

North Korean Lexicology and Lexicography

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1. Scope of Research

In this paper I intend to survey and evaluate the scholarly works in the areas of lexicology (the study of the lexicon) and lexicography (dictionary compilation) that have been written since the division of Korea into North and South. I will also offer my suggestions for the reconciliation of differences between North and South in this field, to aid in the preparation for eventual reunification.

Although the process of evaluation alone is usually sufficient in such basic research as this, I have included my suggestions for the future because they are likely to prove more important in time. Another reason for including these suggestions is that many theses and papers have concentrated on survey and evaluation, but few have gone on to make recommendations for the reunification process.

Under the heading of "Scope" I would also like to deal with the question of whether to limit this discussion to lexicology and lexicography alone, or whether to extend it to related fields as well. It is important to determine at the beginning a basic attitude towards such fields as linguistic purification. In as much as such practical matters are a vital part of North Korean linguistics, I will not fail to

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mention them, but will maintain a basic attitude of respecting the traditional boundaries of lexicology and lexicography

Vocabulary and word definitions are undoubtedly the most obvious and fastest growing differences between the languages of North and South Korea. For this reason I have decided to do research in these areas, focussing on the lexical transformation in the north and the reconciliation of differences between the north and the south.

2. The State of North Korean Lexicology

On one extreme, it has even been stated that “Lexicology does not exist in North Korea” (Pak Kŏn-Sŏk, 1989). The validity of this statement lies in the fact that until 1980, when Ch’oe Wan-ho and Mun Yŏng-ho brought attention to the field of lexicology in their *Korean Lexicological Research*, no field of lexicology was established as separate from morphology or accidence, which also deal with words. Lexicology makes an appearance in Ch’oe Chŏng-hu’s 1983 *Introduction to Korean Linguistics*, and in Lee Kŭn-yŏng’s 1985 *Korean Theoretical Grammar*, clearly distinguished from morphology, which deals mainly with grammatical forms.

In keeping with the general tendency of North Korean emphasis on the practical application of linguistic theory, several works have emerged dealing with linguistic purification, or “cleansing”, including the 1979 *Vocabulary and Expressions of Korean*, along with Pak Sang-hun, Lee Kŭn-yŏng and Ko Shin-suk’s 1986 *Linguistic Cleansing in Korea*. This revolutionary linguistic movement arose concurrently with the emergence of lexicology as a scientific field, and thus greatly influenced the academic framework itself. (In contrast, already in 1971 Yu Ch’ang-don’s *Lexical History Research* was published in Seoul, and Lee Tŭk-ch’un’s *Lexical History of Korean* published in Yŏn-gil, explored more theoretical territory.)

Whereas lexicology was developing in North Korea as the theoretical basis for linguistic purification, in South Korea Shim Chae-gŭ’s 1982 *Korean Lexicology* appeared at about the same time, but deals systematically with the fields of semantics, morphology, word formation, and syntax.

Ch’oe Wan-ho & Mun Yŏng-ho (1980) discuss the characteristics and classification of lexical items, linguistic purification, word formation and naming, lexical rules, and academic terminology. In 1982 *Cleansed Words (Reconsidered Terminology)* was issued dealing with around 40,000 terms of Sino-Korean or foreign origin.

Ch’oe Chŏng-hu (1983) does not discuss not word formation, but is rather an

overall investigation into the etymological, historical, and contemporary classification, range of usage, semantic change, and antonyms, synonyms, and homonyms of individual words, and a discussion of the various ways in which new lexical items are formed. Thus Chŏn Su-t'ae & Ch'oe Ho-ch'ŏl (1989) describe this work as "weak in theory but dealing with a wide range of applications." It emphasizes the revitalization of national characteristics through the analysis of lexical items and the direction of their development.

3. History of Lexicology

According to Ch'oe Ho-ch'ŏl (1991), the history of lexicology in North Korea can be divided into four periods, based on such things as "books of standards":

Period I (1945-54) Initial Period

Primitive descriptions. *Korean Spelling* (1954).

Period II (1954-66) Foundation Period.

Partial descriptions. *Book of Korean Language Standards* (1966).

Period III (1966-87) Building Period:

Overall descriptions Revision of above (1987)

Period IV (1987-present) Synthesis Period

In-depth descriptions.

Period I. According to the above, Period I was a time of word collection and basic research into form and meaning. The Journal *Korean Language Research* [Chosŏn-ŏ Yŏn-gu] was launched, and among other works, Chŏn Mong-su in 1949 reported over 900 indigenous words not listed in the dictionary, and Pak Chong-ju investigated the names for the winds from the eight different directions (e.g. north, northeast, etc.).

Period II. This period saw the publication of dictionaries, the journals *Chosŏn Ŏ-mun*, *Mal-gwa Kŏl*, and *Chosŏn Ŏhak*, along with 48 scholarly papers related to the study of words. The *Dictionary of the Korean Language* (1960-62) contains over 180,000 words in six volumes, reflects socialist terminology, and is designed to be the standard for language use after reunification.

In the area of word forms, Song Sŏ-ryong (1966) discusses the grammatical marks of words, along with the limits of morpheme and word combination. Hong Ki-mun (1956) deals with the distinction between indigenous words and Sino-Korean words, the origin and originating process of Sino-Korean words, the processes through which a Sino-Korean word comes to be used and undergoes

change, the various methods of word formation, a few Sino-Korean words that are difficult to classify grammatically, and general criticism of Sino-Korean words.

