

The examination of Korean language problems under the two different political systems (Republic of Korea or South Korea, and Democratic People's Republic of Korea or North Korea) shows a pattern of divergence of national language by political system.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the characteristics of current language policies in North Korea as they have evolved since the division of the Korean Peninsula.

1. The periodization of language policy in North Korea

Kim (1972) is, as far as I know, the first scholar since 1945 in South Korea to make a systematic study of language planning in North Korea. Rejecting *Hankul matchwumpep thongilan* [A Plan for Unifying Korean Spelling], North Korea formulated *Cosene Chelcapep* [Korean Orthography System] in September, 1954, and published the *Cosenmal Kyupemcip* [Korean Prescription] in July, 1966, called 1954 Orthography and 1966 Orthography respectively in this paper.

Kim's periodization of language policy in North Korea is based on the two innovations in Korean orthography and is as follows:

1. the first period (1945–1954): the *Thongilan* Period (Period of Unified Orthography);
2. the second period (1954–1966): the *Chelcapep* Period (Period of Divided Orthography);
3. the third period (1966–present) the *Kyupemcip* Period (Period of Prescriptism).

This division is followed by Yu (1973), Hong (1977), and others. However, Kim (1978: 252) questions the justification for this periodization: 'While Prof. Kim's periodization is not arbitrary, it is not significant. Language policy is more than an orthographic convention'.

Instead he suggests a periodization based on Kim Il-sung's 1964

'dialogue' — a language-policy guide ordered by Kim Il-sung in the form of a 'dialogue' on January 3, 1964: *Cosene-rul palcensikhiki wihan myetkaci mwuncey* [Problems in the development of Korean — a dialogue with linguists]. A similar periodization is propounded by Kim (1983: 6):

1. the first period (1945–1966): the 'exclusive use of *Hankul* [Korean letters] period;
2. the second period (1966–present) the *Mwunwhae* [cultural language] Period.

While Kim (1983) agrees with Kim (1978) that Kim Il-sung's 1964 'dialogue' opened the new period of language policy, as his criterion of periodization he adopted Kim Il-sung's 1966 'dialogue', which mandated the entirely autonomous standard language called *Mwunwhae* (cultural language). This 1966 'dialogue' is a language-policy guide ordered by Kim Il-sung in the form of a 'dialogue' on May 14, 1966: *Cosene-uy mincokcek thukseng-ul sallye-nakaltey tayhaye* [On fostering national characteristics of Korean].

Co (1979: 115) regards both the 1964 'dialogue' and the 1966 'dialogue' as the dividing line. For some reason, the 1966 'dialogue' did not become known to the public until a quarterly magazine, *Mwunwhae haksup* [Cultural Language Study], first introduced it in 1969: vol. 2, no. 2, and then it first published the whole text of that 'dialogue' in 1969: vol. 2, no. 3. Before this appeared, only quotations from the 1964 'dialogue' and commentary notes had been printed. In North Korea, the contents of historical documents can be revised on a large scale following a policy amendment. Thus it might be assumed that the 1966 'dialogue' became the principle of language planning through correction and arrangement before it was officially announced.

In the foreword of *Hyentae Cosenmal Sacen* [A Dictionary of Modern Korean] (hereafter '1968 dictionary'), it was mentioned that this dictionary was compiled according to the principles of the 1964 and 1966 'dialogues'. The fact that '*Mwunwhae*' [cultural language] replaced *Phyocwune* [standard language] reflects the principles of the 1966 'dialogue'. The word *Mwunwhae* was first coined in the 1966 'dialogue' and was also claimed to be the new name of the standard language, which had to be constructed on the basis of the speech used around the Phyengyang area. It was also determined that *phyocwune* should be discarded because of its implication that the Seoul dialect is the standard.

On January 25, 1964, immediately after the 1964 'dialogue', a new policy on the arrangement of vocabulary was adopted by the Central Political Committee of the Korean Worker's Party. On April 21, 1964, the concrete methods of vocabulary arrangement and of strengthening social control against vocabulary usage were laid down by Cabinet Decision 29

(Sahay Kwahak Chulphansa [S.K.C.] 1973: 165). Orthographic reform began by order of the 1964 'dialogue' and was approved by Kim Il-sung's 1966 'dialogue'. Finally in July, 1966, the Orthography Law was announced. Therefore, *Mwunwhae* policy can indeed be considered to begin with the 1964 'dialogue', and I think it is reasonable to adopt the 1964 'dialogue' as the criterion for periodization.

From 1945 to the beginning of 1949, the eradication of illiteracy and the elimination of Chinese characters were the main tasks of language policy. The Korean War (1950–1953) followed shortly, and the 1954 Orthography Law was declared a year after the cease-fire. The Standard Language regulation established by *Chosene Hakho* (Korean Language Society) in 1936, which made the language of Seoul as the standard language, had not been reformed until the enforcement of the 1954 Orthography Law. So this period deserves to be called the first one. In conclusion, on the basis of the criteria of location for a standard language, I suggest the following periodization:

1. the first period (1945–1954): the period of the eradication of illiteracy and elimination of Chinese characters ('Seoul Centered Korean' Period);
2. the second period (1954–1964): the *Phyocwune* period ('Common Korean' period);
3. the third period (1964–present) the *Mwunwhae* period ('Phyengyang-centered Korean' period).

