A Grammar for Indirect Poetic Communication

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I. The Nature and Significance of the Subject Matter

There is a prevailing opinion that the work of making musical scores of the keening in funeral rites is urgent. Keening has specific fixed rules and is not merely poured out sounds. That being the case, it has been found that each region in Korea has a specialized musical culture that is fully reflected in the local color of its keening style. In addition to an observable musical structure in these varieties of keening, the sounds that sellers in the marketplaces make as they cry out calculations of vegetable bundles and shout out the number of fruits to be sold in the open markets around Korea have their own specialized structure. The sounds these sellers make are flavored with specialized melodies different to the seller’s origin. According to his/her birthplace, a seller from Kangwon Province shouts using the Mamsari (the typical song for firewood-gathering in Kangwon Province) T’ori (musical dialect), and a seller from Cholla Province cries out using the Yukchabaegi (a unique folk song in Cholla Province) T’ori.

Through analysis of these musical structures, it is possible to deduce from these distinctive seller’s cries that each seller is establishing a unique musical form based on already existed in the seller’s regional musical culture. The systematization of such commonplace musical forms of the marketplace lends support to the idea that such forms not only contribute to the understanding of Korean music but also make a contribution to the constructing of a complete system for approaching the analysis of Korean

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music. If, in the case of musicology, the formalistic nature of musical structures can be discovered in the notes of mourners' keening and the melodies of sellers' cries in the marketplace, does it not follow that the same elements of form exist in spoken language in forms that can be discovered and systematized?

This paper begins with a conception derived from the above-stated circumstances related to the study of music that can be applied to this writer's interest in the structures of spoken communication. To explain further, it is this writer's assertion that the Korean language possesses its own native speech modes. These speech modes are found in the various kinds of linguistical statement contained in whatever subject matter is available for analysis. It is further asserted that works of classical poetry, the classical novel, common city street-talk, and the speech of old folks in rural villages all contain these commonplace Korean speech modes. The work of explaining and developing a clearer understanding of Korean speech modes can take place through the systematization of the contextual observation of these speech mode forms as they occur in the above forms of linguistical statement. The research begun in this paper can be expected to extend beyond mere cataloging of speech modes to include a reexamination of the theories of both style and rhetoric.

The ultimate aim of such analysis is the broad-based construction of a Korean grammar based on the results of the analysis of native speech modes as they occur in a variety of literary genres. It is exactly this purpose that makes this study a very valuable and significant task. This is because this research proposes to move beyond academic hypothesizing about Korean grammar using theories borrowed from studies of languages different from Korean.

The first stage of this study is to do the work of shaping the overall goal of this paper. More concretely, the goal of this paper is to present speech modes based on a discussion of indirect communication situations analyzed in a specialized area of the language. This means, of course, that the perimeters of this study constitute an extremely narrow area of the total field of language. In other words, avoiding the whole area of rhetoric at this point, this paper focuses first on approaching literary expressions using a poetical perspective to establish a link between speech of a poetic nature and the larger system of communication modes in the Korean language.
II. Structure of Indirect Communication

The phrase 'Ahryya (hey, child!)' occurs at the beginning of the last line of many Sijo (classical verse form with three lines) works. Who or what is the 'child', and why does it appear conventionally in so many Sijo works? One opinion is that 'hey, child!' is commonly used at the beginning of the first phrase of the last line of a Sijo work as an exclamatory expression. Another opinion is that it is a call to male and female domestic servants. However, how is it possible for 'hey, child!' to be the crying out of an ejaculation? Also, what can justifiably explain the reason one would call out for servants at the beginning phrase of the last verse of a work of Sijo? With these questions in mind, a careful examination of a work of Sijo will reveal that 'hey, child!' is not a directly expressed sentiment. On the contrary, it appears that 'hey, child!' is a mode for communicating something indirectly. The following verse of Sijo is an example:

'Today, what day is it?
It's an old man's birthday.
Wine and friends are here,
And the moon is so beautiful.
Hey, child! Play the Komin'go (Korean harp),
Get drunk, and I'll have a good time tonight!' 

In the above example, "Hey, child! Play the Komin'go..." is clearly a model of the use of 'hey, child' at the beginning of the final phrase. It is difficult in this case to see 'child' as the person who plays the Komin'go. This is because such an association is hard to substantiate by contextual fact. Whether this Sijo poem takes the Kagokch'ang (a mode of singing a Sijo poem with slow rhythm) or the Sijech'ang (another mode of singing Sijo poems), the person who could play the Komin'go is the singer, instrument player, or singer kisaeng (geisha) or author himself or 'personality' contained in the Sijo itself. This interpretation can be deduced from the fact that the child is too young to play the Komin'go. If that is so, 'child' must not be seen to be a calling out of any certain concrete person who has come out to the performance place, but rather it must be seen as no more than the customary practice of talking after calling out of anyone as the sign that the speech act is starting.

In the above example, it is not difficult to suppose why 'hey, child!' is
substituted instead of shouting out, 'whencever.' The reason is this: without respect to the content of the instruction that is given in the speech, 'child' is a name that works well to call out to someone who is at a subordinate level relative to the speaker. The one-sidedly tossed out exclamation of 'child' contributes to confirming the dominance of the speaker in the situation. However, it is not essential that 'child' be what is called out. Whether he/she is present or absent when called is of no consequence. It is in this case that the calling out of the name of someone who is completely unrelated to the performance becomes a mode of expression based on the act of calling out whomever. This reasoning is supported by the SiJo example above in which the first person sentiment, or in other words, the recurrence of the lyrical statement spoken as if to someone also supports the idea that this is a special mode of literary expression commonly found in SiJo. What is really being spoken alone as soliloquy by the speaker is expanded in literary effect by the calling of 'child', and from the point of view of literary communication, what is spoken to everyone is made more literary by the strong use of 'hey, child'. The calling out of 'child' changes the expression to an indirect mode of communicating the subject. If this is true, then what is first noticed is that the use of the method of calling out 'hey, child' allows direct communication of the subject to be avoided, and instead an indirect form of conversation is chosen as the mode of expression. In this point, significantly for this study, such occurrences in literature can be called Indirect Speech Modes.

In the next example, this conventional Pulčūrigi (calling another into) is concretely illustrated.

Here at a table's edge sits a small lamp
That through sixty long years has been my friends;
These eyes that once could see the fine hairs of beasts in autumn,
By your light now have grown dark.
Hey, child! It has long been in my house,
One antique lamp still lighting the page when I read my books.