In the area of word meanings, Pak Süng-hŭi (1958) focuses attention on the diversification of color adjectives from their basic meanings, while discussing the relationship between personal usage and general usage, between semantic differentiation and idioms, and between meaning and form. Chŏn Che-su (1959) points out the need to investigate the basic and secondary meanings of words, as well as the correlation of a word's secondary meaning and its homonyms and antonyms. Chŏn Che-su (1964) describes the synonymy of indigenous and Sino-Korean words, classifying them into synonymy between two neutral words (땅, 토지), synonymy between one neutral word and one with expressive overtones (나이, 연세), and absolute synonymy (돼지고기, 돈육).

Period III. This period saw the publishing of journals such as *Ö-mun Yŏn-gu*, *Cultured Language Study*, and *Önhak Nonmun-jip*, thirty-four scholarly papers in the field, the books mentioned in Section 2, the *Korean Cultured Language [Munhwa-ŏ] Dictionary* (1973), and the second edition of the *Modern Korean Dictionary* (1981), containing over 130,000 words.

In the area of lexical form, Social Science Institute (1974) discusses the necessary principles of, basic requirements for, and means and techniques of word formation; means such as roots and suffixes, and proper nouns. In the area of lexical meaning, the Social Science Institute's Editorial Division (Aug., 1979) in an overall description of lexical categories and synonyms arranged semantically, contains lexical data for honorific modifiers, along with words and expressions, synonyms, "refined" words, and new Cultured Words listed by topic. Cho Ch'un-ok (1982) describes synonymy, tangentiality, the quantitative relationship between object and phenomenon, polysemy arising from differentiation, and refinement of word meaning, while Cho Ch'un-ok (1987) describes the process of change in polysemy from the inclusive to the subdivided, the concrete to the abstract, the direct to the metaphorical, the old to the new, and the everyday to the socio-political.

Period IV. Thus far, *Chosŏn Ö-mun* has been revived, and the *Sino-Korean Dictionary* (1991) and the *Unabridged Korean Dictionary* (1992) have been published. This period will be remembered as a time of more theoretically refined research and the arrangement of substantial lexical data.

In the area of lexical forms, Kim Tong-ch'an (July, 1987) deals with the semantic component as a means of word formation and the variety of its substantive meanings; Chŏng T'ae-sun (Jan, 1989) with word formation methods such as

mechanical agglutination (학교-에서-의), abbreviation (왜 그리시우 > 왜 그리 슈), contraction (별것이 > 별게), and replacement (갓소/갓수); and Lim Ok-nyŏ (1988) with the syllable length, frequency of use, and linguistic practices of compound words difficult to divide linguistically into constituent words

In the area of lexical meaning, Lee Hwi-bu (1989) discusses the establishment of basis of comparison for antonyms, and sets forth the categories of absolute antonyms (주다/받다), relative (partial) and frozen antonyms (가볍다/침착하다-굽뜨다-엄중하다), and formal antonyms (양 가죽을 쓴 승냥이 [a wolf in sheep's clothing]).

The above history of lexicography in North Korea is listed in depth in Ch'oe Ho-ch'ŏl (1992), and Ch'oe Ho-ch'ŏl (1991) contains even more such works. At the end of the latter is a listing of reference works arranged according to topic, but containing no explanatory descriptions. The topics include data collection, word structure, word formation, word meaning, synonyms and antonyms, homonyms, jargon (specialized terminology), Sino-Korean words, loan words, and archaic words, among others.

4. History of Lexicography (Dictionary Compilation)

Let us now explore more in depth the dictionaries alluded to in Section 3, using Chŏn Su-t'ae & Ch'oe Ho-ch'ŏl (1989) and Wada Takahiro (1989) for reference, and following the period divisions and descriptions in Ch'a Chae-un (1991).

Period I (1945-54) Initial Period.

Korean Dictionary compilation (attempt) Use of Chinese characters prohibited (1949).

Period II (1954-66) Foundation Period.

Korean Dictionary compilation Kim Il Sŏng Directives (1964, 66).

Period III (1966-87) Building Period

Compilation of prescriptive dictionaries. Revival of Classical Chinese (*Hanmun*) education (1968), Revised *Hanmun* Conventions (1974).

Period IV (1987-present) Synthesis Period.

Machine translation and dictionary compilation

Period I. The manuscript for a 93,000 word dictionary was completed in mid-1949, but could not be published due to the Korean War. However, a small Russian-Korean dictionary and a collection of Korean proverbs were published in 1954.

Period II. Korean spelling was standardized in 1954, and Kim Il-sung's

directives concerning linguistics were promulgated, becoming a significant influence on dictionary compilation. Dictionaries published at this time include *Russian Phrase Dictionary* (1955), *Korean Spelling Dictionary* (1956), *Small Korean Dictionary* (1956), and *Korean Dictionary* (1962).

For the *Small Korean Dictionary*, there is a critical review by Shin Ku-hyŏn (1956), and a theoretical review of the definitions by Pak Sŭng-hŭi (1957). The notable characteristics of this dictionary include 1) the reflection of North Korean lexical structure in the choice of words (로동당 [labor party], 해방탑 [liberation tower]), 2) definitions different from those of preceding dictionaries (조국· 자기가 출생하고 공민으로서 속하고 있는 나라 [fatherland: the country where one was born and to which one belongs as a citizen]), 3) many example sentences (그옥하다 그옥한 생각, 그옥한 산'골 [secluded: deep thought, secluded forest]), and 4) design to be usable also as a spelling dictionary following the conventions of *Korean Spelling* (1954) and *Korean Loanword Spelling* (1956). It is the first North Korean dictionary, and contains a total of 41,927 entries. It is a small dictionary and, with a few revisions, follows Seoul Standard language.

