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OF THE

KOREA BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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I. INTRODUCTION

Although the Hepburn system for Romanizing Japanese is almost universally accepted, and the Wade-Giles system for Romanizing Chinese is used by most English-speaking people, no standard Romanization has been adopted for Korean. This lack has been a handicap to the scholarly study of Korea. For this reason Occidental residents in Korea and native philologists have supported us in our effort to supply this need. These scholars have given us invaluable assistance in carrying out the phonetic studies necessary for the construction of this system.¹

The lack of a generally accepted system of Romanization has led to great diversity and many inconsistencies in the Romanization employed by Occidental scholars writing about Korea. These variations have caused little difficulty to scholars in Korea, who are familiar with the names and terms Romanized, especially when Chinese characters and the native Korean script (*ŏnmun* 諺文) are given with the Romanization; but for the scholarly world at large, where a knowledge of either written or spoken Korean, or even of Chinese characters cannot be presupposed, the amazing differences in the Romanization of the same name or word by different scholars, and sometimes by the same man, can only lead to confusion and error.

1 It is impossible to mention all those who have aided us in the preparation of this Romanization. First we should acknowledge encouragement received from the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and from Dr. Horace H. Underwood, President of Chosen Christian College and the author of *An English-Korean Dictionary* (Sŏul, 1925) and other works on Korea, who has given us advice on difficult problems. Mr. A. A. Pieters, who revised and edited the 1931 edition of Gale's dictionary, likewise gave us much useful aid. We are especially indebted to the excellent Korean phoneticians, Professors Čhoi Hyŏn Pai (Ch'oe Hyŏnbae 崔鉉培 최현배), Jung Insub (Chŏng Insŏp 鄭寅燮 정인섭) and Gim Shŏn Gi (Kim Sŏn'gi 金善祺 김선기) all of Chosen Christian College (延禧專門學校) for valuable assistance. We also wish to express our sincere thanks to Professor Haguenuer of Paris, who has painstakingly examined and criticized early drafts of this paper and generously given us numberless suggestions. Also we are indebted to Professor Elisséeff of Harvard for suggestions and advice.

However necessary it may be, the actual task of devising a suitable system of Romanization is an extremely difficult one, for the Korean language has a very complex phonetic structure. In spite of this, the task is by no means impossible, as many have supposed, for a surprising degree of exactness can be attained by the use of the Latin alphabet.

The Japanese authority, Mr. Ogura, cites no less than twenty-seven systems employed in Romanizing Korean, and his list is by no means complete.¹ Of these, however, only the system originated by the French missionaries, the German system of Eckardt, and that of Gale in the *Korean-English Dictionary*² have received any very wide acceptance in the past; but not one of these is adequate or complete. The French system, as that of the French missionaries is called in Korea, has many good points; but in a country like Korea, where even more than in China or Japan, the Occidental population is almost entirely English-speaking and English is the "international language", the French system of Romanization, based as it is on the French pronunciation of the Latin alphabet, is not acceptable for use by English-speaking people or by the scholarly world as a whole. Furthermore, this system does not take into consideration the vital problem of euphonic changes, and treats the *ŏnmun* vowel digraphs most inadequately. Eckardt's system is in some respects better than the French, but that, too, is inadequate on many points, and, as presented, is too confusing for use by one not thoroughly acquainted with the Korean language. Gale's system has been adopted by the

1 Ogura Shimpei 小倉進平: *Ommun no Rōmaji Hyōkihō 諺文のローマ字表記法* (A System of Romanizing *ŏnmun*) in *Oda Sensei Shōju Kinen Chōsen Ronshū* 小田先生頌壽記念朝鮮論集 Keijō, 1934, pp 85-141.

2 French: *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français*, Yokohama, 1881. Much the same is to be found in M. C. Imbault-Huart, *Manuel de la langue coréenne parlée a l'usage des Français*. Paris, 1889.

German: P. A. Eckardt, *Koreanische Konversations-Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1923.

English: J. S. Gale, *A Korean-English Dictionary*, Sōul, 1897. 3rd. rev. ed., 1931. Ed., A. A. Piet ers.

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, but, unfortunately, is quite incomplete, and in a few places is even misleading.

In recent years certain scholars have proposed various systems for transcribing the Korean language with considerable phonetic exactness, but since these systems introduce various phonetic symbols not familiar to the average person,¹ there is little possibility that they will ever be used for more than philological and phonetic research. Consequently, they do not meet the need for a system of Romanization for general use in scholarly work of a non-philological nature.

Some have argued in favor of the use of the Japanese or Chinese Romanizations for Korean proper names and words written in Chinese characters. As Japanese is now the official language of the land, the use of Japanese Romanizations for certain modern proper names is probably quite justifiable, but despite the fact that most of the scholarly works and reference books on Korean are now appearing in Japanese, few Occidental scholars will feel it wise to ignore the existence of the Korean language. Furthermore, in native Korean words, the use of a Japanese reading is patently impossible. Although the Korean reading of Chinese characters is on the whole quite close to the original Chinese, the use of the Chinese reading in place of the Korean is no more justifiable than is the use of the Japanese reading. Despite these facts, many of the works published outside of Korea in the past have used at least in part either the Japanese or the Chinese pronunciation in place of the Korean.