From a contextual point of view, this SiJo work contains the Pulčūrigi of child in the last phrase used without any relationship between child and the performance place.

It is exactly in this sort of case that the Pulčūrigi can be seen as one fixed form of expression that is in common use in SiJo structures. Are these
type of expressions a specialized speech mode found only in works of *Siy*, or can an analogy be drawn between the above examples and everyday speech that is in practical use? If one examines carefully the way in which such expressions are used in Korean, one can see that such patterns of indirect communication are important modes of expression that are widely in use.

This writer recalls watching married couples having a quarrel back in the days of his childhood. At this time, it was easy for the adults of the neighborhood to learn the reason why the couple were having conflict. The reason it was possible to easily know the cause of the domestic quarrel was because the concerned parties did not fight in secret or keep their quarrel private. It was quite reverse. They called others into the dispute, and they made the form of their fight a scene in which others were drawn into the conflict “Neighbors! Come and take a look at this kind of man...” and other such expressions would begin the enraged wife’s loud and trembling tirade. By listening to this sort of announcement by the woman, it would become easy for the surrounding neighbors to figure out the reason why the couple had started fighting. Such a speech mode can be seen as functioning to pull a third party unrelated to the couple’s quarrel into the context of the topic at hand. The purpose for using this kind of utterance is to bring those unrelated into the argument into the center of the couple’s situation as a mode of expression for the domestic quarrel. This calling of a third person into the situation brings the couple’s private conflict topic out into the open, thus objectifying it in the eyes of the unrelated person who happens to come into the situation.

This sort of ‘pulling another into the situation’ communication mode exists not only at the time of a vulgar fight, but also can be seen in the ceremonial forms of the rules of formal speech. Some examples are the “*Iri Omóra* (Come here)” pattern of calling a subordinate, or the “... *Harapsinda* (He is ordering that...)” when a middle person becomes the command bearer from a higher person to a lower class person, and the “... *Rago Yóțz wóra* (tell him that...)” pattern of polite speech. These patterns are all established forms of the rules of speech. No matter where this kind of communication takes place and no matter what the intention of the remark is, and regardless of its relationship to the sphere of such a remark’s conventional use, the important thing is that this mode of speech must develop out of the pulling of a third person between the first person speaker and second person speaker. This pulling of the third person into the sphere of person two’s dialogue can be called the indirect speech mode.
However, the established forms of making the transformation of the concerned parties' topic into indirect speech mode are not all the same. For example, let's say that there is a person who comes out and gives a retort at the noisy fuss of the woman's loudly screamed words in the above-stated example describing the situation of a domestic quarrel between a husband and wife. If that happens, the topic becomes transferred to a dialogue between the wife and the outsider who has been freshly pulled into the situation. And due to that turn of events, the wife continues her speech about her husband (whom she intends to criticize) while the third person, the outsider pulled onto the situation, probably chimes in with his/her assent to the wife's verbal conjugal abuse of her husband or begins to bring his/her own criticism to bear on the situation. To put it more clearly, the dialogue now takes on the form of a give-and-take talk between the third person and the wife about the topic of the husband who is in the doghouse. The result is that the main concerned party, the husband, is actually talked around, and it is this characteristic form of talking around the subject that causes the talk to progress. For our purposes, this occurrence can be entitled 'talking around' or 'talking around the subject of the topic as if he/she was not present', or in Korean 'Tollyosungi'.

One can regularly see such a spectacle in the real speech of daily life. Suppose we are on a bus or train standing or sitting in between two persons who have fought over a seat. After the fight is over, the two persons involved in the fight sit in separate places staring at each other. And there are times when they do more than just grumble to themselves and make asides. They take it much further than mere soliloquy with such comments as "Shit! I've ridden trains hundreds of times, but today's the first time I've met such a smart ass!" If the concerned parties, upon hearing such remarks from each other, begin making retorts, then the fight possibly might flare up again. On the other hand, the direct form of the previous words that they have already exchanged in their fight has already been left behind, and the usual practice is not to fall back into giving direct retorts again. In fact, this indirect speech mode has the effect of diffusing the hot tempers of the two concerned parties. In this case also it is precisely because the person who is the actual topic of the conversation is being excluded from the talk that we call this mode the 'Tollyosungi (talking around speech mode)'.

This sort of talking around speech mode appears frequently in comic expression. One such expression in this comic form mode is the humorously-
worded rhetorical question spoken off the cuff by an employee to the president of his/her company:

Sir! If I were someone else looking at you like I am right now and said something like "well, you know, this company's president is a real grade A asshole," you wouldn't think highly of it, now would you, sir?

As we have seen, 'to call in' and 'to talk around' are two patterns in which modes of indirect speech can be classified. The reason for the necessity to concretely categorize these patterns of speech modes lies in the fact that they are modes of poetical speech. In other words, these patterns are important established speech forms used as literary speech modes. Now let us proceed to see how these modes actually appear in Korean literary works.

III. Development and Function of Indirect Speech Modes

1. *Pullotugiri* Mode ('Calling in' Mode)

It has already been stated above that when a topic being discussed by the appropriate concerned parties of the first and second person is preposterously redirected in focus by the 'calling in' of a third party who then becomes the out-of-place speaker, that such an occurrence is an example of a type of indirect speech mode. After the calling on of the third speaker who turns around and somewhat out-of-order speaks about the topic, the resulting progression of the speech is called *Pullotugiri* (to call in). By focusing on a close examination of its function, is how this type of speech mode actually occurs in literary works can be seen.

(1) The Formation of a Relationship

First, the following example contains a type of expression that is frequently found in *Sjö* works:

Without change the deep blue mountains
Through the passing of time stay ever azure
And through the passing days and nights,
Never stopping, moving waters flow on forever.
And we, too, whether for thousand or ten thousand years,
Let's always flow through time our lives refined until we are as true
as the blue of the unchanging mountains.

In the above example, the expression “And we, too...” is notable. For
what purpose does the Sijo writer make use of such a phrase in this work? If
it is accepted that lyrical poems are works of subjective perception, then this
work of Sijo, too, must be seen as a work of the subjective perception of
the Sijo writer that sheds light on some generality. However, in this work of
Sijo, the subject in the Sijo moves away from an overtly subjective perception
and brings into the work the sense of a shared, or ‘group consciousness’ of
what is to be perceived in the work. This transformation of the subjective
perception to a ‘group perception’ occurs through the use of the phrase,
“And we, too...”