The second period, called the 'Common Korean' period, is characterized by the fact that the concept of standard language changed from 'standard language is the speech of the middle class in contemporary Seoul', promulgated by the *Cosene Hakho* to 'standard language is the modern language most commonly used by Koreans', promulgated by the 1954 Orthography Law. The Orthography Law in 1954 abandoned 'Seoul' as a criterion of location and 'middle class' as a criterion of social class. The standard speech of the second period was not very different from that of South Korea in its prescriptions, compared with the third period.

The other criterion which distinguishes the second period from the third period is the difference in the social control of language. Concerning the *Cosenmal sacen* [A Dictionary of the Korean Language], published in 1961–1962, which is called the 'summary of the second-period language policy', Kim Il-sung criticized it, saying, 'it looks like a Chinese-character word book' and ordered that 'proscribed vocabulary must not be listed in a Korean dictionary'.

After the 1964 'dialogue', it was ordered that the Korean dictionary be made to play the instrumental role which would unify popular speech into the officially approved and prescribed speech. As a result, strict social control, eliminating all elements inconsistent with language prescription,

has been applied. Attention is drawn to the significant relation between language planning, politics, and education.

During the third period, the claim that 'language is a weapon for revolution and construction' has been emphasized as the basic view of language planning. To put it differently, it is the manifestation of that principle that language planning should take language as a means of political socialization.

The geographical and political division of Korea has resulted in two different social and political sectors. Two different nations have obviously executed dissimilar language-planning policies under the condition of complete isolation from each other of the two varieties of the language spoken in the two countries.

This should be investigated using a sociolinguistic approach. It is especially necessary to study this field in connection with the political socialization that unifies people's political and social consciousness through Kim Il-sung's *Cwuchey Sasang* [The Idea of Autonomy] and *Yuil Sasang* [The Idea of Uniqueness], activated after 1967.

2. The 'Eradication of Illiteracy' Movement

In 1945, when Korea gained independence from Japanese rule, it was estimated that North Korean illiterates numbered about 2,300,000 (S.K.C. 1973: 81). Japan had forced Koreans to use Japanese as their official and everyday language during her 35 years' rule. In 1938, Japan strengthened the 'Japanese everyday-use policy' by degrading Korean from a required subject to an optional one in the schools. It is needless to say that the language of education was Japanese only. So, both Korean and Japanese teachers taught Korean pupils in the Japanese language. Korean pupils were forced to spy on each other to prevent use of Korean. School education was regarded as the most effective arena for promoting use of Japanese.

In 1945, the percentage of children of elementary school age attending school was 35%, and the problem of the illiterate who could neither read nor write Korean was serious. There were few who did not know Korean, and the urgent task was not the spread of standard speech but of Korean literacy. The Eradication of Illiteracy Movement began immediately after the liberation of Korea and reportedly spread Korean literacy to 1,000,000 illiterates in one year (S.K.C. 1973: 96), but the details are unknown. In November, 1946, '*Kenkwuksasang chongtongwen wuntong* [Mass Mobilization for the Foundation of a Republic Movement] began

for the purpose of eliminating all remnants of Japanese imperialism. It is said that this movement was directed to eradicate the remains of Japanese customs and old habits of language use (S.K.C. 1973: 194). The use of correct Korean was suggested as a political duty by the government and led to a systematic movement.

In November, 1946, at the third extension meeting of the extraordinary People's Committee of North Korea, the Eradication of Illiteracy Movement was suggested as Decision 113, and it was agreed to spread the campaign to the rural area from December 1, 1947, to the end of March, 1948. This campaign was aimed at the illiterate between the ages of 12 and 50. After completion of this course, they were supposed to be given a certificate (S.K.C. 1973: 95), but details are not available. It was claimed only that the illiterate were basically eliminated by the 'First Eradication of Illiteracy Rush Movement', which was established at the 5th People's Committee of North Korea as Decision 83 in December, 1947, and continued until the end of March, 1948 (S.K.C. 1973: 95-96).

According to the main political principles promulgated the day after the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (September 9, 1948), more *sengin hakkyo* [adult school] and *sengin cwunghakkyo* [adult middle school] would be established and would be used to eradicate illiteracy. These principles were carried out by Cabinet Order 38 on October 25, 1948.

The 'Second Eradication of Illiteracy Rush Movement' was carried out from December 1, 1948, to the end of March, 1949. As a result, the complete eradication of illiteracy was claimed to have been accomplished by the beginning of 1949 (S.K.C. 1973: 105). If this is true, it must be a miraculous and epoch-making event compared with the case of South Korea, which in 1958 had an 8.3% illiteracy rate after the completion of a five-year plan.

Teachers and college students were mobilized after classes or during vacations for the eradication of illiteracy as an important political task. Even all kinds of people's committees, social organizations, educational institutes, and publishing companies participated. Laborers were forced to attend night adult schools: night *Hankul* [Korean] schools were established at each place of work after working hours. In rural areas, concentrated literacy education for peasants was carried out during the leisure season, winter (S.K.C. 1973: 90). In North Korea the eradication of illiteracy was an essential prerequisite to enable the party and the government to spread their policies among the people. This also involved the procedure of restoring the authority of the national language which could only be realized by acquiring sovereign power after the liberation from Japanese imperialism.

3. Prohibition of the use of Chinese characters

The Korean letter is a phonetic symbol invented in 1443 (1444 according to North Korea). However, use of these letters did not preclude use of Chinese characters, resulting in a dual system utilizing both Korean letters and Chinese characters.