A few words should be said about the Korean language and its writing. Korean is a polysyllabic agglutinative

1. Examples are ɔ, ø, å, and ε, which are used by Haguenaer in his excellent article, "Système de transcription de l'alphabet coréen," *Journal Asiatique*, ccxxii, (1933), pp. 145-161. Such symbols are scientifically more exact than the letters of the Latin alphabet in representing certain sounds; and we urge the use of a such scientific systems of transcription for phonetic and philological studies; but for practical reasons phonetic symbols can not be admitted into a system of Romanization for general use.

language, bearing close resemblance in structure and grammar to the Altaic languages and to Japanese, but not to Chinese. The vocabulary is composed primarily of words of two types, native words and Sino-Korean words. The latter are either borrowed words from the Chinese, but pronounced in the Korean manner, or are new words coined in Korea from Chinese characters. Recently many words of Japanese and Western origin have been added.

In writing the language a mixed script is usually employed. Chinese characters (*hancha* 漢字) are used for writing the Sino-Korean words, and *ŏnmun*, the native alphabet, is used for spelling purely Korean words and grammatical elements. In the past, men of learning avoided the use of *ŏnmun* as far as possible because they considered it to be too vulgar for the educated; and Korean literature until very recent times was written almost exclusively in a modified form of literary Chinese (*hanmun* 漢文). However, except for some minor differences, there are standard *ŏnmun* spellings for all Chinese characters, and these are readily found in any character (*hancha*) dictionary of Korean.¹ Thus, Sino-Korean words as well as native Korean words can be written in *ŏnmun*, just as both Sino-Japanese words and native Japanese words can be written in *kana*.

Like all alphabets, *ŏnmun* is not a perfect phonetic medium, but it represents the pronunciation of the Korean language with considerable exactness. Although invented and first employed in the fifteenth century, not until recently has it come into general use among the educated classes. The *ŏnmun* spellings of Sino-Korean words has been rather

1 Throughout this article the spelling found in Gale's dictionary has been used for the *ŏnmun* illustrations except where otherwise noted. The Government-General of Korea has published a Korean-Japanese dictionary, *Chōsenko Jiten* 朝鮮語辭典 1st ed., Keijō 1920. The latter in Korea is generally considered to be the standard general dictionary, but the *ŏnmun* spelling in both this and Gale's dictionary is usually the same. The best purely character dictionary is the *Sin Chajōn* 新字典 (The New Dictionary) Sōul, 1915 (5th ed. 1928) by the outstanding Korean scholar, Ch'oe Namson 崔南善.

definitely determined in the past, but the spelling of native Korean words has never been standardized, and the dictionaries, which have appeared, from time to time, have altered the spelling to conform to the changes in pronunciation resulting from the natural evolution of the spoken language. In some respects this lack of standardization is confusing, but the basically phonetic character of the *ŏnmun* spellings has reduced considerably the number of obsolete spellings and radical inconsistencies between the present standard orthography and the pronunciation of Korean words. Therefore, as in the case of the Japanese *kana*, *ŏnmun* provides the natural and easiest point of departure for any system of Romanization. Our system, like all other Korean Romanization systems, takes the *ŏnmun* as the basis for its approach to the problem.

A short description of the formation of words by the *ŏnmun* letters will help those unfamiliar with them to understand the problem and follow the examples given in this article. The language is polysyllabic, but the *ŏnmun* letters are written together as syllables, probably because of the influence of Chinese ideographs. The individual *ŏnmun* letter, however, has a phonetic value and independent form roughly equivalent to those of a letter of the Latin alphabet. The word *hanmun* mentioned above may be used as an example. The first syllable 한 (*han*), is composed of three symbols, the initial consonant ㅎ (*h*), the vowel ㅏ (*a*) and the consonant ㄴ (*n*). The second syllable is also composed of three symbols, the consonant ㅁ (*m*), the vowel ㅜ (*u*) and the consonant ㄴ (*n*), which together form the syllable 문 (*mun*). The two syllables are pronounced together as the single word, *hanmun*.

The variation found in the *ŏnmun* spelling is one factor which has made the devising of a Romanization system especially difficult. Recently two Korean philological societies have been revising and standardizing the spelling, and now most publications in the Korean language are employing the

majority of the corrections urged by one or the other of these two societies.¹ The existence of these different spellings, old and new, has increased the demand for a better organized system of Romanization than has hitherto existed. If confusion is to be avoided, a system must be devised which, by certain clear rules, reduces as far as possible all variant *ŏnmun* spellings to the same Romanization, as is done in the case of the much simpler problem in Japanese of reducing シヤウ (*shi-ya-u*), ショウ (*shi-yo-u*), and セウ (*se-u*) all to simple *shō*. This ideal in Korean is not always actually possible of achievement, but in the vast majority of cases it can be attained, although hitherto the systems of Romanization for the most part have not faced the problem.²

