China, etc. By treating Chinese heroes as if they were their own, the Korean commonality took advantage of them in some sense. It was probably their strategy enabling them to fulfil their dreams by living the life of others.

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AN INVESTIGATION ON THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF KOREAN SHAMANISM

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Abstract: Korean civilization has been influenced by different religions, such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and lately Christianity. However, the nucleus of the Korean culture is Shamanism, which is a conjuring religious phenomenon. Even though Shamanism belongs to the first page in the history of religions, it has been transmitted to next generations of Korea in different forms, somewhat surviving until today. A possible reason for this may be that Shamanism exhibits a dynamic and selective tradition that has adapted to different religions around it. It may also provide human beings with the blessings that they are deprived of in today's society. In this study, the origin and development of Shamanism in Korea, including the three dynasties of Silla, Koryo and Yi, were investigated. The primitive forms of ancient beliefs of Koreans as well as the structure of Shamanism and related rituals were described. Information was also provided on Shaman ritualists and the instruments they utilized in rituals.

Keywords: Korean Shamanism, Asian religions, Shaman's Ritualistic Instruments, Mudang, Paksu, Kut

VÝZKUM OHLEDNĚ DĚJIN A STRUKTURY KOREJSKÉHO ŠAMANISMU

Abstrakt: Korejský poloostrov byl ovlivněn různými náboženstvími jako buddhismus, taoismus, konfucianismus, a v poslední době významnou roli hraje i křesťanství. Nicméně jádrem korejské kultury je šamanismus, který je čarujícím náboženským

fenomémem. Šamanismus byl prvním náboženstvím v dějinách Koreje, a aby přežil do současnosti, tak byl předán příštím korejským generacím v transformované formě, tj. v podobě různých náboženských forem. Tento článek popisuje vznik a vývoj šamanismu na Korejském poloostrově v období dynastií Silla, Koryo a Yi. Rovněž se popisuje struktura šamanismu a s ním související náboženské rituály, šamanské nástroje, které se hojně používají během rituálů.

Klíčová slova: korejský šamanismus, asijská náboženství, šamanské rituální nástroje, Mudang, Kut

한국 샤머니즘에 관한 역사와 구조 연구

축약: 한국 문명은 불교, 도교, 유교 그리고 최근 기독교 등 다양한 종교에 의해 영향을 받아 왔다. 하지만, 한국 문화의 핵심은 종교 현상을 연상시키는 샤머니즘이다. 샤머니즘이 종교사의 첫페이지를 장식함에도 불구하고, 여러 형태로 한국 후세에게 전해져 내려와 오늘날까지 특정한 형태로 살아 있다. 이 연구는 한국의 샤머니즘의 기원과 발전에 관한 것이며 신라를 포함한 삼국 시대 왕국, 고려, 조선을 조사했다. 한국의 고대 신앙의 원시적 형태는 샤머니즘과 관계된 의식으로 묘사되었다. 샤먼들의 의식에 사용되는 악기에 대한 정보도 제공되었다.

키워드: 한국어 샤머니즘, 무교, 아시아 종교, 무당 의식기구, 무당, Kut

1. Introduction

Religion plays a unique role in the development of a nation's civilization. It affects not only the point of view of individuals in the community but also shapes the soul of the nation and its destiny. It may be questioned if being influenced by many different religions throughout history is desirable or not for a nation. Surely, this may result in the accumulation of valuable experiences. However, it is also important that the price paid for this gain is not too high and the experiences are not so bitter. Korea is a good example of a place where different religions have become important for the society during different times and even during the same era. Historically, Korean civilization has been primarily shaped by Shamanistic beliefs after when influences of the ideologies of Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and lately Christianity have been observed. However, the nucleus of the Korean culture

is Shamanism, which is a conjuring religious phenomenon regulating the fortunes of nature and man through intercourse with supernatural divine spirits. A comprehending definition of Shamanism has been given as a traditional, religious phenomenon tied closely to nature and the surrounding world, in which a practitioner endowed with the special ability to enter a state of trance-possession can communicate with supernatural beings (Kim 1998: 15-31). The practitioner is the shaman who tries to satisfy human cravings for explanation, understanding and prophecy.

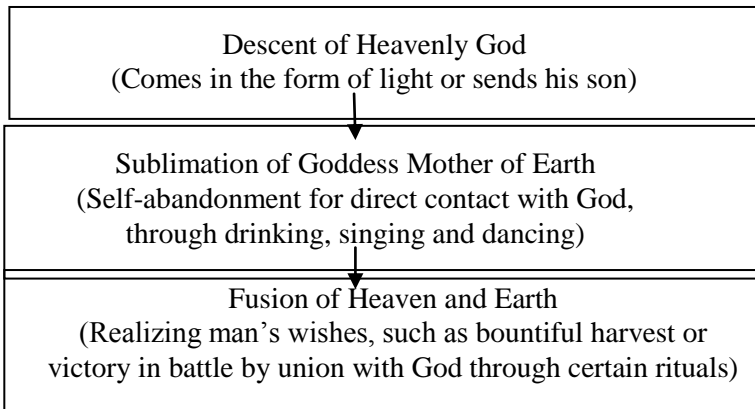
The aim of this study was to investigate the origin and development of Shamanism in Korea, including the three dynasties of Silla, Koryŏ and Yi. The primitive forms of ancient beliefs of Koreans as well as the structure of Shamanism and related rituals were described.

2. Prototype of Korean Shamanism

It is difficult to determine the origin of Korean Shamanism (Eliade 1964) as well as to identify its prototype. Today's Shaman customs have been mixed with foreign elements and have undergone various changes. Original Shamanism must rather be found in ancient beliefs, such as myths and rituals before foreign influences took place. Fortunately, information about some myths of ancient times has been transmitted to us through various records. One of these is the Myth of Tangun which refers to God and the belief in his coming from heaven to earth resulting in the union of heaven and earth and creation (Tongshik 2012: 35). Accordingly, heavenly God married the goddess mother of earth who was actually re-born as a human being and before then was a she-bear. Through the union of God and human being, a new life was created, that is the son of God. This also indicates that a new world was created in the form of a nation. Chumong and Hyökköse are other examples of myths which used more or less similar symbols describing ancient beliefs.

In order to understand the beliefs of ancient Korean people, it is also necessary to investigate their rituals. These rituals may be primarily grouped in three sections (Tongshik 2012: 62-78). The first one is the sacrificial offering ceremonies and the belief in light, which also symbolizes heavenly God. People offered sacrifices to the Heavenly God and welcomed him with song and dance in these ceremonies. An example is Yǒng-go (Welcoming Drum) that took place in the harvest month. As a farming culture started to develop in Korea, ceremonies also started to change. Thus, the second group of rituals is related to agriculture and the belief in grain goddess. Here, agricultural rituals took place in which sacrifices were offered to the goddess mother of earth. The third ritual concerns exorcising with singing and dancing and the belief in creation. In these events, people sang and danced with food and drink for many days and nights. The religious significance was to lead the people into a group ecstasy so that they could experience union with God.

Actually, we can find the prototype of Korean Shamanism by readjusting the structure of ancient beliefs as indicated by the rituals and myths. This should be as follows:



3. Origin and Development of Shamanism in Korea

Shamanism has existed on the Korean peninsula since the archaic period (before 1,000 BC). First written records about Shamanism are at about the third century in the Chinese text *Wei Chi* (Tongshik 1984: 8). Foreign religions, such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and much later Christianity have started to become dominant, especially in the elite upper class, with passing time. In spite of all, Shamanism did not disappear and continued to exist along the other religions. It continued its popularity, especially with females and poorer people, and was transmitted to next generations. The means of transmission can be classified into three (Tongshik 1984: 9-10). The first one was a simple transmission of Shamanism with time, mainly through personal or village ceremonies. In this case, the influence of foreign religions on the transmission of beliefs and practices of archaic Shamanism was superficial and without fundamental changes. The second type of transmission was syncretistic. This means that Shamanism was incorporated into the beliefs and practices of the other religions, Buddhism (Kim 2003: 1254-1256), Taoism, Confucianism and Christianity (Hyuck 2004), while replacing some of essential substance or meaning of these religions with its own. The third one was sublimated transmission, which involved the formation of different, new religions by the mixing of Shamanism with other established religions.

The development of Korean Shamanism may be understood better by the investigation of its status in the three royal dynasties of Silla (356-935), Koryŏ (918-1392) and Yi (1392-1910) that have ruled in Korean territories (Tongshik 2012: 94-125). The golden age of Silla culture was between 6th and 8th centuries when territorial unification was achieved for the first time in Korean history. Buddhism which was introduced from China helped Silla to build up a higher standard of civilization. There were great monks, such as Wŏnhyo (618-686), Ŭisang (625-702) and Wŏnch'ŭk (613-696) during this period. Actually, the ancient sacrificial rites of Shamanism continued in different forms in the Silla Dynasty. Different forms of transmission took place. As examples of simple transmission, the mountain and river festivals, ancestor festival and rain prayer festival of Silla can be

mentioned. Partial transformation was also observed in the elements of Shamanism. P'algwang-hoe (Harvest festival), Yöndüng-hoe (Lantern festival) are good examples of this syncretistic type of transmission. P'algwang-hoe was initiated during Silla dynasty and continued in Koryö dynasty. It was held in Buddhist temples but was not really a Buddhist worship. It involved singing and dancing like those in ancient festivals. Yöndüng-hoe was held during Silla and Koryö dynasties with candles in lanterns kept burning all night on the 15th and 16th of the first moon each year. The lantern was burning to Buddha of the universal light but this had similarities with worshipping the dragon and bright light in ancient times. There was also music and dancing similar to ancient Shaman traditions. In the Silla Dynasty, the union of Shamanism with foreign religious cultures to create a new religious culture was also observed. Hwarangdo (Knighthood of Flower Youths) might be given as an example of sublimated transmission during this period. Hwarangdo was a creative combination of Shamanism with higher standard religions but the main body was Shamanism. King Chinhung of Silla decided to train a new order of young leaders. He set up a new system, Hwarangdo, to train them into youths of self-identity, keeping the traditional culture and also absorbing Buddhist and Chinese cultures. However, it disappeared with the ruin of Silla Dynasty.

The golden age of Koryö culture was during King Munjong (1046-1083) and King Yejong (1105-1122) (Tongshik 2012: 162-206). Buddhism became the state religion and the religious belief of especially the nobles. The intellectual background was a mixture of Buddhism, geomancy and traditional Shamanism. Geomancy can be described as a mixture of Yin and Yang relationships and divinations coupled with geographic features. It was an eclectic religious idea believing in gods of mountains and streams, gods of Buddhism and gods of Shamanism. On the other hand, Taoism was also officially recognized in the 12th century by King Yejong. Buddhism, Taoism and geomancy had a common idea of Shamanism at their bases. Similar to Silla, different forms of transmission of Shamanism were observed during the Koryö Dynasty.

Mountain and river festivals, ancestor festival, rain prayer festival were examples of simple transmission while P'algwang-hoe and Yöndüng-hoe were examples of syncretistic transmission. In

addition, it should be mentioned that a rise in Shamanism belief was seen in Koryŏ after the reign of Injong (1122-1146). A new form of Shamanism evolved, represented by the witch and wizard (Mudang) custom with weird music and dance.

During the Yi Dynasty, a governmental changeover to Confucianism occurred. King Sejong (1418-1450), King Songjong (1469-1494) and King Chungjong (1506-1544) were central figures. King Sejong established the Chiphyŏnjŏn (Royal Academy), developed Hunmin Chŏng'um (a phonetic writing of 11 vowels and 17 consonants), with rich achievements of culture. At the same time, he was responsible of the Confucianization of the state while oppressing Buddhism. Although Yi Dynasty seemed to be a Confucian state, this was mainly centered on the ruling classes of male society while the base of the culture consisted of traditional religions, Shamanism, Buddhism and Taoism which still flourished among masses especially in female society. As also observed in Silla and Koryŏ, Shamanism of Yi Dynasty evolved by transmission. The simple folklore type of ancient rituals, offering sacrifices to gods of heaven and earth, mountains and rivers as well as ancestor worship, which appeared in rites of rain prayers wishing for rich harvests, represented simple transmission (Tongshik 2012: 236-250).

An interesting ritual in the Yi Dynasty was the plague-chasing ritual (Eliade 1964) which may be classified as a syncretistic transmission of Shamanism. The plague-chasing ritual was introduced from China and was conducted on New Year's Eve in the royal palaces to chase away devils and ghosts of all plagues. In outer appearance it was a Chinese custom but it conserved the old native Shamanist ideology of chasing away devils and welcoming happiness. Therein, the traditional Ch'ŏyong dance of Shamanism was performed. As an example of sublimated transmission in the Yi Dynasty, the Tonghak (Eastern Learning) movement may be shown (Tongshik 2012: 274). It was formed by Ch'oe Che-u and rose in rebellion against the ruling classes in 19th century. It was an esoteric combination of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Catholicism, and native Shamanism. The peasant population welcomed this native-born doctrine which held all the potential for revolution. Additionally, the wizard belief became more fashionable in the Yi Dynasty and made some developments, especially in a set-pattern of mudang costumes.

Even though Shaman belief was prohibited by Confucian officials as a superstitious religion, Shamanism ruled the conscience and life philosophy of the masses. On one hand, mudangs were expelled from the capital while they were also mobilized in prayers for rain, for grace and in plague-chasing rituals.

4. Structure of Ancient Korean Shamanistic Beliefs

According to Shamanistic belief, one must be able to persuade the gods to control things as one wishes. People tried to do this through certain rituals. In these ceremonies, they invited the gods, entertained them, listened to their will and obeyed them. The ceremonies had three main aims:

- 1) To bring blessings and prevent evil fortune
- 2) To expel evil spirits and have diseases cured
- 3) To comfort and purify the souls of the dead in order to send them to the other world without causing disasters in this world.

The typical rituals of Shamanism are called kut (Tongshik 1984: 11; Kister 1997). The kut is performed at times of change, either in human life or in seasons. With regards to personal concerns, it takes place when a baby is to be born, when the baby matures and reaches the point of marriage, when there is a need for praying for a long and happy life and finally when the person dies. The kut is also performed during annual cycle of seasonal changes that affects agriculture. For example, ceremonies are held during spring (time for planting) to pray for good fortune during the year. The harvest is offered to heavenly God.

Large-scale kut usually consists of twelve sequences. Just as twelve months make a complete year, it seems that twelve of these sequences make a complete ritual, or a “full course” of kut (Tongshik 1984: 12). There are also simpler kut aimed mainly at preventing disasters. The sequences of the kut generally include the following:

1 and 2: Introductory sequences to purify the place of the ritual and call down a host of Gods,
3: A prayer for protection,
4: Expulsion of evil spirits,
5: Taegam, the deity of richness, is invited and prayer is made for blessings of wealth,
6: Chesök, the Buddhist Heavenly God, is invited and prayer is made for long life,
7: Söngju, the heavenly deity who supervises the world, is invited and prayer is made for peace,
8 and 9: Prayers are again made for protection and for expulsion of evil spirits as in Sequences 3 and 4,
10, 11, and 12: The shaman worships the guardian Gods and offers sacrifices to various spirits so that there may be no evil consequences.

During the ceremony, firstly, the Shaman calls down the God who is the object of the ritual by singing an invitation to worship. Then the Shaman starts to sing and dance to a special tune and rhythm accompanied by instruments playing Shaman music to please the God who is invited. The pace of the singing and dancing increases until it reaches a frenzied point and the Shaman goes into trance. In this ecstatic state, the Shaman is in direct communion with the God and conveys the words of the God to those watching the ceremony. Those words may be warnings or commands, or they may be promises of blessings to be received. When this is over the Shaman sends the God back to its place by singing songs of praise and by dancing.

It should be noted that the medium of direct communication with the Gods is that of song and dance. Entrance to the world of the spirits is through rhythms of the body, not through meditations of the mind. The structure and principles of Shamanism involve balance. The objective of the kut is to restore balance through the unification of heaven, earth, and people.

There are some differences in cultural symbols and formalities between Korean Shamanism and Shamanism in other societies of northeastern Asia (Tongshik 2012), although the structure is generally the same. For example, during the Shaman meeting with spirits, the Tungus Shamans fly away while the Koreans and Japanese call down

the spirits. Furthermore, the nuclei of the rites of the Tungus and Japanese are in the offering of sacrifices to gods and in the relay of the gods' oracles, respectively. However, the Korean kuts entertain gods with song and dance before receiving the oracles. Another point is the difference in the emphasis on the functions of the kuts. The Japanese are concentrated on the send-off and peaceful repose of the dead soul while the Koreans focus on invocations of positive blessings from the gods whom they entertain in turn.

5. Shaman Ritualists

In all primitive religions with no founder, the position of a ritualist stands for the founder. In Shamanist belief, the chief is the Mudang, which is a name for all exorcists but women in particular. Often, the representative name for a male exorcist is Paksu (Tongshik 2012: 411). We can see the start of the male Shaman in the myth of Tangun. During the age of theocracy, the male Shaman performed the functions of both religion and the state. However, female Shamans took the initiative for religion when the governing of state and religion were separated at the times of the start of Christian era.

The Shaman is a practitioner exhibiting trance, ecstasy and possession (Kim 1998: 15-31). Trance involves interaction with supernatural beings through hallucinations, visions or dreams often by sending the soul on a journey to hear and interact with spirits while retaining the identity (Kim 1998: 45-54). Trance is generally induced by hypoglycaemia, brought on by fasting, sensory deprivation, isolation, mortification or hallucinogens. Ecstasy and possession originate from a trance leading to an altered state of consciousness. Ecstasy is a means of communication between the Shaman and spirits in this altered state of consciousness. Possession indicates that there is an exchange of spirits, concerning the Shaman's body, during the trance. It can be divided into spirit-possession and trance-possession which signify that the soul leaves the Shaman's body and spirits from outside enter the Shaman's body, respectively. Trance-possession is

usually induced by drumming, singing, dancing, crowd contagion or, more rarely, drugs (Kim 1998: 45-54). It is a public performance requiring an audience. In short, the Shaman is endowed with the very special gift of trance-possession and communicates with the supernatural world, thus being able to deliver oracles and fulfill human aspirations.

Shamans are classified into three according to their state of initiation (Tongshik 2012: 412-421). The spirit-possessed Shamans have communication with descending spirits, perform exorcising rites with song and dance, declare oracles of their god or goddess, divine the causes of singular maladies and pick a lucky day for exorcism. Hereditary Shamans may be regarded as trainees who have no experience of possession by a descending spirit. They sing and dance but never declare an oracle and simply act as ritualists rather than having communication with descending spirits. These Shamans are skillfull in singing and dancing and performing exorcism. The last type is called apprentice. Actually, these learn their art for a living, so they are regarded as suspect or imitation Shamans. The Shaman system is often transferred to the next generation but the succession of Shamanism is not necessarily due to blood relationships. More successions occur by spiritual relationships, such as those between a god-mother and god-daughter by adoption.

In the first two types of Shamans mentioned above, the number of female Shamans is always higher than male Shamans (about 70% of total). There were about 2600 Shamans during the rule of King Sunjo (1800-1834) in Yi Dynasty. In 1930, this number was 12380 (68% mudangs, 32% paksus). Even now there must be some thousands of them throughout Korea.

6. Ritualistic Instruments

Most ritualistic instruments of korean shamans are simple, as taken from natural objects and common household items. These instruments

may be investigated in five distinct categories as described below (Lee 1981: 81-88).

1) Instruments dealing with an altar

These types of instruments include straws, pine branches, tables, divine images, folding screens and sacred flags. Straws are used to make huts and ropes, the branches are put on the altar to signify the sacred place and altar area while tables are used to place food on them. There are a lot of pictures of spirits, divine statues, paper and wooden plates on which the names of divine spirits are written. These are divine images symbolizing the spiritual presence at the altar. Various images or pictures of spirits are also seen on folding screens. Flags also have an important place as ritualistic instruments. Flags of five directions are white papers with flower designs attached to bamboo poles and they are placed at the south, north, east, west corners and center of the room where the ritual takes place. A commanding flag is a large, long (about 30 feet of height) flag set up in front of the home of the ascending spirit at the ritual. It consists of a large piece of paper and different colored fabrics, papers, ropes, coins, etc. A flag of descending spirit is about 2 feet in length made of white papers on which the date of the descending spirit is often recorded. The flag of Yongdung god and the flag of primary spirits are used to ask for protection against flood and storms. There are also colored flags of military spirit in green, blue, red, yellow and navy blue.

2) Instruments dealing with charms and oracles

These instruments include beech branches, bamboo poles, cooking knives, charm symbols, jars and bottles, effigies, high chairs and symbols of birds. The branches and poles are used in the exorcism of evil spirits from mentally ill people and from home, respectively. The cooking knife is believed to remove evil spirits when it is accompanied by the food offered during the ritual. Charm symbols are used to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits during the ritual. Jars and bottles are utilized to catch evil spirits that cause illness and unrest at home. Effigies are made of papers or straws and are used to replace the sick or dead. In case of the sick for example, the effigy is placed on the

river and is allowed to drift away, symbolizing the dismissal of the illness. A high chair is also used in the rituals for the exorcism of evil spirits from a mentally ill patient. It has a straw basket at the top where the patient is placed during the ritual so that he cannot escape. Symbols of birds may be seen at the location where the ritual takes place. As an example, the picture of a three-headed duck is hung on the wall or the ceiling to prevent the coming of great disasters.

3) Musical instruments

Since there is a lot of singing and dancing at the Shamanistic rituals, musical instruments have an important place therein. Drums, bells, gourds, gongs, flutes and a brass instrument made of two pieces to be clapped together make the musical sounds during the ritual. Drums are made of a natural wood and has cow skin on both sides. Different types of drums are used by Paksus and Mudangs. The bells, generally made of brass or other metals, are believed to bring the attention of spirits while gongs have the power to call spirits to the ritual. A sounding bag is another means to produce sound and is used to replace a small drum when Mudang calls out the spirit of the dead.

4) Instruments dealing with divinations

Certain objects are used as divine symbols during the Shamanistic rituals. Five pieces of wood, for example, represent fire, water, wood, metal and earth. Counting cyrinda is an object made of brass or wood. Eight pieces of wood are placed in an opening at the top and during divination one is taken out at a time. When three are taken, their numbers are added to arrive at the number of a hexagram in the *Book of Changes*. Counting tortoise has the shape of a tortoise and is made of wood or metal. Coins are kept in it. During divination three coins are taken out to determine fortune or misfortune, on the basis of which side appears. Sacred swords are thrown onto the ground during the prayer. When they all fall pointing to the same direction it is a sign of good fortune. Additionally, when a large sword touching a table is released and it stands, this is regarded as a good sign. Rice powders are used in the ritual of the dead. The powders are placed in a bowl with a paper effigy of the dead at the top. When footprints of birds or

animals are found on the powders after the prayer, it signifies the reincarnation of the soul of the dead.

5) Offerings

Most often, beef, pork, dressed fish, beverages and cake (made of wheat, flour, oil and honey) are presented for sacrifices during the rituals.

7. Conclusions

Shamanism has started in ancient times in Korea and has stayed in existence since then, mixing with other religions. It has been suppressed and even suffered severe insults along the history of Korea. However, Shamanism has survived until now because since contemporary Shamanism incorporates Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism (and arguably even Christianity), it exhibits a dynamic and selective tradition that has adapted to different religions around it. Another reason of its survival is that human beings want to be blessed ever more and Shamanism may provide this. Shamanism teaches that blessings come only as balance is restored. People pray for each other's blessings, and share food and dance together according to Shamanistic principles.

Surely, there may be some negative aspects of Shamanism, such as the presence of superstition, magical powers and no ethical dimension. However, its positive aspects are also noteworthy. Poor and powerless people can relate themselves to Shamanism easily. It heals the wounds of oppression for simple people. It does not require long periods of meditation or intellectual training so that it does not seem to be unreachable. Additionally, Shamanism is a driving force in the creation of folk culture, such as song, dance, drama, art and philosophy.