Modern Korean faced a new era when the *Tokripsinmwun* [Independence Daily] filled whole pages with Korean letters only, without the use of any Chinese characters except in its English pages. But Japanese rule since 1910 had resulted in the degeneration of the status of Korean from an official language to a vernacular. Koreans, deprived of the right to decide language policy, had to gradually adapt themselves to Japanese-Korean bilingualism.

After liberation, as the society became a monolingual Korean one, the problem of illiteracy emerged as the most urgent. It was hardly possible to teach complex Chinese characters to these illiterates (at least 3/4 of the inhabitants) from the beginning level in a short time. What was needed was for everyone to use letters only, abandoning the dual writing system, that is, the use of Chinese characters.

Immediately after liberation, Chinese characters were removed from textbooks and many literary works using only Korean letters were published. This applied primarily to publications and articles for the younger generation, and for laborers and farmers; the scope was gradually expanded. From the beginning of 1947, articles without Chinese characters began to show up in the newspaper of the Korean Worker's Party and other publications. Some Chinese characters, if necessary, were added within parenthesis. This was a temporary solution for those Sino-Korean and Chinese expressions that couldn't be properly understood without the help of Chinese characters, until the coining of corresponding easy new words, based on pure Korean (S.K.C. 1973: 121, 123, 126).

The abolition of Chinese characters, activated in 1948, required the prompt rearrangement of the vocabulary system. It was claimed that Kim Il-sung's order to spur the abolition of Chinese characters when he visited *Mincwu cosen* [Democratic Korea], a newspaper publishing company, on February 8, 1948, became the direct motivation for the change. In early 1949, most publications were basically forbidden to contain Chinese characters. However, scientific and technical terms, Sino-Korean vocabulary related to the classics, and proper personal and place names were permitted temporarily to include Chinese characters in parentheses (S.K.C. 1973: 128).

The abandonment of Chinese characters was officially adopted in conjunction with the enactment of obligatory elementary education on

September 8, 1949 (Kim 1972: 5; Hong 1976: 201). Later, the necessity of teaching Chinese characters was claimed in the 1966 'dialogue' in order to make it possible to understand South Korea's publications and past literature. Starting in 1968, North Korea determined the number of Chinese characters which should be taught from the middle school to the university level and began to teach Chinese characters as 'foreign orthographic symbols' (S.K.C. 1973: 129-130).

In February 1949, the Academic Term Decision Committee was formed. It began to combat the confusion in the vocabulary system resulting from the abandonment of Chinese characters. There seemed to be a few, however, who were reluctant to replace the Sino-Korean vocabulary with native Korean words (S.K.C. 1973: 61). *Sasang tucaeng* [an ideological struggle] was carried out against those who were opposed to the abandonment of Chinese characters. They were criticized for encouraging the use of Chinese characters and were also judged to be the remains of the overthrown exploiting class, sectarian factors deeply influenced by flunkeyism, doctrinism, and reactionism.

4. Reform of the orthography law

In 1954, North Korea announced the new orthography law, an amendment of the 1933 Orthography Law. Kim (1972: 8-10) points out that nine revisions, including the negation of the initial law of consonants and the adoption of *saiphyo* [fortis marker] were made. However, the morpho-phonemic system was retained and the revisions were not so extensive that the original form diverged radically from the overall orthography system. In the 1966 Orthography Law, only two items from the 1954 law were revised, including the disuse of *saiphyo*. Orthographic reform in North Korea came to be one of the main factors that increased the linguistic differentiation between North and South Korea. But because Korean letters are used only in the Korean language, the differences mandated by the Orthography Laws did not do any harm to the national symbolic function of Korean.

5. Reform of the writing system

In the latter half of the 1950s, a reform of the Korean writing system was attempted under the theoretical direction of Kim Twu-pong, based on what we call the *yukcamo* [six alphabets] theory. In Korean, some

irregularly declined words lose their final consonant or change into another sound in the proper environment:

/kal/ (Root) + /ni/ → /kani/ (1~∅)

/ket/ (Root) + /uni/ → /keluni/ (t~1)

Here the 1954 Orthography Law violates the morphophonemic system, because it transcribes the sound as it is phonetically realized. In his effort to accommodate this inconsistency, Kim Twu-pong devised six new letters to be used as the final consonants in the above words. By using these six letters regardless of sound change, he made it possible to maintain the morphophonemic system. Though he attempted to put his theory into practice by 1957, he failed because of the rising tide of opposition (Lee 1958: 93). Following his loss of political position in 1958, his theory was denied completely and he was branded as unscientific and antipopular.

A syllable unit in Korean is represented by a character which is in turn a combination of vowel and consonant symbols. The assertion that Korean writing should follow the Western way of writing (*phuleswuki*) was held by a Korean linguist, Cwu Si-kyeng (1876–1914), who lived during the age of enlightenment. Even in North Korea, he is considered the 'first eminent scholar who studied the reform of the Korean letters' (Lee 1958: 92). In his 1966 'dialogue', Kim Il-sung ordered linguists to research alphabet reform based on *phuleswuki*, upholding the tradition. By his order, a research group was formed to look into such fields as determination of number of symbols and improvement of letter form, the process for the morphemization of words, and the new orthography law. Reportedly, a part of the letter-reform research is almost completed (S.K.C. 1973: 247–248).

The proposal for letter reform has, however, not been officially announced yet, possibly because it is planned to effectuate it after unification, for it might increase the language gap between the two Koreas. In 1956, horizontal writing replaced vertical writing in all publications.