1 These two societies have set up rival systems of *ŏnmun* spelling. The older of the two societies, the *Chosŏn Ōhakhoe* 朝鮮語學會 조선어학회, calls itself in English the Korean Language Research Society, and its system of spelling has been named the *Han'gŭl* 한글 or Unified System. The *Chosŏn Ōhak Yŏn'guhoe* 朝鮮語學研究會 조선어학연구회 calls its system the *Chŏngŭm* 正音 정음, the name by which *ŏnmun* was first designated. The differences between these two systems do not affect to any appreciable degree our Romanization. To illustrate the new spelling we have chosen examples from the Unified System, the general principles of which are to be found in a publication of the Korean Language Research Society called *Han'gŭl mach'um-pŏp t'ongiran* 한글마춤법통일안 (Rules for the Unification of Spelling to Conform to the Unified System), Sŏul, 1933, 6th ed., 1937. A list of native Korean words spelled according to this system, *Chosŏn ŏ p'yo-junmal moŭm* 조선어표준말모음 (A Compilation of Korean Words with their Standard Spelling), 2nd ed. Sŏul, 1937, has also been published by the society. It contains an elaborate index and indicates the variant spellings and pronunciations of each word. At present the society is compiling a complete Korean dictionary including all native and Sino-Korean words and phrases.

2 Many of the variations in the *ŏnmun* spelling of Korean words are the result of dialectical differences. No system can reduce these differences to the same Romanization, for they represent different pronunciations, and therefore all one can do is to decide which dictionaries spell according to the standard pronunciation, and Romanize accordingly. However, the greatest differences in *ŏnmun* spelling have been brought about by phonetic evolution which has resulted in a plurality of spellings for the same sound in modern Korean. It has been one of our chief aims to devise rules by which these variant spellings can be Romanized alike, just as they are pronounced alike.

Below are some examples to show how different *ŏnmun* spellings result in different Romanizations in some of the older systems. It will be noted that the Romanization of our system, given in the last column, is in all cases the same, as it should be in any really adequate system. The first illustration is a native Korean word, while all the others are Sino-Korean words.

The need for a new and adequately analyzed system of Romanization is, we believe, apparent, but before proceeding to the exposition of our system, explanation should be made of its aims and principles. Let us emphasize the fact that the system is not an exact phonetic notation employing the symbols of the phonetician. Good systems of this nature have already been devised by Haguenuer and others. We have not intended that it be used in phonetic or in technical philological research. Rather, we have made it for general scholarly and non-scholarly use where phonetic symbols would be cumbersome and annoying and where strict phonetic exactness is not demanded. We have therefore attempted to effect a compromise between scientific accuracy and practical simplicity. Because of the inadequacies of the Latin alphabet and the complexities of the phonetic structure of Korean, it has not been possible to avoid all diacritical marks; but we have attempted to reduce these to the minimum. In short, we have tried to make the system throughout as simple as possible without being misleading.

Our aim in this article is merely to present the system of Romanization to the public. It has not been our purpose to make a detailed exposition of the phonetic structure of Korean. This has already been done by many fully qualified Korean, Japanese and European phoneticians, although often with differing conclusions. We have discussed the

Spelling System	Ōnmun	Meaning	Romanizations			McCune-Reischauer
			French	Gale	Eckardt	
Gale	깃쁘다	to be	kit-peu-ta	kitpeuda	kitpŭta	kippuda
Gov.-Gen.	깃부다	happy	kit-pou-ta	kitpuda	kitputa	kippuda
Unif. Sys.	기쁘다		ki-ppeu-ta	kibeuda	kibtŭa	kippuda
Gale	사기	historical	să-keui	sa-geui	săkŭi	sagi
Unif. Sys.	사기	record	sa ki	sa-gi	saki	sagi
Gale	조선	Korea	Tjyo-syen	Cho-sön	Tjosön	Chosön
French	도선		Tyo-syen	Tyo-sön	Tjosön	Chosön
Unif. Sys.	조선		Tjo-sen	Cho-sön	Tjosön	Chosön

Gov.-Gen. signifies the Government General dictionary, Unif. Sys., the Unified System, and French, the French Dictionary. It will be seen that the system of the French missionaries makes no attempt to meet the problem of variant spellings, whereas Gale's and Eckardt's systems do in some cases.

purely phonetic aspects of the question to a certain extent, in order to explain our reasons for choosing certain Latin letters to represent certain Korean sounds; but we have restricted these phonetic explanations as far as possible, and in cases where there could be no reasonable doubt as to a satisfactory means of Romanization, we have omitted them entirely.

Our Romanization is not merely a method of transcribing *ŏnmun*, letter by letter, into a different alphabet, for which purpose Ogura's literal Romanization will serve.¹ We have devised our Romanization with the purpose of providing a comprehensible guide to the standard modern pronunciation of Korean for those unfamiliar with the language, as well as for those who know it. In this regard our approach differs from that of many Koreans and western scholars who feel that the Romanization can ignore the euphonic changes of Korean and let the reader, who presumably knows the language, supply them automatically. It has been our aim to represent each radically different Korean sound by one distinct symbol, despite variations in the *ŏnmun* orthography.