Even though Shamanism belongs to the first page in the history of religions, the possibility of creating a new civilization may

still be found in its dynamics. It may provide some liberation from the bonds of history and ego of man, which may give a chance for the creation of a new world of peace. A crucial point is that a correct understanding of Shamanism is required. Otherwise, Shamanism, despite its persistence, may not survive for more than a few more generations.

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SOUTH KOREA CULTURAL HISTORY BETWEEN 1960S AND 2012¹⁵

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Abstract: This paper examines the development of South Korean cultural policy from the 1970s to the present. It contextualises South Korean state, culture and its cultural policy within the framework of state developmentalism, so as to understand their dynamics and relationships. A detailed analysis of how the national cultural policy is interpreted and implemented through institutional practices, historically and in its contemporary context shall be made.

Key words: Cultural Policy, developmentalism, South Korea, Hallyu

1960년대부터 2012년 기간의 한국의 문화정책

초록: 본 논문은 1970년부터 현재까지 한국의 문화정책에 관해 분석하였다. 국가발전주의 입장에서 문화정책이 어떻게 실행, 적용되었는지를 각 정권별로 문화정책과 기관을 통해 살펴 보았다. 이런 결과 문화정책은 박정희 정부에서부터 새마을 운동과 같은 근대화 운동을 비롯해 아시아 금융위기 이후 새로운 경제성장의 동력으로 연계되어 있는 것을 나타냈다.

¹⁵ This paper prepared and edited from my PhD thesis -How “Hallyu” outcome in Asia since the early of 2000s- for the Second International Conference on Korean Humanities and Social Sciences - Language, Literature, Culture and Translation in Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland, 7th to 8th July 2014

키워드: 문화정책, 발전주의, 한국, 한류

1. Overview

This paper examines the development of South Korean cultural policy from the 1970s to the Lee Myoungbak government. It contextualises South Korean state, culture and its cultural policy within the framework of state developmentalism, so as to understand their dynamics and relationships. A detailed analysis of how the national cultural policy is interpreted and implemented through institutional practices, historically and in its contemporary context shall be made.

My focus is the role of the state in cultural development, particularly on the ways institutional practices of cultural policy have contributed to the reconstruction of Korea's national culture and economy since the first military regime of Park Chunghee until the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. The government of South Korea's first republic had attempted to reposition 'culture' as a tool to recover the nation's identity after Japanese colonisation and Korean War's devastation. The state was instrumental in forming the national cultural movement for modernisation: The *Saemaul-Undong* (New Community Movement), and to promote the national sport *Taekwondo* internationally. The cultural policy of this period illustrates the South Korean developmental state project.

The developmental state perspective explains the rapid economic growth and industrialisation of South Korea from the 1960s. However, it tends to consider 'state and culture' as two discrete and distinct spheres even though empirically, they are organically connected. Despite the fact that the South Korean political elite has always adopted the state developmentalist approach in stimulating economic growth and in social transformation, it pays little attention to the correlation between state and its cultural policy.

Thus, the theoretical and empirical focus of this paper is to illuminate the ways in which the state has utilised its cultural policy to

achieve national goals through the institutional practices of a specific governmental agency and the impact of its central projects i.e., from the *Saemaul-Undong* to *Hallyu*¹⁶. This paper shall illustrate that a close connection exists, particularly in the context of the *Hallyu* (Korean wave), which has emerged since the Asian Financial Crisis.

2 Introduction

The historical perspective is important in the understanding of the cultural industry in contemporary South Korea. There are three objectives in evaluating South Korea's cultural policy historically. They are namely, 1) the affirmation of national identity which began with government of the First Republic, Rhee Syngman (1948-1960), 2) culture as an instrument to strengthen an authoritarian regime from Park Chunghee to Roh Taewoo (1963- 1993), 3) culture as a national economic instrument which began with the Kim Youngsam's administration from 1993.

1) The government between 1948 and 1961 could not devise a comprehensive cultural policy that promotes culture and the arts because of Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945 and the destruction of Korea's economy as a result of the Korean War, which took place between 1950 and 1953 (Ministry of Culture and Information 1979). Korea's basic survival was under threat because of Japanese colonisation and the Korean War that eventually led to the partition of the Peninsula into North and South. Despite these circumstances, however, the foremost challenge of Rhee Syngman's first Republic, in relation to Korea's cultural policy, was to resolve the issue of national identity, to overcome 35 years of Japanese influence and the devastation of a three-year war.

¹⁶ *Hallyu* originally refers to the rising popularity of South Korean popular culture i.e. television drama, films and music in Asia. It has helped the country attain celebrity status across the region since the 1990s. However, this term now simply means 'South Korean popular culture' in general.

2) South Korea's first cultural policy was implemented in 1961. The Park Chunghee government established the Ministry of Public Information, which oversaw movies, theatre and other performance arts, as well as the management of the National Theatre and National Classical Music Institute. A full-scale cultural policy finally came into existence on 24 July 1968 (Ministry of Culture and Information 1973). The Ministry of Public Information began to systematise and centralise all policies and legislatures related to culture to foster a South Korean national identity in order to consolidate the power of the authoritarian regime. Therefore, the first South Korean cultural policy was used to create national and political stability under authoritarian rule while infusing values conducive to the modernisation of Korean nation.

The Fifth Republic represented by Chun Doo-hwan's authoritarian regime, between 1980 and 1988 was a very dynamic period in terms of South Korea's cultural policy. The state was actively supporting culture and cultural production to promote national pride in preparation for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympic Games (*Kyong Hyang ilbo* 1987). Chun's regime continued to use cultural policy to strengthen its authoritarianism, thus continuing the approach of his predecessor, Park Chunghee.

Roh Tae-woo was the last military leader who ruled South Korea between 1988 and 1993. He advocated for 'the age of the common of the people' (Ministry of Culture 1990). In his inaugural speech of February 1988, Roh had stressed that his government should develop a national culture and improve the people's cultural life. Furthermore, the 24th Summer Olympic Games held in Seoul in 1988 was a turning point for the South Korean government in recognising the power of culture and its impact on the international society. After the Games, the Roh government sought to improve the country's cultural exchange with other countries.

3) The recent transformation of cultural policy in South Korea was motivated by economics rather than politics. With the establishment of the first civilian government in 1993, South Korea's cultural policy no longer played its role in upholding domestic political incumbency. Rather, its goal was to make the country more internationally oriented. It was a central part of Kim Yung-sam's political cam-

paing to uplift South Korea's status globally. This was epitomised in his slogan of "*Segehwa*" (globalisation) (Ministry of Culture and Sport 1993).

With regards to achieving globalisation and the economic value of Kim's cultural policy, his government was a significant turning point for Korea's cultural policy. The most significant policy instituted during his administration was to regard the country's culture and the arts as part of national wealth and to give it highly priority, thus affirming the economic impact of culture. This is especially noticeable in the regime's support for the nation's film industry (Shin 2005).

The Kim Daejung government, for instance, which had experienced the Asian economic crisis in 1998, began to reorganise the country's economy with neo-liberal strategies, corporatist form of policy-making and a cultural policy that was geared towards building a digital society. The last was done through a comprehensive cultural scheme known as "Vision 21", targeting Korea's cultural industries (2001).

While South Korea's economic growth was mainly export-oriented from the 1960s to the 1980s, focusing on the manufacturing sector such as the heavy industries, the economic value of the cultural industry was by and large ignored (Shim D. 2002). However, as seen from the above, subsequent governments had turned the cultural industry into an economically productive sector like any other industries in South Korea.

This paper shall focus on the way Korea's cultural policy was planned and implemented by the various governments since its Third Republic. Each government had devised its cultural policy and methods according to its own conception of culture, preferred economic system, and specific political ideology. However, like all national policies, the cultural policy also had common problems that were institutional, administrative and financial in nature. Nonetheless, each government had succeeded to achieve its cultural aim within its limited budget.

Due to the short history of South Korea's cultural policy, it is difficult to offer an in-depth comparison of each government's cultural policy. Thus, this paper shall first present a chronological account of each government's cultural policy, with relevant empirical highlights. All in all, South Korea's cultural policy has been an important tool for

each succeeding government. It can be broadly divided into two historical periods distinguished by its attitude towards other countries.

The first was the closed-door period whereby the Korean culture was to be protected and preserved; this was the main characteristics of the Park Chunghee government right through to the Chun Doo-hwan government. In contrast, the second period was an open-door period beginning from Kim Youngsam administration to Lee Myoungbak government.

The cultural policy from the Third government in 1963 to the Lee Myoungbak government in 2013 can be characterised by the state entering into collaboration with other actors but with the government maintaining its dominance in all of these relationships. Whilst the state increasingly controlled the lives of the individuals between 1963 and the early 1990s through regulations and legislations, its attitude and approach as a developmental state has been very different between the period of the military dictatorships right up to the Roh Tae-woo government and the period of the civilian governments from Kim Youngsam government to Lee Myoungbak (Cho 2000). In short, the cultural policy over the last sixty years in South Korea can be differentiated by the attitude of the various governments and the differences in their approach towards globalisation, be it closed-door or open-door.

During the closed-door period, the State's cultural policy was primarily political. The cultural policy was used as a medium to control the Korean society and to protect its citizens from foreign influences. One example was the imposition of "Screen Quota" to protect the domestic film industry (Shin 2005). However, after the central government had accepted the potential of culture in replacing traditional industries, the role of cultural industry on the national economy began to be recognised and affirmed.

This paper examines the various cultural policies and the laws that were passed between 1963 and 2013. Most of the laws related to the cultural policy can be found on the National Assembly website (www.assembly.go.kr). For example, 294 laws and 1169 cultural policies were passed from 1988 to 2013 between Rho Taewoo government and Lee Myoungbak government. The data has been categorised according to laws of Arts, Sports and Tourism, Heritage, and the Cultural Industry. (See table 1)

Government	Year	Arts		Sports and Tourism		Cultural Industry		Heritage	
		number	rate	number	rate	number	rate	number	rate
Roh Taewoo	1988	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	50
	1989	0	0	2	66.7	0	0	0	0
	1990	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1991	2	66.7	0	0	1	33.3	0	0
	1992	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	sub	3	37.5	2	25	1	12.5	2	25.2
Kim Youngsam	1993	1	20	2	40	2	40	0	0
	1994	1	50	0	0	1	25	1	25
	1995	1	28.6	0	0	4	57.1	1	14.3
	1996	2	20	3	60	1	20	0	0
	1997	2	33.3	0	1	1	33.3	1	33.3
	sub	7	29.2	5	20.8	9	37.5	3	12.5
Kim Daejung	1998	2	14.3	6	42.9	3	21.4	3	21.4
	1999	6	35.3	4	23.5	5	29.4	2	11.8
	2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2001	2	20	2	20	5	50	1	10
	2002	1	33.3	0	0	14	31.8	7	15.9
	sub	11	25	12	27.3	14	31.8	7	15.9
Roh Moo-hyun	2003	4	30.8	5	38.5	4	30.8	0	0
	2004	2	20	2	20	4	40	2	20
	2005	4	30.8	4	30.8	3	23.1	2	10.5
	2006	4	21.1	3	15.8	10	52.6	2	10.5
	2007	5	20.8	9	37.5	6	25	4	16.7
	sub	19	24.1	23	29.1	27	34.2	10	12.7
Lee Myoung-oung-bak	2008	1	11.1	3	33.3	3	33.3	2	22
	2009	4	13.3	8	26.7	12	40	6	20
	2010	2	16.7	2	16.7	8	66.7	0	0
	2011	13	31.7	11	26.8	11	26.8	6	14.6
	2012	1	50	0	0	1	50	0	0

	sub	21	22.3	24	25.5	35	37.2	14	14.9
	Total	61	24.5	66	26.5	86	34.5	36	14.5

These data explain the various governments' perspective in devising cultural policies that respond to state-led developmentalism in their own way.

The first section of this paper examines how Korea's cultural policy became such an important tool for the government, when it included traditional arts and national heritage-under its regulations. It also examines the various changes and the factors that instigated these changes since the Third Republic of Korea. It also considers a variety of ways in which the cultural industries and cultural markets were affected by the government's cultural policy.

The second section looks at South Korea's cultural policy from time of the civilian governments between 1991 and 2013 and how their cultural policies responded to the rise of the cultural industries during the successive waves of neo-liberal marketisation, and how the respective governments engaged with the new forces in the world media sector.

The final section shall provide some case studies on how the state has supported the building of the cultural industry based on neo-liberalism, particularly in its export of culture. Cultural policy will be evaluated from the perspective of state developmentalism based on the data from governmental organisations and publications including, newspapers, as well as interviews that were conducted during my fieldwork in South Korea in 2013.

3. Cultural policy over Closed-door period between 1963 and 1990

3.1. Third Republic of South Korea (1963-1979)

When exploring the evolution of the South Korean's cultural policy, it is important to understand it within the context of nation building at the height of the Cold War as well as the international movement against colonialism and imperialism. Similar to many countries in the 1960s, South Korea had experienced drastic social and economic transformation with huge political turmoil including national independence waged by its national liberation movement (Armstrong 2003). The 1960s was also a time of rapid economic growth and industrialisation (Yim 2002). With regards to South Korea's economic development, Park Chunghee's military government had prioritised rapid economic growth from the 1960s to the 1970s. His government (1963-1979) was also crucial in the formation of cultural policy in South Korea.

Whilst Park's regime continued to use some of the former government's rhetoric such as "*Guk-nan* (national difficulty)" as its ideological tool for control and hegemony, his government went further to hasten and intensify the discourse of "*Ban-gong* (Anti-Communist)" through the cultural movement (Shim 2010). Interestingly, the Park regime was also seen as the golden age of South Korean film industry (*ibid*). According to the South Korean film policy expert Park (2005), its cultural policy, in particular, the film policy and the governmental institutions had contributed to the first golden age of Korea's film industry. Hence, this chapter shall answer questions such as "How did the film industry achieve its golden age under the authoritarian military government?" and "What is the relationship between film and the government?" The process by which the governmental-led cultural policy and its organisations were established during Park Chunghee's rule will also be examined.

Soon after the success of General Park Chunghee's *coup d'état*, his military began to control South Korea from 1961. The government quickly went on to establish an institutional system, particularly through its state-led cultural policies. Furthermore, the Park authoritarian government used cultural policy to achieve its economic goals and to legitimise his rule. Park Chunghee as the leader of the Third Republic of South Korea began to change many governmental institutions. In particular, Korea's cultural policy and laws were changed within the first few months after the coup (Shim 2012). Indeed, the majority of the laws related to the cultural sector were passed during the 1960s and the Ministry of Culture and Public Information was established in 1962 as part of the government machinery which continued to operate until the 1990s (Shim 2012).

Organisational Reform

The Park regime upgraded the Office of Public Information established in 1948 under the Rhee Syngman government to the Department of Public Information on 20 May 1961 and expanded it into the Ministry of Culture and Public Information (*Munhwa Gongbobo*) in 1968. The Ministry of Culture and Public Information (MCPI) as a governmental organisation served as a political tool of coercion through several cultural plans. Particularly, the MCPI was designed to create an explicitly national culture as an important means of cultivating loyalty to the government and to inculcate a sense of belonging to the nation (Ministry of Culture and Information 1979).

In order to strengthen its cultural policy, the Ministry of Culture and Public Information (MCPI) intensified its systematisation of cultural policy by firstly, reorganising the Cultural Property Management Bureau (*Munhwachae-gwalriguk*) by moving it from the Ministry of Education to the MCPI in 1968. Secondly, the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation (*Han'guk Munhwa Yesul Chinhungwon*, KCAF) was established in 1973¹⁷.

¹⁷ The Korean Culture and Arts Foundation was renamed as Arts Council of Korea in 2005.

Han'guk Munhwa Yesul Chinhungwon (The Korean Culture and Arts Foundation)

With regards to the state-led cultural movement, the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation (KCAF) was an important state-sponsored agency. The KCAF initiated a number of facilities that were open to the public. Official branches and KCAF-sponsored programmes also facilitated the penetration of state ideology in ordinary people's lives (Park 2010).

The KCAF recognised the effectiveness of sponsoring cultural events for the ordinary people as part of state propaganda. It organised promotional programmes in dance, theatre, music, film and literature. However, it became even more strikingly essential as part of the nation's cultural movement, "The *Saemaul-Undong* (New Community movement)" (Yim 2002).

The *Saemaul-Undong* was a representative accomplishment of the Park Chunghee government, together with rapid economic growth and industrialisation. It was also a significant key element of the state-led cultural campaign. The movement focused on the "spiritual aspects" of people's lives by improving Koreans' overall standard of living. The *Saemaul-Undong* set up programmes such as training of employees and housewives to play an active role in fostering social values like, "*gun gom* (frugality)" and "*hyop tong* (cooperation)". The KCAF also published a monthly journal entitled, "*Munye Chinhung Wolbo* (Culture and Arts promotion monthly)" (Yim 2002).

In addition to state-sponsored organisations, the National Film Production Centre (NFPC) was another example of government intervention. The government upgraded NFPC, established in 1948 under the Rhee Syngman government, and promulgated its first film policy, the Motion Picture Law (MPL) in January 1962 (Shim 2010).

The NFPC used to exploit films as a propaganda tool. The NFPC produced and distributed the mandated cinemas such as the "*Daehan News*" (The Newsreels) that delivered daily information about South Korea and the "*Munhwa Young-hwa*" (Cultural Films) whereby documentary or feature films were delivered commercially to the public (Shim 2010). Furthermore, the NFPC was responsible for whitewashing the military coup, as well as the despatch of the Korean Army in

the Vietnam War in 1966. It was also responsible for the interpretation of the military ‘revolution’ through the “*Daehan News*” (Lee 1988:143). Furthermore, while the mandated films were already produced by the former government in 1948 and 1958 respectively, these cultural films were given much wider public exposure during Park’s regime. For instance, 79,046,162 people attended in 1962¹⁸. With the introduction of the mandatory double-bill policy, the NFPC became a significant film producer. Cultural films by the NFPC increased from 25 in 1961 to 70 in 1961 (NFPC 1994). Indeed, these cultural films continued to be produced until the double-bill policy was finally removed from the new film policy in 1998 (Shim 2012).

Cultural Policy

The Park government had also launched its cultural policy more proactively by establishing laws. As mentioned above, Park not only upgraded many governmental organisations, for instance, the Office of Public Information to the Department of Public Information in 1968, it had also established the Foundation of Korea Culture and Arts Promotion in 1973 based on the Culture and Arts Promotion Act in 1972, which included literature, fine arts, music, dance, theatre, film, entertainment, traditional music, photography, language and publishing as culture and arts (Yim 2002).

In his inauguration speech in 1971, Park Chunghee announced his vision of using Korea’s cultural heritage to help modernise the nation. He used the widely publicised slogan, “*Mun-hwa Han’guk*¹⁹ (Cultural Korea)” (Yim 2002). Hence, in 1972, the government designated October as the “Month of Culture” and October 20, 1973 as the “Day of Culture” (*Munhwa Gongbo 30 nyeon* [Thirty years of culture and public information] 1979: 224)

¹⁸ Despite a population of only 26,231,000, according to the Korean Motion Picture Promotion Corp (KMPPC), there was an increase in film viewers per capita by 2.3 times per year. (Korean Motion Picture Promotion Corp 1977: 156).

¹⁹ It is not surprising that the Park administration adopted the slogan, “Cultural Korea” in the exact same characters used in an earlier Japanese slogan, “Bunka Nippon (Cultural Japan)” project (Park 2010).

The Park government initiated the First Five-Year Plan for the revival of Culture and Arts (*Munye Chinhung 5-gaeyon kyeheok*) from 1974 to 1978, which was the first long-term plan in Korea's cultural policy. The objective was to create a new national culture based on Korea's indigenous values and identity within the framework of the Culture and Arts Promotion Law enacted in 1972 (Ministry of Culture and Information 1973).

This included developing programmes such as the promotion of national studies, propagation of culture to the public, and the introduction of Korean culture overseas. It is worth noting that during this period, the entire budget was supported directly by the government.

Table 2. Investment plan between 1974 and 78 (in million won)

	Total	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Traditional culture	14,957	2,467	3,082	2,820	3,066	3,522
History	1,569	403	290	292	292	292
Traditional Arts	670	88	142	145	147	148
Cultural properties	12,718	1,976	2,650	2,383	2,627	3,082
Contemporary arts	6,017	1435	1096	1128	1162	1196
Literature	744	123	123	159	163	176
Fine Arts	650	106	116	116	146	146
Music	2,818	563	566	563	563	563
Drama	907	467	110	110	110	110
Dance	898	176	181	180	180	181
Popular Culture	3,985	660	1344	676	662	643
Cinema	3,235	510	1194	526	512	493
Publishing	750	150	150	150	150	150
Total	24,959	4562	5522	4624	4890	5361

Source: The First Five-Year Plan for Promotion of Culture and Arts 1974-1978, The Ministry of Culture and Information, October 1973.

Table 3. The cultural budget 1974 to 1978 (in million won)

Year	Government Total Budget	The ministry Total budget	Budget on Culture			Public In- formation budget
			Sub- total	Culture and Arts	Heritage	
1974	880,533	4,330	1,431	1,431	-	2,899
1975	1,586,931	6,263	1,754	1,754	-	4,509
1976	2,258,512	6,508	2,012	2,012	-	4,496
1977	2,896,956	15,866	56,810	2,920	2,761	10,185
1978	3,517,037	23,351	12,838	5,005	7,833	10,513

Source: Thirty years of culture and public information 1979.

Throughout the Park regime, cultural plan was an important medium to legitimise his authoritarian rule and to build Korea’s national identity. This can be seen from the “Law for the Protection of National Treasures in 1962” and the “Charter of National Education in 1968.” “National Ethics Education” was also introduced in schools from 1971 and the Korean Mental Culture Study Centre (*Han’guk Chongsin Munhwa Yon’guwon*) was established in 1978.²⁰

In relation to the regime’s cultural plan to build a national identity, the Park administration had consecrated national historical sites and figures (Park 2010). For example, the government had focused on historical Korean memorials such as *Gyeongju* where the first unification of the warring three nations took place in the Seventh Century. Also, *King Sejong* who devised the Korean alphabets in the mid-Fifteenth Century, and Admiral *Yi Soon-shin* who defeated the Japanese troops in the late Sixteenth Century; all became national symbols of modern Korea (Park 2010). In particular, the Park administration subsidised 125 billion won to recover historical sites all over the country (Thirty years of culture and public information 1979: 236).

The state-sponsored cultural movement during Park’s regime had contributed to the building of South Korea’s nationalism today. As

²⁰ It is renamed Academy of Korean Studies in 1991 along with the establishment of the Korea Foundation to promote Korean Studies around the world.

Smith (1985:181) points out, promoting ethnic identity is most significant in building a modern nation-state; the selection of historical sites and national heroes are an important medium for the Park regime to build Korea's national identity. One example was the preservation of national heritage, not only by opening museums and instituting short-term cultural policies but also in the creation of a new national culture directly linked to the vision of national development (the Department Public Information 1970: 7).

It is important to note that the Park administration was the first to introduce international cultural promotion through state-sponsorship (Park 2010). In other words, the government had attempted to promote Korean heritage not only nationally but also internationally. For instance, *Taekwondo* became state-sponsored sports along with the establishment of the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF) in 1966 (Andrew C. Nahm, James Hoare 2004). The government also opened the first overseas Korean Cultural Centre in May 10, 1979 in Tokyo, Japan (Park 2010).

However, in contrast to the traditional heritage scheme, the Park government's attitude toward popular culture was to regulate and control. For example, the film industry came under the Korean Film Laws enacted in 1961 but the law had undergone a series of amendments since then. In particular, the Motion Picture Law (MPL) has guided propaganda features related to military censorship in terms of (1) production control, (2) the importance quota system, (3) script censorship, and (4) the producer registration scheme. The MPL consisted of three components: Producer Registration System (PRS), Import Regulations and Censorship Guidelines (Yi 2002, 2003, Moon and Jun 2011, Shim 2011). Furthermore, the MPL affects not only the production system, in terms of film content but also the market structure of the film industry since its revision in 1961 (Shim 2010). The MPL also had strict control of the funding of film companies, studio facilities, production funds and so on. As a result, the 71 film production companies before the enactment of the MPL were drastically reduced to 16 by the authorities (Lee and Choe1988).