6. The criterion of standard language

Standard language of the second period was based on 'the modern speech most commonly used by Koreans' (1954 Orthography Law) and was not limited to any particular region. But in reality it was most similar to that of South Korea. The alteration of the term *phyocwune* [standard language] into *Mwunhwa* in the 1966 'dialogue' meant the construction of an

autonomous standard speech, completely independent from that of South Korea. Han (1980: 215) pointed out the intention behind the construction of *Mwunhwa*: 'to psychologically discourage North Korean residents from having any sense of ties with or nostalgia for the traditional culture of Korea remaining in the Seoul dialect which had and still has enjoyed prestige over any other dialects in Korea.'

Mwunhwa has two regional principles: 'it is based on the language of Phyengyang'; and 'its center is Phyengyang'. These two principles became the key point in interpreting the essence of the third standard language policy.

In the case of South Korea, where the standard language is based on the Seoul dialect, the history of the language is taken into consideration. Even if the percentage of other regional dialects in Seoul speech is increasing as a result of population influx, 'Seoul dialect' here means the pure dialect before that influx. In other words, it dates back to the 'pure Seoul dialect which has been spoken until now'. *Mwunhwa* repudiated this position, which is based on 'pure' words from the dialectological view. The assertion that 'the standard vocabulary is the Phyengyang vocabulary formed at the capital of revolution' (Choy and Mwun 1980: 131) means that '*Mwunhwa* should be based on the newly formed postliberation Phyengyang speech'. Though in many papers *Mwunhwa* has been claimed to be based on Phyengan-to dialect, which includes Phyengyang dialect, this is not so, at least ideologically. It has been asserted that Phyengyang speech contains the most exuberant and the most refined words composed of the best elements, since Phyengyang was full of revolutionists and intellectuals from all over the world, as well as from South Korea, and was the headquarters of the foundation of the republic.

The second principle, 'its center is Phyengyang', has a function which ordains social and class dialect and suggests an example of standard language that accords with the so-called 'three principles': partisanship, class consciousness, and revolutionism. The claim that 'the language of the capital of revolution is ... thoroughly laboring class-oriented and revolutionary' (S.K.C. 1973: 31) means that Phyengyang speech maintains the three principles. *Mwunhwa* has been kept intact by the centralist policy of language, first settled on in Phyengyang, center of politics and education, and later spread all over the country. While *Mwunhwa* is very similar to the standard language of South Korea with regard to basic vocabulary, structure, and phonological system, it includes North Korean dialect words and many coined words. This eventually led to phonetic and stylistic divergence between the two varieties of Korean, as well as to vocabulary differences. As to the phonetic characteristics of *Mwunhwa*, Lee (1982: 37) points out that the vowel /ə/ becomes round, the vowel /œ/

becomes a monophthong, and the back vowel /w/ tends to be round. He thinks these three phenomena reflect the phonetic properties of the Phyengan-to dialect. With reference to morphological properties, by analogy to established strategies for coining new vocabulary, new derivational affixes were devised and added. Further, he also reported that various words were coined using a unique method of coining within the established grammatical system, and that the intonation conveys a belligerent and provocative character from the stylistic point of view (Lee 1982: 241, 246).

7. Vocabulary maintenance

The history of vocabulary maintenance in North Korea dates back to the period of partisan struggle against Japan which flourished in northeastern China in the 1930s. North Korea tries to justify the origin of the difference between the standard speech of the two Koreas by introducing into its language policy the official historical view that the partisans led by Kim Il-sung were instrumental in liberating Korea from Japanese rule. It is claimed that the vocabulary underwent a change as new political and revolutionary terms were coined during the course of partisan struggle, while words reflecting the old-fashioned society were scarcely used. It can be said that the eradication of illiteracy and the abandonment of Chinese characters were emphasized from 1945 to 1949, and vocabulary maintenance was actively worked out starting approximately in 1954. Although the Academic Terms Decision Committee was formed in February, 1949 (S.K.C. 1973: 161), concrete results have not been reported. Since 1959, several books of academic terms have been published.

Vocabulary maintenance in the second period is mainly confined to academic and technical terms and Sino-Korean terms which are difficult to understand if not written in Chinese characters. It is further purported to enhance the simplicity, clearness, and correctness of words and expressions with a view to ensuring equal participation of the public in language activity. In other words, it can be said to be a process of the movement toward lexical unification of the written and spoken languages. In the second period there was not as much difference between the two varieties of Korean as at the present day, although complete lack of communication between the two Koreas has brought about language differentiation.

During the third period, North Korea began to emphasize the language's national characteristics, completely reforming the vocabulary system by replacing every Sino-Korean term with a pure Korean one as

far as possible. Thus, language differentiation was increased to a degree far beyond that of the second period. The studies written in South Korea concentrated on the language policy of the third period. One reason for this is the fact that South Korean scholars were shocked by the language differentiation that became apparent at the South-North talks (1971, 1972) which broke the wall between the two Koreas only momentarily but motivated the South Koreans to study the language as a strategic countermeasure. The other reason can be derived from the fact that the serious antagonism between South Korea and North Korea causes scholars to make hasty studies and to criticize for the sake of criticism. In South Korea only those with permits to read 'subversive documents' are allowed to read original North Korean texts; further, the language of North Korea was being studied by only a few researchers at a small number of institutes. Recently, during the last three or four years, however, great changes have been made in such a trend. Language differentiation between South and North Korea was expedited by two 'dialogues' in North Korea; the 1964 'dialogue' triggered complete maintenance of vocabulary, and the 1966 'dialogue' promulgated the criteria for the new standard speech called *Mwunhwae*. The public was led to participate in vocabulary maintenance and journalistic discussion was initiated in every national and local newspaper starting in July, 1966.