Our Romanization has been devised only for the modern pronunciation of Korean, and does not take into account obsolete pronunciations; but, since there are dialectical differences, it has been necessary to determine which modern pronunciation should be considered as the standard dialect. In keeping with the practice of most other lands and in keeping with the precedent set by the Korean phoneticians and philological societies which have been sponsoring the revised spelling systems, we have accepted the pronunciation of the educated middle class of the capital, Sōul (Keijō), as the standard Korean pronunciation.

In Romanizing it is also necessary to determine what is one's criterion for the phonetic value of the letters of the Latin alphabet. There is the possibility of disregarding any

1 Ogura, *op. cit.* See the charts, opposite pp. 10 and 24.

criterion besides the phonetic structure of the language under consideration; but this approach, as with *Nipponshiki Romaji*, the new Japanese Romanization system, would unquestionably lead to Romanizations which would be very misleading to the average foreigner. We believe that there can be little doubt that it is best to follow the general practice of most Romanization systems of basing the Romanization of the vowels on their normal value in the Italian language. The problem of the consonants is more difficult, but we have felt that we might best follow the lead of the Hepburn and Wade-Giles systems in basing our Romanization of the consonants on their normal value in English. The formula "the vowels as in Italian and the consonants as in English" has proved itself to be a great success in the case of the Romanization of Japanese both for the scholar and for the casual user of the system; and, though in Korean the phonetic problems are much more complex than in Japanese, we believe that this formula can be successfully applied to Korean also. Furthermore, in following this formula we make our system conform for the most part to the Hepburn and Wade-Giles systems. This is particularly desirable, because most of those who are interested in Korean studies are familiar with the systems used for the Romanization of the Chinese and Japanese languages.

II. THE VOWELS

The *ŏnmun* vowel-letters¹ are listed in the chart on the opposite inserted double page. It shows the phonetic transcriptions of Ogura and Jung,² Haguenuer's transcription, Ogura's literal transcription, our Romanization, and the Romanizations of Eckardt, the French missionaries, Gale and Jung in the order named.

Each of these *ŏnmun* vowel-letters does not represent only one vowel-sound, but several which are closely related. Such a group is called a vowel phoneme. It is impractical to provide Romanizations for each variation within a single phoneme, for this would require a series of purely phonetic symbols. Furthermore, only a phonetician with a thorough knowledge of the Korean language would be able to record these differences correctly. The most noticeable variation is to be found in the length of the vowel-sounds. This is to be discussed in a later section.

For the sake of clarity we have divided the Korean vowel-letters into three categories according to their standard pronunciation: simple vowels, labialized vowels and diphthongs, and yotized or palatized vowels.

SIMPLE VOWELS

There are eight vowel-letters in Korean which clearly represent simple vowels, but two others are often included in this group to make a total of ten.³ The following phonetic chart by the Korean phoneticians, Yi, Yi and Jung,⁴ will help to indicate the approximate pronunciation of these ten vowel-

1 In order to avoid confusion, we have chosen to differentiate between a vowel-letter and a vowel-sound by these compound words. A digraph or trigraph is a compound vowel-letter, and a diphthong is a compound vowel-sound.

2 Jung Insub, *The International Phonetic Transcription of Korean Speech-sounds*. Sōul, 1955.

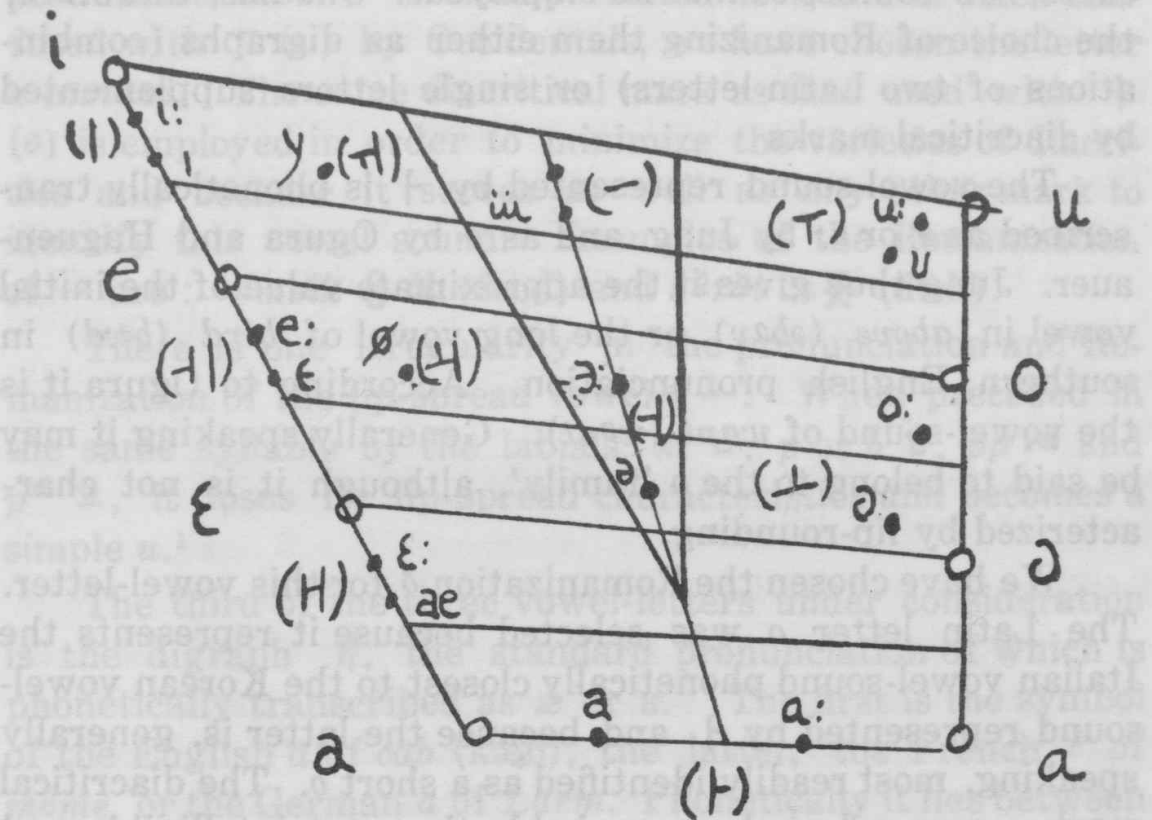
3 The two doubtful cases, ㅓ and ㅜ we have classed among the labialized vowels. See pp. 14-15.