It is not difficult to conjecture that in the way that has been observed
above, the placing of ‘we’ at the head of the phrase has a lot to do with
the teleological purpose that sets the fixed direction of this Sijo. Nevertheless,
though it is stated that the objective sets the direction, it is important that
the Sijo makes use of the inclusive speech mode of ‘we’ and that indicative
forms like ‘you’ are not presented. Through the use of the inclusive person
of ‘we’, the person who is speaking (the speaker) and the person who is the
listener (the hearer) take on the same kind of feeling and sense of unity.
The result of such a shared speaker-listener consciousness appears with the
effect of forming a sympathetic meaning. Using the above as an indicator, it
is possible to call this result an effect that establishes a relationship in which
both the speaker and the listener are placed in the same position in relation
to the object. This shared position can be perceived to the extent of seeing
that both speaker and hearer are summoned into the same place within a
common fatalistic framework.

Many expressions used with the intention of establishing this kind of re-
relationship formation can be seen in works of Kasa (a classical long poem),
too. For example, in a work called Nach’imyŏga (Old Maid’s Lament), the
poem’s beginning is “All people living in this world of humans, listen to
what I say...”, and Manbŏna (Song of Ten Thousand Words) starts with the
words “Hey, all you who are my friends! Listen to what I say!”. In these
two works, the sentiment or content being sung is not intended to end
merely as a private confession of an individual heart, but ultimately these
prologue-type phrases call the reader (or hearer) into the position of having a relationship to the speaker through the sharing of a common sentiment.

What this writer calls Söwanga 1 (Song for the West) and Söwanga 2 are two Kasa works that have a very appealing inter-relationship in the way they show a contrast in the use of the Pullötrigi technique. Söwanga 1 begins with the phrase “I, too, as a poor gentleman of this world...,” but Söwanga 2 begins with “we, too, as poor gentleman of this world...” changing the ‘I’ to ‘we’. The whole content of the Kasa is left unchanged, but when the aspect of strengthening and expansion characteristic in Söwanga 2 is taken into account rather than the increase in the revision of detail, it is possible to make the following observation. Söwanga 2 avoids the individualized expression of Söwanga 1 by making use of the Pullötrigi indirect speech mode in order to ensure the formation of a relationship between speaker and hearer. The result in this case is the formation of a point of sympathetic response which yields the achievement of this poetic effect is by no means an easy task, and yet, the specialized nature of literary of recording an account makes such an device for the establishment of a point of sympathetic response of great necessity.

(2) A Projected Presentation

As has been examined in detail above, if the ‘we, too’ of Sijo is seen as establishing a relationship by forming the same of feeling or sense of oneness, there is another mode of speech for ‘calling in an outsider’ must be seen from quite a different point of view.

\[ Flogged thirty times for my debt of grain from Sadb'ang (the official storehouse of grain for loan in the spring), \]
\[ my last remaining kettle is being taken away for annual interest on my debt. \]
\[ My lovely Ktaeng concubine is being shuffled off by the officer of Won (governor). \]
\[ Hey, child! Keep the dog away from my gruel boiled in my medicine pot. \]
\[ It's no matter to me, I'm fool enough to enjoy whatever happens...let it be. \]

Here in this Sijo the ‘child’ who is called in is a person who exists without relationship to the sentiment or situation expressed in the context of the
work. In this case, 'child' exists on another level as a character who acts as an errand runner instead of someone who brings about a sense of solidarity in the shared sense of unified feeling or similar terms.

Because 'child' exist apart from the context, it is not a case of 'child' being called into the relationship of participant in the stated context. On the contrary, it is for the purpose of projecting the speaker's intention, situation, and expressed sentiment that 'child' exists as a 'called in' character. Here this projection carries with it the meaning of moving and revealing the speaking person's internal sense of determination, ideals, feelings and desires as the subject. In the case of the above Sipo work, the speaker, instead of vowing to himself his determination to go on living bravely and heroically, he substitutes 'child' as the subject to whom and about whom his sentiment is addressed, and this 'child' becomes a projection of the speaker's self or will.

In Sipo, the imperative language (as is seen in Sipo works of the frequently observed 'Ahūrya' or 'Twūra') has the same function as in the examples of the formation of a relationship instances in the aspect that both kinds of speech use the speech mode of 'Pullōtūrgi', or the calling in of someone unrelated to the speaker. However, in the cases categorized as the establishment of a relationship instances and projected presentation instances, the construction of the linguistic relationship differs. To state it more clearly, the cessation of pulling out and delivering one-sided speech is avoided in the cases where a relationship is merely established. In contrast, in the instances where there is a projected presentation, the relationship is carried beyond one-sided speech in a simply set up linguistic relationship toward the constructing of a relationship of active participation. Whether or not this action is actually materialized is not a concern, but the essential thing is that the speaker-self's situation and feeling become projected.

By contrasting the difference between Manōnsa or Nobōnyōga's "...listen to my words" and Antaëkga (Song of a Peaceful House)'s "Hey, children, let's go take a look inside this house!" the two sides of this difference in linguistic construction can be clearly seen. Avoiding the reportorial delivery form of the speaker's individual situation that is seen in the case of the former speaker, the latter speaker, in the point of making use of a statement form that calls for participatory action, reveals the important difference in these two examples. the formation of a relationship on the one hand and the projection of the speaker-self on the other hand are the first step respectively in
making a distinction between the two

The examples of this kind of projected presentation mode cover a very broad area. For example, in the Kasa work Paektusa (Song of the Seagull), a Sijo has been taken and woven into a part of a Kasa, one finds the following expression

Where are you, seagull, with your flapping wings;
If you come out, will I not catch you if I have a chance?
The king has thrown me away from his side,
So I've come to chase you down, now there is
No one else to chase; on one else is left,
So I've come out to chase and make sport of you!