North Korea's vocabulary management comprises three elements: maintenance, distribution, and control. Of these elements, *maltatumki* means 'maintenance' and is the basis of vocabulary management. This is the main element of a triad including distribution and control. The execution of language policy in North Korea shows a fundamental difference from that in South Korea in that the language policy is conducted on the basis of a centralist, top-down national policy.

7.1. Maintenance

The main target of vocabulary maintenance is words of foreign origin among Korean words. These are divided into two groups: Sino-Korean words and loan words. In the third period, special emphasis was given to retaining the national characteristics of the Korean language by replacing those adopted words with native Korean words. The words targeted for maintenance can be categorized as follows:

1. words of foreign origin among technical and scientific terms;
2. words of foreign origin which can be replaced by pure Korean without change of meaning;
3. loan words which are not yet fully adapted to Korean;

4. obsolete words which are no longer necessary in modern North Korean society;

5. Sino-Korean homonyms. North Korea deals with the intelligible homonyms formed as a result of the abandonment of Chinese characters by discarding part of their semantic content. *Cisang* is a case in point. Originally it represented two different words meaning 'in newspapers' and 'in journals', respectively, but it became one word meaning 'on newspapers and journals'.

Discarding of words, pure Koreanization, and adaptation are three methods of vocabulary maintenance.

7.1.1. *Discarding of words.* North Korea has discarded those adopted words which represent feudalism, ethical concepts, religious concepts, and old-fashioned customs. These words, replaced by newly coined equivalents, were also discarded. They were eliminated not as a result of natural extinction but by strong social control forbidding the use of these adopted words. The Korean dictionary is abused as a method of social control for vocabulary prescription.

7.1.2. *Pure Koreanization.* Exclusive use of pure Korean words became compulsory in cases where pure Korean words were available which corresponded semantically to the discarded loan words, and new words were coined using pure Korean elements if there were no corresponding pure Korean words. Pure Koreanization is carried out through the following four processes.

1. Exclusive use of pure Korean is mandated; for example, the pure Korean word *yerumot* 'summer wear' is exclusively used instead of the Sino-Korean word *hapok* 'summer wear'.

2. Pure Korean words are sought, in the dialects or among rarely used words, which share the same meaning with the words of foreign origin which are to be discarded; they are then termed 'standard language', driving out adopted words. For example, *oyyongyak* → *kechungyak*.

3. Pure Korean words of weak derivation are activated by using them positively. The semantic fields of already-established pure Korean words are extended, producing a dual system with the adopted words, which are then discarded.

4. In case there is no pure Korean substitute for words of foreign origin which are to be discarded, new words are coined using pure Korean elements. This is done through calquing, and it plays the most important role among the pure-Koreanization methods. If morphological unity between word groups is maintained, coining by means of calquing, which involves the use of some pure Korean elements in the compound, is permissible.

7.1.3. *Adaptation.* Sino-Korean terms which have become completely established in Korean and internationalized loan words are recognized as standard language. Loan words are transcribed as native speakers pronounce them. Many social-scientific terms are maintained, even though they are Sino-Korean. For the most part, the immediate source language of these Sino-Korean are not Chinese but Japanese. In the process of formation of modern vocabulary, Korean language has been decisively influenced by Japanese language.

These words have been formed in a well settled way, so that they cannot be easily abolished.

7.1.4. *Distribution and control.* The vocabulary maintained mainly by the National Language Decision Committee under the immediate control of the Cabinet and the Social Science Institute continued to be listed until 1968 in four volumes of a work entitled *Tatumunmal* (*phyocwunhal choko*) [Embellished Speech (The First Draft for a Standard Language)], and it amounted to 36,000 words. The fifth volume was published in 1976, adding 14,000 words to the vocabulary stock. These newly listed words cannot be recognized as *Mwunhwae* as soon as they appear in the book. They are distributed under strict social control and are accepted as *Mwunhwae* only after they have become widely used and established in North Korean. Elementary schools and the printing and press media are expected to play the most important role in distributing these words. The Korean dictionary and a dictionary of technical terms undertake the function of establishing the system of *Mwunhwae* vocabulary and of controlling its usage. The Korean dictionary in the third period is based on the principle of listing only prescriptive words and makes it clear that they are non-prescriptive if it cannot yet list them. People and national institutions are strictly controlled so that they use only the words prescribed in the Korean dictionary. For example, individual expression in literary works must be chosen within the limits of prescribed vocabulary. Individual expression which violates vocabulary prescriptions is criticized for *cayuwha* 'liberalization' of word use and bourgeois word use. The word *cayuwha* has exclusively only negative connotations in North Korea (see section 8.5). North Korea's language policy is said to be based on 'the principle of the worker class', 'the principle of people', and 'the principle of science'. We can find examples that show that these principles are employed to punish political rivals. The case of Kim Twu-pong was mentioned above, and other cases involve the high government officials O Ki-sep and Pak Chang-ok:

Right after Liberation, I listened to O Ki-sep's speech in some convention, and he used many foreign words people could not understand such as *iteyolloki*

[ideology], *phuroreytharia* [proletarian], and *heykeymoni* [hegemony]. ... Those persons are exceptionlessly flunkeyists and doctrinists' (Kim Il-sung 1969: 221).

Kim Il-sung continued to criticize O Ki-sep: 'He tried to Russianize the Korean language, carelessly using words like *iteyollokia* and *heykeymoniya*'.