The six-volume *Korean Dictionary* is marked by the systematic collection and definition according to Marx-Leninist linguistic theory with usage notes of 187,137 entries. In addition to dictionary definitions, it includes encyclopedic entries, as well as guides for spelling, word boundaries, and pronunciation. In a critical review Kim Su-gyŏng (1963) states that this dictionary, in both theory and practice, reflects well the constituent linguistic units of the headword, the principles of meaning differentiation and arrangement, and the correlation between lexical meaning and grammatical characteristics.

Kim Pyŏng-je (1963) describes the features of this dictionary as 1) listing of words related to communism (당성 [loyalty to party], 공민증 [national i.d. card]), 2) a high degree of prescriptiveness (아나운서→방송원 [announcer→broadcast worker]), 3) clear indication of not only palatalization and vowel length but also easily mispronounced words, and 4) refinement of definitions (로동 체력을 괴롭게 하며 일하는 것→정신적 및 육체적 로력을 들여서 하는, 사회적으로 유익한 합목적적인 활동 [labor: 'physically fatiguing work'→'any socially beneficial purposeful activity requiring mental and physical effort']). The *Korean Dictionary* combines encyclopedic entries with prescriptive dictionary definitions, and Pak Chong-t'ae (1963) discusses its range and nature of listings, including frozen word combinations, Sino-Korean words, loanwords, jargon, nonstandard words, and dialects.

In a comparative analysis of these two dictionaries, Kim Su-gyŏng (1965)

emphasizes regulation, prescription, and political ideology (reflecting the Kim Il Sŏng Directive of 1964) by stating that prescriptive, rather than descriptive, dictionaries are needed, and that they should be used for the “purification” of the language.

Period III. This period is marked by the emergence of new regulatory dictionaries based on the 1966 Kim Il-sung Directive establishing the Py’ongyang standard “Cultured Language” and the publication of the *Book of Korean Language Standards*. Dictionaries from this period include the *Modern Korean Language Dictionary* (1968), *Korean Cultured Language Dictionary* (1973), and *Modern Korean Language Dictionary* (2nd edition, 1981), along with special dictionaries such as *Korean Dictionary* (for students, 1978), *Korean Words and Expressions* (1979), *Dialect Dictionary* (1980), and *Korean Proverbs* (1984). Also from this period is Chŏng Sun-Gi & Lee Ki-Won’s *Dictionary Compilation Theory Research* (1984).

The *Modern Korean Language Dictionary* is a small dictionary containing around 50,000 words, and represents an attempt to follow faithfully the four principles of 1) self-reliance (*juch’e*), 2) party loyalty, 3) modernness, and 4) scientificness and prescriptiveness, as made clear in Pak Ŭi-sŏng (1966). It also places an asterisk (*) beside every headword of a socio-political nature and has the texts of the Kim Il-sung Directives in bold face. It is a dictionary of the “Cultured Language” made according to the principles of the 1964 and 1966 Directives and the 1966 *Book of Korean Language Standards*. The *Korean Cultured Language Dictionary*, for the purpose of building new “cultured” words on the base of indigenous words, lists many new scientific and technological terms, replacing Sino-Korean words and loanwords with newly “cleansed” words.

The *Korean Cultured Language Dictionary* is a medium-sized dictionary, expanding the “Cultured Language” of the *Modern Korean Language Dictionary* to 67,000 words, and likewise, based on the ideological background of self-reliance, party loyalty, proletarianism, prescriptiveness, and scientificness. The notion of standard language in North Korea began to change to refer to the P’yongyang dialect with the *Korean Language Dictionary* of 1962, and following the issuance of the Kim Il-sung Directives and the *Book of Korean Language Standards*, the Cultured Language Campaign gained momentum with the 1968 publishing of the *Modern Korean Language Dictionary*. This year also saw the launching of the journal *Cultured Language Study*, and the 1973 *Korean Cultured Language Dictionary* organized the Cultured Language, while the replacement of Sino-Korean

words with indigenous words, and the adoption of new words (e.g. ch'öllima) through 1976 added steam to the movement.

The *Modern Korean Language Dictionary* (2nd edition) is a medium-sized dictionary of over 136,000 words, of which “cultured” words form the core. It is a prescriptive dictionary, and is said to be the result of the party’s need to “promote the national language in a self-reliant way.” This dictionary’s features, according to Lee Ki-Won (1982), include 1) expansion of Cultured Language vocabulary with new political and scientific terminology (주체농법 [*chuch'e* farming techniques], 사상전 [ideological warfare]); 2) listing of frequently used words even among Sino-Korean, archaic, or dialectal words; and 3) listing of derivative forms with “-hada” or “-toeda” as nouns when attached to gerunds, and as independent verbals when attached to root words

In Chŏng Sun-gi & Lee Ki-won’s *Dictionary Compilation Theory Research* (1984), the authors deal with principles and real examples, generally striving to provide a fixed standard for problems discovered in the experience of actual dictionary compilation. Kim Il-sung and Kim Jŏng-il’s four basic principles for dictionaries (i.e. 1) self-reliance, 2) party loyalty, 3) modernness, and 4) scientificness and prescriptiveness) are set forth in the introduction. Part I deals with the problems of units, types, and listing of headwords, and examines the principles used in existing dictionaries. Part II discusses such things as methods of dictionary definition, meaning analysis and arrangement, historical preconditions for the realization of meaning function, lexico-grammatical characteristics of headwords, as well as definitions and example sentences. Part III is devoted to definitions of such special items as idioms, proverbs, academic terminology, and words employing sound symbolism (i.e. onomatopoeia and mimetic words). Part IV discusses the correlation between the grammatical form and lexical form of individual words, along with definitions of particles and other building blocks of word formation.