4 Jung Insub, *op. cit.*

V O W E L C H A R T

Ōrumun Letter	PHONETIC TRANS'N		Hag'r Trans'n	Ogura Literal Trans'n	McCune- Reischauer Romanizat'n	OTHER ROMANIZATIONS			
	Ogura	Jung				Eckardt	French	Gale	Jung
ㅏ	a	a, a:	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ㅑ	ia	ja, ja:	ya	ia	ya, a	ya	ya	ya	ya
ㅓ	ə, ɛ	ə, ə:	ə	o	ō	ō (ü)	e	ü, ö	o'
ㅕ	ia, ɛ	ja, ja:	ya	io	yō, ō	yō	ye	yü, yö	yo'
ㅗ	o	o, o:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
ㅛ	io	jo, jo:	yo	io	yo, o	yo	yo	yo	yo
ㅜ	u	u, u:	u	u	u	u	ou	u	u
ㅠ	iu	ju, ju:	yu	iu	yu, u	yu	you	yu	yu
ㅡ	ü	ü, ɥ:	∅	ü	ü, u	ü	eu	eu	u'
ㅣ	i	i, i:	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
ㅚ	a, ə, o, o, u...		ä	ɛ	a	ä	ä	a	[a]
ㅝ	ɛ	æ, ɛ:	è (ɛ)	ai	ae	ai (ä)	ai	[ai]	e'
ㅟ	ɛ, ö		äi	ɛi	ae	äi	äi	[ai]	[e']
ㅞ	ie	jae, je:	yè	iai	yae	yai	yai	[yai]	ye'
ㅟ	e	e, e:	e	oi	e	e	ei	[üi, öi]	e
ㅠ	ie	je, jo:	ye	ioi	ye, e	ye	yei	[yüi, yöi]	ye
ㅡ	∅	∅, œ:	ue	oi	oe	oi (ö)	oi	[oi]	oe
ㅢ(ㅣ)	wi	y, y: wi, wi:	ui	ui	wi, i	üi (ü)	oui	[ui]	wi
ㅣ	üi	üi, üi:	ɛi	üi	üi, i	üi	eui	[eui]	u'i
ㅤ	wa	wa, wa:	oa	oa	wa	oa	oa	wa	wa
ㅥ	wə	wə, wə:	uo	uo	wō	uō	oue	wü, wö	wo'
ㅦ	wɛ	wæ, wɛ:	uɛ	oai	wae	oai	oai	[wai]	we'
ㅧ(ㅨ)	we	wɛ, we:	uè	uoi	we	üè	ouei	[wüi, wöi]	we

letters, although it must be remembered that there is still considerable dispute between phoneticians over the exact values of many of the vowels and consonants of Korean.



Unfortunately, there are only five vowel-letters in the Latin alphabet, *a, e, i, o* and *u*. For Romanization purposes these letters have, as a rule, been used to represent the five vowel-sounds which are closest to the five Italian vowel-sounds thus represented. An analysis of the above chart shows that there are five Korean vowel-letters which represent these five vowel-sounds, and therefore there can be no doubt that these five should be Romanized by the corresponding Latin letters. They are, ㅏ (ㅑ)¹ *a*, ㅓ *o*, ㅜ *u*, ㅣ *i* and the digraph ㅕ *e*.