One of the features of the film policy after the amendment of the MPL was censorship. Under the MPL, the Park dictatorial regime had censored Korean films and discouraged productions that were anti-establishment and critical of the government (Lee and CHOE 1988).

For instance, the film “*O Bal Tan (An Aimless Bullet)*” directed by Yoo Hynmok in 1961 and “*Chil in-ui Yo poro (7 Female Prisoners)*” directed by Lee Man-hee in 1965 were both banned from public showing and confiscated (Lee and Choe 1998). However, while the censorship was very strict against anti-establishment and pro-communist films, action films, melodrama, sleazy and action films flooded the market. Thus, as Heuvel and Everette (1994) argue, film companies played a role in supporting the authoritarian rule in return for monopolising local production and to prevent the import of foreign films. Furthermore, according to Herman and Chomsky, anti-communism is one of the filters through which news were fed to produce propaganda i.e. Communism as the ultimate evil has always been the spectre haunting property owners as it threatens the very root of their class position and superior status (1988:29). Consequently, the MPL was fully exploited by the Park regime to achieve thought control of the people.

Despite the severe media control, the media industry continued to grow into big businesses in the 1970s. The market for newspaper production and sales also steadily improved, both in terms of subscription and in advertising revenue (Kim 1994). Even though newspaper companies were competing with other forms of media such as broadcasting but due to the cross-ownership of both (Joo 1993), the management of both industries had remained largely stable. Consequently, Park’s cultural policy was used not only as a political medium but also as a tool to create social values approved by his regime. Soon after Park Chunghee was assassinated in 1979, the military General Chun Doochan took over the government and ruled from 1980 to 1988. Chun continued to control the public through its cultural policy and to divert the public’s attention from politics (*Kyong-hayang* Newspaper 1987:220).

3.2. Chun Doochan government (1980-1988)

Throughout Chun’s regime, the media was controlled by media policies and laws similar to its predecessor. At that time, the government

had mitigated some of its censorship approach (Sa 2006). Despite some similarities with the former government, the Chun Doohwan government had expanded the cultural industry nation-wide and increased its national budget for cultural development accordingly (Yim 2002). Furthermore, unlike the Park government, the Chun government had supported more of contemporary culture along with active encouragement of sports activities, including the founding of the Korean professional baseball and football leagues (Yim 2002).

Cultural Policy

South Korean cultural policy encountered another big turning point in the 1980s which ushered in one of the most important reforms in Korean culture and cultural industry (Yim 2002). The change marked the transition from strict governmental control of culture in the 1970s to developmental policy that encouraged the expansion of the cultural industry during the Chun regime (Sa 2006). However, this expansion was different from cultural liberalisation. Rather, the Chun government had remained in control of the mass media through the implementation of the Basic Press Act of 1980 (Jin 2006).

The Chun government announced two comprehensive cultural plans, the “New Plan for Cultural Development (1981)” and the “Cultural Plan in the Sixth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1986)” (Yim 2002). Under these plans, the Chun government had aimed to establish a national cultural identity, to promote excellence in the Arts, improve cultural welfare, promote regional culture, as well as cultural exchange with other countries (*ibid*).

Under these cultural schemes, particularly the entertainment and amusement industries grew rapidly. The cultural policy during the Chun regime was dubbed the ‘3S’ policy, which stands for *Sports, Sex and Screen* (Kang 2012). For example, the Chun government had actively promoted the media industry, including Film and Television and made all television networks government-owned. Professional sports leagues such as football and baseball was promoted under the slogan, “Prosperity of the nation through sports” (Cho 2008: 243). As a result, the Korean Professional Baseball League (KBL) and *Ssi-Reum* (traditional wrestling) were founded in 1982 (Cho 2008). The government had also allowed television stations to provide colour

television broadcasting. However, the Chun government had also confiscated a private broadcasting system at the same time (Lee and Youn 1995: 58).

Ostensibly, South Korea seemed like a democratic country. However in practice, the society was strictly controlled by successive military regimes. The media is no exception (Youn 1996: 59, Park et al., 2000: 113). Since the establishment of the nation-wide broadcasting system in 1961 by the former military regime, the broadcasting system had always been under the direct control of the government. Moreover, the Chun government not only exploited the media as a political medium like its predecessor, it also begun to intervene in the media market structure (Lee and Youn 1995, Im 2005: 192).

Thus, the South Korean broadcasting was strictly controlled by the government of Chun. It is easy to spot media control in authoritarian societies based on the extent of government-dominated censorship that controls the flow of information to the general public (LaMay 2007:26). While some parts of Korea's cultural industry had expanded, other parts were in fact directly seized by the government and freedom of expression was as a result, curtailed.

Media Law

The Basic Press Act enacted in 1980 was restrictive and comprehensive, detailing specifically the rights and restrictions of the press (Youn 1996: 59) 21. These laws had resulted in the increase in the

²¹ The Basic Press Act of Korea is restrictive, rather than protective of press freedom. It makes public responsibility a legal requirement of the press:

1. The press shall respect the dignity and value of human beings and the basic democratic order.
2. The press shall perform its public duties by contributing to the formation of democratic public opinions concerning matters of public interest by means of news reports, commentary, and other methods.
3. The press shall not infringe upon the personal honor or rights of an individual or public morality or social ethics.
4. The press shall encourage or praise violence and other illegal actions which disrupt public order. (Basic Act, Article 3)

power of some capitalist groups in Korean society (Kim 1994). According to Curran, “many privately owned media organizations supported right wing military coups” (2002:221). South Korean media had historically helped the politically powerful and this culture has continued in certain parts of the Korean media industry until today.

Under the Basic Press Act of 1980, the government controlled where correspondents should be stationed in provinces outside of Seoul (Joo 1993). In fact, the Ministry of Information officials were placed in newsrooms all over South Korea to guide and direct the handling of news. Subsequently, this has resulted in self-censorship, as well as a monopolistic structure of the industry since the 1980s (ibid).

The Chun junta, furthermore, began to dominate the public broadcasting system (Lee and Youn 1995). It confiscated private broadcasting systems such as Tong-Yang Broadcasting Company (TBC) and Dong-A to merge with the government-run Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) and also forced another private broadcaster *Mun-Hwa* Broadcasting Corp (MBC) to sell more than 60 percent of its shares to KBS (ibid). As a result, KBS earned both advertising and licensing fees. Moreover, Korean Christian Broadcasting System (CBS) was forced to limit its broadcasts on the pretext of its religious content (ibid). Given these circumstances, media companies such as KBS and MBC became major power groups, duopolistic in advertising market and supported by authoritarian rule (Chung and Chang 2000: 279).

Chun Doohwan is known as a ruthless dictator due to his role in suppressing numerous civilian protests in the 1980s (Andrew C. Nahm, James Hoare 2004: 45), particularly for his role in the Kwangju massacre (ibid, 46). However paradoxically, while strengthening its political control over media, the Chun regime was also the first to subsidize schemes to improve the cultural life of the people (Yim 2002: 40). The regime expanded its support from traditional and high-brow culture to popular culture. Since the implementation of the First Cultural Plan by the Chun regime, known as the “New Plan for Cultural Development” in 1981, the government had announced two comprehensive cultural plans: the “Promotion of Local Culture Law” in 1984 and the “Cultural Plan in the Sixth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development” in 1986 (ibid). The Chun regime had

similarly subsidized the construction of local exhibition centres and theatres. For instance, the Opera House in Seoul (Goo 1997:5).

The most important feature of the Fifth Republic's cultural policy was to create a market for the entertainment industries (Lee and Youn 1995: 58-59). Chun's cultural policy had liberalized and marketized Korean popular culture through manipulation and regulation of its cultural policy. In addition, many media companies were merged or closed during his rule. These harsh media policies had inevitably led to a monopoly system that severely restricted the sources of news and newspapers until today (Im 2005: 192).

3.3. The Beginning of Freedom of Expression (1988-1992)

The Six Republic of South Korea was ushered in at the wake of the June 1987 popular uprising (Park 2002: 121). Even though President Rho Taewoo also came from the military, his government was largely regarded as a transitional government that led South Korea to democracy (ibid). Freedom of Expression began to increase from 1988 and the government gradually loosened its control over the media. In fact, censorship was eventually eliminated. In response to this freer atmosphere, the media began to criticize the government and filmmakers began to make films on subjects previously forbidden (ibid).

The Roh government first followed the cultural plan of its predecessor, that is the "Cultural Plan in the Sixth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of 1986" (Yim 2002: 41). However, his government also announced its "Ten-Year Master Plan for Cultural Development" in 1990 (ibid). The most significant cultural policy of the Roh government is its provision of cultural welfare and open door policy to foreign cultural industries (ibid).

The Roh government's primary cultural policy had focused on cultural diversity under his political catchphrase, "culture for all people" (Ministry of Culture 1990). His cultural policy aimed to establish a cultural identity of the nation, to promote excellence of the arts, improve cultural welfare, promote regional culture, facilitate interna-

tional cultural exchange, develop cultural media and finally, achieve national reunification” (Goo 1997: 7). In this sense, the Roh government emphasized a lot more on cultural welfare and international exchange than the regimes before him.

With regards to cultural right, the Roh administration had released the Basic Press Act in 1987. This law contains no provision of public responsibility for the press, which indicates that his government was attempting to “de-authoritarianize” existing restrictive legal mechanisms. In terms of international exchange, not only had 1988 Seoul Olympics taken place during his regime but he also allowed the direct distribution of foreign films in the country since 1988, as part of his liberalisation plan (ibid).

Organization

The Roh government reformed the Ministry of Culture in January 1990. Owing to the infamous practices of reporting, the Ministry of Culture and Public Information was replaced under the order of Park (Bae and Lee 2012: 43). The new Ministry consisted of 2 main offices, 4 bureaus, and 18 divisions and it also reformed some institutions to ensure cultural diversity. The National Folk Museum and National Central Library were all reformed and local cultural councils were set up, as well as the *Chun-Joo* Museum and the National Institution of the Korean Language (Goo 1998: 8).

Cultural Policy

The first stage of Roh’s administration had pursued the cultural plan of the Sixth Economic and Social Development Plan between 1987 and 1991 (Yim 2002). However, since reforming the Ministry of Culture, the government had established a 10-year (1990 – 1999) Cultural Plan under the catch phrase, “culture for all people” (ibid). This plan was not only the first about cultural welfare but also the first to be undertaken by cities and local governments for cultural development in South Korea (O Yang Yel 1998: 60). The cultural plans of the previous governments had tended to focus on control and regulation rather than participation and promotion (ibid). Therefore, the Roh gov-

ernment's cultural policy represented the first cultural democracy in South Korea.

However, most crucial policy here was the liberalization of the media industry. Besides the appearance of new liberal newspapers such as the *Hankyoreh* and *Kukmin-ilbo* in 1988, *Segye-ilbo* in 1989 and *Munhwa-ilbo* in 1991, a new media market was also created. Further liberalizing measure was taken to introduce cable television service in 1993 and the Korean film market began to open to the US by this time (Shim 2012).

Clearly, media liberalization had brought exponential economic growth to South Korea at a scale that was unprecedented. Ironically, the film industry also began to shrink during the Roh regime (Park 2002: 124). Ostensibly, Roh had rescinded censorship in film production even though film censors became even wearier of politics. Furthermore, the Ministry of Culture which administered the Public Performance Ethics Committee (PPEC) established by the Park government in 1978 remained under the direct control of the government. It was the Ministry that appointed the PPEC President and the former was required to submit monthly reports about its operations (ibid).

In other words, Korea's film industry was still controlled by the PPEC. For example, the PPEC had deleted part of the film, "*What are you going to do tomorrow*" (1987, Lee Bong won). As a result, of the domestic films approved for screening, there were only 44 out of 88 in 1988, 55 out of 110 in 1989, 52 out of 113 in 1990, 51 out of 121 in 1991, and 45 out of 96 in 1992 (*Korean Cinema Yearbook* 1989: 144-46).

Further, in contrast to other media industries, the reduction of Korea's domestic film industry was caused not only by the censorship of the PPEC but also as a result of the import liberalisation of foreign films (Park 2002: 126). In other words, the government had opened its door to foreign cultural industries. The importing of films and music was officially permitted from 1988 onward (ibid). Thus, the liberalization of the media industry in favour of foreign media industries was a watershed in the country's cultural policy. It was of no coincidence then that the government's cultural policy previously focused on regulation and control had become more developmental.

Korea's cultural policy marked a new turning point with the inauguration of President Kim Youngsam *Munmin-Chongbu* (civilian

government) in 1993. There was a swift structural change in the cultural industry consequently. Even though the cultural policy was still state-led and top-down, beginning from the Kim Youngsam government, it became more ardently oriented towards achieving national goal in line with state-developmentalism, which was Republic of Korea Favoured economic policy. The following section will examine what happened to Korea's cultural policy from the developmental state perspective since Kim Youngsam took office right through to Lee Myungbak in 2013.

4. Open-door period since 1993

The first civilian government started with Kim Youngsam in 1993 under his political catch phrase, "Creation of a New Korea". He also advocated for improving the status of South Korea globally in his so-called "*Segyehwa*" (globalisation) policy. Kim Youngsam had globalized Korean culture but his most significant policy was to allow *Chaebol* (Family-owned large conglomerates) to invest in the cultural sector (Shim D 2002: 340).

The next paradigm change took place during the subsequent administration of Kim Daejung. Kim's government was badly hit by the Asian Financial Crisis in 1998. Under such circumstances, his government had attempted to transform Korea's industrial base from manufacturing to knowledge-based.

Comparing to his predecessor, Kim Youngsam who only saw culture as part of the economy, the Kim Daejung government initiated a new paradigm in the cultural industry through his own brand of cultural policy. South Korea had deepened its infrastructural power and there was a shift of resources, and in turn, its capacity from heavy manufacturing to the creative industry. The cultural sector became one of the major national industries since the Kim Youngsam government (Shim D 2002: 339). In other words, the government began to intervene in culture from a developmentist approach. Furthermore, the Kim Daejung government's cultural policy was sustained by his suc-

cessor, Roh Moohyun (1998 to 2003) who subsequently enhanced Korea's cultural policy with a whole host of support industries (ibid).

The Roh Moohyun government's cultural policy was somewhat different from Kim Daejung's. While Kim's cultural schemes focused on promoting the cultural industry in relation to an information society based on computer networking and communication infrastructures, the Roh government focused more on cultural welfare by supporting the producers of culture, arts, and the participation of the audience. For example, the Roh government had made cultural vouchers available to those who could not afford in 2004 (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2005). In other words, since the state began to promote the cultural industry, the Roh government was the first to increase the accessibility of cultural entertainment to the majority of people. The Roh Moohyun government also continued to foster the export of Korean cultural content along with the establishment of new governmental-sponsored organisations under the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism (MCST) The Lee Myungbak government (2008-2012) represented the peak of promoting Korean cultural industry internationally, targeting advantage of the infrastructures already established by the previous governments (Lee 2013: 191). The following section shall show how the state has played a major role in building Korea's cultural industrial prowess and its export competitiveness since the Kim Young Sam government in 1993 right through to the Lee Myungbak's administration in 2012.

4.1. Building the cultural industry: Kim Youngsam government (1993-1998)

Since the 1990s, the new political milieu in South Korea including the democratization of the mass media, as well as the liberalizing of its market, Korea has become economically more competitive. Moreover, the country's technological advancement has ushered in a multi-media era. Consequently, South Korean politicians have to rapidly adopt globalization policies (Im 2002: 20). For South Korea to become a

truly globalised economy, increased industrial competitiveness must be matched by an improvement of its national image and the opening up of the country to foreign market. Under these circumstances, the Kim Youngsam government was the first civilian government to initiate the “Creation of the New Korea” policy.

“Creation of the New Korea” is also known as “*Segyehwa* (Globalisation)” – the active policy response to a rapidly changing global milieu with increased external pressure to open up the country to foreign competition. The Kim Youngsam government had maintained a neoliberal economic policy in contrast with the former governments’ closed and protectionist attitude against foreign competition and intervention. Consequently, a major transition in terms of Korea’s cultural policy between being inward-looking and outward looking began to emerge. And *Segyehwa* was precisely designed to overcome this imbalance. The Kim Youngsam administration had applied *Segyehwa* politically and socio-culturally to encompass almost all facets of Korean life (Far Eastern Economic Review 1995: 48).

In particular, the film industry became a target for marketing opening pushed by the US government transnational cultural industries including like the Twentieth Century Fox, Warner Brothers, Columbia, UIP and Walt Disney (Shim D 2010: 339, Paquet 2009: 51). Such TNCs have rushed into the South Korean film market since direct distribution of foreign films by foreign distributors became possible. These international film studios quickly set up their branches in South Korea and imported a total of 818 foreign films between 1988 and 2001 (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2002). Therefore, the crisis in the domestic film industry was both economic and cultural.

Korean political elites began to emphasize the importance of cultural software such as films and music over and above the electronic hardware (Han Gwang-Jub 1994). For example, the Presidential Advisory Board on Science and Technology was keen to point out that the Hollywood film, “Jurassic Park” raked in a profit that was equivalent to the export of 1.5 million Hyundai cars in 1994 (*Chosun Ilbo* 18 May 1994). This led to a new approach of rapidly developing the Korean cultural industry by Kim.

Organisation

The introduction of new governmental institutions by the civilian administration was a remarkable development in modern Korea. The Kim Youngsam administration created the Cultural Industry Bureau within the Ministry of Culture and Sport (MCS) in 1994 (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1995). The Bureau comprises of six divisions that oversee the cultural industry: Publication and Newspaper, Broadcasting and Advertising, Film and Video, Interactive Media and, Cultural Content Promotion (ibid). The Cultural Industry Bureau played a major role in reviving the failing domestic cultural industry that includes film, publishing, record and video.

Whereas the MCS had been in charge of cultural administration in general, the Bureau was to encourage the growth of high value-added sectors within the cultural industry, particularly *Youngsang-sanup* (audio-visual industry). Along with the creation of the new administrative organization, the term *Munhwa Sanup* (cultural industries) and *Youngsang-sanup* became the focus of the press and the public. With the Bureau, the government began to actively create new markets for culture. Through it, the government strategically expanded the cultural industry by giving support such as the relaxation of censorship, financial support in terms of tax reduction and infusion of public funds (Parquet 2009: 31).

The Kim Youngsam government's establishment of the Bureau of the Cultural Industry offered a straightforward example of how his cultural policy formation was different from the former governments' even though his was very much a response to the domination of foreign cultural products in the domestic market. As Harvey (2007) and other critical scholars argue, these reforms are part of the global turn to a neo-liberal state settlement. Whereas the cultural policy of the former governments had mainly focused on protecting Korean culture and its market through regulations, Kim's government has shown some effort to strengthen the Korean cultural industry before opening its door to the foreign market.

Cultural policy

In order to enhance the domestic cultural industry during his administration, the Kim administration has announced three comprehensive cultural policy plans including,

- 1) “New Five –Year Plan for Promoting Cultural Development” in 1993,
- 2) “The Master Plan for Cultural Welfare” in 1996 and
- 3) “The Cultural Vision 2000” in 1997.
(MCS 1993, 1996, 1997, respectively).

Initially, the New Five-Year Plan for promoting cultural development in 1993 included all governmental plans to develop the cultural industry, which had an impact on many cultural sectors, particularly, the audio-visual industry (Byun 1995: 12, Parquet 2009: 34).

During the Kim Youngsam administration, the first cable television system started to broadcast on twenty-one channels in eight local television stations in 1995 and reached seventy-seven cable stations in 1998 (Nam 2008: 651). Since the former government had passed the Composition Broadcasting Act in 1992, the cable television has been maintaining the technologies while abiding and the Act. For example, the government set Programme Provider (PP) guidelines in 11 areas covering news, films, sports, culture and arts, entertainment, education, music, children, women, transportation and tourism, and religion. This move has encouraged *Chaebol* to invest in the media business (Nam 2008: 655).

Table 4. The Chaebol invests in the media market

Chaebol	Subsidiary		
Samsung	Samsung Corporation	Catch One	Pay cable channel
		Dream Box	Film importer and Home video producer, and owned two film theatre screen
	Samsung Electronics	Nices	Producer of CDs, CD-ROMs and entertainment films and imported films

	Che-il Commu- nications	Q Channel	Cable Channel
		Che-il Young-sang (audiovisual)	Producer of TV programs and film importer
		Audio soft	Music producer and distributor
Daewoo	Daewoo elec- tronics	Video Busi- ness Divi- sion	Film producer and importer
		Woo-il Video	Film importer and Video distribution
		Dong-woo Video	Home video producer
		Se-shin Video	Home video producer
		Daewoo film Network	Cable channel
		Se-um Me- dia	Music producer and distributor
Hyundai	Hyundai Elec- tronics	Multimedia Business Division Seoul Pro- duction	Film producer
	Diamond Ad Ltd.	HBS	Cable channel
LG	LG Electronics	LG Media	Producer of CDs, CD-ROMs and entertainment films and imported films
	LG telecom	Korea Home Shopping	Cable channel
SK	SKC	Video busi- ness Divi- sion	Film producer and importer
		Pan Produc- tion	Film producer and distribution
		Mido Film	Film producer and importer
		Seoryung Production	Home Video producer and Film importer

(Source: Shim, 2010).

The most significant element of Kim Youngsam government's cultural policy was to develop the sector's economic potential, particularly in the audio-visual industry. He also enacted the Motion Picture Promotion Law (MPPL) in 1995 to support the domestic film industry. MPPL also included diverse financial incentives including, tax breaks for film studios to attract *Chaebol* capital into the film industry (Paquet 2009: 54).

Furthermore, the Kim government began to support the film industry financially. While there have always been some form of cultural policy since the First Republic of Rhee Syngman, it was more a means for the ruling elite to maintain their power by preserving traditions and heritage. The Kim Youngsam government was the first to transform culture into an industry. He had transformed the film industry from a service industry to a semi-manufacturing industry in 1994 and supported it with financial resources (Darlin 1994:82). His rationale was that the new cultural policy would attract new capital, mainly from the *Chaebols*.

As a result, *Chaebol* funding flowed into a wide variety of avenues, including the building of cinemas and Korean film production. *Chaebols* like Daewoo, Samsung, Hyundai, SKC, LG and *Cheil-Jedang* began to invest in the film industry. While their investment used to be only 20-30 percent of film production costs, they began to put in as much as 100 per cent and even launched their own film production through the MPPL since 1995 (Hwang 2001).

Under these favourable conditions, Daewoo was the first to launch its entertainment division in 1988 to secure the home-video market and cable channel. "*Mr. Momma*" (1992), "*Two Cops*" (1994), and "*To Top My Wife*" (1995) were all directed by *Kang Woosuk* and fully financed by Daewoo. Samsung also expanded their business in the cultural sector since the early 1990s and launched the Samsung Entertainment Group in 1995 (Kim Myounghwan 1995a). "*The Marriage Story*" (Kim Uiseok 1992) and "*Tae-baeck San-Maek*" (Taeback Mountain, Im Kwontaeck 1994) were fully financed by Samsung (*Hanguk Yeonghwa Sanyp Gujo Bunseok* 30). In other words, Samsung and Daewoo's investment in the film industry had increased from partial financial support to 100 percent. *Che-il Che-dang* as one of the largest good manufacturers in Korea also began to invest in Dream Works by launching its entertainment division in 1996 (Paquet

2009: 35). Consequently, all these have brought about the formation of new media conglomerates in South Korea today.

Another important outcome of the new cultural policy of the 1990s was the birth of Korean blockbuster films, made possible by financial support from the *Chaebol* and the government. In addition, the government sponsored national arts schools such as the Korean National University of Arts in 1995 and the Korean Film Academy where film director Bong Joonho was trained. All these were geared towards harnessing human resources for Korea's next-generation in the media industry, as encouraged by the promotion law (*Kookmin Ilbo* 15 February 1995).