Special dictionaries include *Korean Words and Expressions* (1979), a dictionary / thesaurus organized according to topic; *Korean Proverbs* (1984), a collection of around 10,000 maxims and sayings, and Kim Pyŏng-je’s *Dialect Dictionary* (1980), which contrasts dialects with the Cultured Language

Period IV. The *Sino-Korean Dictionary* (1991) includes over 115,000 Sino-Korean words, over 20,000 of which are “-hada” derivatives, and lists 8,000 Chinese characters by stroke order in an appendix. The *Unabridged Korean Dictionary* is said to have been published in March, 1992 after seven years of

preparation, listing approximately 330,000 words.

Lee Ch'ong-yong (1989, 1990) shows one of the general characteristics of Period IV in his discussions index, statistical structure, and text choice for frequency dictionaries as a concrete problem related to machine translation. Ch'oe Py'ng-su (1989) also deals with the need for and method of compiling a dictionary for machine translation, and also with the types of mechanical dictionaries.

Summary. None of the dictionaries up to the *Dictionary of the Korean Language* strayed far from the standard language of South Korea, including archaic words, dialects, and a few proper nouns. Later dictionaries excluded these items, as well as all but an extremely small number of Sino-Korean words and loanwords. As the doctrinaire tendency favoring modern usage increased, dictionaries in North Korea have become more and more prescriptive, striving to record "the language of the North Korean worker" or "the language used by Kim Il-sung and the party." An exception to this trend has been the expansion of scientific terminology beginning with the second edition of the *Modern Korean Language Dictionary*.

Observations and Suggestions. Cho Chae-su (1986) points out that starting with the *Modern Korean Language Dictionary*, the vast majority of example sentences have been taken from the *Selected Works of Kim Il-sung*, ideological education texts, and revolutionary literary works. In the future, however, North Korean dictionaries should draw examples from a wider range of sources, increase their number of religious and folk terms, and also revive many Sino-Korean words. In the same spirit, they will have to accept as parts of the national language words adopted in the south since the war, and words that have been artificially discarded in the north.

Beginning with the introduction to the *Dictionary of the Korean Language*, dictionaries from North Korea claim to have been "made so as to help correct the language use of, and properly educate the people of South Korea, whose language has been corrupted by the Indigenous Culture Obliteration Policy of the American imperialists and their pawns." They have thus predicted since 1960 that the language would be unified in line with northern usage, but it is more likely that with the fall of communism, language in the north will eventually lose its ideological color and come to resemble that of the south.

The preface to the second edition of the *Modern Korean Language Dictionary* states that "scientific and other specialized terms are listed in their indigenous 'cleansed' forms, as determined by the Korean Language Screening Committee. In consideration of the revolutionary aspect of linguistics, formerly commonly Sino-

Korean terms are also listed with instructions to use the equivalent cleansed terms instead.” The National Korean Language Research Center (1992) states the view that listing old words along with “cleansed” ones in a prescriptive dictionary is an unavoidable transitional measure to help the users find the words to replace ones with which they are familiar. I will discuss this “language cleansing” in detail in the next section.

In conclusion, I would like to summarize the issues regarding dictionary

	<u>South Korea</u>	North Korea
Compiler	Individual, Civilian Research Group, Publishing Company	Party Organization, (Social) Science Institute Language and Literature Research Center, Linguistic Research Center
Compilation Trends	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Openness, Variety (Wide range of head-words, expansion of vocabulary, use of new and different grammar systems in addition to “Unified School Grammar”, etc) 2) Practicality (semiencyclopedia style, large scale of size, types of entries, and definitions) 3) Respect for history and tradition Apolitical, academic 4) Descriptive Contemporary and Historical (Synchronic and Diachronic) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Restriction, Consistency (Political selection standards for headwords, reduction of Sino-Korean and archaic words, unified grammar system) 2) Practicality (focus on annotation and quotes for political and ideological indoctrination Encyclopedia style entries for industrial/technological terms Listing of some South Korean political/social terminology for propaganda purposes) 3) Gradual abandonment of tradition and precedent Political reality dominant 4) Prescriptive, Doctrinaire, Self-reliance (<i>chuch'e</i>) Linguistic theory, Contemporary (Synchronic) only
Language	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Partially exclusive use of Korean alphabet (Chinese characters in parentheses in definitions and expressions) 2) Partial revision (1989) of 1933 Korean Spelling Code 3) 1936 Standard Word Collection revised and further clarified in 1989 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Thoroughly exclusive use Policy. of Korean alphabet (Dictionaries printed entirely in <i>han'gŭl</i> Not even Chinese character etymologies listed) 2) Major revision (1966 <i>Book of Korean Language Standards</i>) of 1954 North Korean Spelling code 3) Partial revision (1954) followed by establishment of “Cultured Language” (after mid-1960s) Most North Korean dialects treated as “equal” to standard forms

compilation by borrowing and slightly expanding on a chart entitled “Trends in Korean Dictionary Compilation in North and South Korea” from Cho Chae-su (1986).

The basic theory of dictionary compilation in North Korea is summed up as follows in Pak Küm-ja (1989): “In as much as the view of language as a ‘weapon’ for social development dominates North Korean society, dictionaries there are not only prescriptive, but also doctrinaire and ideological.”