In this work of Kasa, 'seagull' is not presented as the anticipated subject with the effect of direct speech delivery, rather it is essential to see that the sentiment and situation of the speaker-self is the projected subject. Going one step further beyond the direct expression of the speaker-self's feeling, it can be seen that the directness of expression is sublimated by a projection on to the seagull. Through the sublimation of the direct nature of the subject, this kind of projected presentation produces the effect of filtering the speaker-self's feeling. This kind of effect has its development as a technique of poetic expression that is frequently known as T'akchöng (present one's sentiment through animate and inanimate objects). Granting that, the line "Dog, black dog, don't howl at the person in the night" that is found in Sasöl Nambungga (Wordy Song of Dissipation) or Tongyong Kase'aryong (Tongyong Dog Ballad) and also in Sanmyömbul (Mountain Song in Buddhist Mountain Invocation Style) or the T'akchöng technique as seen in the

Do you see the moon over there?
My darling is there, so please let me
Borrow a ray of light so that I might
Also see her in this night ...

of Apsan T'aryöng (the Ballad of the Mountain Across the Way) can be noted as common occurrences of this speech mode. These speech mode examples are all of the 'pulling in' speech mode which consists of dragging in a third person through whom the speaker-self's feeling is projected.
Another kind of projected presentation is the *Arirang* (a popular folk song with several regional versions) type, in which ‘...please, pass on by me...’ is a commonplace expression that can also be included in this speech mode because instead of the speaker-self expressing the desire to pass by using a concrete expression of the will to do it, the speaker-self substitutes a third character through whom the speech gets projected. Such being the case, this kind of projected presentation has the effect of greatly refining the hardness and coarseness seen in the first consideration of the directly presented message. Considering only the example of ‘please, pass by me’, though one cannot fail to notice the power combined with the petition, through the dragging in mode, the feeling given is that the determination and deep emotion of the sentiment has been greatly refined. This refinement of emotion can be seen as the effect that is developed from the shaping of a shared response.

(3) A Roundabout Shaping

Projected presentation was examined above and identified as *Pulōstārigi* mode. It was seen that through the use of *Pulōstārigi*, a third character was caused to participate through some action. When this type of action-oriented *Pulōstārigi* mode is taken a step farther, it can be seen to take on the following form: the form for calling in a deliberately established hearer is the actual aim of what is intended to be conveyed, even though the actual hearer is a different person. In Ch'ŏng Kŭk-in's *Sangch'ŭngok* (Song for Appreciating the Spring), “Among such a large crowd of esteemed persons in this mundane world, I, too, can not I also reach the refined elegance of classical gentlemen...?” is this kind of example. In *Sangch'ŭngok*, one who has left a sequestered life is now out singing of the appearance of things refined and elegant. This sort of song is a manifestation of a kind of attitude about the world. Nonetheless, the essential message conveyed is the actuality of a person living in the world that is the subject hidden behind the subject as it has been changed to read, “esteemed people in the mundane world”.

Like this, when the form of the speech given in a work compels the entrance of a deliberately established hearer that in turn causes the further unfolding of the work, this form can be seen as one of the forms of *Pulōstārigi* in the aspect that a third person is intentionally made to appear. In addition to this, when the concerned party then becomes excluded as other subjects are made to appear, and these other subjects take the form of talking about
the subject of the concerned party as if it was theirs and as if the concerned party was not present, in this point the work has a roundabout shaping.

This kind of roundabout form of Pallotage is revealed with a very definite appearance in works that have a question and answer form. In Moktong Mundapke (Dialogue Song for Herdboy), “Hey, boys who feed cows on the bank clothed in sweet grasses below green willow trees! I wonder whether or not you know the glory and delight of humans ..?” is the line through which the herdboys are called to answer the following question—- Is it good or not to live the life of a herdsman after throwing riches and honors away. Next the herdboy in the form of an answer says

“Oh, who are you? It’s funny word I’ve just heard.
You look like Kukwun (an expelled loyal retainer in Cho dynasty) of Cho (a dynasty of ancient China) because of your thin appearance
And you look like Yu ja-hu (a scholar of Cho dynasty) because of your ruined spirit”

and the continual unfolding of these words is only borrowing the form of conversation; from the standpoint of the writer’s thought, it can be seen as the setting up of a roundabout character as spokesperson for the writer’s thought.

If that is so, then it follows that it is also true for the roundabout shaping of the beginning line of Chong Chol’s Sokmiingok (Song for Beautiful Lady Continued) “that lady who is going over there, I feel as if I’ve met you somewhere before...” and others like it: in these works the woman of two persons is called in with these addressing words:

Hey, my dear friends,
Pay attention to what I say.
All of our human existence
Takes place between heaven and earth,
And though one live a very long life,
At most it is a hundred years.

The answer to these words is this:

Listen here, O visitor,
And have an end to your sad words.
Though they were only the words of a madman,
A Holy man gave ear to them,
So, though my country speech be ignorant and foolish,
Listen anyway to me

This kind of beginning content seen in An Jo-won’s Manönsa can be accepted as exact examples of this roundabout shaping.

As was mentioned above, the Pullöstürügi for roundabout shaping is made up of at least more than two persons who are made to appear as characters in a work. Works of this type thus avoid the form of one person speaking one-sidedly. By avoiding the one-sided speech mode, concreteness and realism of form are obtained, and this is a point that can be noted as the uniqueness of the roundabout shaping.

By pointing to this effect, it is plausible to say that this form is endowed with concreteness. Such concreteness has the meaning of carrying the pulse and technique of dramatic structure. To put it another way, the speech mode of the roundabout shaping (which is one of the forms of Pullöstürügi) is derived from the pulse and internal nature of the dramatic genre. The reverse of this statement can be stated this way of the various types of indirect speech modes, the forms of Pullöstürügi are a special characteristic of the dramatic genre. In the case of narrative literature of the type that possess dramatic structure, too, the basic building blocks for the formalization of the genre are Pullöstürügi forms of speech. Whether one is speaking about the forms of the literary genres of narrative literature or drama, what is here being called the indirect speech mode can be understood clearly if one takes the viewpoint of its being the basis for the shaping of these literary divisions.

2. Tollyöseugi Mode

It has been seen that in the cases where a topic of a give-and-take speech situation (story) is not talked about between the concerned parties, but takes the form of being talked about as if it were the topic of a third party, this form is called the speaking around form, or in Korean, Tollyöseugi.

When a topic that should be conveyed to the concerned party gets conveyed instead to another person, the meaning becomes redirected into indirect expression. In addition, the speaker who should receive the conveyed message
is not spoken to directly, but the form it takes makes it seem as if what is spoken is to another person. Because of this redirection of the speech as if it was to or about another person, the party who is concerned with the topic also takes on the meaning of an object of indirect speech. Now a number of concrete examples of this indirect speech mode will be examined.