The Kim Yongsam government had effectively begun a new paradigm: a new style of state developmentalism through his cultural policy, particularly in the sector of popular culture. His government had effectively transformed culture into an industry in a short time. Kim Daejung, has ensured that the role of the state become even more deeply and actively involved in the culture industry during his presidency between 1998 and 2003.

4.2. More Support Less Intervention: Kim Daejung government (1998-2002)

4.2.1. Promotional strategies

The Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s may be regarded as another turning point for the cultural policy of South Korea. The crisis had a significant impact on the government's top-down policy approach. Even though Kim Daejung was the first left-wing leader in Korea since the establishment of the Korean state in 1948, his government had actively courted the *Chaebol* to help Korea overcome the economic crisis (Koo and Kiser 2001: 31). The state's cooperation with the

Chaebol has eventually led to the recovery of the economy and this shows that the Kim Daejung government continued to pursue state developmentalism by playing a pivotal role particularly through its cultural policy. His government is also largely credited for upgrading Korea's technical infrastructure (*Chosun ilbo* Nov 29, 2001).

If not for the fact that the Kim Daejung regime had actively promoted technological development, also in its cultural policy, it would have been difficult for *Hallyu* (the Korean cultural boom) to be sustained for over two decades. The popularity of *Hallyu* coincides with the ten-year liberalization of Korea's economy. In fact, the Korean neo-liberal state had successfully reconstructed the national economy by systematically instituting advanced technological programmes and transnational cultural flows to overcome the 1997 financial crisis.

In his inauguration speech in 1998 Kim Daejung had proclaimed a new vision for Korea's recovery from the economic crisis by transforming the country from a manufacturing-based economy into a knowledge-based one, specialized in creative knowledge and information production (Kim Dae Jung 1998). In this context, the Kim Daejung government (1998 – 2003) had made the cultural sector one of his prime targets for promoting economic growth. This shall be examined in details in the next section.

Cultural Policy

The cultural policy of Kim Daejung government not only boosted Korea's cultural export overseas but also used it to transform Korean society (Yim 2002: 41). It has maintained Korea's export-led approach to the country's economic development by systematically expanding it to include the cultural industry, even though traditional academic debate about the developmental state has considered economy and culture to be distinct and separate. However, Kim's administration has proven that the state, economy and culture are interconnected from the developmentalist perspective. His government had instituted four comprehensive cultural schemes:

- 1) New Cultural Plan in 1998
- 2) Five Year Plan for the development of the Cultural Industry in 1999,
- 3) The Vision 21 for the Cultural Industry in 2000 and

- 4) The Vision 21 for the Cultural Industry in a Digital Society in 2001
(Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1998, 1999, 2000a, 2001 respectively).

The first cultural policy of the government in 1998 had included the “Broadcast Video Promotion Plan”. In this scheme, various programmes within the tertiary education programmes were launched to encourage the formation of entertainment talents (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1998). This is to ensure the continuity of manpower for the next-generation in the media industry. Subsequently, there has been an increase from only 4 Schools in Performing Arts in the Chung-Ang University, Han-Yang University, Dong-Kuk University, and Seoul Art College to 70 schools in 2003 (MCT 2003).

In the second cultural plan, the “Cultural Industry Act” of 1999 provides a legal basis for governmental support and *Chaebol* involvement in the cultural industry (Shim D 2002:341). The law re-defined that the cultural industry to involve planning, development, production, manufacturing, distribution, and consumption of cultural commodities, as well as related services. According to the law, cultural commodities are motion pictures, broadcasting, goods, records/tapes, games, publications or periodicals including, magazines, newspapers, character, comics and multimedia output. Furthermore, the law provides for the establishment of a Cultural Industry Promotion Fund (Paquet 2007). This fund of \$125 million was to promote Korean cinema between 1999 and 2003 (*Dong-A Ilbo* 2002:12). Even though this may not seem like a substantial amount of money for the capital-intensive film industry, it is a very significant gesture, albeit still top-down in its approach, of the government to continue to play a leading role in promoting Korea’s burgeoning film industry.

Furthermore, given the favourable environment for the film industry assured by government policies, the Korea’s Cinema Service launched its first ever e-financing schemes in collaboration with the banking sector and individual capital in the film industry (Paquet, 2001a: 11). For example, the *Ha-na* Bank launched through the *Ha-na* Cinema Trust Fund, \$7.8 million in 2001 and an individual-funded programme to allow Koreans to invest in film projects through the Internet in 1999. Individual capital participation in films reached \$85,

000 within a short span of 40 days. Such public funding has made hugely successful films such as “*Libera me*” (Yang Yunho, 2000), “*Humanist*” (Lee Mooyoung, 2001), and “*My Sassy girl*” (Kwak Jaeyong, 2001) (Kim Mi-Hee 2002:19, *Munhwa il-bo* 2002, 15, June).

The Kim Daejung government was the first to provide official financial support and actively promote public funding of filmmaking in Korea, which has subsequently made successful films like “*Unhaeng-namoo chim-dae*” (the Ginkgo Bed, Kang Jaegye 1996) possible. This film was the second most successful film of the year in Korea with more than 450,000 viewers in Seoul alone. Since its huge success, the government began to ardently encourage and pursue the *Chaebols*, financial banks, and even individual capital to invest in the domestic film industry.

With the full support of the government, *Chaebols* started to invest in the film industry on a large scale. For example, the film “*Shiri*” (Swiri, Kang Jaegye 1999) was the first Korean blockbuster movie funded by *Samsung (Maeil Gyungje* 1999; Burton 1999). This film not only broke the box office record, it was also the most expensive film made in the history of Korean film industry. Since its success, the production cost of domestic films increased by 167 percent from the average of \$1 million in 1998 to \$ 2.67 million in 2001 (Paquet 2001:11). And young film directors like Kim Jeewon, Kim Kiduk, Kang Jaegyu, Bong Joonho and Hong Sangsoo began to make their mark on the Korean film scene between 1996 and 2000.

Kim Daejung’s cultural policy did not only have a profound impact on Korea’s entertainment and film industry but also its telecommunication industry, particularly on companies such as Korea Telecom (KT) and SK Telecom. The association of these telecommunication companies with film production has turned out to be a boon for distributors of cultural commodities. For example, KT and SK telecom have facilitated the publicity of these films and helped spread of their content via smart phone, Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) and digital mobile broadcasting (DMB).

With the rapid growth of broadband Internet around the world since the late 1990s, the Kim Daejung administration ardently introduced the concept of an information society in 2000 and utilized Knowledge economy (Kim 2000: 258). However, the concept has focused more on transforming the nation into a knowledge-based

economy. The Kim administration also began to rely on advanced technology and high value-added industries to boost the Korean economy (Kim and Park 2009).

In particular, the Kim government announced “Vision 21” for the cultural industry in 2000. Despite the long-standing dependence on exports of the Korean economy, his vision was not about specific exports sectors but to integrate exports with high-growth industrial sectors. The integration of cultural products such as films and television dramas with ICT and the electronic industry is a good example. In other words, Korea’s contemporary culture is more heavily laden with information technology than its predecessors because of the Internet and the advancement in digital media. In sum, Kim Daejung’s government had transformed South Korea into a Post-industrial society through its intervention and support of the cultural industry.

Organisation

The Kim Daejung administration renamed the Ministry of Culture and Sport as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1998 (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1998). He also announced a five-year plan to promote the culture industry in the same year and introduced the Basic Cultural Industry Promotion Law in 1999, which was subsequently amended in 2002 (Russell 2008: 122).

Kim’s policy scheme had provided for an increase in government budget to promote the cultural market, both domestic and abroad by more than 1% of the national budget in 2000, which was the first of its kind in Korean history. This increase had gone primarily into improving the cultural infrastructure of Korea. In addition, there was also an increase from 47.6 billion won (0.63% of the total budget) in 1994 to 120 trillion won (1.3% of the total budget) in 2004 in the national budget on culture (MCT 2008).

Such governmental intervention and increase in the national cultural budget to promote Korea’s cultural industry is connected with the establishment and reformation of governmental-sponsored organisations such as the Korean Film Council and the Korean Cultural Content Agency (KOCCA) in 2001 (MCT 2008). The government also funded the Korean Broadcasting Institution (KBI) and the Korean Game Industry Agency (KGIA). The Korea Cultural Contents Agency

(KOCCA) is in particular, a typical governmental institution set up to enhance government's participation in promoting the cultural industry (MCST 2008).

The Korea Cultural Contents Agency (KOCCA)

To support Korea's export of culture, the KOCCA was set up in 2001 to foster the growth of Korea's culture content business under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. The KOCCA is associated with Korean Broadcasting Institute, the Korea Culture and Content Agency, the Korea Game Development and Promotion Institute, the Culture & Contents Centre, and Digital Contents Business Group of the Korea Software Industry Promotion. The KOCCA has also opened its branches in Beijing, Tokyo, London and Los Angeles (MCST 2008).

The KOCCA as a governmental cultural policy agency is to encourage and promote South Korean cultural programmes and products abroad (Russell 2008: 122). The KOCCA, both domestic and abroad is supposed to support planning, merchandising, and delivery of Korean cultural content. It is to lay the foundation for content creation, foster market expansion abroad and exports, educate creative talents, develop cultural technology, promote financial investment and loan and maintain a policy framework in collaboration with the Korean Cultural Centre and Korean Tourism Organisation (KOCCA 2007). KOCCA operates as a One Source Multi-Use (OSMU) model and has marketing centres in China, Japan, USA, and Europe since 2001.

The KOCCA governs the cultural industry that was not covered by other public institutes. For example, the agency provides education and training programmes known as, "Korea Content Academy" focusing on content production and business marketing especially in human resource development. The training course is provided both online and offline and there are internship programmes abroad too (Yim, 2005: 12).

The KOCCA not only supports cultural content companies but also gather overseas market information via the Culture Content Export Information System (CEIS). In particular, the KOCCA in China works as a business information centre for the content industry including, Korean *Manhwa* (Korean animation), character, music, and digi-

tal content to create a market in China. KOCCA China for instance, has published the *Chinese Industry Business Guide* in 2007 (KOCCA 2007). This book has been distributed free to Korean content companies interested in entering the Chinese market; it gives an overview of the local cultural industry and legal information such as copyright laws. Even though there has been a boom in Korean drama since the late 1990s in China, China is still an unexplored territory for South Korean content industry. For this reason, the above-mentioned book focuses on explaining Chinese contract process, the documents needed, the relevant authorities to contract, as well as censorship and regulatory policies of China in general. It consists largely two parts. The first half introduces the way to deal with Chinese businesses and the second half of the book explains Chinese law including copyright issues. Since KOCCA also sets up offices in Japan, USA, and Europe, its approaches are different in all these locations.

Since the establishment of the KOCCA Japan office in 2001, it tries to connect South Korean content producers with Japanese marketing manager and fans (Goh 2006). The main aim of KOCCA (Japan) was not only to expand the South Korean content industry market there but also to host various cultural events. For example, KOCCA (Japan) had hosted the Korea-Japan Cultural Contents Seminar, Drama Original Sound Track Korea 2007, and Korea-Japan Visual Business Forum, all to support the promotion of K-Pop in the Japanese market (Digital Times January 2005). The KOCCA (Japan) also published the *Entering Japanese Market with Strategic Killer Contents* in 2009 (KOCCA 2009). It is a guide to the current trends in the Japanese cultural market and it also provides cases of success and failure in Japan²².

²² http://blog.naver.com/ctnews_?Redirect=Log&logNo=50008646346

4.2.2. Kim Daejung government introduced the Digital age

The Kim Daejung government had consciously forged a new paradigm of Informational Technology (IT) in Korean society. In comparison with his predecessor, Kim Youngsam, the former had laid the groundwork and framework for the latter. It was the Kim Daejung administration that rapidly developed information and communication technologies and not only that; it facilitated the convergence of media and technology successfully. According to the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) report, “Korea is the leading example of a country rising from a low level of ICT access to one of the highest in the world” (ITU 2003:1).

After the 1997 financial crisis, not surprisingly, exports were regarded as very crucial in protecting the Korea from a financial meltdown. To achieve that, the KOCCA regards culture as content with strong technological implication and with its exportation as the ultimate goal (KOCCA 2004). Furthermore, the techno-economic orientation in Kim Daejung’s cultural policy legitimized the promotion of Korea’s cultural industry as an integral and critical art of Korea’s national economy.

The government had invested approximately 10 billion won annually in the cultural technology development scheme and collaborated with research universities in both engineering, as well as in the fields of humanities and arts (MCT2003). For example, the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) collaborated with the Korea Culture and Tourism Policy Institute (KCTPI) to integrate culture with technology. KAIST published a book, *Culture and Arts in the Digital Age* in 1999 to introduce core concepts of new economic targets such as bio-technology (BT), environment technology (ET), Nano technology (NT), space technology (ST) and information technology (IT) for the twenty first century. As a result, the term “*munhwa kontens*” (culture content) was invented and used instead of “Software”, “Information”, and “digital content” by the KOCCA. The term is officially adopted since 2001 (MCT2003).

The cultural policy of Kim Daejung was interventionist and influential, so much so that it drastically transformed Korea’s economy.

Kim's aim was not merely to export Korean culture such as television drama, film and pop song. His government went beyond the mere commodification and economisation of culture as his predecessor, Kim Youngsam had done. Instead, it had successfully used Korean culture as soft power to stimulate exports (Korea Herald 26th Feb 1998).

While culture and exports have become connected since the boom of Korean television drama in the late of 1990s, the Kim Daejung government repositioned culture as a mediator and has successfully transformed the national economy into a knowledge-based one economy. As Nicholas Garnham has argued, creative industry policy is an outcome of information society', regardless of the way culture is combined with technology. However, he is of the opinion that this will not continue. Consequently, Kim's most significant contribution to Korea's cultural policy is its expansion as a national industry, transforming it from a material commodity-based industry to a content-based industry via quick adoption of modern technology. This has also been dubbed as the "second miracle of the Han River" - a tremendous transformation of South Korea within state developmentalism. (Gibson and Kong 2005: 541).

4.3. Roh Moohyun government (2003-2008)

The Roh Moohyun government (2003-2008) succeeded Kim Daejung's policies and faithfully followed his predecessor. Korea's cultural industry indeed had substantially developed by the time Roh took over power. Not surprisingly, the Roh government also expected the cultural industry to improve the national economy and put efforts to enhance cultural education, the culture of equality, cultural diversity and, the development of local culture (MCT2004). Roh emphasized increasing of exports and building cross-cultural ties based on Cultural Technology (CT) with countries such as China and Japan (MCT, 2005). Most of all, Roh's most significant contribution to Korea's cultural policy is its cultural welfare (MCT 2004).

Cultural Policy

The government's cultural policy has changed from prohibition and control to expansion and being supportive since the Kim Youngsam government. In fact, Korea's cultural policy was becoming consumer-based. Particularly, the state was keen to export Korean TV dramas and films overseas and the popularity of these is beneficial to its national image. The success of the cultural industry not only generated a positive impact on the entertainment and tourism industries; it also helped boost the sales of Korean commodities. The popularity of television drama overseas such as "*Winter Sonata*" in Japan and "*Daejanggeum*" in China has not only boosted Korea's entertainment industry but also derivative industries such as tourism in Korea and consumption of Korean products (MCT 2004).

In this context, the Roh government had pledged his cultural plan four times during his presidency between 2003 and 2008 (MCT 2008). Furthermore, his government succeeded in developing Korea as a brand: another step towards promoting Korea's attractive image abroad.

Roh had announced his first cultural industry plan during his inauguration in February 2003 (MCT 2004). The plan was to link culture with Internet infrastructure. The government was keen to improve digital content as a new generation national business in 2003. Secondly, the government also maintained the existing plan that was laid out by Kim Daejung administration as the vision of cultural industrial policy in December 2003 (MCT 2004). Thirdly, the Roh administration updated the national cultural plan to include "Creative Korea (*Chang-ui Hankook* in Korean)" in 2004. This scheme was not only to promote the cultural industry but also to expand the Arts into the culture industry. Lastly, the government established a "Cultural Charter" in May 2006 which includes cultural rights such as the enjoyment of culture (MCT 2007).

The first cultural industry policy in 2003 had focused on increasing exports of cultural contents. Comprehensive plan for human resource training was also set up. The new Broadcasting Law was also enacted in 2003 (MCT 2004). The second cultural plan, which was announced in December 2003, was by and large similar to the first one.

Regarding the policy for Cultural Technology (CT), the government subsidised \$10 billion to develop the industry (MCT 2006). Along with this, Roh implemented his CT policy under the project, objective to “Ten Million People Internet Education” (ibid). While the scheme centred on the proliferation of cultural creativity and distribution of culture and the industrial utilization of creative work based on the Internet infrastructure, it also included a wide range of programmes to build strong cultural infrastructures (ibid).

Projects under the CT scheme have included traditional content and linking it to the cultural industry. It is called “Cultural Archetype Project” in 2004 (Ministry of Culture and Tourism and KOCCA 2005). The project aimed to recreate original and traditional Korean cultural content using technological development. It is defined as the “digitalization of material and immaterial cultural properties and the development of archives and multimedia content” (MCT and KOCCA 2005). As a result, the platform “*Munhwacontentdotcom*” (culture content.com) was set up under the KOCCA in 2004 (MCT and KOCCA 2005).

The government also subsidized 55 billion Korean won for the project to be carried out by the KOCCA (MCT 2006). First, the KOCCA would invite public to bid for contracts to develop culture archetypes to create materials. Second, these applications would be examined by experts from the academe and industries. Third, selected projects would be funded for about two-three hundred million won on the average. Finally, the project outcome would be publicized as prototypes and pilot materials on the World Wide Web (MCT 2002:619). By far, it had produced about 160 items of culture archetypes by 2006 (MCT 2006: 131). The project outcome, which was to produce culture content based on Korean characteristics, had been significant. The institution had provided the needed resources to produce films such as “*Wangu-namja*” (King and the Clown, 2005), “*Welcome to Dongmakgol*” (2005), television drama “*Joo-Mong*” and “*Hwang-Jinnie*” and online game, “*Gue-Sang*” (KOCCA 2013).

Overall, the Roh regime had enacted more than 160 laws related to the cultural industrial policy. In May 2003, the Roh government retained the Copyright Act 2003 and set up the Basic Act for Cultural Industrial Promotion in the year. In particular, since the enactment of the Cultural Industrial Promotion Act in 2003, the law was upgraded

three times in March 2005, April 2006, and July 2007 respectively (MCST 2007). For example in 2006, the Roh government had upgraded the Sound Recording, Video and Game Production Act that was originally enacted in 1999 to adopt a content industry connected environment. The Act includes the promotion of the online gaming industry as one of the strategic national exports and the law on video industry was integrated with the Promotion of Film Act into the Promotion of Film and Video Act. Furthermore, the Recording Act was upgraded to promote the music industry (the institution of Korea Tourism and Culture 2007: 22).

Organisation

The Roh administration gradually expanded and restructured the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT). MCT had expanded the Department of Cultural Industry since Kim Youngsam government in 1993 into the New Media Team and the Cultural Technology Workforce Team in 2004. In addition, the establishment of the Copyright Industry Team highlights the government's recognition of the commercial importance of copyright protection (MCT 2005). In accordance with the Korean Copyright Commission (KCC), the Roh administration opened a foreign office to protect the rights of South Korean cultural contents business overseas (MCT 2007). Furthermore, the Gaming Industry Team (GIT) was established under the MCT in 2007 for training and education in 2005 (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism 2009). GIT was designed to promote the gaming industry both domestically and internationally (MCST 2009).

In accordance with the Broadcasting Law in 2003, the Korean Broadcasting Commission (KBC) was established (MCT2004). The institution is an independent administrative organization dealing with the administration, regulation and supervision of broadcasting under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT2004). In order to promote and support cultural contents, the Roh administration had established the department of "*Moonhwa-contentdotcom*" (culture content) under the KOCCA (KOCCA 2005). The department supported cultural resources in terms of historical research by cultural producers and provided relevant training programmes too (KIM K. B 2006: 7-22).

According to MCT report (2005), the Roh government's cultural policy had included the promotion of traditional culture under such catch phrases like *Han* and *Han-ji* (mulberry paper), *Han-bok* (Korean traditional dress), *Han-ok* (Traditional house) as the *Han* brand. The Ministry also announced the plan to open the *Korea Plaza* abroad to offer comprehensive services for of the arts, cultural industry, and tourism (MCT 2003). Particularly, the Ministry encouraged the Korean Tourism Organization to screen Korean dramas and films so as to sell *Hallyu*- related products.

In 2003, the government upgraded the Korea Foundation for Asia Cultural Exchange (KOFACE) into the Korea Foundation for International Culture Exchange (KOFICE) which was sponsored by the MCT, the former having been established by the Kim Daejung government (MCT2003).

Korea Foundation for International Culture Exchange (KOFICE)

KOFICE aims to nurture the cultural industry in areas such as survey, research, host international forums and seminar annually, particularly on Asian Drama, as well as organizing exchange events between Korea and countries around the world (KOFICE 2003).

Even though KOFICE is not well known, it is set up to support the Korean cultural industry overseas. KOFICE has international correspondents around the world and they are to monitor Korean cultural trends in countries where they are and submit weekly reports about their observation (KOFICE)²³. These reports are in turn published on the web and in magazines such as *Hallyu Dong-hang* (*Hallyu* trend) monthly, quarterly or annually (KOFICE).

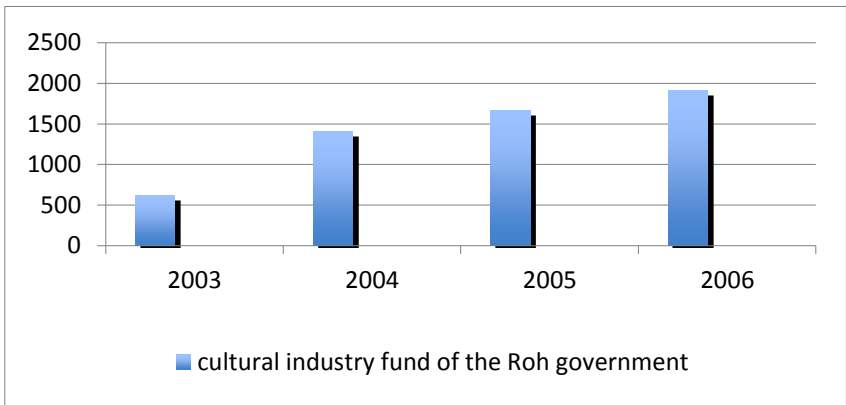
The most significant task for KOFICE is to support the Korean culture fan club overseas. This includes financial support for fan activities as s “cultural exchange”. The KOFICE also funds activities in less developed countries such as Vietnam, China and Brazil in 2012

²³ I have been a UK correspondent of KOFICE since 2013. During my work there, I could not disclose what exactly the KOFICE does for the government in relation to the cultural industry because it is against my contract to do so. However, the general information about the institution can be obtained from its official website: www.kofice.or.kr.

and Laos, Kazakhstan, and Ecuador in 2013. The fund came from the *Chaebols* such as *POSCO*, *CJ E&M*, *CGV*, and *CJ Na-noom* (KOFICE). KOFICE has attempted to become a cultural exchange centre. Besides that, KOFICE hosts the Global Cultural Industry Forum, the *Hallyu* Forum and the Asia Song Festival since 2004 (KOFICE 2004). In other words, the main goal of KOFICE is to sustain and enhance the popularity of Korean culture overseas.

From the developmental state perspective on culture, Roh Moo-hyun government tried to develop sound domestic cultural industrial infrastructure including, publishing, media, audio-visual, Online Gaming, Music, Contents (Character, animation) industry and local culture. Roh's efforts not only help promote the cultural industry abroad but it also helped develop the domestic culture industry by boosting the cultural infrastructure nationally. Some examples are: the Audio-visual city in Pusan, Design Fashion city in Daegoo, local cultural industry research centre and local audio-visual media centre in various other places (MCT 2008). The most significant among them is the theme park built by the local government, *Hallyuwood* in Goyang, Gyeonggi-Do (MCT 2008).