5. Linguistic Cleansing

There have been several Linguistic Cleansing campaigns for the purpose of purifying the language in North Korea, and such efforts as the Cultural Improvement Movement (문풍개선 운동), the Linguistic Cleansing Campaign (말 다듬기 운동), and the Cultured Language Campaign (문화어 운동) are all important chapters in their linguistic policy. Lee Yun-p’yo (1991) describes the goal of this language purification in North Korea as aiming “to raise the level of communist education, refine the national language, revolutionize the language for the sake of unified progress, and to ideologize the language through the creation of revolutionary terminology.”

The primary objective of language purification has been to isolate words of Sino-Korean, Japanese, and other foreign origin, and to gradually eliminate them from the language. This process can be divided into the same four periods that we have been using in other sections. My principle source in this section has been Lee Yun-p’yo (1991).

Period I (1945-54) Initial Period Linguistic Cleansing.

Anti-illiteracy Crusade, Linguistic Cleansing, Chinese Character Prohibition.

Period II (1954-66) Foundation Period Lexical Cleansing.

Kim Il-sung Directives of 1964 and 1966

Period III (1966-87) Building Period: Cultured Language Campaign.

Cultured Language Study, Dictionary Compilation.

Period IV (1987-present) Synthesis Period: Refinement

Propagation and Critical Reflection.

Period I. The North Koreans claim to have reduced the illiterate population of their country by 2.5 million people between 1946 and 1949, and that this was possible through the prohibition of Chinese characters and the legal enforcement of the exclusive use of the Korean alphabet in 1949. After this, a crusade was carried

out cleansing Sino-Korean words from the language, and Pak Kyŏng-ch'ul (1949) proposed the following three principles: 1) Use indigenous words where Sino-Korean and indigenous words are both used; 2) Create all new words in indigenous form; and 3) For Sino-Korean words without indigenous counterpart, find indigenous words where possible

Pak Sang-jun (1949) proposed that those Sino-Korean words being used as indigenous words (門, 房, etc.) be accepted, but that Sino-Korean words be replaced with indigenous words wherever possible (朝夕→끼니, etc.), and that the number of Chinese characters be limited to 200 commonly used characters and 793 permissible characters. Lee Ik-hwan (1949) offered some concrete examples, including “소맥→밀, 대맥→보리, 돈사→돼지우리”. Beginning in 1953 it was decided to resume teaching classical Chinese (한문) to students in middle school and above.

Period II. Let us begin with an examination of how lexical cleansing was discussed in *Chosŏn Ŏ-mun* (1956-1960), a representative journal from this period. Ch'oe Hyŏn (1956) argued for an organized public campaign, and suggested seven major categories, including Forestry (별목→나무찍기). Ryu Ryŏl (1960) claims that the mass campaign to cleanse and unify special terminology, as well as for cultural improvement, enriched the language's vocabulary and breadth of expression, and also allowed for greater rhetorical and stylistic variety.

The Cultural Level of the Spoken and Written Language (1963), issued by the Linguistic Research Department of the Science Institute's Language and Literature Research Center, supported the linguistic cultural policy of the Labor Party (로동당) and announced the intent to refine the spoken and written language and thus raise its cultural level. In this book we can find the origins of the term “Cultured Language” (문화어) as used in the Kim Il-sung Directive of 1966. The third section of this book, dealing with purification of the Korean language, discusses the issue of Sino-Korean vs. indigenous words, and emphasizes the ease and simplicity of the native vocabulary.

Of the papers presented in *Chosŏn Ŏhak* (1961-1965), Pak Ŭi-sŏng (1964) suggests that in the process of language cleansing, Sino-Korean words should be removed when there is an equivalent native word, and that vocabulary items included in the written, but not yet in the spoken, language should also be eliminated. Lee Ik-sŏn (1964) argues for a principle that new words should be made in such a way that the average masses can easily use them, for the prohibition or limitation of Sino-Korean words, and for the active use of native word stems,

introducing seven types of word formation (notably affixation and word stem compounding).

The 1964 Kim Il-sung Directive, under the title of “A Few Issues for the Development of the Korean Language,” takes the form of a dialogue with linguists. It basically accepts and condenses the arguments concerning Sino-Korean vocabulary introduced in Periods I and II, sets limits on the number of Sino-Korean words and loanwords to be allowed, and recommends the use of only those that have become a fixed part of the language. It eliminates many Chinese style Sino-Korean words (화차참→정거장) and other words of foreign origin (우와기→양복저고리), but does not go so far as to replace well-established words such as 삼각형 (‘triangle’) and 트랙토르(‘tractor’) with ones of native origin. The Directive makes it clear how important the party considers language purification, and restricts the activities of linguistic cleansing and the making of new words to the Language and Literature Research Center (어문학연구소)

The 1966 Kim Il-sung Directive, entitled “For the Proper Enhancement of the National Characteristics of the Korean Language,” strengthens the 1964 Directive and defines the “Cultured Language,” thus setting the stage for the Cultured Language Campaign of Period III. It includes instructions to find and use good words from various dialects (기차→불술기), to change place names to ones of native origin (석교동→돌다리골), to standardize the use of native words already widely used by the people, and to make all new words from native words.

As for the means and methods of linguistic cleansing, the Directive sets forth the following rules: 1) to actively organize and mobilize the power and wisdom of the people, 2) to carry it out gradually with the goal of “total annihilation”, and 3) to closely fuse it with efforts of promulgation and restriction. It also calls for the initial cleansing of 5,000 to 6,000 commonly used words, gradually progressing to the cleansing of such vocabulary as political and military terminology.