Pak Chang-ok was criticized by Kim Il-sung because he committed the fallacy of formalism by frequently using exaggerated expressions such as *chong-kwelki* 'mass rally' and *chong-tongwen* 'mass mobilization'. It is said that the purgation of Park Chang-ok, who represents the pro-Russian-Koreans, was intended to eliminate Russia's influence over North Korea. Ironically enough, however, *phuroreytharia* and *chong-tongwen* were listed in the Korean dictionary that was compiled later and were recognized as *Mwunhwa*.

Self-evidently, it is a result of strict control of language that style and usage in North Korean publications are uniform. During the third period, place names and personal names were also the target of vocabulary management. Sino-Korean words were attributed to the flunkeyism of our ancestors and to Japanese imperialism. In the case of place names, the policy was presented of extending the objects of maintenance from the names of bridges, brooks, and streets to those of administrative districts. The policy was also promoted of replacing the Chinese character *-ca* (pronounced *-ko* in Japanese) in the final position in girls' names with Chinese characters like *-huy* or *-ok*, which are frequently used in Korean names or in pure Korean words, because *-ca* is Japanese style. Consequently the Chinese character *-ca* has completely disappeared in girls' names. The first name in Korean traditionally shows the generation. This is called *tollimca* or *hangryelca* and involves selecting among one or two Chinese characters belonging to one of five categories (iron, tree, water, fire, soil). Those belonging to the same generation use a Chinese character of the same category. Accordingly, if the generation of one's father uses a character of the category 'tree', his son should employ a character of the category 'water'. His cousin, of course, should also have a name which is a member of the category 'water'. However, it was claimed that this was not only unnecessary because of its being old-fashioned but also impossible, under the state of pure Koreanization, to adhere to this traditional custom (Choy and Mwun 1980: 109).

Even in South Korea this *tollimca* tends to be disregarded as the Confucian way of thinking and traditional customs gradually disappear. The younger generation shows a tendency to favor pure Korean names, and an increasing number of pure Korean names is expected to be developed in the future.

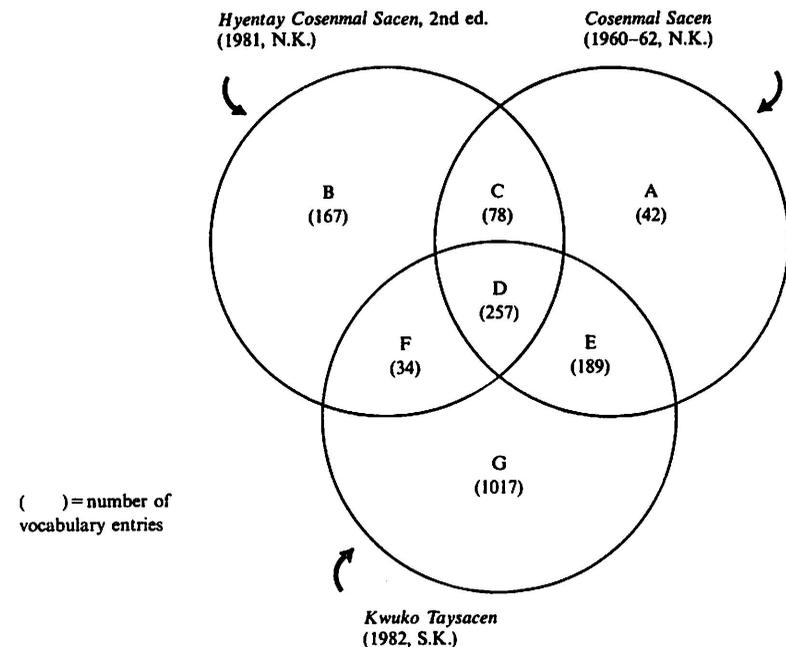


Figure 1. Sample survey comparison

8. The characteristics of *Mwunhae* vocabulary

8.1. Newly coined words

The mass production and distribution of neologisms (newly coined words) by vocabulary maintenance was conducive to the establishment of *Mwunhwa* as a standard language. Vocabulary maintenance during the third period has the purpose of fully Koreanizing the whole system of Korean vocabulary as far as possible. Figure 1 and Tables 1 and 2 show the result of our sample survey, which took as its subject the *Cosenmal Sacen* [Dictionary of Korean Language] (1960-1962, published in North Korea) of the second period, the *Hyentay Cosenmal Sacen* [Dictionary of Modern Korean] (2nd ed. 1981, published in North Korea) of the third period, and *Kwuko Taysacen* [Comprehensive Dictionary of the Korean Language] (1982, published in South Korea).

Our sample survey covers the items from 'm' to 'maum' according to the order of vocabulary entries in North Korean dictionaries. In the case of the South Korean dictionary (that is, *Kwuko Taysacen*), the items in our sample survey are limited to vocabulary entries corresponding to those in the North Korean dictionaries (that is, 'm' to 'maum'). (The

Table 1. Comparison of entries between dictionaries

Dictionary	Classification of vocabulary		Dialect (%)	Old words (%)	Foreign words (%)	Compound: Sino-Korean + foreign words (%)	Total (%)
	Sino-Korean (%)	Compound: Sino-Korean + pure Korean (%)					
1960-1962 (North Korean)	217 (38)	81 (14)	11 (2)	12 (2)	38 (7)	5 (1)	566 (100)
1981 (North Korean)	96 (18)	96 (18)	2 (11)	0 (0)	37 (7)	14 (2)	536 (100)
1982 (South Korean)	449 (30)	104 (7)	120 (8)	97 (6)	355 (24)	125 (8)	1497 (100)