The Roh government had increased the fund injected into the cultural industry from fifty billion won in 1999 (paid for by the former government) to one hundred and ninety billion won in 2006 (MCT 2007). See Graph 1 below:



The Roh Moohyun government has basically continued the cultural policy of its predecessor, which is based on state developmentalism (Lee 2013: 190). According to Jessop who emphasizes knowledge-based economy, such an economy requires the commodification of immaterial goods and services, the application of information and knowledge to the production, and the exploitation of intellectual property (2004: 169). In this vein, the Roh government had moved the knowledge-based economy rapidly forward during its term in office. Most of all, his cultural policy was based on recognizing the importance of the technological development of the Korean economy. It is noteworthy that this policy continued to be adopted by Roh's successor, Lee Myungbak who was from the opposition party, the conservative Grand National Party. In other words, regardless of their ideologies, the ruling elite shared the same view about promoting a post-industrialist view about Korean culture and its role as the state's new engine for economic growth (Lee 2013:199).

5. Conclusion

This paper has dealt with the core themes of Korean cultural policy within state developmentalism. It has highlighted examples of how the state controls and supports the development and exports of Korean culture from the Third Republic of President Park Chunghee to President Lee Myoungbak (1963-2013). This chapter has explained closed-door policies and its relationship to cultural policies and open-door policies and its relationships to cultural policies as well as impact of these different policies on culture. This chapter has illuminated the consistent and pivotal role of the state in driving forward the nation's cultural policies and to boost the exports of Korea's cultural industry, regardless of the change in administrations.

As examined in this chapter, the cultural policy has been profoundly influenced by political upheavals in different periods of Korean history. During the period of closed-policy (1961-1990), the governments used culture to inculcate and consolidate nationhood and

national unity, especially overcome adversity. Moreover, economic development was prioritised over and above cultural development during this period whereby the focus was on rapid industrialisation to drive forward an export-led economy. This has lasted from 1960s to the late of 1980s in which domestic cultural production was protected from foreign competition by laws.

The early of 1990s finally ushered in the period of open-door policy whereby the Korean cultural policies became integrated with its economy and thereby known as knowledge based economy. From the early of 1990s to 2013, the advent of media globalisation, the deregulation policy of the Kim Youngsam administration, the exports-led supports by the Kim Daejung government and the assistance given by the Lee Myoungbak government to develop the Korean cultural industry has succeeded in promoting Korea's cultural export internationally through intensive media marketisation.

It is clear that the Korean cultural policy has embraced global media marketisation since the Kim Youngsam government more than the earlier governments. However, it is also undisputable the Korean cultural industry has not managed to free itself from government intervention even though government control has gradually reduced as the country transitioned from military dictatorship to electoral democracy. In fact, the cultural policy has so far allowed the government to take the lead in its development. In respect, the Korean government has utilised its cultural policy as medium for social control and national economic development over the past fifty years.

In sum, the Korean cultural policy right from the third Republic to the Lee Myoungbak government can be understood within the context of state-led development as a means of social control to achieve economic prosperity. As Korean cultural policies continue to act as a form of social control and as an engine of for rapid growth in the cultural industry, they did not succeed to make Korean culture more diversified. Nonetheless, as long as cultural commodities are made in the "cultural factory", the commodity cannot exist without its consumers. Consequently, the research on *Hallyu* also needs to explain the reasons of why *Hallyu* fan consume Korean media contents.

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HISTORY OF THE DATIVE MARKERS IN KOREAN LANGUAGE: FROM OLD KOREAN TO CONTEMPORARY KOREAN

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Abstract: The focus of this paper and the intention of the author are to show in a diachronic perspective how the dative markers in Korean Language have changed and evolved during two thousand years of history. The rise of new writing systems during 8th century such as Idu²⁵ and also the difference of the structure of the language between Chinese and Korean bring different conclusions. In particular, this paper will focus on the different grammatical origins of dative markers and additionally the morphological changes will be shown in those structures, especially with the rise of the Korean Alphabet in 15th century.

Key words: Datives Markers, Early Middle Korean, Chinese Characters, Idu Writing System

Résumé en français: Cette étude cherche à montrer l'évolution des marqueurs du datif en coréen dans une perspective diachronique. Il y a deux mille ans, les Coréens ont commencé par utiliser une écriture qui leur était étrangère, à savoir les caractères

²⁴ This paper was supported by Hankuk University of Foreign Studies research fund of 2014.

²⁵ Idu is an archaic writing system used between the 8th and 19th century in Korean. Chinese characters had to indicate Korean verb endings and other grammatical markers that were different in Korean from Chinese Language.

chinois. Les documents étant très peu nombreux, on doit toutefois attendre le Ve siècle avec la stèle de Kwanggaet'o pour voir apparaître les premières formes de marqueurs du datif. Mais le texte est entièrement écrit en utilisant la grammaire du chinois de Chinois, et sa lecture est donc difficile. C'est pour cette raison qu'à partir de cette époque, les Coréens vont modifier la structure du chinois classique et l'adapter à celle du coréen. Cette mutation sera symbolisée avec l'avènement des Idu « lecture pour les fonctionnaires ». Le système Idu permet en effet de retranscrire les formes grammaticales du coréen absentes dans les textes antiques. Vers le XIIIe siècle, on arrive d'ailleurs à identifier clairement un marqueur du datif issu du système Idu. Le système d'écriture va connaître une autre évolution importante avec la création de l'alphabet coréen. Des lors, la plupart des marqueurs grammaticaux autrefois exprimés à l'aide des caractères chinois dans le cadre du Idu vont disparaître pour la plupart et être remplacés par le H'angeul. Les marqueurs du datif ne feront pas exception à la règle, on verra par ailleurs que beaucoup de ces termes possèdent des origines bien différentes. Le coréen, imprégné par le confucianisme devra en effet conjuguer les marqueurs du datif avec des degrés de politesse propre à une société hiérarchisée. Ces origines, nous les retrouvons aujourd'hui dans le coréen contemporain, qui sont précisément utilisées en fonction de la personne à qui l'on s'adresse.

Mots clés: marqueurs du datif, coréen pré médiéval, caractères chinois, Idu.

한국어 여격조사의 역사: 고대한국어에서부터 현대한국어까지

개략: 이 연구는 한국어 여격의 변화를 통시적 관점에서 다루고 있다. 이천 년 전 한국인들은 외국에서 온, 다시 말해 한자를 사용하기 시작하였다. 풍부하지 않은 자료로 첫 번째 여격의 초기형태를 엿보기 위해서는 5 세기 광개토대왕의 비문을 참고해야만 한다. 하지만 광개토대왕의 비문의 글은 중국어 문법에 따라 한자어로 쓰여 있어 문장에 대한 관독은 쉽지 않다. 바로 이러한 이유로 그 시대부터 한국사람들은 전통적인 한자어 구조를 한국어의 구조에 맞게 변경하기 시작하였다. 이러한 변화는 이두 표기법 (관료들의 문자) 의 출현에서 엿볼 수 있다. 이두 표기법은 고대의 텍스트에 존재하지 않은 한국어의 문법적인 형태를 재현해주고 있다. 게다가 12 세기경에는 우리는 이두 표기법의 여격에서 분명하게 이 변화를 알아볼 수 있다. 한편 이두 표기법은 훈민정음 창제로 또 다른 중요한 발전을 맞이하게 된다. 이두 표기법으로 표현된, 중국어의 차용으로 표기된 조사는 대다수 한글로 대체되어 사라지게 된 것이다. 여격 또한 이 변화에 예외 없이 원래의 기원과는 많이 달라진 형태를 보여준다. 유교사상의 결합으로 생긴 사회계층에 의한 높임말에 변화에 따라 여격의 변화가 생기는 것이다. 이러한 기원은 우리가 누구와 대화하느냐에 따라 다르게 표현되는 현대 한국어에서 쉽게 찾아볼 수 있다.

키워드: 여격조사; 중세 한국어; 한자; 이두.

1. Chinese Archaic Period: 1200 BC to 300 BC (shànggǔ hànǔ 上古漢語)

We have various dative constructions in Archaic Chinese which are identified (Peyraube, 1986:27). There are three main dative structures in Archaic Chinese and two main dative markers: yú 于 and Yǐ 以

- V+ IO+DO²⁶
- V+DO+ yú 于+IO
- Yǐ 以+DO+V+IO

Those structures concern the period called “Proto-Korean” (Ān and Shàng 2009: 54–7) but Chinese Characters were introduced into the Korean Peninsula around 100 BC. Nevertheless, it’s interesting to see the evolution of the dative constructions since the Archaic Period.

1.1. Historical Background

China established four garrisons for almost four centuries from 108 B.C. to 314 in order to control this area. Kokuryō (37 BC–668 AD)²⁷, slowly began to conquer the garrisons and eventually absorbed them into its own territory (Fabre, 2001:23).

²⁶ IO: Indirect Object and DO is Direct Object.

²⁷ The Three Kingdoms of Korea refers to the ancient Korean kingdoms of Kokuryō, Baekje and Silla, which dominated the Korean peninsula and parts of Manchuria for much of the 1st millennium. The Three Kingdoms period ran from 57 AD until Silla's triumph over Kokuryō in 668.

1.2. Language

Early Old Korean corresponds to the period where Korean people are going to use a writing system for the first time: Chinese Characters (Hancha). There is also unification of the Korean Language, one in the southern part, the “Han Language”, and one in the northern part, the “Kokuryō Language”. This is the first period of transformation of the Korean Language²⁸.

1.3. Data

The three main structures of the classical period described by Peyraube are still followed and a new construction emerged: VI+V2+IO+DO (see the texts of *Sī Mǎqiān* in *Shǐjì*)²⁹. Concerning

²⁸ In North Korea, it is believed by some scholars for example (Ryu Ryōl 1994) that the Korean people had their own written alphabet before the use of Chinese characters. In a written work from the 15th century entitled, “Dragon Flying to the Guardian of the Sky”, Sinji is given credit for having created a 16 alphabet letters. Legend records that Sinji, had gone hunting one day, found traces of a deer, and received inspiration to the point of making an alphabet. In North Korean hagiography, Sinji generally represents the image of a man “powerful”, “a ruler”, or “a great sovereign”. In South Korea it is said that these sixteen letters of the alphabet Sinjōn somehow represent an ancestor to Hangūl (the Korean alphabet) for North Koreans. Legend notwithstanding, what came into existence was a sixteen letter alphabet (Sinjon) which thus formed a Korean means of writing, separate and distinct, from Chinese characters. However, over time there has been much difficulty in finding the exact use of Sinjōn and its components namely its system, its alphabetical order, the phonetic value of each word, etc. Little or no reference, outside of the legend has been made to its existence in literary works from South Korea. Although the issue remains a sensitive one for the people of South Korea, the theory of pre-existing writing ideograms remains an issue. This question remains sensitive cause in the South, where everybody learns that King Sejong is the creator of the Korean Alphabet.

²⁹ Old Korean is the equivalent of Early Middle Chinese (300 BC to 600).

Korean data itself, we have to wait until the 5th century in order to have materials written by Koreans in Classical Chinese³⁰. In the 5th century, Chinese characters are used officially as a written language in Korea. The first text we find written by the Koreans is the stele of the king Kwanggaet'o (414) which is a description of the victory against the Manchu and the Wa (Japanese). Here is an example of the dative case in Old Korean.

- (1) 顧命世子儒留王與治
gù mìng shìzǐ rú liú wáng yǔ zhì
minister-entrusted – crown – King Yuryu – give- command
He left the power command to King Yuryu.

2. Late Old Korean (7th to 10th century)

2.1. Historical Background

Unified Silla (668-935) is the name often applied to the Korean kingdom of Silla when it conquered Paekche and Kokuryō. The cultural influence of China is increasingly important. During this period, many native words are replaced by Chinese lexical items such as “river”:

Example: 강 *kang* from Chinese lexicon 江 *jiāng* “river”. (Old name was 가람 *karam*).

2.2. Language

³⁰ However, “The song of the yellow bird” is supposedly composed by King Yuri around the 1st century A.D. but we cannot find any dative markers in this poem.

In the 7th century, Koreans started to realize that the structure of Korean language does not fit with the one in Chinese. Korean Language is supposed to belong to Ural-Altaic Language with a SOV structure while Chinese Language is originated from Sino-Tibetan Language Family with a SVO structure. The most important difference is that Chinese is an isolating language while Korean is an agglutinative one. So the lecture of Classical Chinese by Korean scholars is very difficult. In order to make the reading easier, Koreans have decided to create new writing systems. It is called Idu or Lidú (吏讀) in Chinese.

① First period: around 5th century

Hyangch'al System writing: "Local Letters" (Hyangch'al)

Hyangch'al is an archaic writing system of Korea and was used to transcribe the Korean Language into Chinese Characters. Under the Hyangch'al system, Chinese characters were given a Korean reading based on the syllable associated with the character. Called "Vernacular Letters" or "Local Letters", this ancient form of writing borrows the meaning of the character and sometimes its pronunciation. These "Local Letters" were more intended to represent poetry or traditional Korean songs. From the 6th century, we can say not only that Chinese writing not only has gained a foothold in the Korean language, but it is also the time when the loan words from Chinese lexicon really make their appearance. During Unified Silla³¹ (668 – 935), new types of writing system appeared.

② Second Period: around 7th century

Idu writing system: "Lecturer for public officer"

³¹ Unified Silla is the name often applied to the Korean kingdom of Silla, one of the Three Kingdoms of Korea when it conquered Baekje in 660 and Kokuryo in 668, unifying the southern portion of the Korean peninsula. Its last king, ruling over a state in name only, submitted to the emerging Koryo in 935, bringing the dynasty to an end.

Idu is an archaic writing system that represents the Korean language using Chinese characters. The Idu script used the Chinese characters along with special symbols to indicate Korean verb endings and other grammatical markers that were different in Korean from Chinese (Nam, 2000: 57). In a broad sense, Idu is a term that refers to all borrowings of Chinese characters; it is a use of Chinese characters adapted to Korean grammar. It was during this period (8th and 9th century) that Korean people began to combine Chinese and Korean. Terms are expressed in Chinese characters, and suffixes and auxiliaries in Korean. This system had the advantage of being used for more than eight centuries before the use of the current Korean alphabet. This monk Sŏl Chong is usually presented as the inventor of this writing system. In the late 8th century, between these two systems emerged another mode of writing.

2.3. Data

As we mentioned before, Buddhism spread over the peninsula. Two monks, Wonhyo and Uisang, symbolize this phenomenon (Lee, 1992). From this period of time, most of the texts and documents have disappeared. For instance, only 25 poems remain but we cannot find any dative marker in them.

3. Early Middle Korean: 10th to 14th century (전기 중세 한국어 前期 中世韓國語)

3.1. Historical background

Koryŏ was a Korean dynasty established in 918 by King Taejo. The cultural and the political influence of Song China were increasingly influential. In 958, King Kwangjong set up the national civil service examinations. These tests measured candidates' knowledge of the Chinese classics. Buddhism and Confucianism had also a strong impact on the Korean peninsula.

3.2. Language

During the Koryo dynasty the Chinese Korean lexicon took shape. The Idu writing system and the influence of the Chinese lexicon over the native words in Korean are very important. Meanwhile, another writing system is created in Koryŏ dynasty called Kukyŏl (Na, 2008:63). Unlike the Idu and Hyangch'al systems which preceded it, Kukyŏl used specialized markings, together with a subset of Chinese characters, to represent Korean morphological markers. Also, the Idu and Hyangch'al systems appear to have been used primarily to render the Korean language into Chinese characters; on the other hand, Kukyŏl sought to render Chinese texts into Korean with a minimum of distortion.

3.3. Data

In Early Middle Korean, we can identify one dative marker: *yŏkchung* (역중亦中). We can notice here that the size of the Chinese Character to express grammatical markers is smaller than the rest of the sentences below. That is also the case for the dative marker in Korean (Ko, 1977).

- (2) 出父狄三亦 子息亦中 奴婢分給決
ch'ulbuchŏksamyŏk chashikdŭngyŏkchung nobibunkŭbkyŏl
father-chŏksam- subject marker- son-dative marker- slave-
distribute-decide
Father Chŏksam (his name) has decided to offer a servant to
his son.
(南氏奴婢文書 2-4;1382)

Another example:

- (3) 出子奴龍萬亦中 傳許與身故
Chulchanolongman yŏkchung chosuyŏk shingo
Long man father-dative marker- give- dead body
(They) gave to Longman's father the dead body.
(南氏奴婢文書 7-8;1382)

4. Late Middle Korean: 14th to 16th (後期中世韓國語)

4.1. Historical background:

The Chosŏn Dynasty, founded in 1392 by the Korean General Yi Sŏng-Kye, overthrew the Koryŏ Kingdom and at the same time ended

Mongol domination which had lasted until the 1350s. During its reign, Chosŏn consolidated its effective rule over the territory of current Korea, encouraged the entrenchment of Korean Confucian ideals and doctrines in Korean society, imported and adapted Chinese culture, and saw the height of classical Korean culture, trade, science, literature, and technology.

Language:

King Sejong profoundly affected Korean history with his introduction of Hangul, the native phonetic alphabet system for the Korean language. Before the creation of Hangul, only members of the highest class were literate (hanja was typically used to write Korean by using adapted Chinese characters, while Hanmun was sometimes used to write court documents in classical Chinese). Late Middle Korean sees the rise of the Korean Alphabet. During that period, we can observe origins among the dative markers in Korean language: verb, noun, demonstrative pronoun (Cho, 2008).

4.2. Data

Dative constructions originating from demonstrative Pronoun: 의 그어귀

In Late Middle Korean, the locative demonstrative pronoun turned to be used as a dative marker.

- General Form: 의 그어귀

- (4) 病人으로그어귀 소변을 누워 나잘만 두면 [구급 하:17]
(1489).
byōngin ūro kūōkūi sobyōnūl nuwō nachalman dumyōn
desease-person- IO- patient-pee-OD-make-well

Try to make the patient urinate well.

Dative constructions originating from noun: 의 손·

- (5) 내 漢兒人의 손·글·호니 (번노 상:2] (1515)
 nae hanainui son kul bihoni
 my-chinese-children-IO-book study
 Tell Chinese child to study.

Dative constructions originated from verb: ·려

- (6) 이바 내 너·려 가르쵸마
 yiba nae no daryõ karũch'yoma
 you-come- you-me-IO-teach
 Come here to teach me.

5. Modern Korean: 17th to 19th (근대국어近代國語)

5.1. Historical background

What is so significant about this time period? It is that war altered the course of language development, in this part of the world, and thus caused the progress of that language to be suspended. Prior to the war with the Japanese in 1592 Seoul was a city with a population of 80,000. It should be also be noted that this extensive migration of Korean people, due to the Japanese invasion of 1592, exhibited great influence on the development of contemporary Korean.

5.2. Language

At that time, language change is accelerated because of the war leading to intellectual influence of the various dialects. For example, some dialects of South directly affected the dialects of the central region. For example, Δ “/” z is lost after the war in the 17th century. After the Japanese invasions, the Kingdom of Korea closes on itself and the ruling classes refuse any outside influence. The country became isolationist and the successive kings prevent any contact with foreign countries other with than China Manchu to which they pay tribute. It is also during this period that has the nickname “Hermit Kingdom” came to refer to Korea. This isolationism, slowed technical progress and any reform of institutions, resulting in a long decline, and made Korea prey foreign powers. This isolationist policy eventually materializes in linguistic borrowing from China. Despite the still important influence of the “Middle Kingdom”, a tendency to change Chinese loan words grows gradually. After the devastating effects of the war, Seoul lost approximately half its population largely due to extensive migration to other parts of the world necessary to relieve economic and social pressure caused by the war effort. Therefore, the war of 1592 has been generally agreed upon as the dividing line between the Late Middle Korean to Modern one. By so doing the focus of the language switches from written to oral (also from Cho, 2008).

5.3. Dative markers originating from demonstrative pronoun

Intimate Form: 계/의계>의계

Intimate Form: 의거긔 until 18th century.

(7) 남지늬 거긔 머굴 것 보내더라 [삼강 열:8]

namchinüi köküi mökül köt bonaedöra
husband-IO-food-sent
I sent food to my husband.

5.4. Dative markers originated from noun

- Intimate Form: 손· > 의 손대 until 18th century.

(8) 내 너손·디워 ·라 주마 [노걸 하:21] (1670)
nae nõsondai diwõ para chuma
I-you-IO-something-sell
I sell you something.

5.5. Dative Markers originated from verb

- General Form: 다려

(9) 좌우 다려 무르·엇지 처리 분향·고 분쥬··노 [인봉쇼전]
choau dalyõ murũdai õtchi chyõri bunhyanghako
bunchyuhadanyo
choau- (name of a person) - IO-ask-why-so-incense-move
(He) asks Choau why so much incense has been moved

6. Contemporary Korean Language: from 20th to 2013
(현대국어現代國語)

6.1. Dative markers originating from demonstrative pronoun

- Intimate Form: 에게

(10) 그녀는 나에게 책을 선물했다
kŭnyŏnŭn na eke ch'aek ŭl sŏnmulhaetta
she subject marker me to book DO marker offer
She offered a book to me.

(11) 그녀는 책을 나에게 선물했다
kŭnyŏnŭn ch'aek ŭl na eke sŏnmulhaetta
she subject marker book DO marker me to offer
She offered a book to me.

- Honorific Form: 께

(12) 그녀는 선생님께서 책을 선물했다
kŭnyŏnŭn sŏnsaengnimkkesŏ ch'aek ŭl sŏnmulhaetta
she-teacher-IO-book-DO-offer
she offered a book to teacher

(13) 그녀는 책을 선생님께서 선물했다
kŭnyŏnŭn ch'aek ŭl sŏnsaengnimkkesŏ sŏnmulhaetta
she-book-DO-teacher-IO-offer
She offered a book to teacher.

6.2. The change process of the dative case markers originating by verb

- General Form: 다려/더러

- (14) 지난번에 왜 개가 나더러 좀 더 남을 배려하라고 한 거지?
chinanbŏn e wae kyaeka nadŏrŏ chom dŏ namŭl baeryŏharako
han kŏchi
last-time-why-he-subject-marker-me-IO-little-more-consider

Why did he tell me to be more considerate last time?

7. Conclusion

We find the first dative marker in Korean in the 5th century with the stele of the king Kwanggaet'o. Before that period, we can only suppose that Korean people were using the grammar of Chinese until the rise of the Idu writing system (6th-7th). However, we will have to wait until the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392) to see the first Korean dative marker.

- First evidence of dative marker in Korean with 與 yŭ in the 5th century.
- 13th century: Chinese Characters 亦中 (역중 yŏkchung) is used as the first dative marker in Early Middle Korean. The sizes of those characters are smaller in order to show the grammatical role in the sentence. It belongs to Idu writing system.
- 15th century: Korean Language has his own alphabet and thus Chinese Characters are replaced by Korean letters. Datives markers are also using the Korean Alphabet.
- Dative markers in Korean have different grammatical origins:

verb, demonstrative pronoun, numeral and noun.

- Dative markers in Korean have different levels of speech since 15th century.
- From Old Korean to Early Middle Korean, dative markers in Korean used Chinese characters. After 8th century, dative markers were probably using the archaic writing system called Idu in Korean.

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ON SOME SELECTED PROBLEMS OF KOREAN ABBREVIOLGY

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Abstract: Given the fact that we live in the era where the pace of life is constantly speeding up, it is no surprise that ‘the economy of language’ - meaning the efficient usage of language in order to achieve the maximum effect for the minimum effort has become so important in everyday life. Using abbreviated forms of different kinds is supposed to help us to economize continuously insufficient amount of time. Their overuse, however, can hamper effective communication and bring the adverse effect from what the speaker’s intention was – namely to communicate the message clearly and unambiguously and receive a response to it in a short time. Incomprehension or misunderstanding of the message leads, in fact, to unnecessarily prolonging the conversation since it requires asking additional questions in order to explain what is unclear to the listener.