Period III. This period is characterized by the forcible application of linguistic purification under the Kim Il-sung Directives. *Cultured Language Study* has been published regularly since 1968, and the single volume books *Word Formation Research* (1974), *Korean Words and Expressions* (1979), *Korean Lexicological Research* (1980), and *Linguistic Cleansing in Korea* (1986) were also published. From 1966 to 1967 the magazine *Ōmun Yŏn’gu* was published, including a column entitled “Cleansing Our Language,” which gave new “cleansed” alternatives for linguistic and literary terminology.

After 1966, language cleansing was undertaken by the cabinet’s Korean

Language Screening Committee, as well as the eighteen terminology subcommittees of the Social Science Institute's Korean Language Screening Headquarters and Linguistic Research Center. Lee Kŭn-yŏng (1984) states that approximately 40,000 basic academic terms were cleansed in the 1982 *Cleansed Words (Reconsidered Terminology)*, and Ch'oe Chŏng-hu (1983) that around 50,000 Sino-Korean words and loanwords were cleansed in the twenty years since 1964. He claims that thousands of cultured words were adopted from various dialects, and that a greater variety was achieved in the lexical structure of Korean through such projects as baby naming and the investigation of geographical names. However, Shim Pyŏng-ho (1984) points out that many difficult Sino-Korean words and loanwords continued to be used, and that due to the somewhat artificial nature of this linguistic cleansing, it will take a considerable amount of time before the refinements are universally adopted.

Word Formation Research (1974) includes new words created by experts in various fields. Such cleansed words as 자크→줄단추 and 청진→들어보기, are divided into categories including "General Vocabulary," "Academic Terminology," and "Proper Nouns." *Linguistic Theory Based on the Ideology of Self-Reliance* (1975) stresses precision and organization in scientific and political terminology, and emphasizes language purification founded on the ideology of self-reliance, characterized by national identity, proletarianism, and popularity.

Korean Words and Expressions (1979) includes an early version of *Cleansed Words* (1982), and offers a few indigenous candidates for the replacement for Sino-Korean words (간혹→이따금, 더러, 어찌다가, 때때로). *Korean Lexicological Research* (1980) divides linguistic cleansing into the following four categories: 1) replacement (하복→여름옷), 2) finding-and-replacement (라선형터널→따발굴), 3) revival-and-replacement (부들기→머금도드리), and 4) creation-and-replacement (마분지→판종이).

Linguistic Cleansing in Korea (1986), the crowning work of Period III linguistic cleansing, supplements *Korean Lexicological Research*. It reviews the accomplishments of linguistic cleansing, investigates linguistically the objects of this linguistic cleansing, and offers cleansed replacements for words in such categories as academic terminology (무정란→홀알), place names (신파군→김정숙군), baby names (충복, 선봉, 꽃실), and species names (갑산백태→갑산흰콩)

Period IV. This period may be described as one of refinement of the language cleansing process, as well as one dedicated to the expansion and propagation of the

results of this process. For instance, in the 1988 editions of the journal *Cultured Language Study*, there are columns for the revival of “sleeping words,” along with definitions and short example sentences for newly coined words. It also instructs the reader to replace such vulgarities as 대가리, 대갈통, 이 새끼, 저 자식 by 원썬놈 or ‘enemies of the people.’ The journal *Chosŏn Ŏ-mun*, resurrected in 1987, introduces a book entitled *Cleansed Words* (1987), and declares to use the terminology in this book in preference to that in the 1978 and 1982 books of the same name. This book, dealing mainly with everyday words and academic terminology, has categories for animals, vegetables, and minerals, and has a large number of discrepancies with the previous periods.

Word	Period II/III	Period IV
벌목	나무찍기 (II)	나무베기/벌목
편망	그물짜기/그물뜨기 (II)	그물꾸미기
조석	말썰물 (III)	막세기
대치	갈라넣기 (III)	갈아넣기

Sino-Korean words continue to be used even in Period IV, so in concert with efforts to propagate cleansed words, there has also been some critical reflection on the process of linguistic cleansing to date, and the modification of certain standards. *Theoretical Linguistic Research of Our Beloved Leader, Comrade Kim Jŏng-il* (1990) is a review and assessment of everything from *The Cultural Level of the Spoken and Written Language* (1963), through the Cultured Language Campaign of Period III, to the new Cultured Language of Period IV. The following observation by Kim Jŏng-il regarding the linguistic cleansing movement is of particular interest:

The phrase 나오는 사람들 ‘People Appearing’ used in film credits is not accurate and should be changed to 배역 ‘Cast.’ In the effort to cleanse our language, even many well-accepted expressions have been replaced with approximate renditions using native words, often resulting in ambiguity and awkwardness. Whereas 인쇄공장 ‘printing factory’ and 인쇄날자 ‘printing date’ are perfectly acceptable, our books now say 책찍은곳 ‘place where book was pressed’ and 책찍은날 ‘day when book was pressed’ ... In our efforts to cleanse the language let us not throw out the baby with the bath water.

Thus one of the prime goals of Period IV is to firmly establish the scope of objects for linguistic cleansing, exempting those Sino-Korean words and loanwords (e.g. 방, 학교, 잉크, 샤프) that have become commonly used and accepted parts of the language. The difficulty of getting the linguistic masses to properly use

the nearly 50,000 words cleansed up through Period III has been recognized, and efforts are being made to refine the cleansing process and to allow more time for the public to accept and begin to use the new vocabulary.