Previous systems of Romanization have differed widely

¹ Lower *a* ㅑ, as it is called to distinguish it from upper *a* ㅏ, is now eliminated in most publications, being replaced usually by upper *a*. Unless one is sure of a better rendering, it is best to treat it as a simple ㅏ (*a*) when one finds it in old texts and dictionaries. See p. 21.

in representing the vowel-letters ㅏ, ㅓ, and ㅗ (ㅛ).¹ Phonetic symbols would naturally be the best means of representing their pronunciations, but in a system of Romanization these, of course, cannot be employed. One has, therefore, the choice of Romanizing them either as digraphs (combinations of two Latin letters) or single letters supplemented by diacritical marks

The vowel-sound represented by ㅏ is phonetically transcribed as ə or ə: by Jung, and as ɔ by Ogura and Haguenaer. Jung thus gives it the approximate value of the initial vowel in *above* (əbʌv) or the long vowel of *bird* (bɜ:d) in southern English pronunciation. According to Ogura it is the vowel-sound of *want* (wɔnt). Generally speaking it may be said to belong to the o 'family', although it is not characterized by lip-rounding.

We have chosen the Romanization ɔ for this vowel-letter. The Latin letter o was selected because it represents the Italian vowel-sound phonetically closest to the Korean vowel-sound represented by ㅏ and because the latter is, generally speaking, most readily identified as a short o. The diacritical mark ˘ was selected as probably the most intelligible and least misleading diacritic for this vowel-sound. Some examples of the Romanization of ㅏ are: yŏngŏ 영어 (English language), ɔmŏni 어머니 (mother), and Koryŏ 고려 (Korean kingdom).

The second of these three vowels, written ㅓ in *ŏnmun*, has no phonetic counterpart in any well-known language; but some phoneticians compare it to the Russian Ъ. It may be described phonetically as a close central vowel sounded with lips spread. There is no wholly satisfactory phonetic symbol to represent it. Ogura has devised the symbol ũ, and Jung uses ŭ̇, a modification of a standard phonetic symbol.

We have chosen the Romanization ũ for the vowel-letter ㅓ. We have discarded the commonly used digraph *eu* be-

1 The symbol ㅛ can be considered, for Romanization, to be merely an old alternative form of ㅏ. It is not used in modern spelling.

cause it calls to mind the French *eu* which is lip-rounded instead of lip-spread. From the phonetician's viewpoint, the symbol *i* would probably be most accurate, but because the pronunciation of ㅡ is closely related to *u* and is often confused with ㅜ (*u*) by Occidentals, we have chosen the letter *u* instead. The same diacritical mark as that used with ㅜ (*o*) is employed in order to minimize the varieties of diacritics and because it serves as well as any other mark to identify this vowel sound. Examples of the Romanization of ㅡ are: *ũmsik* 음식 (food) and *kũrũt* 그릇 (dish).

There is one irregularity in the pronunciation and Romanization of the lip-spread vowel ㅡ . When preceded in the same syllable by the labials, *m* ㅁ , *p* or *b* ㅂ , *pp* ㅃ and *p'* ㅅ , it loses its lip-spread characteristics and becomes a simple *u*.¹

The third of the three vowel-letters under consideration is the digraph ㅝ , the standard pronunciation of which is phonetically transcribed as *æ* or *ɛ*. The first is the symbol of the English *a* of *cab* (*kæb*), the latter, the French *é* of *même*, or the German *ä* of *Lärm*. Phonetically it lies between *e* and *a* and therefore there is justification for Jung's use of *e'*, and Haguenaer's use of *è*. However, according to Jung's chart, the pronunciation of ㅝ is closer to *a* than to *e* and etymologically it seems to have the *a* element in it.

We have decided to Romanize ㅝ as *ae*. The use of a single letter with a diacritical mark was ruled out for various reasons, particularly because of the difficulty in choosing be-

1 The Unified System has eliminated the use of ㅡ (*ũ*) after these labial consonants and has substituted ㅜ (*u*) for it, except for the spelling of certain parts of speech. An illustration of this change of spelling is afforded by the word *puk* (north), spelled 북 by Gale and in most *hancha* dictionaries, but as ㅜ in the Unified System and in the Government-General dictionary.

The vowel-letter ㅝ has also another variant pronunciation. After *s* ㅅ , *ss* ㅆ , *ch* or *j* ㅈ , *tch* ㅊ and *ch'* ㅊ , it is often pronounced as a short *i*. Since it may be pronounced either as *ũ* or *i* in these cases, we have thought it best to disregard this phenomenon in Romanization. Examples are: *kusũl* 구슬 (beads), *ssũda* 쓰다 (to sweep), *chũksũ* 즉시 (immediately), *iltchũk* 일찍 (early) and *ch'ũnggye* 총계 (flight of steps).

tween the letters *a* and *e*. Although the latter is more acceptable phonetically, it would fail to satisfy Germans, who identify the vowel-sound it represents with *ä*, or English-speaking people, who identify it with the "short" English *a*. The digraph *ai* which has been commonly used in the past is not acceptable because it is used in both the Hepburn and Wade-Giles Romanization systems for an *ai* diphthong. The Romanization *ae* is obviously superior from the phonetician's viewpoint, for this combination is used as a ligature (*æ*) to represent one of the two pronunciations of this vowel-letter. The digraph *ae* also calls to mind the alternative spelling of the German *ä*, the normal pronunciation of which is similar to that of *ㅏ*. Examples of the Romanization of *ㅏ* are: *taemun* **대문** (main entrance), *paektu* **백두** (white-head) and *sae* **새** (bird).