Table 2. Serwise comparison of entries between dictionaries

	Classification of vocabulary		(Pure Korean) Dialect (%)	(Pure Korean) Old words (%)	Foreign words (%)	Compound: Sino-Korean + foreign words (%)	Total (%)
	Sino-Korean (%)	Compound: Sino-Korean + pure Korean (%)					
A. 1960-1962 only	10 (24)	8 (19)	4 (9)	3 (7)	10 (24)	2 (5)	42 (100)
B. 1981 only	9 (5)	43 (26)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (5)	8 (5)	167 (100)
C. 1960-1962 + 1981	17 (22)	16 (21)	2 (2)	0 (0)	10 (13)	2 (2)	78 (100)
D. 1960-1962, 1981, + 1982	65 (25)	36 (14)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (5)	0 (0)	257 (100)
E. 1960-1962 + 1981	125 (66)	21 (11)	5 (3)	9 (5)	6 (3)	1 (0)	189 (100)
F. 1981 + 1982	5 (14)	1 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (18)	4 (12)	34 (100)
G. 1982 only	254 (25)	46 (5)	115 (11)	88 (9)	331 (34.3)	120 (12)	1017 (100)

order of the Korean alphabet differs in South and North Korea.)

As can be seen in Table 1, the proportion of pure Korean words increased during the third period. The high percentage of Sino-Korean in E and of pure Korean in B reflects an increase in neologisms based on pure Korean elements and the large-scale discarding of Sino-Korean words. Most of the words in B are newly coined words, according to *Mwunhwa* policy. Sasse (1980b: 70) has investigated this phenomenon by taking as his subjects South Korean students studying in West Germany: 'Only about one-third of this North Korean standard vocabulary is regarded as standard in South Korea.' The abundance of words in G can be ascribed to the fact that a Korean dictionary in South Korea is not seen as an instrument of language prescription, as it is in North Korea, but is rather of an encyclopedic nature. So G does not reflect the true extent of language differentiation between South and North Korea.

The 1960-1962 dictionary endeavored to show the whole extent of the Korean vocabulary system at the time, taking into consideration the variety in the various aspects of language life. As a criterion for listings, the 1981 dictionary took the *Mwunhwa* vocabulary, which must be considered prescription.

Previous studies have pointed out that the difference between the second and third period of vocabulary maintenance is characterized by the fact that loan words became the target of maintenance starting with the third period. But further investigation is needed here. A South Korean reporter who visited North Korea said, 'There is no difference, since their speech is flooded with loan words, as ours is' (*Cwungangilpo*, 9/7/1985).

8.2. The elevation of spoken speech to written speech

Many colloquial words have been elevated to written words. Spoken speech is chiefly made up of pure Korean which generally has sentimentally and emotionally rich connotations and is never used by intellectuals, but rather by the general public. Stylistic promotion of words from spoken speech to written speech was carried forward because of the political consideration that ease, popularity, and charity should be enhanced in order to organize and mobilize the people (Choy and Mwun 1980: 35-37). Examples of such elevated words include *cokchita*, *kkapwusita*.

The people of South Korea see North Korean speech as coarse, uncultured, and violent. One of the reasons for this can be traced to the fact that North Korean commonly uses words which are regarded as slang and to which low value is attached in South Korea. *Mwunhwa* tends to pronounce words as they are phonetically realized, for example, *nontuk* → nonttuk, *kokaysim* → kokayhim. The class dialect which was originally considered of

low value contributed a considerable amount of material to *Mwunhwa*, according to 'the principle of class' and 'the principle of people'.

8.3. Positive standardization of dialect vocabulary

One of the characteristics of *Mwunhwa* is that it collects and standardizes pure Korean words from dialects. Most words seem to come from the Phyengan-to and Hamkyeng-to dialects. Sasse (1980a: 930) observes that 'Up to 1977 some 3,100 words have been found and incorporated into the standard North Korean language'. According to the South Korean reporter who visited North Korea, a hybrid speech which is a blending of Phyengan-to dialect and Hamkyeng-to dialect was commonly used in casual speech as well as in formal situations.

Hong (1976: 203) says that the reason a considerable number of Hamkyeng-to dialect vocabulary was incorporated into *Mwunhwa* is connected with 'the change in the political power structure'. Not a few people from Hamkyeng-to are believed to live in Phyengyang. The South Korean reporter wrote (*Hankukilpo* 9/8/1985) the following in his article: 'Many of my colleagues agree with my opinion that there were especially many people who originally came from Hamkyeng-to'. The status of the Hamkyeng-to dialect was elevated by North Korea's official position that the roots of *Mwunhwa* can be found in the partisan campaign against Japan, which occurred in northeast China. It was mainly immigrants from Hamkyeng-to who settled down in Yenpien district (formerly known as Kanto district) where partisan headquarters was located (Kanno and Cho 1982: 95).

Kim Il-sung is said to have spent many years of his youth in the northeastern part of China as a political exile, although he was born and grew in Phyengyang. Standard language policy was deeply influenced by the political view that only the partisan campaign in northeast China is authentic in the history of the revolution, including the overthrow of the Russian and Yanan factions, the domestic communists, and the so-called 'old intellectuals'.

8.4. The discarding of vocabulary in conflict with *Mwunhwa* ideology

In addition to a large number of Sino-Korean words, pure Korean words were discarded which were judged to have a feudalistic, bourgeois tinge. 'The principle of the people' and 'the principle of revolution' were the criteria of judgment.