Reduced forms used mainly in spoken Korean can largely be divided into lexical and grammatical ones. Lexical shortenings of different kinds such as acronyms, blends, clippings etc. although rarely and rather briefly discussed by Korean linguists and basically excluded from the debate on word-formation issues definitely deserve much more attention taking into account their extensive usage. As for grammatical abbreviations, despite its frequent occurrence, the subject is not that often taken up and discussed either.

The aim of this article is to present some characteristic properties of grammatical abbreviations used mainly in spoken Korean. The reduced forms in question will be divided into three categories namely - particles, endings and grammatical constructions and discussed separately. This article however focuses only on those abbreviated forms, which means leaving the subject of particle or word ellipsis beyond its scope.

Key words: Korean, abbreviated forms, grammatical abbreviation, clippings, contractions

한국어 축약형에 관한 고찰

논문초록: 우리는 생활의 속도가 지속적으로 가속화되어 가고 있는 시대에서 살고 있다. 이러한 사실을 감안해 볼 때 최소의 노력으로 최대의 효과를 얻을 수 있다는 목적을 달성하기 위한 ‘언어의 경제성’이 일상생활에서 그만큼 중요해졌다는 것은 놀랄 만한 일이 아니다. 다양한 종류의 ‘줄어든 말(축약)’의 사용은 충분하지 않은 시간을 절약할 수 있도록 우리에게 도움을 준다. 그런데 ‘줄어든 말’의 남용은 원활한 의사소통을 방해할 수 있으며, 결국에는 분명하고 명확하게 정보를 전달하고 짧은 시간 안에 청자의 응답을 받으려는 화자의 의지와는 전혀 다른 반응, 즉 역효과를 가져올 수도 있다. 실제로 화자가 말한 내용을 청자가 이해하지 못하거나, 잘못 이해한 경우에는 불필요한 담화를 지속해야 할 수도 있다. 왜냐하면 명확하지 못한 부분을 설명하기 위한 추가 질문과 대답이 필요하기 때문이다.

대체로 구어체 한국어에서 사용되는 축약형은 크게 어휘 단위가 축약된 ‘준말’과 문법적인 단위의 음운 탈락이나 축약인 ‘줄어든 말’로 나눌 수 있다. 두문자어 (acronyms), 혼성어 (blends), 단축어 (clipping) 등과 같은 축소된 어휘 단위가 한국 언어학자들에 의하여 간략하게 언급되며 기본적으로 어휘형성법에 관한 논의에서 제외되어 있으나, 일상생활에서 그러한 어휘의 광범위한 사용을 고려한다면 훨씬 더 많은 연구의 대상이 되어야 한다. 그리고 문법 단위가 축약된 형태 또한 빈번하게 사용되에도 불구하고 연구의 대상이 되는 경우는 흔하지 않다.

본 연구는 주로 구어체 한국어에서 사용되는 축약된 문법 단위를 관찰하여 그 특질을 드러내는 데에 목적이 있다. 본 연구는 조사와 어미, 문법적 구조의 세 가지 범주를 대상으로 하위 구분하여 논의할 것이다. 그러나 이 연구는 축약된 문법 단위만을 논의 주제로 삼되 조사나 어휘의 탈락은 논의외로 한다.

핵심어: 한국어, 축소어형, 문법적인 축소, 단축어, 축약

List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used to label word classes and their grammatical properties:

1SG, 2SG, 3SG – 1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular

1PL, 2PL, 3PL – 1st, 2nd, 3rd person plural

ACC – accusative

ADJ- adjective

AST – adjective stem

AUX – auxiliary

c – consonant

DEM P– demonstrative pronoun

END - ending

GEN –genitive

HUM – humble form

IND P– indefinite pronoun

LOC – locative

N – noun

NEG – negative

NEU – neutral form

NOM – nominative

P – pronoun

PP – personal pronoun

PART – particle

PRED – predicative

PRES - present

PST – past

POSS - possessive

TC PART– topic-contrast particle

v- vowel

V - verb

VST- verb stem

1. Introductory Remarks

Abbreviating of various linguistic units such as lexemes, phrases, etc. is nothing new. As Szadyko (1997: 116) and Podracki (1999: 11) explain 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. Buttler (1987: 641) considers it to be one of the age-old and evolutionary tendencies of a language system. Szadyko (1997: 116, 120) not only argues that it corresponds, to some extent, with the developmental tendencies of contemporary languages but also convinces that it is one of the most productive ways of enriching the lexicon of the written form of technical language, especially the language of business. Bauer (1994: 83) notices on the example of changes in the Standard English in the 20th century the increase in the number of blends and ‘abbreviations’ with the decrease in the number of words derived through suffixation.

Nevertheless despite its growing productiveness over the past few decades shortening of lexical material as Hamans (2008: 95-98) points out is scarcely documented and hardly discussed in modern linguistic theory, since it is considered to be an irregular and relatively rare process. He, however, notices in this phenomenon of modern languages some certain regularity. Bauer (2001) refers to those non-standard processes of word-formation, by which he means clipping, blending and acronyming, as ‘non-rule governed innovations’. Marchand (1966: 364) explains that even though the shortening of a syntactical group generally called ellipsis is old, he presumes that the phenomenon of word clipping as we understand it today, was unknown in Ancient Times and that in English it does not seem to be older than 15th c.

The subject of abbreviation in Korean is also rarely discussed in comparison to other various aspects concerning the field of word-formation. Neither 최현배 (1994) nor 시정곤 (1994), 김정은 (2000), 남기심 and 고영근 (2006), 나찬연 (2007) and others make no mention about them at all. Although some authors such as 김창섭 (1996) do mention curtailed forms but their whole description comes down to just one paragraph. The author who despite a brief description intro-

duces their classification is 최규일 (2007: 32, 265). He lists them along with compounding, derivation and inflection, among four ways of forming new words through morphological process. He treats them, however, as a special form of word-formation by using the term *teuksu bangbeop* (Kor. 특수 방법) and divides them into 4 categories - namely blending or contamination (Kor. 혼성법, *honseongbeop*), shortening (Kor. 단축법, *danchukbeop*), clipping (Kor. 절취법, *jeolchwibeop*) and acronymy (Kor. 두문자 약자 사용, *dumunja yakja sayong*), nevertheless offers no examples. He also mentions shortenings apropos the language being used in the Internet (cf. pp. 232-233), which is described there as ‘a place where new words are being created beyond the rules of basic rules of orthography or the grammar of the language’. 이지양 (1993), as one of the few linguists investigates the question of fusion (Kor. 융합, *yonghap*) and its forms in Korean defining the necessary conditions in order for fusion to take place. He also divides fusion into two categories on the basis of changes and refers to few features of fused forms pointing out that they have not been given much attention since they lack regularity.

On the basis of books both written and published in South Korea we can presume that the subject of abbreviation or contraction is rather a new field closely connected with constantly growing pressure of time, technological and social changes, unfortunately not always positive ones,³² which have happened within the past several years. This would explain why finding in-depth analysis of this subject is quite difficult.

Interestingly enough in books printed outside of Korea, the subject is given somewhat more attention. Those books however, as the above-mentioned ones, address only the question of lexical units. Lee and Ramsey (2011) for example refer to abbreviations in the Contemporary Korean as to vocabulary trends; Song (2005: 91) describes abbreviation as ‘a minor but productive manner of word formation in Korean’. Long phrases, as he explains, are abbreviated and after a period of co-existence, abbreviated forms may take over from their source phrases. Choo and Kwak (2008: 115-6) give several examples of contractions (mainly nouns and phrases) and divide them into 4

³² Cf. ‘the mental reasons’ for using shortenings indicated by 려춘연 (1999: 35), to which he includes, among others, sheer laziness.

groups, namely where the dropping of either the first or the last part of the word or phrase takes place, the group of compounds or phrases in which usually the first of each element is being omitted and the last group consists of loan words. Sohn (1999: 259-61) indicates, despite a brief description, that abbreviations are observed most extensively in SK compounds, especially in non-human proper nouns but admits that it can also occur 'quite extensively' in loan words and that the abbreviations of native words are rather sporadic.

Despite the fact that curtailed forms not only are known for a very long time but also frequently used, abbreviology as a discipline of linguistics is a relatively young field. Müldner-Nieckowski (2007: 8) uses this term in the preface to his dictionary and defines it as 'a science on language abbreviations'.³³

Even though short forms on the basis of their properties can be divided into lexical and grammatical ones, if they are the subjects of discussion whatsoever, lexical abbreviations are usually the ones referred to. According to *Cambridge Online Dictionary* lexical abbreviations can be divided into:

- (i) acronyms³⁴
- (ii) blends³⁵
- (iii) clippings³⁶

However apart from the lexical abbreviation there is also grammatical one, which applies to grammatical units, as mentioned above. The resultant forms in Korean, as this article will attempt to show, are formed through the reduction of:

- (i) particles,
- (ii) endings and
- (iii) grammatical constructions.

³³ Majewska-Wójcik et al. (2013: 201) consider the date of publishing this dictionary as a beginning of this field of linguistics in Poland.

³⁴ For the discussion on acronyms, their history and classification refer to Cannon (2011: 99-127).

³⁵ For the discussion on blends and their classification on the basis of etymological transparency cf. Bauer (1983: 234-36).

³⁶ For the discussion and classification of clippings see Marchand (1966: 357-61).

The aim of this paper is to analyze the reduced forms used mainly in spoken Korean, which are the outcome of grammatical abbreviation. Talking about shortening of phrases or syntactical units the term contraction is the most convenient to be used. However contraction, as this article will try to show, is not the only process that takes place while abbreviating grammatical units in Korean since there is also clipping involved.

2. Particles³⁷

As far as shortening of particles is concerned it can be done either through contraction or clipping. Contraction generally takes place in two cases - namely when a particle is attached to an indeclinable word in Korean such as noun, pronoun etc., to another particle following those word classes or when it is attached to an ending of conjugated forms of verbs or adjectives. Among clipped forms of particles both back and fore clippings can be found.

2.1. An indeclinable word form with a particle

Particles in Korean can be divided according to their meaning and function into three major categories – namely grammatical case particles (Kor. 격조사, *gyeokjosa*), conjunction particles (Kor. 접속조사, *jeopsokjosa*) and auxiliary particles also known as semantic or even 'special' particles (Kor. 보조사, *bojosa*) (cf. 나찬연 2007: 154,

³⁷ Although the term *particle* is used by Martin (1992), Lee et al. (2000), Sohn (2001), Song (2005), Choo et al. (2008) and others, some scholars such as Rhee (2006), Ko (2008) prefer to use the term *postposition*, or some as 황경수(2009) *postpositional word*. In this article however only the term *particle* will be used.

박동호 2005: 178, Lee et al. 2000: 139, 임지룡 et al. 2005: 163). Nevertheless some Korean scholars such as 최현배 (1994: 611-13), 남기심 and 고영근 (2006: 99) as well as others distinguish only two groups - namely case and auxiliary particles, which means including the above-mentioned second group into case particles.³⁸

However, regardless of the differences in classification of particles in Korean, it appears that the process of abbreviation although very common applies mainly to the most frequently used ones.

As far as the case particles are concerned only particles such as the nominal case particle (Kor. 주격조사, *jugyeokjosa*), the accusative case particle (Kor. 목적격조사, *mokjeokgyeokjosa*), the genitive case particle (Kor. 관형격조사, *gwanhyeonggyeokjosa*), some of the adverbial case particles (Kor. 부사격조사, *busageokjosa*) are actually shortened. Examples are given below.

Ex. 1. Nominal case particle

- a) 이것 + -이 → 이것이 → 이게 ‘this (thing)’
igeot *-i* *igeosi* *ige*
 this: DEMP NOM PART
- b) 저것 + -이 → 저것이 → 저게 ‘that (thing)’

³⁸ 남기심 and 고영근 (2006: 99) distinguish 7 cases in Korean - the nominal case (주격), the predicative case (서술격), the accusative case (목적격), the complement case (보격), the genitive case (관형격), the adverbial case (부사격) and the vocative case (호격). 임호빈 (1997: 102) however, mentions only six of them excluding the predicative case form his list, which is a confirmation of a disagreement concerning this particular case among Korean scholars. According to Traditional Grammar particles such as *-e* (-에) ‘to (a place)’, *-eseo* (-에서) ‘from/ in (a place)’, *-ege* (-에게), *-hante* (-한테) ‘to/ for (somebody)’, *-boda* (-보다) ‘more than somebody/ something’ and others are considered ‘adverbial case particles’ since they enable a noun or a pronoun to become an adverbial in a sentence. They can however be subdivided into the locative case (처소격), the instrumental case (도구격) etc. (cf. 임지룡 et al. 2005: 164-5, 493). 김원경(2009) divides cases in Korean language into morphological and semantic ones and discusses their properties. Among morphological ones he lists: the nominal case (주격), which he calls the subject case, the accusative case (목적격) which he calls the object case, the genitive case (속격) and the adverbial case (부사격). Among semantic cases he lists: the experiencer case (경험자격), the agent case (행위자격), the beneficiary case (수혜자격), the theme case (객체격), the source case (원천격), the goal case (도달격), the path case (경로격), the locative case (처소격), the possessive case (소유격), the complement case (보어격) etc.

jeogeot-i *jeogeosi* *jeoge*
 that: DEMP NOM PART

Ex. 2. 이게 뭐야? ‘What’s this?’ (informal style)
Ige mwoya?

Ex. 3. Accusative case particle

a) 회사 + -를 → 회사를 → 회사
hoesa *-reul* *hoeseul* *hoesal*
 company: N ACC PART

b) 나 + -를 → 나를 → 날
na *-reul* *nareul* *nal*
 I/me: 1SG NEU PP ACC PART

c) 누구 + -를 → 누구를 → 누군
nugu *-reul* *nugureul* *nugl*
 who: IND P ACC PART

Ex. 4. 아버지가 날 부르셨어요. ‘(My) father called me.’
Aboji-ga nal bureusyeosseoyo.

Ex. 5. Genitive case particle

a) 나 + -의 → 나의 → 내 ‘mine’
na *-ui* *nau* *nae*
 I/me: 1SG NEU PP GEN PART

b) 저 + -의 → 저의 → 제 ‘mine’
jeo *-ui* *jeoui* *je*
 I/me: 1SG HUM PP GEN PART

c) 너 + -의 → 너의 → 네 ‘your (s)’
neo *-ui* *neoui* *ne*
 I/me: 2SG PP GEN PART

Ex. 6. 이게 내 책이에요. ‘This is my book.’
Ige nae chaegieyo.

Ex. 7. Locative case particle

a) 나 + -에게 → 나에게 → 내게 ‘to/ for/ at me’
na -ege naege nege
 I/me: 1SG NEU PP LOC PART

b) 저 + -에게 → 저에게 → 제게 ‘to/ for/ at me’
jeo -ege jeoege jege
 I/me: 1SG HUM PP LOC PART

c) 너 + -에게 → 너에게 → 네게 ‘to/ for/ at you’
neo -ege neoege nege
 I/me: 2SG PP LOC PART

Ex. 8. 친구가 내게 선물을 줬어요. ‘A friend gave me a present.’
Chinguga naege seonmureul jwosseoyo.

Examples just cited show that case particle can be shortened when attached to words which end in a vowel (with the exception of ex. 1-2). This means that the abbreviation is more frequent in consonant-ending words. Nevertheless, apart from morphological constraints regarding shortening of those particles there are also semantic ones involved. Since they concern mainly either nominal or demonstrative pronouns only.

The nominal case particle can be abbreviated only when attached to demonstrative pronouns *igeot*, *geugeot* and *jeogeot* (이것, 그것, 저것), which mean ‘this/ these’ (thing (s)), ‘the/ that/ those’ (thing (s)), ‘that/ those (thing (s))’ respectively. As the shortened forms show the reduction concerns both the last syllable of the pronoun and a particle itself. The same type of syllable restructuring applies to both the genitive case particle and the locative case particle meaning ‘to/ for/ at somebody’ although they are attached to 1SG and 2SG personal pronouns.

As a consequence of abbreviation, the accusative case particle *-reul* (-를) is reduced to *-r* (-ㄹ). This reduction leads to restructuring of the last syllable of the preceding word too; it however does not have any part missing. *-r* simply fills up the place of a consonant often referred to as *batchim* (받침). Among abbreviated forms with this particular particle, apart from 1SG and 2SG personal pronouns there are common nouns and indefinite pronouns as well.

Even though *dangsin* (당신), meaning ‘you’ is the 2SG pronoun, it is not abbreviated when attached to each of the above-mentioned particles. The

reason could be its morphological structure - as mentioned above.

The vocative case particle (Kor. 호격조사, *hogyekjosa*) such as *-a* and *-ya* (-아/야) and the complement case particle (Kor. 보격조사, *bogyekjosa*) such as *-i* and *-ga* (-이/가), which are identical with the nominal case particles, are not shortened.

The most commonly abbreviated auxiliary particle, which is at the same time the most commonly abbreviated particle among all particles, is definitely *-neun* (-는). As this allomorph may suggest abbreviation of this so-called topic-contrast particle only takes place when a word ends with a vowel, as it is in the case of *-reul* (-를) discussed above. Here also, as a consequence of shortening the particle, it is reduced to a single phone, which is *-n* (ㄴ) in this case. Few examples are given below.

Ex. 9.

- a) 나 + -는 → 나는 → 난 T'
na *-neun* *naneun* *nan*
 I: 1SG NEU PP TC PART
- b) 우리 + -는 → 우리는 → 우린 'we'
uri *-neun* *urineun* *urin*
 I: 1PL NEU PP TC PART
- c) 여기 + -는 → 여기는 → 여긴 'here'
yeogi *-neun* *yeogineun* *yeogin*
 here: DEM P TC PART
- d) 아버지 + -는 → 아버지는 → 아버진 'the father'
abeoji *-neun* *abeojineun* *abeojin*
 father: N TC PART
- e) 학교 + -는 → 학교는 → 학곤 'the school'
hakgyo *-neun* *hakgyoneun* *hakgyon*
 school: N TC PART
- f) 때로 + -는 → 때로는 → 때론
ttaero *-neun* *ttaeroneun* *ttaeron*
 sometimes: ADV TC PART
 'every now and then/ sometimes'

As example (9) illustrates, this particular particle is shortened not only when attached to full morphemes such as pronouns (1-2SG and 1-2PL personal or demonstrative ones), common nouns (both animate and inanimate ones), adverbs etc., but also when attached to other particles (see ex. 10.) or endings in conjugated forms of verbs and adjectives (see section 2.2).

Ex. 10.

a) 친구 + -에게서 + -는 → 친구에게서는 → 친구에게선
chingu -egeseo -neun chinguegeseoneun chinguegeseon
 friend: N ABLPART TC PART
 ‘from the friend’

b) 여동생 + -한테서 + -는 → 여동생한테서는
yeodongsaeng -hanteseo -neun yeodongsaenghanteseoneun
 younger sister: N ABLPART TC PART
 → 여동생한테선 ‘from the younger sister’
yeodongsaenghanteseon

Ex. 11. 집 뒤엔 공원이 있어. ‘Behind the house (there) is a park.’ (informal style)
jip dwien gongwoni isseo

As mentioned above, it appears that the process of abbreviation of particles although common, applies mainly to the most frequently used ones. However it may be a surprise that there are very few examples of shortened forms with nominal case particles and that conjunction particles meaning ‘and, along with’ etc. such as *-wa/gwa*, *-(i) rang*, *-hago* (*-와/과*, *-(이) 량*, *-하고*) as well as a large number of so-called ‘special’ particles such as *-do* (*-도*) meaning ‘also, too’, *-man* (*-만*) meaning ‘only’, *-kkaji* (*-까지*) meaning ‘till (some time), to (some place)’, *-jocha* (*-조차*) meaning ‘even’, *-cheoreom* (*-처럼*) meaning ‘as/ like (somebody/ something)’ are never shortened.

The reason could be their specific meaning, which in case of shortened forms might be lost and thus lead to confusion as to the exact meaning of a phrase e.g. if *-man* would be shortened to *-n* as it is in already discussed *-neun*. Nonetheless apart from the meaning conveyed by those auxiliary particles, their morphological structure could also play an important role here. None of the above mentioned cases, conjunction or ‘special’ particles have the same

syllable structure as *-neun* (-는) or *-reul* (-를) does – namely CVC in vertical orientation.

Furthermore apart from contraction of particles there are also cases of particle reduction, which can be treated as clippings, although Bauer (1983: 233-4) and others refer to clipping only in the context of word formation and not in the context of declension or conjugation. They do mention however, the change of stylistic level, which can also be observed in Korean on the basis of given examples.

Although among particle clippings there are both back clippings (see ex. 12) and fore clippings (see ex. 14), far fewer examples of fore clippings can be found.

Ex. 12.

- a) 언니 + -에게서 → 언니에게서 → 언니에게 ‘from an older sister’
eonni -egeseo eonniegeseo eonniege
 older sister: N ABLPART

- b) 남동생 + -한테서 → 남동생한테서 → 남동생한테
namdongsaeng -hanteseo namdongsaenghanteseo namdongsaenghante
 younger brother: N ABLPART
 ‘from a younger brother’

Ex. 13. 남자친구에게 선물을 받았어요. ‘I got a present from (my/ a) boyfriend.’
namjachinguege seonmureul badasseoyo

As exemplified in (12) particles *-egeseo* (-에게서) and *-hanteseo* (-한테서) meaning ‘from’ have their last syllable clipped. Both of those clipped forms are commonly used with verbs such as ‘to get’ - *batda* (받다), ‘to obtain’ - *eotda* (얻다), ‘to learn’ - *baeuda* (배우다) etc.

Ex. 14.

- a) 여기 + -에서 → 여기에서 → 여기서 ‘here/ from here’
yeogi -eseo yeogieseo yeogiseo
 here: DEMP LOC/ ABLPART

- b) 서울 + -에서 → 서울에서 → 서울서 ‘in Seoul/ from Seoul’
Seoul -eseo Seouleseou Seoulseo
 here: DEMP LOC/ ABLPART

- c) 너 + 이다 → 너이다 → 너다 ‘It’s you.’
neo ida neoida neoida
 you: 2SGPP PREDPART

Among fore-clippings of particles there are e. g. *-eseo* shortened to *-seo* and *ida* reduced to *-da*. *-eseo* (-에 서) meaning either ‘from’ (a place) or ‘in’ (while talking about the action, which takes place in a particular place) can be clipped while being attached to both pronouns and nouns (proper names as shown in the above ex. 14b).

If we treat *ida* (이다) as the predicative case particle (Kor. 서술격조사, *seosulgyeokjosa*), as some Korean linguists do, we can observe that *i* (이-) disappears when the preceding noun or pronoun ends with a vowel. Nevertheless it takes place only while talking about the present, which means that e. g. talking about the past *i* will not be reduced.

2.2. A conjugated word form with a particle

Since *-neun* (-는) – an auxiliary particle used to mark topic-contrast in the sentence is shortened while being attached to nouns and pronouns (as exemplified in the above ex. 9) or another particle (as shown in the above ex. 10) we can easily presume and confirm this presumption that it will also tend to be abbreviated when added to various grammatical endings. As the following examples show particle *-neun* can co-create grammatical endings and give them an additional meaning of emphasis or stress. However, if the speaker does not want to emphasize anything *-neun* is simply not used.

Ex. 15.

- a) AST/VST(c) + -으니까는 → -으니깐 ‘since/ because of ADJ/V’
-eunikkaneun -eunikkan
- b) AST/VST(c) + -을 때는 → -을 땐 ‘when/ while/ during ADJ/V’
-eul ttaeneun -eul ttaen
- c) AST/VST(c/v) + -기 때문에는 → -기 때문엔

-gi ttaemuneneun -gi ttaemunen
 ‘on account of/ because of/ owing to ADJ/V’

Ex. 16. 그녀는 젊었을 때 상당한 미인이었어요.
geunyeoneun jeolmeosseul ttaen sangdanghan miinieosseyoyo
 ‘She was quite a beauty when she was young.’