LABIALIZED VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

In Korean the vowel-letters *ㅑ* (*o*) and *ㅓ* (*u*) are both used in certain combinations to represent the half-vowel *w*. The former, *ㅑ*, combined with *ㅏ* (*a*) and *ㅏ* (*ae*), spells *ㅑㅏ* and *ㅑㅏ* which are Romanized *wa* and *wae* respectively. The latter, *ㅓ*, is combined with *ㅑ* (*o*) and *ㅑ* (*e*) to spell *ㅓㅑ* and *ㅓㅑ*, Romanized *wö* and *we* respectively.

The *önmun* digraph *ㅓㅑ* varies in pronunciation from a labialized *i* (*wi*) through a semi-labialized form to a simple vowel-sound, corresponding closely to the German *ü* and the French *u*. There is some dispute as to the normal pronunciation of *ㅓㅑ* in standard dialect, as the variant renderings of Ogura, Jung, Haguenuer and others clearly show. Although it is generally pronounced as a simple vowel-sound throughout southern and eastern Korea and occasionally in the capital region itself, the simple vowel form cannot be considered its standard pronunciation.

Except as a syllabic initial, however, the labial element in the pronunciation of *ㅓㅑ* in the standard dialect is weaker than it is in the other labialized vowels. This is particularly true when it is preceded by the consonants *s* **ㅅ**, *ch* or *j* **ㅈ**

and *ch'* ㅈ. In some respects *ui*, representing a semi-labialized vowel, might be the best Romanization for ㅟ. But since the Romanization *wi* is necessary to represent the fully labialized form of this vowel as a syllabic initial, and since *ui* is easily confused in pronunciation with a diphthong, we have preferred to Romanize it *wi* throughout. One exception to this rule is that after the labial consonants *m* ㅁ, *p* or *b* ㅂ, *pp* ㅍ and *p'* ㅑ, the labial element is lost in the vowel, and therefore, in these cases, ㅟ is to be Romanized as simple *i*.¹

The digraph ㅟ, like ㅟ, is pronounced as a simple vowel throughout southern Korea, and some authorities regard this as its standard pronunciation. As a simple vowel it may be phonetically transcribed ϕ or ϵ and it thus quite similar to the German \ddot{o} . Haguenaer, however, describes it as a semi-labialized *e*, which may be phonetically transcribed *we*, a pronunciation which is often heard in capital dialect.

We Romanize this vowel-letter, ㅟ, as *oe* in order to suggest both the simple vowel form and the semi-labial form, and also because *oe* is close to the *ŏnmun* spelling, ㅟ (o) plus ㅣ (i). The pronunciation of the labial element of this vowel is more noticeable when it is not preceded by a consonant, as in *oeguk* 외국 (foreign states), but is almost negligible after most consonants, as for example, in the common surname *Ch'oe* 최.

The only vowel-letter representing a diphthong is the

1 These consonant and vowel-letter combinations are not very common in *ŏnmun*, and never occur in words directly derived from the Chinese. Such syllables Gale spells according to the older orthography with ㅟ but the Unified System in keeping with its rules, employs the simple vowel-letter ㅣ (i), and the Government-General dictionary uses ㅟ. Examples of uses of this vowel-letter, ㅟ, are included in the following list.

Romanization	Gale	Gov.-Gen.	Unif. Sys.	Meaning
<i>nabi</i>	나뵤	나뵤	나뵤	butterfly
<i>miwŏhada</i>	뵤뵤하다	미뵤하다	미뵤하다	to hate
<i>wisin</i>	뵤신	same	same	prestige
<i>kwisin</i>	귀신	same	same	spirits
<i>twi</i>	뒤	same	same	after, behind
<i>chwi</i>	뵤	same	same	mouse

digraph ㅟ.¹ This is a rising diphthong, composed of the two elements, ㅡ (*ũ*) and ㅣ (*i*), and the natural and easiest way to Romanize it, is simply *ũi*. This digraph, ㅟ, however, represents a diphthong only as a syllabic initial, and after *h* ㅎ. After all the other consonants it is pronounced like the simple vowel-letter ㅣ and should therefore be Romanized as *i* in these cases.²

YOTIZED OR PALATIZED VOWELS

The Korean vowel-letters ㅟ, ㅟ, ㅟ and ㅟ representing yotized or palatized vowels, are formed by adding one stroke to each of the simple vowel-letters ㅟ, ㅟ, ㅟ and ㅟ to indicate that the vowel-sound is preceded by a yod element. The yod element could be Romanized either as *i* or *y*, but, since the use of *i* for it would lead to confusion between yotized vowels and diphthongs, we have adopted the use of *y*. These four vowels, therefore, are to be Romanized *ya*, *yŏ*, *yo* and *yu* respectively, except where special rules noted below lead to the omission of the *y*.