(1) The Objectification of the Subject

The discourse that is intended to be conveyed to the party concerned with the topic takes on the form of a discourse being conveyed to another person and the form of making the concerned party hear this secondhand as indirect discourse is a particular speech mode. In the above discussion, it appeared that the two concerned parties were giving and taking their own discourse in the case of Sokmiingok. However, this is actually a case of the roundabout employment of a constructed character who is not the actual concerned party, and in this point, it is another example of the Tolhöseung form. However, in the case of the Paekpalga (Song of White Hair), the situation depicted is one in which the form is a giving and taking of speech, but it is quite a different case from Sokmiingok:

While I was lying on the floor of the thatched hut
After feeling tired on a warm spring day,
My mind grew hazy, and suddenly in my sleep appeared
A scene of what turned out to be an empty and futile dream
It was as if all the various world things were forgotten and left behind;
It was like being intoxicated and also
like falling into a deep sickness from which I could not wake up;
Suddenly, being awakened,
I found an old man at my gate begging for rice...

After presenting the above topic, the old man is objectified in the depiction of the next part:

His shins seem to be the knife with a keen blue edge,
His arms are swinging as if they are the branches of willow tree,
His lower jaw kicks his nose and his knees rise over his ears,
He is snivelling as if he pretends to be a baby,
Why is he crying like a man who has just parted with someone...
After this depiction of the objectification of the old man, the lips of the old man open, and he answers the following.

Hey, the host of this house!
After looking at this beggar, don’t sneer
When I was young, I, too, did idle and foolish things,
And is it possible that only I am this sort of person?
I, too, am an original Yangban (aristocrat) of class as high as anyone else.
I possessed property enough not to envy what any other people had,
And my face was handsome then, my hands and feet, arms and legs—
If I had a strong physique—
I wouldn’t afraid of anything...

If one thinks about this conversational situation a moment, the following becomes clear. The white-haired old man is placed out front, and then he is talked about as if he was not there. The fact that the reply about the old man is done by the old man speaking for himself is what objectifies him. Here, the treatment of the subject in the objectifying relationship is placed as if it were unrelated to the topic through the use of speech. The 'speaking around' mode has precisely this objectifying structure.

Like this, Tollyoseugi takes place through objectification, commonly causing the realization of the objectification of the subject. As has already been said above, the people directly involved in a fight, even though they are present, are regarded as not present by another person. Thus, the speech mode that is commonly assumed in such cases is a form in which another person speaks as if the party directly related to the topic is not present. Examples of this speech mode are commonly found in later period Kasa works of the Yongbuga (Song about Stupid Wife) type.

Having said this, it is also important to note that the objectification of the subject is dependent on Tollyoseugi mode which is the basis upon which the subject is formally set aside followed by the give-and-take of speech occurring as if the subject were not present. It is because of this type form that it can be stated that there is an intimate connection between dramatic irony and the Tollyoseugi mode. This can be seen particularly in the many instances that can be observed in Kkotukaksi Norum (puppet plays) or in mask drama.
Omjung: They say Kúngang Mountain is very nice, but...
(He begins dancing in the Móngšikmarı (rolling a straw mat style)
(The musicians stop playing.)
Wanbo: Don't come any closer, stay away! You're good for nothing
but to use as a saddle cover! What makes you feel so high
that you come out and show your epileptic madness like this?
Omjung: Shit on all of you! It feels good to be so enthusiastic, so for
what reason are you talking about making me somebody's
saddle cover? So, I feel in high spirits, what about it?
Wanbo: Well, I say don't act like that. Don't do it again! I don't care
how fuckin' fine you feel, put a lid on it and learn to control
yourself!
Maltugi: That guy over there is son of someone else's mother, so, we
can't do anything with him. All of us, we're all sons of the
same mother, so let's keep ourselves from acting like him; let's
stay together and sing it right!
— Yangju Sandae Eight Black-faced Monks Episode, taken
from the scene that is play on the Buddhist invocation of Yö
mülü—

In the above example, there are three characters on the stage. It is
evident that wanbo is left outside the conversation between Omjung and Maltugi.
In the speeches in which the dialogue exchanges between Omjung and Maltugi
are about Wanbo, the actual subject (which Wanbo becomes) is objectified.

What this means is that Wanbo, who is the subject of the topic, is ex-
cluded from the dialogue exchange, even though he is the concerned party
of whom the actual speech is about. The content of what conveyed is deliv-
ered through a third character, and for that reason, the dialogue changes to
indirect speech. For the person watching this scene, what becomes felt is the
presence of dramatic irony. This is because the subtlety of dramatic irony
occurs whenever the character on the stage does not know of something that
all the other people know.

Having said this, even though it is possible to say from the viewpoint
of the objectification of the subject that the example above and the one
below are similar, the next case has a different structure from the one just
dealt with above.
Hong Dongju · Sangkim (Hey, mourner), what is that thing you are carrying on your back?
Inspector from P'yongan Province Did you adress me?
Hong Dongju Of course. Who else?
Inspector The thing on my back is this— I'm going to go up the mountain to offer graveside sacrificial rites, so I bought a puppy, giving seven Pum (Korean penny), and have been carrying it on my back.

Hong Dongju It has been said from ancient times that one might see some asshole guy with a tumor stuck to his fort, but this is a first for me! I've never seen anyone who used a puppy for the offering at the tombside sacrificial rites! Well, never mind all that.

Nevertheless, shall I prepare the tools and try tying it up? If I fasten it up like this, will that be all right?
—Kkoktukaksi Norūm (puppet play), Act seven: The P'yongan Province Inspector's Sacrificial Table—

In the conversation that takes place here between Hong Dongju and the Inspector, Hong Dongju avoids calling the inspector by his title, and instead he says "someone who performs a tombside sacrificial rite using a puppy for the offering." This substitution throws the inspector into a situation in which he is portrayed as someone who does not exist in his sight.

In the example before this one, the party directly concerned with the topic was excluded and another character spoke about the topic with still another character; the talk went around the party directly concerned with the topic, and in doing this, the objectification of the subject was accomplished. If that was true in the first example, the distinguishing feature in this second example is identifiable from the standpoint of speech being given in the direction of the subject. The subject of the topic takes the form of playing his role as if he were another person. By doing this, the subject is still objectified, and it is this difference in how the objectification occurs that the distinguishing feature between these two dramatic situations can be seen.