3. Endings

Among extremely numerous short forms of endings in Korean we can discover two ways according to which they are being formed - that is, as it was in the case of particles, contraction and clipping. The first one takes place when two vowels meet - one of them comes from a verb or an adjective stem and the other one from an ending. The process is called vowel shortening (모음축약; *moeumchugyak*) in Korean. Graphically shortened vowels are pronounced as a diphthong, however, only vowels which can create a diphthong are actually shortened. It applies, as 김정숙 (2005: 495) explains, only to the three below cases - when the last vowel in a stem is *-i*, *-u* or *-o* (ㅣ, ㅓ, ㅗ).

Generally when a monosyllabic stem ends with one of those three vowels, the shortening is not compulsory, however when a disyllabic or longer stem ends with an *i* (ㅣ), in other words, the longer the stem the more frequent usage of short forms. *Pida* (피다) ‘to bloom/ blossom’, *ppajida* (빠지다) meaning ‘fall/ get into, sink down into’, *juda* (준다) meaning ‘to give/ award/ provide’ and *boda* (보다) meaning ‘to see/ look’ will serve as examples here.

Ex. 17.

a) 피- + -어서 → 피어서 → 피서
pi- -eoseo pieoseo pyeoseo
 bloom: VST because: END
 ‘because bloom/ blossom’ (e. g. roses)

b) 빠지- + -어도 → 빠지어도 → 빠져도
ppaji- -eodo ppajieodo ppajeodo
 fall into: VST even though: END

‘although/ even if/ even though (I/ you/ they etc.) fall into’ (e. g. love)

- c) 주- + -어요 → 주어요 → 줘요 ‘I (you/ they etc.) give’
ju- -eoyo jueoyo jwoyo
 give: VST PRE END

- d) 보- + -았어요 → 보았어요 → 봤어요 ‘(I/you/ they etc.) saw’
bo- -asseoyo boasseoyo bwasseoyo
 see: VST PST END

However, apart from the above-mentioned abbreviated forms there is also an example like *-jiyo* (-지요) used as a question tag, where the ending itself can take a shorter form, namely *-jyo* (-죠) despite morphological properties, in other words regardless of the auslaut of the preceding stem.

Ex. 18. AST/VST (c/v) -지요 → -죠

- a) 예쁘- + -지요 → 예쁘지요 → 예쁘죠? ‘Beautiful isn’t it?’
yeppeu- -jiyo yeppeujiyo yeppeujyo
 be beautiful: AST question tag: END

- b) 갔- + -지요 → 갔지요 → 갔죠?
gat- -jiyo gatjiyo gatjyo
 go: VSTPST question tag: END
 ‘You (he/ they etc.) went didn’t you (he/they etc.)?’

Furthermore, it is also worth mentioning the conjugation of the extremely numerous and thus extensively used, verbs and adjectives stems with *ha-* (하-). Words such as *ilhada* (일하다) ‘to work’, *yeohaenghada* (여행하다) ‘to travel’ etc. when followed by a vowel ending can appear either in a long or reduced form. However, two neighboring vowels (one from *ha-* stem and the other from an ending) are generally abbreviated, which mainly applies to spoken Korean, although short forms are used in an informal written language as well.

Ex. 19.

- a) 일하- + -어요 → 일하여요 → 일해요 ‘I (you/ they etc.) work’
ilha- -yeoyo ilhayeyo ilhaeyo
 work: VST PRES: END

- b) 여행하- + -여서 → 여행하여서 → 여행해서
yeohaengha- -yeoseo → yeohaenghayeoseo → yeohaenghaeseo
 travel: VST because: END
 ‘because I (you/ they etc.) travel’
- c) 하락하- + -였어요 → 하락하였어요 → 하락했어요
haraka- -yosseoyo harakayeosseoyo harakaesseoyo
 decrease/ decline: VST PST END
 ‘(It) decreased/ dropped’
- d) 싱싱하- + -였지만 → 싱싱하였지만 → 싱싱했지만
singsingha- -yeotjiman singsinghayeotjiman singsinghaetjiman
 be fresh: AST but/ though: PST END
 ‘though fresh’

Vowel reduction also applies to frequently used expressions with the above-mentioned *ha-* (하-) stems, as exemplified in the below 20.

Ex. 20.

- a) N (v) -를 위하여 → -를 위해 ‘for/ for the sake of/ for the benefit of N’
-reul wihayeo -reul wihae
- b) N (c) -으로 인하여 → -으로 인해 ‘because of/ on account of/ due to N’
-euro inhayeo -euro inhae
- c) N (c/v) -에 비하여 → -에 비해 ‘in comparison with/ to N’
-e bihayeo -e bihae
- d) N (c/v) -에 관하여 → -에 관해 ‘about/ on/ regarding/ concerning N’
-e gwanhayeo -e gwanhae
- e) N (c/v) -에 의하여 → -에 의해 ‘on the ground of/ according to N’
-e uihayeo -e uihae

Apart from the above-discussed vowel shortening there is also fairly common ending reduction mainly through back clipping. Some examples are provided below.

AST (c) -으냐고 하는 → -으냐는 → -으냐
-eunyago haneun -eunyaneun -eunyan

c) Attributive form (propositive)

VST (v/c) -자고 하는 → -자는 → -잔
-jago haneun -janeun -jan

d) Attributive form (imperative)

VST (c) -라고 하는 → -라는 → -란
-rago haneun -raneun -ran

Apart from the above-mentioned abbreviation of attributive forms of indirect speech there are also examples where after the contraction of a constituent of the reported speech construction - namely particle *-go* (-고) and *ha-* (하-) back clipping also takes place. Here the clipped part can be either exactly one syllable long (see ex. 23) or can exceed this boundary by the reduction of *-n* (-ㄴ) in the penultimate syllable of the conjugated form (cf. ex. 24). Reduction of sentences with indirect speech applies to all types of sentences and constructions, below however there are only few examples given.

Ex. 23.

a) VST (v) -ㄴ다고 하니까 → -ㄴ다고 하니 → -ㄴ다니
-n dago hanikka -n dago hani -n dani
 ‘since (somebody) said that...’

b) VST (c/v) -느냐고 하니까 → -느냐고 하니 → -느냐니
-neunyago hanikka -neunyago hani -neunyani
 ‘since (somebody) asked whether V’

c) VST (c/v) -자고 하니까 → -자고 하니 → -자니
-jago hanikka -jago hani -jani
 ‘since (somebody) proposed/suggested to V’

d) VST (v) -라고 하니까 → -라고 하니 → -라니
-rago hanikka -rago hani -rani
 ‘since (somebody) told to/ ordered to V’

Ex. 24.

- a) VST (v) -ㄴ다고 하면서 → -ㄴ다면서 → -ㄴ다며
-n dago hamyeonseo -n damyeonseo -n damyeo
 ‘doing (something) while saying V’
- b) VST (c/v) -느냐고 하면서 → -느냐면서 → -느냐며
-neunyago hamyeonseo -neunyamyeonseo -neunyamyeo
 ‘doing something while asking if/ whether V’
- c) VST (c/v) -자고 하면서 → -자면서 → -자며
-jago hamyeonseo -jamyeonseo -jamyeo
 ‘doing (something) while proposing V’
- d) VST (c) -라고 하면서 → -라면서 → -라며
-rago hamyeonseo -ramyeonseo -ramyeo
 ‘doing (something) while ordering V’

In some cases, as illustrated in the below (25), abbreviation and clipping enable morpheme reduction even up to 50%. Examples c) ~d) also show that grammatical and lexical abbreviation can take place at the same time.

Ex. 25.

- a) 그렇게 하지 말라고 하니까 → 그렇치 말라니
geureoke haji mallago hanikka geureotchi mallani
 ‘Because (I/ they etc.) tell (you) not to do so.’
- b) 그렇게 하려면 → 그러려면 ‘if intending to do so’
geureoke haryeomyeon geureoryeomyeon
- c) 지금 출발한다고 합니다. → 짐 출발한답니다.
jigeum chulbalhandago hamnida jim chulbalhandamnida
 ‘(Somebody) said that (he/ she) will depart now.’
- d) 우리 언니는 같이 먹자고 해요. → 올 언닌 같이 먹재요.
uri eonnineun gachi meokjago haeyo ul eonnin gachi meokjaeyo
 ‘Older sister suggests/ suggested eating (together).’

Moreover it is no surprise that if a particular word e. g. a synsemantic

noun (Kor. 의존명사, *ujjonmyeongsa*) such as *geot* (것) meaning 'a thing', a verb *gajida* (가지다) meaning 'to have, to possess, to hold' or an adjective *anihadada* (아니하다) meaning 'to be not/ to do not', has its shortened form, its form is also abbreviated when used as a part of a grammatical construction, which can be exemplified with the below (26) ~ (28).

Ex. 26. 것 (*geot*) → 거 (*geo*) 'a thing'

- a) AST/VST-(으)ㄴ 것이다 → -(으)ㄴ 거다 'will ADJ/V'
 - (eu)l *geosida* - (eu)l *geoda*
- b) AST/VST-(으)ㄴ 것입니다 → -(으)ㄴ 겁니다
 - (eu)l *geosimnida* - (eu)l *geomnida*
 'will ADJ/ V' (formal style)
- c) AST/VST-았을 것입니다 → -았을 겁니다
 - *asseul geosimnida* - *asseul geomnida*
 'would ADJ/ V' (formal style)

Ex. 27. 가지다 (*gajida*) → 갖다 (*gatda*) 'to have/ to possess/ to hold'

- a) N(c)-을 가지고 → -을 갖고 'by/ by means of/ with N'
 - *eul gajigo* - *eul gatgo*
- b) AST/VST-아/어 가지고 → -아/어 갖고 'because of ADV/V',
 - *a/eo gajigo* - *a/eo gatgo* 'having done/ after doing'

Ex. 28. 아니하다 (*anihadada*) → 았다 (*anta*) 'to be not/ to do not'

- a) AST/VST-지 았다 (*-ji anta*) 'to be not ADV/ to do not V'

Anta (았다) is used as an auxiliary word expressing negation. It becomes either an auxiliary verb or an auxiliary adjective, depending on a word class to which the preceding word belongs. *Anta* is used with an auxiliary ending *-ji* (-지), however when it is attached to a *ha-* (하-) stem it can be abbreviated, which is also worth mentioning here, since it is a fairly common thing. Although its function stays the same, the meaning however, changes into less formal one.

The resultant forms (coming from the negation of *ha-* stems with the above-mentioned *-ji anta*) can appear either as *-chi anta* (-치 않다) or even shorter *-chanta* (-찮다), or as *-ji anta* (-지 않다) and shorter *-janta* (-잖다). Everything depends, as Professor 김지형 explains, on morphological features of the syllable preceding *ha-* (하-). If that syllable ends with a voiced consonant (Kor. 유성자음, *yuseongjaeum*) such as ‘ㄹ, ㄴ, ㄹ, ㅇ’ or a vowel, vowel *a* in *ha-* is omitted. However, if it ends with an unvoiced consonant (Kor. 무성자음, *museongjaeum*), to which belongs every consonant except for ‘ㄹ, ㄴ, ㄹ, ㅇ’, *ha-* is omitted.

Ex. 29.

a) 성실하- + -지 않다 → 성실하지 않다 → 성실치 않다
seongsilha- -ji anta seongsilhaji anta seongsilchi anta
 be sincere: AST AUX END AUX ADJ: NEG

→ 성실찮다 ‘be not sincere’
seongsilchanta

b) 심심하- + -지 않다 → 심심하지 않다 → 심심치 않다
simsimha- -ji anta simsimhaji anta simsimchi anta
 be bored: AST AUX END AUX ADJ: NEG

→ 심심찮다 ‘be not bored’
simsimchanta

c) 피곤하- + -지 않다 → 피곤하지 않다 → 피곤치 않다
pigonha- -ji anta pigonhaji anta pigonchi anta
 be tired: AST AUX END AUX ADJ: NEG

→ 피곤찮다 ‘be not tired’
pigonchanta

The omission of ‘*a*’ leaves ‘*h*’ in the immediate vicinity of ‘*j*’ (ㅈ) - *seongsil h + -ji anta* (성실ㅎ +지 않다). According to pronunciation rules in Korean *h* (ㅎ) and *j* (ㅈ) are pronounced as *ch* (ㅊ), as it is in ‘*Jochiyo?*’ (좋지요?) meaning ‘(It’s) good isn’t it?’ pronounced as *jochiyo* [조치요]. Here, however, this particular rule is also reflected in a written form.

Ex. 30.

a) 깨끗하- + -지 않다 → 깨끗하지 않다 → 깨끗지 않다
kkaekkeuta- -ji anta kkaekkeutaji anta kkaekkeutji anta
be clean: AST AUX END AUX ADJ: NEG

→ 깨끗잡다 'be not clean'
kkaekkeutjanta

b) 넉넉하- + -지 않다 → 넉넉하지 않다 → 넉넉지 않다
neongneoka- -ji anta neongneokaji anta neongneokji anta

be enough: AST AUX END AUX ADJ: NEG

→ 넉넉잡다 'be not enough'
neongneokjanta

c) 섭섭하- + -지 않다 → 섭섭하지 않다 → 섭섭지 않다
seopseopa- -ji anta seopseopaji anta seopseopji anta
be disappointed: ASTAUX END AUX ADJ: NEG

→ 섭섭잡다 'be not disappointed'
seopseopjanta

Most linguists investigate clipping only in the context of word formation. However this phenomenon, as this article attempted to show, can also be observed in Korean in the field of conjugation. That is why the author suggests to broaden the meaning of clipping into this field too.

5. Concluding Remarks

The usage of various kinds of abbreviations in the era, where collecting the data is all-pervasive, where the significance of efficient communication is constantly

growing and the acceleration of the pace of everyday life is so prominent it seems that using short forms of words and phrases is inevitable despite the fact that it can also cause confusion when overused.

Since abbreviation in Korean can be applied to both lexical and grammatical material abbreviated forms consequently can also be divided into lexical and grammatical ones. Among the abbreviations of the second type, which were the subject of this article, shortening of particles, endings and grammatical constructions are found. This process, fairly common especially in spoken Korean, results not only in the quantitative changes observable through the reduction of the number of syllables but also through their restructuring.

Interestingly enough, despite wide usage this process concerns only relatively narrow group or particles and endings. In both cases, however, it can be done in two ways - namely through contraction and clipping.

Endings are abbreviated in order to avoid a string of two vowels and regardless of a word class of a stem - an adjective or a verb. Nevertheless it involves only vowels which are able to form a diphthong such as: *i*, *o* and *u*. Apart from this so-called 'vowel shortening' abbreviation of extremely numerous in Korean *ha-* stems followed by a vowel ending is also noteworthy. The above-mentioned curtailed forms of *ha-* are also very commonly used in various grammatical construction, especially those where indirect speech is involved.

As far as particles are concerned, the most frequently shortened one is an auxiliary particle *-neun* meaning 'the', which can be shortened when attached either to various word classes such as nouns or pronouns, to another particle or even conjugation endings. This however concerns only words, particles and endings, which end with a vowel.

Only a few of the case particles and interestingly enough none of the conjunction particles are actually shortened. Nominal, accusative, genitive and locative case particles can serve as an example here. Nevertheless the situation of the first one and the last two is considerably different since their abbreviation not only strongly depends on morphological structure of a word (as it is in the case of *-neun*) but also often on its semantic properties too. And so, nominal case particle is shortened when attached to demonstrative pronouns; both genitive and locative case particles when attached to 1-2SG personal pronouns with the exception of the consonant-ended *dangsin*. The accusative case however apart from pronouns can be abbreviated when attached to nouns as well.

The answer to the question why none of the conjunction particles and only few of the case and 'special' particles are shortened is that, it could obscure their meaning and thus the tendency to maintain the comprehensibility of the

message, which could be lost if particle was shortened. This would happen if e.g. one of the auxiliary particles *-man* (-만) meaning ‘only’ would be reduced to *-n* as it happens with the above-mentioned particle *-neun*.

Among particles and endings in question there are also clipped forms. Particles can be formed through back clipping, however there are a few examples of fore clipping as well. Among endings though there are basically back clippings and they usually, as it is in the case of particles, involve one syllable only. Nevertheless there are also endings, which have more than one syllable reduced.

There are also two interesting phenomena concerning abbreviation. The first one is that the lexical abbreviation is also reflected in the grammatical one, since lexical abbreviations e.g. of a noun or a verb are used in grammatical constructions. The second one confirms the context-based usage of abbreviated forms – namely that the abbreviation even of the grammatical type produces homonyms. The short forms such as *nae* (나) meaning ‘mine’, *naneun* (나는) meaning ‘I/me’ and *nada* (나다) meaning ‘it’s me’ beyond the context can also convey the meaning of ‘smoke, fume, a smell’ or ‘an odor’; ‘a column or a section in a newspaper, a rebellion’ or ‘an orchid’ and ‘come into being (existence), grow, happen, come across’ respectively.

Grammatical abbreviation usually accompanies the lexical one. Nevertheless, for the sake of brevity, only certain selected issues concerning Korean abbreviology in the grammatical aspect were analyzed here. The subject of abbreviation in Korean though certainly deserves further discussion and in-depth analysis. The intention of the author is to inquire more comprehensively in the domain of abbreviation in the Korean language in the future.

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A ROUGH PATH TOWARDS A THEORETICAL APPREHENSION OF KOREAN ASPECT

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Abstract: Having considered some general aspectological and aspect-methodological problems, the author proceeds to the discussion of certain selected questions concerning Korean aspectology, in particular, an interaction between aspect and momentarity / progressivity as well as aspective-lingual reasoning. The position of the category of aspect within grammar is revisited and the problem of formulation of aspectological theories is addressed. The proposed theoretical apprehension of the relation of Korean aspect to momentarity/progressivity and the aspective-lingual deduction are treated rather briefly.

Key words: aspect in Korean, category of aspect, momentarity, progressivity

한국어 상(相)의 이해로 가는 험난한 길

몇 가지 일반적인 상적 그리고 상적-방법론적 문제들을 검토한 후, 한국어의 상에 관해 특정적으로 선택된 문제들에 대해 논하였다. 특히 상과 일시성/지속성 또한 상과 상적-언어 추론 간의 상호작용에 대해 논하였다. 상에 대한 이론의 공식화의 어려움이 언급되었고, 문법 내에서 상의 범주의 정확성을 상기시켰다. 이 논문에서는 한국어의 상과 일시성/지속성 또한 상적-언어 추론 간의 관계에 대한 이론적 이해를 개략적으로 제시하였다.

키워드: 한국어의 상, 상의 범주, 순간성, 지속성

1. Introductory considerations

The current article is a continuation of an aspectological enquiry into Korean initiated in Bańczerowski and Oh (2014). This introductory section is intended to indicate some aspect-theoretical problems related to this language. However, here they shall be approached somewhat differently. The interest in and the curiosity about the Korean aspective reality of the author is hardly accidental, since he, whose native language is Polish, always feels rather uncomfortable, when about to translate a Polish sentence into Korean. In particular, the problem concerns the verbal predicate. The differentiation between the imperfective verbs and the corresponding perfective verbs is deeply rooted in the Polish language consciousness to the extent that during translation one unwittingly seeks Korean translative equivalents in order to adequately render the difference in question. This differentiation is, in Polish, similarly to other Slavonic languages, morphologised to a considerable degree, manifesting itself by means of grammatical morphemes, usually in form of corresponding affixes on the perfective verb.

Aspect in Slavonic languages was recognised in the first half of 20th century as a semantic and grammatical category in its own right, although closely related to the category of time but not subordinate to it (cf. Agrell 1908, Koschmieder 1934, Masłow 1948). Subsequently, it has enjoyed appropriate treatment in grammars of these languages on a par with other grammatical categories (cf. Bogusławski 2003: 24ff). A known fact is that the most verbs inflect here for the dimension of aspect, since the imperfective verbs usually have their perfective counterparts with which they form aspective diacritic pairs the members of which, however, are not always bound by mono-dimensional semantic opposition, that is to say, they are not always opposed exclusively for the dimension of aspect *sensu stricto*.

The inflection for aspect has been considered as a distinctive peculiarity of Slavonic languages. However, a closer look at other languages, even if they are Japanese or Korean, reveals a comparable inflection, although less grammaticalized, since the signifiers of Completion may take the form of auxiliary verbs perfectivizing the

main verbs whereby periphrastic predicates are formed (cf. Bańczerowski and Oh 2014: 52). Thus, the inflection for aspect is found also outside of the domain of Slavonic languages.

Gradually aspect oriented studies of various languages have achieved an appropriate status within linguistic research leading to the recognition that this lingual category, different from time but in close relationship to it, is an indispensable grammatical component. Some even argue, that the aspect may determine the interpretation of tense (Galton 1984:2f).

For an adequate theoretical approximation of aspective reality accessible to a given language community, as well as other realities such as time, modality, diathesis et cetera, it seems necessary to make a clear distinction between the corresponding meanings and their signifiers. In a certain sense, it should run parallel to a distinction drawn in the grammars of English between the time (temporal meanings) and the tense embracing the corresponding verb forms grouped into paradigms.

The opposition between English verb forms belonging to different tenses as, for example, the past tense versus the present tense or the present perfect tense vs. the present tense is considered to be aspective (cf Galton 1984:2ff). Presumably, the opposition between the present and perfect tenses in Old Greek and Latin was also aspective or at least tinted aspectively.

However, the observations relating to these three languages concern verbal forms, which are opposed not only for the dimension of Aspect but also for the dimension of Time. In the aspective opposition of Slavonic languages primarily homotemporal verb forms are meant, although the allotemporal forms are also bound by it. The homotemporality of such verbal forms makes the aspective opposition more independent from time.

The *category of aspect* could be understood as the set of all lingual units signifying aspective meanings. One might also say that these meanings specify the category in question, comprised of the aspective signifiers of various sizes. The *aspective meanings*, in turn, reflect certain properties of extra-lingual events, that is to say, these aspective properties are conceptualised lingually as aspective meanings. And, furthermore, with respect to the aspective properties, the events enter into the corresponding relationships, which are lin-

gually conceptualised as aspective relations binding sentences designating these events.

The aspective meanings and the category of aspect, also with the corresponding paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, including operations, jointly create what is called the aspect or the *aspective system*, mapping a corresponding fragment of extra-lingual aspective reality. One may also say that this reality is apprehended lingually by native linguators as the aspective system. Consequently, this system appears to be a product and, at the same time, an image projected by lingual conceptualisation of the invoked fragment of extra-lingual reality.

The aspective system may be identified with the *aspective code*, underlying the aspective coding or simply the code in use, which manifests itself as the co-operations of encoding and decoding. Having acquired the aspective code enables one thus to perform these two operations. The former provides for the construction of aspectively correct sentences, and the latter for their understanding and the evaluation of their correctness.

The conspicuity of the aspective system in language consciousness of native linguators is certainly fortified by such factors as the following:

- (i) the mono-dimensional aspective opposition (vs poly-dimensional aspectual opposition);
- (ii) the aspective auto-significators (vs aspective syn-significators);
- (iii) strong grammaticalisation of the aspective significators (vs weak one), and
- (iv) lexical aspective determinacy (vs indeterminacy).

Events are not only characterisable in relation to the dimension of Time, that is, with respect to their location on the temporal axis but also with respect to the *modes of their course through time*. These modes of temporal course of events are accountable in the aspectual space specified by the dimensions of Aspectuality, one of which is just the dimension of Aspect. The aspective apprehension of events, as completed, incompleted or aspectively indeterminate, does not thus exhaust their aspectual diversity. Among other dimensions, by which aspectual space is shaped, the following may be distinguished:

- (i) Plicativity (Semelfactivity, Iterativity (Many-times-ness)), and

(ii) Length of time (Momentarity, Duration (Progressivity, Continuity)).

The events develop simultaneously relative to various dimensions in a multidimensional aspectual space, and relative to these dimensions they interact appropriately. Thus, the Aspect is not independent from other aspectual dimensions.