8.5. Social control of lexical meaning

The sphere of word meaning is not immune to complete prescription and social control either. Prescriptive meaning is described in the Korean dictionary. The 1968 dictionary expresses the following principle: we only list meanings which can be considered valid in modern Korean *Mwunhwa*, omitting old meanings. This is also true of the 1973 dictionary. To give an example, in the 1960–1962 dictionary, the meaning of *yekcek* 'a rebel' is given as (1) a person who rebels against his country or people, (2) (in feudal society) the name given by a ruling class to 'the person who is against a ruler'; whereas the 1968 dictionary and *Cosen Mwunhwa Sacen* [Dictionary of Korean Standard Language] (1973 dictionary hereafter) omitted the second meaning. The 1968 dictionary defined the word *cayucwuy* 'liberalism' as 'the tendency or attitude to hate organizations or regulations in social political life and to act according to one's own will'. Contrary to this definition, the South Korean *Kwuko taysacen* (1982) describes this word as 'an -ism meaning to recognize the dignity of individuals and to let them develop their own character of their own accord'. A note, *nalkun sahyoy-eyse* 'in old fashioned society', is added to the words inconsistent with the ideal society in North Korea; for example, *kangto* 'burglar', *kangkan* 'rape', *appak* 'oppression', *pinkon* 'poverty', *kananhata* 'poor', *congshinyeng* 'incurable disease'.

Social control of word meaning in North Korea is one of the important language policies for the political socialization of the public, regarding language as 'a weapon of revolution and construction'. This language policy deepens the language differentiation between South and North Korea because lexical meaning influences human consciousness. Many scholars in South Korea worry about this phenomena, which might result in the collapse of national unity.

8.6. Standardization of Kim Il-sung's idiolect

Kim Il-sung's idiolect and his style were in the spotlight, because his ideology was viewed as the absolute ruling doctrine. It is even claimed that the vocabulary used in Kim Il-sung's writings or speech forms the basis of the vocabulary used in Phyengyang speech, and the vocabulary prescription in *Mwunhwa* derives from the Phyengyang speech used by Kim Il-sung (Choy and Mwun 1980: 131). This claim arises from the fact that new words suggested by Kim Il-sung became *Mwunhwa* with no restraints, for example *hyangotong*. The introduction to the 1981 dictionary states explicitly that an attempt is made to include all the words

appearing in Kim Il-sung's works and speeches. This is the first among nine principles used as guidelines in the selection of entries. The dictionary also spells out that the description of certain words is based on Kim Il-sung's definitions if he himself has ever mentioned their concepts, nature, or meaning. Frequently, direct quotation from Kim Il-sung's writings and speech take the place of annotation in the 1973 dictionary, and 213 words under the entry 'k' (*kiuk*) contain such quotations. The method of describing word meaning improved in that the 1981 dictionary showed the shift in the method of quotation.

The supremacy of Kim Il-sung is expressed in the printing of his name, which should be printed in Gothic letters and cannot be broken in the middle and taken over to the next line. The policy of taking Kim Il-sung's idiolect as the criterion of standard speech is among the political factors which accelerated the introduction of the Phyengan-to and Hamkyeng-to dialects into *Mwunhwa*.

8.7. Vocabulary use restricted by the political-socialization policy

Since 1967, the political-socialization policy has been revised to unify people's thought through Kim Il-sung's *Cwuchey Sasang* [idea of autonomy] and *Yuil Sasang* [idea of uniqueness], and from that time language has been positively utilized for this policy. In this respect, the policy concerning *Mwunhwa* has outstanding sociolinguistic characteristics. This fact includes the policy of making use of language as a weapon for political socialization and the fact that notes in dictionaries are based on Kim Il-sung's works or speeches.

Mwunhwa is used as an instrument of political socialization through the language-education policy called *Kwukekyoyuk-uy tangcengchaykwha* [to make language education party policy]. We have no available data showing exactly when this policy was first promulgated. *Inmin kyoyuk* (1969, No. 4), the North Korean journal for elementary school teachers, contains an article on 'several important methods for making language education party policy'. According to this article, making Korean education party policy means accepting Kim Il-sung's ideology and the party line, and strengthening the knowledge and function of Korean in order to make it possible to adhere to Kim Il-sung's ideology of language and literature. In other words, it is claimed to be a 'strong measure' for teaching Kim Il-sung's ideology. Texts and teaching method were changed according to this policy.

In the realm of vocabulary education, every word must be linked with 'revolutionary ideology', 'the wisdom of the leader', and 'lofty morality'.

After this policy was introduced into schools in Japan sympathetic to North Korea, ranging from elementary schools to universities, numbering about 100 institutions attended by at least 20,000 students, the national education of those Koreans living in Japan (Korean minorities in Japan) underwent a great change. (For purposes of comparison) 1,200–1,300 students are receiving national education in four schools sympathetic to South Korea.

Korean residents in Japan learn different varieties of Korean, depending on whether they choose South Korea or North Korea as their fatherland. Among the Korean residents in Japan, fewer than 10% had learned Korean as their native language, and Koreans learning through national education suffer from the influences of the Japanese language. The proportion of students attending Japanese schools without receiving national education is 80% among Korean students in Japan, and they can neither speak nor read Korean. Furthermore, the language situation of Korean residents in Japan has become more complicated, because language loyalty is more clearly divided between South and North Korea. The language problem of Korean residents in Japan has not yet been explored and should become the subject of a sociolinguistic investigation.

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