However, between these two methods of objectification, there seems to be no large difference in function. It is in mask plays that there is very frequent use of this kind of speech mode, particularly the use of the latter-speaker form. The use of this speech mode has a deep connection to the
giving rise of laughter in the situation. This point is a subject well worth more careful examination in the future. Also, Maltugi is the character who makes the most free use of this speech mode, and from this standpoint, it seems a good choice of terms to call this speech mode the ‘Maltugi speech mode’ to give an example of this mode,

The Primary Aristocrat: Shi... (The accompaniment and dance cease) Where are you, Hey, Maltugi! Hey, Maltugi! The day of the state examinations is near, so it’s the right time now for you to go your way and for me to go mine!

Maltugi: Here I am. (He pushes his horsewhip in underneath the chin of the primary aristocrat) What kind of Yangban (aristocrat) do we have here? While searching for you, there is no place I haven’t looked.

The Primary Aristocrat: I want to know, anyway, just where have you been?

Maltugi: (He gestures with the whip indicating every direction) The place being Seoul, urged on I followed up one place with another until I arrived at Inner South Mountain, Outer South Mountain, The Tasty Eating Valley, Excellent Gwang Valley, and then all the way to Inner Village, Outer Alley, Jangan Valley, Back Hill, Malli Pass, The Ilgum Street, Imok Valley, Samchong Village, Sajik Hollow... and though I went all around all these places, not to speak of you, I couldn’t even find my own son.

The Aristocrats: The very idea! Who does he think he is! What does he mean by saying ‘my son’?

The Primary Aristocrat: The very idea! You, there, what do you mean by saying ‘my son’?

Maltugi: Right here you are! (He points his whip in the direction of the aristocrats) Hey, these Yangban! I said I’ll come and find you by tomorrow!

— Tonngae Tuhnorium (Field play), Yangban Madang

As one can readily see in this example, Maltugi puts the aristocrats out in front, and then he uses the speech mode of speaking as if they were not present. Of course, the content of the speech is noticed by the parties con-

1. In Korean, nase adül (my son) is pronounced similar to nael (tomorrow)
cerned, and so Malttugi's utterances get revised as if the aristocrats had all misheard what he said. However, in this segment, the spectator feels the rise of laughter due to the objectification that takes place. Research into the shaping of the character of Malttugi based on this speech mode is a worthwhile area for research in the future, because by moving forward from this distinctive characteristic that is observable in this scene, one finds that this speech mode contains the original aesthetic function of the Malttugi character's personality. This is a subject that deserves much more research.

(2) Two Functions The Stimulation of Interest and Criticism

When the subject of the topic first becomes objectified due to the use of the method of Tollyöseugi, the concerned party that is talked around becomes objectified, but the third person observers (Spectator, Reader, Hearer) of the concerned party sympathize with and participate together in the topic presentation. Thus sympathetic response works as a base for moving the observers to be critical and stimulates their excitement. Also, this establishment of sympathy can be seen as helpful to the narrative development of the story or situation. The companions in charge of this function are the drummer in Pansori (story in song), the Chaebi (musician) in Namsadang's (a wandering performers group) Tottopogi (a short play), Paesii (helper with drum and joke) in the Kwangdae Chult'agi (the clown tightrope walking), the Sanbaji (helper with music and dialogue) in the Mudang Kumori (shaman exorcism play), and the instrument players and village people (the spectators) in mask plays. More research into the relationships between these characters personalities and their functions through the use of the Tollyöseugi speech mode will aid in the work of systematizing and understanding the generic nature of the genres related to the works mentioned above.

Another example of this sort of relationship is in the following dialogue from the sixth episode of Pongsan mask play.

Malttugi: Shu... Hey there, all you instrument players, why don't you throw away all that five sound, six rhythms stuff you've been playing, and go over there to that willow tree, pull of a leaf flute and blow into it to play some other rhythm...

The aristocrats: What proposterous thing are you saying?
Malttugi: What the hell is wrong with you aristocrats to make you hear words in such a way—I only said be sure not to leave out
even one beat of the six instruments' rhythms, and to be sure to play with deep feeling.

— Pongsan Mask Play, Episode Six

In this scene there is a situation which sparks the participation of the instrument players. However, as has been stated in relation to various examples in these genres, the effectiveness of this scene is developed out of the relationships between the characters, the instrument players, and the spectators who are all involved in the play.

In the case of mask plays, the Younggam (an old man) and Halmi (an old woman) episode brings this phenomena into clear relief.

Miyal: (Whe goes to the front of the instrument players and cries)
Ae-Ae, Aae-Aae, Ae-Ae

Instrument Player One: What sort of an old woman are you?

Miyal: I might answer that question with a question of what you mean by the statement, “what sort of an old woman?” I’m just an old woman who hearing the dung-dung rhythm sound of the drum, came out here thinking of watching the performance, then having a little fun playing before going.

Instrument player One: Well, then, go on and have a round of fun before you leave.

Miyal: To play or not to play is not the question—I’ve lost my shabby old husband. I’ve been wandering all about the place looking for him. This old woman, if she ever finds her old man, won’t she be ready for play then?

Instrument player one: An old woman, just where is your birth place, where were you born?

Miyal My birthplace is Mangmak (desolate)Hollow in Chaju of Cholla Province

— Pongsan Mask Play, Episode Seven

As can be seen above, the conversation between the instrument player and the old woman Miyal introduces the old woman’s identity and social position (the dramatic element of character exposition), and these speeches have dualistic function of foreshadowing the dramatic development of the action. In this case of Pongsan mask play, a similar conversation as the one above
between the old woman and instrument player one takes place again between another instrument player and the old woman's old husband, Yonggam (the old man). They both enter later in this scene and thus, as has been depicted in the example above, the function for disclosing and developing the central dramatic element that is based on the concerned party is due to the participation of a third character. In other words, it can be seen through the above example that the indirect speech mode controls the function of the narrative development.

As indicated beforehand, Pansori and Namsadang's Tōto'egi, Kwangdae Chuls'ag, Mudang Kumori are all cases that are based on this kind of dramatic structure. As such, these works all have a progression of dramatic action that is accompanied by the sparking of laughter and formation of a sympathetic relationship between the characters themselves (including the instrument players) and between the characters and the spectators. Seen from the standpoint of being the basis for bringing about the joining together of the spectator and the drama, this kind of indirect speech, based on the Tōto'egi speech mode, has an important function. As has already been pointed out, this function should not remain only a discussion of speech styles, but include the following two important aspects: speech modes give aesthetic evidence, and they also have the element that forms a genre's generic character.