In language as in other areas, it is wiser to follow historical and sociological trends than to attempt to force change through artificial means, and after reunification it will be nearly impossible to persuade the citizens of South Korea to adopt into their vocabulary as many as 50,000 cleansed words. The south is not without a relatively small number of “purified” words of its own, but the large scale linguistic cleansing of North Korea is surely a major factor contributing to the feeling of heterogeneity between north and south. The narrowing of this gap will undoubtedly be one of the central topics of discussion in future meetings regarding the linguistic relationship between North and South Korea.

6. Examples of Linguistic Cleansing in North Korea

It is said that Kim Il-Sung, while inspecting provincial industry in the summer of 1959, heard the two-syllable Sino-Korean word for ‘mulberry bark’ (상피) and directed that the five-syllable native expression (뽕나무껍질) be used instead (*Cultured Language Study*, 1979, Issue 3). The fact that a large number of words cleansed in this manner are deprived of their brevity and conciseness is a serious problem

Syllables	Example
2→8	중위→가운데먹이주머니
3→8	센터링→중앙으로 꺾어차기
2→7	멸균→균장그리죽이기
3→7	산분구→가루뿌림주둥이
2→6	도찰→문질러마르기
	모선→애기어머니차
	동화→찾아듣고르기
	선목→뽕나무고르기
	후위→뒤먹이주머니 etc

It seems doubtful that Korean speakers would choose such elongated words in place of their much shorter counterparts. In North Korea, however, because language purification is carried out by the party rather than by civilians, and because it is considered a “weapon for the spread of socialism and the revolution” rather than a purely linguistic exercise, it is possible to enforce a certain level of purification. Nevertheless, as witnessed by the continued use of linguistic remnants

from the Japanese colonial period such as “urakai,” by the repatriated Kim Manch’ŏl and family, the cleansing effort in the north has by no means been an unmitigated success.

The Kim Il-sung Directives include the biting criticism that “All that would remain if one removed the Sino-Korean, Japanese and English words from the vocabulary of South Korea would be the grammatical particles like 을 and 를” The difference between north and south is a matter of degree, and it is without question that the sorting out of this kind of linguistic problem to a form acceptable by both sides will be a major task in the years ahead. For instance, in contrast to the above examples, if it were suggested that the Sino-Korean word for ‘manual clothes-making machine’ (수동재봉기) be changed to an indigenous equivalent such as ‘hand loom’ (손틀), the resulting new word would be considerably shorter than the old, and would be perfectly acceptable in the south as well as the north

The following will serve as an indication of just how different the lexicons of North and South Korea have become (c.f. Nam Sŏng-wu & Chŏng Chae-yŏng, 1990).

1) Words with the same form but different meanings

a) Semantic contraction and specialization

Word	Gloss (South)	North Korean Definition
동무	comrade	‘a fellow fighter in the ranks of the proletariat revolution’
반동	reaction	‘any anti-revolutionary movement in resistance to the efforts of the revolution and progressive forces, exerting a politically harmful influence on and in opposition to the party line and policy of a Marx-Leninist part’
수양	mental training	‘efforts for ideological solidarity, increasing political talent, mastering revolutionary business techniques and the style of the people, and achieving a high level of communist morality’
상전	master	‘imperialists who act as masters to the pawns and puppets of imperialism’
고용	employment	‘the buying, subjugation, and exercise of power over their puppets by imperialists and the reactionary ruling class’

b) Semantic elevation and generalization

Word	Gloss (South)	North Korean Definition
교시	directive	‘the teaching of the great leader’
노동	labor	‘activity for the creation of human wealth’
선동	instigation	‘mobilization, inspiration, and incitation of others for revolutionary purposes’
정치범	political crime	‘the crime with which revolutionaries and patriots are charged by reactionary rulers’

c) Semantic degradation

Word	Gloss (South)	North Korean Definition
경찰	police	'a special armed force for the surveillance and forcible punishment of the people'
고용	employment	'the exercise of power over laborers and farmers in the form of buying services for the purpose of exploiting workers by the exploiting class'
사환	errand boy	'a person who acts as an agent of exploitation and invasion by grovelling to the exploiting class'
신사	gentleman	'the word used by the governing class to refer to a man who behaves in accordance with the lifestyle of the bourgeois class'
주식회사	corporation	'a type of firm in which stockholders invest jointly to exploit the working masses of the labor class'

d) Anti-religious meaning (Cultured words)

Word	Gloss (South)	North Korean Definition
교회	church	'a politically protected base for paralyzing the class consciousness of the working class and for the propaganda of Christian doctrine and religious ideology'
선교사	missionary	'an agent of imperialist invasion disguised in religious robes and sent to foreign countries for the ostensible purpose of Christian evangelism'
신부	priest	'a person who serves the interests of the exploiting class by paralyzing the class consciousness and combative spirit of the people for the purpose of religious propaganda'
십자가	cross	'the symbol of the hypocrisy of Christianity, disguised as brotherly love'
절	temple	'a place where monks wear the mask of Buddhism and live a parasitic life by deceiving and exploiting the people'
지옥	hell	'a trick devised in order to rationalize the oppression and exploitation of the people and for the maintaining of absolute obedience to reactionary ruling systems and legal orders'

2) Words with the same meaning but different forms

South	North	Gloss
원수	원수	enemy
한복	조선옷	Korean traditional clothing
스프레이	솔솔이	spray
도시락	밥곽	lunch box
상호	호상	mutual
한의학	동의학	Oriental medicine
-회관	-궁전	-Hall
화장실	위생실	rest room