The divergence between the aspective systems of languages may affect the aspectological communication, of which linguists may not always be aware (cf. Galton 1984: 16). This article is written in English, it will discuss certain aspective phenomena of Korean, and the native language of the author is Polish. The aspective systems of these three languages are far from being aspectively convergent and the aspective distances between them have not yet been determined. The image of the aspective reality emerging from the argumentation formulated here in English will of necessity not completely coincide with the images emerging from the corresponding argumentations formulated in Korean or Polish. All three argumentations will differently approximate the reality in question. And, what is worse, it is almost impossible to decide whether one of these images is more adequate than the others since no person possessing sufficient and simultaneous aspective competence in these three languages exists.

It should be remembered that within *aspectology*, or the science of aspect, a *general* and *particular* as well as *pure* and *applied* could be distinguished. The *general* aspectology applies to all languages whereas the *particular* one, in addition to panglottally valid principles, should operate also with such ones, which apply predominantly to a particular language in order to reflect its aspective peculiarity. Within both pure and applied aspectology, in turn, a *theoretical* and *practical* should be recognised as distinct (cf. Bańczerowski and Oh 2014: 45).

2. For the sake of methodological clarity

As has been mentioned in Bańcerowski and Oh (2014: 42) the literature on aspect is enormous. The inquiry into the aspective realities of some languages is relatively advanced, and the collected relevant lingual data are impressive. The knowledge being gained about aspect has been presented in various ways by aspectological theories, depending on how they are formulated. Not infrequently they display obscurities and turbidities, not to speak of their formal flaws. Such deficiencies may concern the adopted terminology, the theorems or the definitions. In consequence, the comprehension of the content of a proposed theory may be negatively affected, causing a superfluous discussion. Thus, the situation in theoretical aspectology may not be viewed as satisfactory, and referring to philosophical foundations, in particular to methodological ones, could help to deepen insight into the aspectological enterprise.

The theoretical aspectology can be considered as a class of various linguistic theories, the subject matter of which is the aspective or aspectual reality (cf. Bańcerowski and Oh 2014: 45). And furthermore, one and the same lingual reality or its fragment can be inquired into in innumerable ways, yielding the corresponding theories. Obviously, this also applies to the aspective reality, which can be approximated by a multitude of various theoretical solutions.

Generally speaking, an aspectological theory may be imagined as a kind of deductively connex text, encoding by means of asserted statements a fragment of knowledge about aspective reality being its subject matter, with the purpose to describe and explain it. As can be rightly inferred, such a theory is formulated with the intention to deliver true statements about the subject matter in question, the *image* or *representation* of which, projected by this theory, can be referred to as a *model* or *domain*, usually conceived of as a system consisting of lingual objects and relations.

The *methodology of aspectology*, derived from an appropriate restriction of the field of linguistic methodology, emerges as a science of the methods of the *formulation* and *justification* (substantiation) of aspectological theories. In coding the aspectological knowledge, these

theories must use some language, natural or artificial, which may be formalised to a varying degree. Whether the image of this knowledge depends on the degree of formalisation of the theory's language, will be left undecided here.

Hitherto, most aspectological theories have been formulated in an ordinary rather than a formal language. The aspiration after the formalisation of linguistic theories reflects a drive towards ensuring precision of the formulation of these theories whereby the indicated deficiencies could be avoided.

Thus, theoretical aspectology as a subfield of theoretical linguistics cannot abandon the escape from imprecision, and on the way towards perfecting the formulation of its theories it should also make efforts to axiomatise them. In an axiomatic linguistic theory, at least the following three components should be present: (i) the terminological (conceptual), (ii) the propositional, and the explanatory. By virtue of precise determination of these components, the application of the axiomatic method secures the most advanced formulation of the theories in question. The theoretical aspectology has already attained an appropriate stage in its development whereby aspectological theories are susceptible to logical reconstruction and subsequent axiomatisation.

Within theoretical aspectology it seems reasonable to discuss the relationship between the intuitive aspective knowledge or aspective consciousness of the linguators and the aspectological knowledge of the linguists. This latter reflects thus a metalingual apprehension of the former. However, the adequacy of the aspectological description or approximation of the intuitive aspective knowledge should find a confirmation in its empirical appearances, that is, in the lingual practice, particularly, in the linguators' ability to decide on the correctness of certain compound aspective sentences. Such a decision is made possible, because it is based on the knowledge of the corresponding aspective system or, simply, the grammar, which determines the necessary conditions for aspectively correct utterances, and which operates within the language consciousness.

Thus, in the case of Aspect one would be considering two kinds of knowledge:

- (i) aspective-lingual, and
- (ii) aspective-metalingual (aspectological, linguistic).

The former, being intuitive, is accessible to direct cognition or sensed directly, and can be acquired properly only by native linguators, whereupon it always is at their prior disposal. The latter, in turn, is intellectual, results from indirect cognition and is a product of linguistic inquiry. In a certain sense, the aspectological knowledge specifies an image (model) for the aspective-lingual knowledge, an image projected by a corresponding aspectological theory. Consequently, the **grammar of aspect** may be understood in a two-fold way, that is, either as:

- (i) an **aspective-lingual grammar**, imagined in the form of a system of respective matrices coding the intuitive aspective knowledge and necessary for the reproduction and recognition of aspectively correct utterances, or as:
- (ii) an **aspectological grammar** being a theory about the corresponding intuitive aspective knowledge. However, one and the same aspective lingual grammar can be approximated by diverging aspectological grammars.

Analogously, one could perhaps distinguish two types of logic. The aspective-lingual logic, in operation within an aspective-lingual grammar, would underlie the decisions of native linguators made on aspective correctness. And, in turn, the aspectological logic could be understood as a theory for the language of aspectological grammars or, putting it differently, for the scientific language of Aspect.

In Bańcerowski & Oh (2014) some attention was devoted to the acceptability of aspectively adversative and conditional sentences. The acceptability in question presupposes a prior decision on aspective correctness which, in turn, depends on various kinds of lexical and grammatical connexity. Ultimately, this decision is thus based upon the aspective knowledge determining the necessary conditions for the correctness at issue.

However certain aspectively conditional sentences are not correct or at least their correctness is dubious. Subsequently some such sentences shall be considered against the dimension of Momentarity / Progressivity in this respect.

3. Aspective Relativity

Aspect as a lingual category seems to be relative, in the sense that it enters into a relationship with other lingual categories, in particular with aspectual ones. Although the aspective dimensions and meanings, which specify the corresponding aspective categories, seem to be absolute, it should be borne in mind that the absolute reality is inseparable from the relative one. The combination of the aspective meanings with other aspectual ones should find appropriate reflection in the signifiers, which convey such composite meanings. Before proceeding to the discussion of the interaction between these signifiers, attending to certain particulars, some of which concern the ontology of events, is advisable.

A kind of conditional subordination is represented in Korean by aspective compound sentences in which a perfective sentence as protasis is subordinated by means of conjunction (만약 *manyag*) ... -면 *myeon* 'if, then' to a corresponding perfective or aspectively indeterminate subsentence as apodosis. A sizeable set of such compound sentences designating durative events are correct and judged as acceptable, which implies they are both sensical and true. And, this statement is confirmed among many other Korean sentences by the following:

- (3.1) 만약 그가 자기 집을 지어 버렸다면, 그는 그의 집을 지었다.
Manyag geu-ga jagi jib-eul jieo-beoryeotta-myeon, geu-neun geu-eui jib-eul jieotta.
'If he finished constructing his house, then he was constructing it.'
'Jeśli zbudował swój dom, to go budował.'
- (3.2) 만약 그가 자전거를 사 두었다면, 그는 자전거를 샀다.
Manyag geu-ga jajeongeo-reul sa-dueotta-myeon, geu-neun jajeongeo-reul satta.
'If he bought a bicycle (just in case), then he was buying it.'
'Jeśli kupił rower (na wszelki wypadek), to go kupował.'

It should be noted that in the above aspectively conditional Korean sentences, the perfective sentence is not interchangeable with the respective imperfective one, since such an interchange would result in a non-sensical and hence an aspectively unacceptable sentence.

For the sake of directing the course of the subsequent discussion, the formulation of the following hypothesis is rather expedient.

Hy 3.1. The acceptability of an aspectively conditional sentence, the protasis of which designates a completed durative event, presupposes a conception of this event as incorporating an in-completed sub-event occurring prior to the completion of the former.

However, the lingual conceptualisation of certain completed events does not unambiguously permit a decision whether they can incorporate corresponding incompleted sub-events or not (cf. 쓰러지다 *sseureojida* 'to fall over'). This problem appears, when Completion is signified in combination with the aspectual meaning of Momentarity.

The momentary-proper event can be conceived of as instantaneous, that is to say, lasting only for an instant. The time of occurrence or termination of such an event almost immediately succeeds the time of its beginning. In consequence, its termination seems to almost coincide in time with its inception. And, furthermore, such an event is felt always as completed, while inherent in it a progressive incompleted subevent seems practically ungraspable. If such an approach to the conceptualisation of momentary-proper events is adequate, then it should find an appropriate lingual reflection. In other words, the apprehension of momentary-proper events as non-progressive and hence non-durative or, more precisely, as minimally durative, should be confirmed by lingual expressions.

A progressive event is durative and incompleted. Having non-minimal duration, its instantaneousness is excluded, and its non-momentariness easily prehensible. What is more, the termination of a progressive event does not entail its completion. In Korean, the meaning of Progressivity is signified morphologically by a corresponding progressive construction, that is, a compound verb-form functioning as a minimal syntactic unit, which might be called a syntactic word or

tagmon, and is constituted of the auxiliary 있다 *itta* ‘to be’ linked to a verb-stem augmented by suffix -고 *-go*.

The above brief characterisation of momentary and progressive (continuing) events, in respect to a proposed distinction in their conceptualisation, can be captured more precisely in terms of the following tentative postulates referring thus to the ontology of events and their lingual apprehension.

- Po 3.1. The inception of a momentary-proper event precedes its termination by a negligible space of time, that is, an instant.
- Po 3.2. From a mereological point of view, a momentary-proper event can be treated as its only sub-event.
- Po 3.3. Every momentary-proper event is conceived of as completed.
- Po 3.4. The time limits of the course of a progressive event may be either determined or left undetermined. Putting it differently, such an event may be temporally closed or open.
- Po 3.5. Every event, apprehended lingually as progressive (continuing) that is, designated by a progressive form of a predicate, is conceived of as incompleted or aspectively indeterminate, irrespective of its having terminated or not.
- Po 3.6. Within a completed durative event a progressive sub-event tending towards completion necessarily obtains.
- Po 3.7. A simple progressive event does not incorporate any completed sub-event.
- Po 3.8. No simple event can be simultaneously momentary-proper and progressive, that is to say, neither a momentary-proper event can be progressive, nor can a progressive event be momentary-proper. Thus, Momentarity-proper and Progressivity are mutually exclusive as properties of the same simple event.
- Po 3.9. A momentary-iterative compound event is constituted as a sequence (chain) of momentary events. Such a compound event itself may be completed or incompleted.
- Po 3.10. A progressive form can be derived both from durative verbs and nomino-verbal constructions.
- Po 3.11. If an aspectively conditional sentence designates a sequence of momentary sub-events within a compound event then it signifies Momentarity and Iterativity at the same time.

Po 3.12. Within the same aspectively conditional sentence, the protasis signifying Momentarity-proper of an event is not connex with an apodosis signifying Incompletion of this event. However, if the apodosis signifies Completion, the resulting sentence might be regarded as an aspective quasi-tautology.

Thus, with the above postulates in mind, the subsequent argumentation is intended to indicate a distinction between lingual conceptualisation of durative and progressive events, on the one hand, and momentary events, on the other. Some compound aspective sentences with the predicate-forms derived from the verb 읽다 *ilgda* ‘to read’ and those derived from the nomino-verbal construction 재채기하다 *jaecaegi-hada* ‘to sneeze’ will be examined. The former predicate-forms will signify Durativity or Progressivity, and the latter Momentarity.

The accomplishment of the task would be facilitated, if one could compare exhaustive aspective sentential paradigms, constructed for these predicates (cf. Bańczerowski & Oh 2014: 52). The paradigms of this kind could be comprised of conditional and adversative sentences inflecting for aspectual, among them aspective, dimensions. However, constructing such paradigms is hardly feasible, at least for the time being. Therefore we shall only avail ourselves below of certain sentences belonging to the paradigms in question, hoping to partially reflect also upon the relational status of aspectivity within aspectuality by which the aspect in a broader sense (Aktionsart) is meant.

It is now time to proceed to the analysis proper which will begin with the following sentence:

(3.3) 만약 그가 재채기하고 있었다면, 그는 한 번 또는 서너 번 재채기해 버렸다.

Manyag geu-ga jaecaegi-hago-isseotta-myeon, geu-neun han beon itoneun seoneo beon jaecaegi-hae-beoryeotta.

‘If he was sneezing, then he sneezed once or several times.’

‘Jeśli kichał / był w trakcie kichania, to kichnął raz lub kilka razy.’

This sentence, with the protasis predicate 재채기하고 있었다 *jaecaegi-hago-isseotta* ‘was sneezing’ is acceptable to native Koreans. On the

contrary, a sentence (3.4) constructed analogously to (3.3), but with the protasis predicate 읽고 있었다 *ilg-go-isseotta* ‘was reading’ is unacceptable, and evidently non-sensical.

(3.4) *만약 그가 이 책을 읽고 있었다면, 그는 이 책을 한 번 또는 서너 번 읽어 버렸다.

**Manyag geu-ga i caeg-eul ilg-go-isseotta-myeon, geu-neun i caeg-eul han beon tnoneun seoneo beon ilgeo-beoryeotta.*

*‘If he was reading this book, then he read it once or several times.’

*‘Jeśli czytał tę książkę / był w trakcie czytania tej książki, to ją przeczytał raz lub kilka razy.’

Thus, in (3.3) a progressive imperfective predicate phrase in protasis is connex with a semelfactive-iterative perfective predicate phrase in apodosis. In turn, (3.4) shows that such a connexity is impossible. Consequently, the unacceptability of (3.4) is in agreement with Po 3.7, which excludes the possibility of existence of a completed subevent within a corresponding progressive event. And (3.3) seems apparently to run counter not only to Po 3.7 but also to Po 3.8. The explanation for this situation is offered by Po 3.9, under the condition that sentence (3.3) is interpreted as designating a sequence of momentary and thereby completed events of sneezing, except the last incompleting member of this sequence. On this assumption Progressivity refers to the whole sequence, while Momentarity refers to its particular members with the exception of the last, and such an interpretation conforms to Po 3.11. Thus, in spite of the particular subevents being completed, the sequence as a whole may not attain completion, which is evidenced by the following sentence:

(3.5) 만약 그가 재채기하고 있었다면, 그는 한 번 또는 서너 번 재채기했다 혹은 재채기를 다 해 버리지 않았다.

Manyag geu-ga jaecaegi-hago-isseotta-myeon, geu-neun han beon tnoneun seoneo beon jaecaegi-haetta hogeun jaecaegi-reul da hae-beoriji-anatta.

‘If he was sneezing, then he sneezed once or several times or did not sneeze completely (although he felt such a need).’

‘Jeśli kichał / był w trakcie kichania, to kichnął raz lub kilka razy bądź się całkowicie nie wykichał (choć czuł taką potrzebę).’

Similarly to (3.3) sentence (3.5) is also acceptable. Thus, although the sequence of particular completed events of sneezing terminated, this compound event did not reach an intended completion.

In line with our expectations, sentence (3.6) constructed analogously to (3.5) is rather unacceptable.

- (3.6) *만약 그가 이 책을 읽고 있었다면, 그는 이 책을 한 번 또는 서너 번 읽어 버렸다 혹은 다 읽어 버리지 않았다.
**Manyag geu-ga i caeg-eul ilg-go-isseeotta-myeon, geu-neun i caeg-eul han beon ttoneun seoneo beon ilgeo-beoryeotta ho-geun da ilgeo-beoriji-anatta.*
*‘If he was reading this book, then he read it once or several times or did not read it entirely.’
*‘Jeśli czytał tę książkę / był w trakcie czytania tej książki, to ją przeczytał raz lub kilka razy bądź nie przeczytał jej całej.’

The dubious unacceptability of sentence (3.6) is consequent upon the lack of connexity between the durative-progressive predicate of protasis and the corresponding affirmative-perfective predicate of apodosis. However, the protasis of (3.6) is connex with the negative-perfective predicate of apodosis (cf. Po 3.5). Thus, one could say that the protasis of this Korean sentence does not entail the first predicate phrase of the apodosis, but it entails the second predicate phrase of the apodosis.

Let us still inspect the following aspectively adversative sentence:

- (3.7) 그가 재채기하고 있었지만, 그러나 그는 재채기해 버리지 (는) 않았다.
Geu-ga jaecaegi-hago-isseeott-jiman, geureona geu-neun jaecaegi-hae-beoriji (neun) -anatta.
‘He was sneezing, but he did not sneeze entirely.’
‘Kichał / był w trakcie kichania, ale się całkowicie nie wykichał.’

The acceptability of sentence (3.7) is not objectionable, since there obtains a connexity, based on sense, binding the affirmative progressive predicate of the antecedent, signifying Momentarity-Iterativity, with the negative-perfective predicate of the succedent, signifying Incompletion. However, if the predicate of the antecedent in this sentence would be interpreted as designating a momentary-semelfactive event, this sentence would appear unacceptable (cf. Po 3.3 and Po 3.11).

For the sake of comparison let us also adduce sentence (3.8) with the predicate being a progressive form of the verb 읽다 *ilgda* ‘to read.’

(3.8) 그가 이 책을 읽고 있었지만, 그러나 그는 이 책을 읽어 버리지 (는) 않았다.

Geu-ga i caeg-eul ilg-go-isseot-jiman, geureona geu-neun i caeg-eul ilgeo-beoriji (neun) -anatta.

‘He was reading this book, but he did not finish reading it.’

‘Czytał tę książkę / był w trakcie czytania tej książki, ale jej nie przeczytał.’

As may be expected, this sentence, similarly to (3.7) is also acceptable (cf. Po 3.5).

By way of concluding this section, it is worth remembering that it has been intended to show some of the distinctions and similarities in the lingual conceptualisation of momentary and durative events in the aspective perspective, while availing oneself of the predicates derived from the verb 읽다 *ilgda* ‘to read’ and the hybrid nomino-verbal construction 재채기하다 *jaecaegi-hada* ‘to sneeze’. The progressive forms of these predicates proved to be particularly important for the comparison being performed. Some of the postulates being formulated above may prove to be inadequate in the course of a subsequent, further and more thorough research. In such a case they should be accordingly corrected

4. Aspective Lingual Reasoning (Deduction, Concluding)

The aspective knowledge of linguators, as a component of their lingual knowledge, underlies lingual reasoning or deduction being performed within a given language community. Based on their intuitive aspective knowledge, that is aspective grammar, linguators are able to make decisions on aspective correctness of sentences. Thus, they know in advance, which conditions the sentences should satisfy, in order to be aspectively correct. A sentence being aspectively correct is subsequently appraised for its acceptability in a given communicative situation. Consequently, it may be said that the decision on correctness presupposes grammatical competence, and the decision on acceptability presupposes pragmatic competence. If a Korean hears a sentence

- (4.1) 선생이 교실 문을 열어 버렸다.
Seonsaeng-i gyosil mun-eul yeoreo-beoryeotta.
‘The teacher opened the door of a classroom.’
‘Nauczyciel otworzył drzwi klasy.’

and if the communicative situation does not provide information on why the teacher did so, he immediately deduces that this teacher opened the classroom door for some reason, as for instance, it could be overly stuffy inside. This kind of deduction is forced upon the hearer by the predicate 열어 버렸다 *yeoreo-beoryeotta*, in particular, by the perfectising auxiliary, in this case 버렸다 *beoryeotta*, which also conveys some modal information

Sentence (4.1) also enables deducing the following aspectively conditional sentence:

- (4.2) 선생이 교실 문을 열어 버렸다면, 그는 교실 문을 열었다.
Seonsaeng-i gyosil mun-eul yeoreo-beoryeotta-myeon, geun-neun gyosil mun-eul yeoreotta.
‘If the teacher opened the door of a classroom (for some reason), then he was opening / opened it.’
‘Jeśli nauczyciel otworzył drzwi klasy (z jakiegoś powodu), to on je otwierał / otworzył.’

The fragment of Korean lingual knowledge, on which the correctness of the aspectively conditional sentence of type (4.2) is based, can be approximately reflected by the following postulate proposed for the testing of the correctness in question.

Po 4.1. If s is an aspectively conditional sentence consisting of protasis p an apodosis q , and such that the predicate of p is perfectised by a corresponding auxiliary verb, and the predicate of q is imperfective or aspectively indeterminate, and both p and q are affirmative homolexical sentences, then s is aspectively correct.

This postulate specifies a class of sentential schemata for the corresponding Korean aspectively correct conditional sentences. What is more, this postulate, as a general statement, seems also necessary for aspective explanation being a kind of explanative deduction (cf. Ajdukiewicz 1964). Aspectological theories, as has already been mentioned above, are formulated with the purpose to deliver not only sheer descriptions of aspective reality but also explain individual (singular) aspective facts.

The explanation in aspectology can avail itself of the explanation scheme in order to deduce answers to the questions such as for example: Why a given aspectively conditional sentence is correct? Without going into details here, one may say that sentence asked about, if it fulfills the conditions specified by the antecedent of postulate 4.1, then it compellingly also fulfils, in a certain sense the succedent of this postulate, which is, it is of necessity correct. Thus, since the sentence (4.2) fulfils the antecedent of postulate 4.1, then it also fulfils the succedent of this postulate.

To test the hypothesis asserting that Korean verbs are aspectively indeterminate, let us consider the following sentence:

- (4.3) 그는 편지를 썼다.
Geu-neun pyeonji-reul sseotta.
'He was writing / wrote a letter.'
'On pisal / napisal list.'

If this hypothesis is true, and if the communication situation does not eliminate the aspective vagueness of (4.3), then it should be possible to deduce from it the following conclusions:

- (4.4) 그는 편지를 썼지만, 다 안 썼다.
Geu-neun pyeonji-reul sseot-jiman, da an sseotta.
‘He wrote a letter, but he did not write it entirely.’
‘Pisał list, ale go nie skończył.’
- (4.5) 그는 편지를 썼고, 그리고 그것을 다 썼다.
Geu-neun pyeonji-reul sseot-go, geurigo geu geos-eul da sseotta.
‘He was writing a letter and finished it entirely.’
‘Pisał list i go napisał.’
- (4.6) 그는 편지를 썼는데, 그것을 다 썼다.
Geu-neun pyeonji-reul sseonneunde, geu geos-eul da sseotta.
‘He was writing a letter and finished it entirely.’
‘Pisał list i go napisał.’

Thus since sentences (4.4) - (4.6) are acceptable as conclusions inferred from (4.3), they seem to confirm its aspective equivocality.

5. Concluding Remarks

Arriving at the end of our aspectological deliberations it cannot be said that our objections to the theoretical framework, applied in this article, vanished as if by waving a magic wand. Just the contrary, they do persist and the author has a sneaking suspicion that he has created a virtual aspective reality whose distance to the real one is still considerable. Nevertheless, the theoretical proposal, which we have been concerned to outline (cf. also Bańcerowski & Oh 2014) may prove to be one of the possible approximations to Korean aspective reality, at best. This reality may be described by various theories offering in

consequence various alternative models. Furthermore, such alternative descriptions justify speaking of an aspectological relativity different from the aspective relativity, since the former applies to the diversity of aspectological theories illuminating the aspective reality from different angles and thus projecting their corresponding different images as models, whereas the latter considers the status of the Aspect relative to other aspectual categories.

Most of the Korean sentences considered above are rather artificial, hardly used in real communication, but they may be judged for correctness by native linguators, and their judgments will be true of necessity, since they are made on the basis of intuitive lingual knowledge. This knowledge is encoded as lingual grammar, a fragment of which is an aspective grammar being operated by an aspective logic. Hence the distinction between an aspective grammar and an aspectological grammar should be obvious, the latter being in fact a theory describing aspective knowledge by means of an artificial metalanguage, operated by a metalingual knowledge (cf. modern formal logic).

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