Now it is time to take a look at some examples that make free use of a blending of all the above forms.

**Hong Dongji**: You bleeding pile of human trash, all right, death serves you right (He hits his own head on Pak's body and the sound of hitting a gourd is heard). The Inugi (a large snake) already has sucked the life out of him, so this body is empty.

**Pak Ch'omji**: I'm still surviving even so.

**Hong Dongji**: Whether you are muy uncle or human trash, you acted as a young boy, even though you are old thing. Why don't you just act like a nephew should! Crossing Chorurū (quickly) over and coming here worked out well! (He looks down toward the place below the musicians) Hey, since what is normal is pitiful, anyway we must save him, then we just have to wait and see what will happen is what I say—Hit the rhythm now so I can start moving.

— Khoktgakku Norim, Act 3 Choi Yongno’s House
Even though what Hong Dongp first says are words meant for Pak Chōmp, he first says this speech as if he is assuming that the concerned party is not present. Carrying this further, by speaking as he does, he causes the subject to be objectified, and the form of the objectification is through the use of an indirect speech mode. After ridicule the subject (Pak Chōmp), the function of this kind of structure, as the first part of Hong Dongp's second speech exhibits, is to cause the play's action to progress through indirect speech based on the Pulloturgi of the instrument player that results in the use of the method of 'speaking around' (Tollyoseugi) the concerned party.

IV. Significance of This Analysis

Upon until this point, it has been observed that there are modes of speech that make the forms of speech communication and that endow the subjects with indirectness. These forms have been given the name of indirect speech modes. Following the designation of the name, it was seen that the structure of indirect speech can be divided broadly into two patterns entitled Pulloturgi and Tollyoseugi. In addition to this, the functions these two patterns possess are as follows first, it was seen that the Pulloturgi has the function of enlarging the feeling of sympathy through the establishment of relationships, and it also displays the function of filtering emotion through a defining and sublimation of the directness of a speech through the use of a projected presentation. This function also was seen in its relationship to a poetic technique that called Takechōng. As was seen in the examination above, this technique gives birth to a roundabout shaping effect.

This device was examined still further, and it displayed the characteristic of being endowed with a concreteness of effect that came about through the formation of a dramatic construction created out of the device's own formalistic line of progression.

Looking at the second pattern, it was seen that by the use of indirect speech modes based on the Tollyoseugi speech mode, subjects were objectified. This objectification resulted in giving rise to a dramatic pulse and the dramatic effect of objectification was seen to have the function of using the third person, reader or spectator, as a mediator for a character's speeches. This function allowed these third persons to participate in the narrative progression, and by the participation, the result went beyond simple feelings of sympathy to allow the third person(s) to receive the narrative progression as
a personal (his/her) own event

Now the step must be taken to consider what the significance of the results of this type of analysis might be. First, though it has been stated that indirect speech modes appear as a widely-observable phenomena in Korean literary genres, it is thought that this kind of analysis has the possibility of being used as a method of grouping subordinate areas according to the special characteristics observed within respective genres. For example, though the principally appearing speech modes in Sijo or Kasa are within the indirectness category, the majority of the forms (stock) materialize in the smaller area of the Pultsitirgi forms.

The reason that Sijo and Kasa mainly use this speech mode is due either to the fact that these works belong to a genre of literature of the high social classes that required the use of a declarative character, or it is due to the existence of a relationship to a convention that was formed together with the fashionable conventions of music at the time of its development as a genre. However, beginning with mask plays, it is possible to see that the speech mode most often chosen in the works of Kkoksukku Norum, Namseong's Ttoteogi, Kwangdae Chukagi, Mudang Kumori is mainly the Tollyeongsugi speech mode. As was examined in detail above, the use of mainly indirectness based on Tollyeongsugi in these genres is due to the appropriateness of this speech mode to the narrative-dramatic form of these works.

The differences between genres that are based on the inclination toward mutually different tendencies within indirectness can be seen to arise from astructural differences that are present in the genres themselves. However, this cannot be the only way to explain such differences, because in the case of dramatic structures, the Pultsitirgi mode is not impossible, and for lyrical-narrative structures, the Tollyeongsugi mode is not necessarily an impossible mode. For example, among the later period Kasa that are called Kasa poems of common persons, the appearance of the Tollyeongsugi mode occurs in the majority of cases, and this fact does not necessarily arise only from the characteristics of genre, as will now be shown. Is this fact of the presence of the Tollyeongsugi mode not related to the relationship of the genres to the problem present in the characteristics of the social classes? That is the gut feeling of this writer. However, if in fact the class problem is not the reason for the differences in genres, then research to discover what these causes are is a work that remains to be done.

Second, the fact that the indirect speech mode provides a roundabout
nature to a statement can be pointed out as being a very important aesthetic element. Whether in praise or in criticism, the statement is not made in a direct way, but in a roundabout style that points out an important specialized feature of Korean culture. It has been spoken of through the years as Ungün (polite secrecy), but due to the fact that the concept and structure of Ungün have not been disclosed in detail, this word has come down to us as a term of impressionistic criticism rather than as a useful and well-defined academic term.

However, the indirect speech mode has been disclosed as a form of speech, and especially as a very important method of speech in literature. In addition, from the standpoint of having the function of roundabout shaping of the forms that has been amply illustrated through this analysis, it is not possible to take the view that precisely this roundabout form and Ungün can be linked in order to provide an adequate explanation of the meaning of both terms.

Third, one form at the aesthetic level that can be pointed out as belonging to the indirect speech mode is the poetic shaping of unpoetic matter. As was examined above, statements in Kasa are principally descriptive or explanatory, and facts tend to be things arranged in a row (following a logical order). Therefore, the indirect speech mode makes its important contribution by the establishment of a form of release that reshapes facts on a poetic level. There is evidence in support of this concept. It is not only in Kasa that the slightest slipping away from detail or even the casual falling away from an opinion can have the result of first making some unknown content available to make into a poetic apparatus. From this viewpoint, it is possible to make certain of the existence of the function of poetic shaping. In particular, the low class depictions of perverse and bawdy stories (talked) in Sijo of the long type are composed of simple statements that have been received poetically through the very important equipment of the indirect speech mode. This factor can be seen also as the reason for the of effectiveness P'ansori's poetic words. And in the case of the modern novel, it appears that this kind of speech mode has a relationship to Kim Yujông's speech mode. If that appraisal is accurate, it is plausible to suggest that Kim Yujông's literary style has an even closer relationship to the Korean folk language speech mode. This point is another worthwhile topic for future investigation.