양해	료해	understanding
대풍년	만풍년	excellent harvest
예술공연	고예공연	artistic performance
확성기	고성기	megaphone
진열대	매대	showcase
반찬	식찬	side dish
헌병	경무원	military police
극장표	영화표지	movie ticket
국내외	해내외	foreign and domestic
저서	로작	writing
하수관	오수관	sewage pipe
어렵다	바쁘다	difficult
귀를기울이다	강구다	listen carefully
넘기다	번지다	turn a page
보증하다	담보하다	to guarantee

3) Words adopted from dialects into Cultured Language

North	South	Gloss
정지	부엌	kitchen
게사니	거위	goose
부부	상추	lettuce
노라리	건달	loafer, bum
계잘싸하다	너질하다	shabby
내구럽다	맵다	hot, spicy
두간하다	드물지 않다	not rare
모대기다	몸을 뒤틀다	to twist (one's body)
메사하다	쑥스럽다	embarrassing
말쨌다	거북하다	awkward
개체없다	치신없다	undignified
답새기다	매리다	to hit, beat
속보다	칼보다	to look down on
사살스럽다	어수선하다	disorderly and confused
갈람하다	가름하다	longish
무으다	조직하다	to organize
마스다	망가뜨리다	to ruin
무지다	쌓다	to pile up
다발다	짧고 밟다	short and close together
망탕	마구	indiscriminately
무중	갑자기	suddenly
지씨	끈기있게	determinedly
지어	더나아가	in addition

4) Phrases adopted from slang into Cultured Language

Phrase	Approximate English Equivalent
감독놈의 이마뼈기를 찍어 넘기교	to knock a f---ing inspector's head off and...

승냥이 대갈통을 짓조겨 주네 He thrashes the jackal (enemy)'s head
미국놈들을 까눕혔습니다 We flattened the American bastards
미제의 각을 뜨자 Let's carve up the American Imperialist's carcass!

5) Special terminology for the North Korean political system

Word	Gloss	North Korean Usage
가족주의	family-ism	'unorganized ideology or behavior in which a small number of people create a relationship of favoritism, place their own interests ahead of those of the organization, and live easy-going lives'
로동교양소	labor	'a place for the imprisonment of persons indoctrination sentenced with reformatinal labor in center North Korean courts'
민족주의	nationalism indoctrination center	'a bourgeois ideology pretending to represent the interest of the classes of an entire people, claiming the superiority of one's own race, spreading hatred and contempt for other races, and sowing discord and antagonism among peoples'
문풍	style	'an overall expression for people's ideology and methodology as found in their speech and writing'
미쟁이 처녀 영웅칭호	title of 'heroine plasterer'	'the title for an unmarried woman who has received the title of "labor heroine" for outstanding achievement as a plasterer in the area of construction'
천리마구역	Ch'ôllima District	'a name for the seven districts (e.g. Namhûng-dong, Namp'o-shi) established beginning in 1958 [for the exploitation of labor], as part of the Ch'ôllima Project. The name is taken from the clay-colored horse of <i>Samgook-ji</i> '

7. Suggestions for the reconciliation of differences

Recent South Korean works making reference to lexical items in North Korea tend to be self-restrained in their criticism, offering little more than cautious reports on the current state of affairs and cursory evaluation. But as the time for unification talks draws near, it seems that there are some analyses and suggestions we should not withhold.

First, the approach of tainting linguistic issues with political coloring, as seen in the Kim Il-sung Directives of North Korea, and of forcibly following a policy, such as the Cultured Language Campaign since 1966, dictated by other than strictly linguistic principles, should be corrected. Thus, such artificially created forms as *원쭉*, and newly added usages for words such as *상전* and *동무* should not be continued. Language should be pure and purified, free from ideological bias and politics.

Second, also as a result of the Cultured Language Campaign, the P'yongan dialect

has been made the standard in North Korea, thus adopting as standard many vocabulary items different from the traditional standard language of the Seoul area. As done in South Korea's "Multiple Standard Word Recognition" of 1989, it may be possible to accept more than one standard word in cases where there is a good reason, but there is no need to accept as standard all the words in the P'yŏngan dialect if the only purpose is to assert P'yongyang as of equal standing with Seoul. For a word such as 건달, which is a Sino-Korean word of Sanskrit origin, using the dialectal Korean word 노라리, as in the north, may be a good idea. On the other hand, calling a train a 불술기, from the Hamgyŏng dialect, instead of the familiar 기차, seems to be going a bit too far.

Third, an excessive avoidance of Sino-Korean words and other loanwords has created an artificial constraint on the natural expansion of language. In North Korea, where language is considered a tool of the state, subject to manipulation and control, this problem is settled simply by brute force. In the history of language, however, no purist effort to banish completely foreign influence from a language has been very successful. It is fine to encourage the use of native words such as 남새 in place of the Sino-Korean 남채, or to speed up processes of natural selection such as 화차참→정거장 or 에끄자멘→시험. The indiscriminate preference of indigenous words as in 파동→물결움직임, however, tends to create more problems than it solves.

In spite of their efforts to reduce the use of Sino-Korean words, North Koreans continue to use them to a considerable extent in academic papers and political terminology, but, unlike in the south, they have placed definite limits on them and have determined not to add to their number in the future. It must also be recognized that their criticisms about the degree to which words from English and Japanese have infiltrated the language of Seoulites have more than a grain of truth to them. Thus, while recognizing that we in the south have our own problems to attend to, it is my recommendation that in preparation for the reunification of the peninsula the Korean language be freed as much as possible from politics, dialects, and artificiality.

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