Fourth, it is possible to see the prospect of bringing to light studies of indirect speech modes that can go deeper and widen the breadth of the plans for classical analysis. The Koryô period song, Sôgyông Pyêlgok (Song of West
Capital) in which there appears this verse,

Hey, boatman! You can start your boat, because you don't know the large width of Taedong River, right?
Hey, boatman! You must be embarking on your boat, starting out on this river because you don't know about the lewdness of your wife, right?

The existence of the boatman is the presence of the calling in of a third character who has no direct relationship to the topic. Therefore, if it is seen that what can only be seen at first as an individual situation and emotion becomes transformed by being thrown to a third person due to the Pullot' uri, which establishes the indirectness, then it is also possible to explain the aesthetic level of the statement in Sogyǒng Pyǒlgok by seeing it as being an apparatus for the acquisition of the roundabout characteristic. There is also the Chǒngsonyǒn (the boy whose name is Chǒng) in Hallim Pyǒlgok (Song of Scholar)

.. Pull, push, hey Chǒngsonyǒn, for another person wishes to go by me at this high place where I am always going...

Chǒngsonyǒn can be explained as this kind of third character, too. Instead of a direct declaration, a roundabout approach is enjoyed, and from the viewpoint of social class speech modes that were noted, more discussion on the above point can establish the grounds for argument. However, if we accept the point as correct, then in Stangswabjon (Stangswa Bakery Shop), "Hey, little baby actor! I'll say that is rumour which you created." has a context in which the indirect speech form is also based on the same kind of Pullot'uri, that can be further postulated as being the root of the indirect speech form.

In addition to all the above possibilities, for further research, the interrogative form of the question, "What about the landscape, what do you think of it?" that in fact changes to the indirect speech form of "Oh, it's very fine, indeed..." can become a starting point for the reasoning about the genre character of Kyǒnggiw'aga (Koryǒ Song Poetry). From its origin, the generic character of this song leans toward the function of poetic form shaped by indirect speech; however, this specific discussion must be left as a topic for later discussion. Nevertheless, more that the very clearly observed fact about the generic nature of Kyǒnggiw'aga, it is more important to note that
this kind of discussion is seen as only a preview of the nature of the direction and the possibility of research into indirect speech mode area.

Like this, more than at the present, there is now a prospect for doing the work of investigating and gaining an understanding of indirect speech modes. The direction of this research will lean even more toward the work of getting a clearer and more defined understanding of the nature of literary statement. However, before this becomes possible, more work must first proceed toward positively understanding and systematizing indirect speech modes before the later steps in the literary research process can be taken.

Accordingly, to state that this work is possible and altogether necessary indicates still another worthwhile reason for the writing of this paper. As has been made clear above, this is a work that must continue because this present analysis, for all practical purposes, has not even completed the first step in the process. To head forward in the above stated direction is the goal of this research. This goal must be approached with accuracy, expanding and deepening Korean speech modes. This work must be pushed forward because understanding and explaining Korean speech modes is a very important and urgent task. To place emphasis on this point, this analysis ends with the writer’s wish and hope that fellow scholars will show their concern and place their academic interest in this field.

[translated by Charles Hill (Han Chol-su)]

GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahúyá 아희야</td>
<td>Excellent Giving Valley 주자골</td>
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<td>An Cho-won 安肇源</td>
<td>Halmi 할미</td>
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<td>Anantegega 安宅歌</td>
<td>Chong Ch’ol 鄭澈</td>
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<td>Back Hill 등고개</td>
<td>Chorūrū 조르르</td>
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<td>Chaebi 케이</td>
<td>Chǒl 楚</td>
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<td>Chang-an Valley 장안동</td>
<td>Chōlla Province 全羅道</td>
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<td>Cheji 濟州</td>
<td>Chong Ch’ol 鄭澈</td>
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<td>Ch’ọ 楚</td>
<td>Chorūrū 조르르</td>
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<td>Harapsinda 하랍신다</td>
<td>Hong Donggi 洪同知</td>
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<td>Ilgūm Street 일금정</td>
<td>Imok Alley 이목골</td>
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<td>Imugi 이무기</td>
<td>Inner South Mountain 안 남산</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inner Village 안동</td>
<td>Irr onöra 이리 오너라</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kangwon Province 江原道</td>
<td>Kagokch’ang 歌曲唱</td>
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<td>Kasa 歌辭</td>
<td>Kisaeng 姬生</td>
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<td>Komungo 견문고</td>
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Kkoktukaksi Norum 꽝두각시놀음
Koryo 고려
Kwangdace Chul’agi 광대 출타기
Kulwon 屈原
Kumgang Mountain 金刚山
Maenari 메나리
Maltugi 말뚝이
Malli Pass 만리제
Mangmak Hollow 방막골
Manonsa 萬音詞
Miyal 미얄
Mongsokmari 명석말이
Mudang Kutnor 露壇 곡놀이
Namsadang 男寺黨
Noch’onyoja 老處女歌
Ommung 읍중
Outer South Mountain 밖 남산
Paekkusa 白鴨詞
Paekpalga 白髮歌
Pak Ch’omu 朴尙知
P’ansori 판소리
Paeussi 비우씨
Pongsan 凰山
Pullotungsi 불려들이기
P’un 훈
P’yongan Province 平安道
Sachang 社倉
Saek Hollow 사적골
Samch’ong Village 三淸洞
Sanbai 산반이
Sijo 時調
Sipch’ang 時調唱
Sokmungok 續美入曲
Sowangga 西往歌
T’akch’ong 托情
Taedong River 大同江
The Tasty Eating Valley 味覚谷
Tollyoseugi 拍理세우기
Tongnae Tulnorum 東萊 耳濡音
T’otpoeji 道悲기
T’ori 토리
Tuora 두어라
Ungun 운근
Rago yot’uora 라고 여주어라
Yangban 兩班
Yangban Madang 兩班마당[料場]
Yongbua 唐婦歌
Yanggu Sandae 楊州 山臺
Yombul 念佛
Yonggam 영감
Yukchabaegi 象牙配기
Wanbo 완보
Won 员