There are only two *ŏnmun* digraphs and trigraphs representing yotized vowels, ㅟ and ㅟ.³ The first of these, which

1 There are many other diphthongs in Korean but they are all written in *ŏnmun* as two syllables. For example Sŏul 서울 contains a common Korean diphthong, ㅟ 어우, the component parts of which are always written separately.

2 Because of the phenomenon, the Unified System has changed the spelling of ㅟ to ㅣ where in a single syllable ㅟ follows any consonant but *h* ㅎ. When the syllable *hũi* occurs at the beginning of a word it is often pronounced *hi*, but this assimilation does not always take place. It rarely occurs when ㅟ appears as any but the first syllable. A few examples will illustrate the Unified System of spelling and the principles of the Romanization of ㅟ.

Romanization	Gale	Unif. Sys.	Meaning
<i>ũisa</i>	의 스	의 사	doctor
<i>koũi</i>	고 의	고 의	summer trousers
<i>kunũi</i>	군 의	군 의	military doctor
<i>hũimang</i>	희 망	희 망	hope
<i>kich'a</i>	기 차	기 차	steam train
<i>p'ida</i>	피 다	피 다	to bloom

3 The two virtually obsolete digraphs ㅟ and ㅟ, which seem to represent yotized vowels are only found in the syllables ㅟ, ㅟ and ㅟ. They are to be Romanized *shwi*, *ch'wi* and *ch'we* respectively, because, as is explained below, the yod element is always dropped after the two consonants *s* ㅟ and *ch'* ㅟ.

is rarely used, signifies a yotized form of the vowel-sound represented by ㅏ (*ae*), and is therefore to be Romanized *yae*. The second, the digraph ㅑ, demands special consideration, because, though frequently used,¹ its pronunciation is irregular in so far as the yod element is concerned. As a syllabic initial the yod element is clearly heard;² but after consonants it is very weak even in careful diction, and many speakers omit it altogether.³ To attempt to indicate, in Romanization, a distinction between weak and strong yod elements would be difficult and impractical. We have consequently come to the conclusion that the digraph ㅑ should be Romanized *ye* in all cases where special rules do not lead to the complete omission of the yod element.

One important rule regarding the Romanization of the vowel-letters ㅑ, ㅓ, ㅕ, ㅗ and ㅛ, is that the yod element of all yotized vowels has been completely lost in standard pronunciation following the consonants *s* ㅅ, *ss* ㅆ, *ch* or *j* ㅈ (ㅊ),⁴ *tch* ㅊ, and *ch'* ㅊ (ㅊ).⁴ Consequently, in such cases,

1 The digraph ㅑ occurs frequently in Sino-Korean words, while the digraph ㅑ occurs only in two uncommon forms, ㅑ (*e*) and ㅑ (*ke*). The digraph ㅑ, however, is not used often in native Korean words.

2 When pronounced as a syllabic initial it is written ㅑ, ㅓ and ㅕ, since the consonants ㄹ (*l*, *r*) or ㄴ (*n*), occurring at the beginning of a word, are silent before yotized vowels in capital dialect.

3 After *h* ㅎ and *r* ㄹ, occurring as other than word initials, the yod element is more distinct than after *k* or *g* ㄱ, *p'* ㅍ and a medial *n* ㄴ. It is not used after other consonants or else is entirely unpronounced because of a general phonetic law discussed below. Examples of these variations follow.

Romanization	Ōnmun	Meaning	Strength of yotization
<i>yesan</i>	ㅑ 산	calculation	strong
<i>yemul</i>	ㅑ 물	gift	strong
<i>unhye</i>	ㅑ 혜	favor	weak
<i>sarye</i>	ㅑ 례	thanks	weak
<i>kyesan</i>	ㅑ 산	computation	almost omitted
<i>p'yehang</i>	ㅑ 방	deserted room	almost omitted

4 When occurring before yotized vowels, *t* or *d* ㅊ and *t'* ㅊ are pronounced the same as *ch* or *j* ㅈ and *ch'* ㅊ. See page 28. Theoretically *tt* ㅊ should also be included, but it is never used in ōnmun with a yotized vowel-letter.

the *y* is to be omitted in Romanization.¹

LONG AND SHORT FORMS OF THE VOWELS

We have already mentioned the variations in the length of the Korean vowels.² These variations, which are usually accompanied by differences in articulation, are particularly marked in the cases of *e* ㅔ, *ye* ㅕ, *i* ㅣ, *u* ㅜ and *yu* ㅠ. In native Korean words the length of the vowels differs greatly in the different dialects with the result that both individuals and dictionaries vary considerably in evaluating them. However, in Sino-Korean words the length of the vowel, with but a few exceptions, is determined by the tone of the character in Chinese. Characters of the first or second tone (*shang-p'ing* 上平 and *hsia-p'ing* 下平) usually have short vowels in Korean, while those of the other tones (*shang-shêng* 上聲, *ch'ü-shêng* 去聲 and *ju-shêng* 入聲) are characterized by long vowels. One general exception to this rule is that syllables ending in *k* ㄱ, *p* ㅍ and *l* ㄹ are always short.³

Although dictionaries sometimes disagree as to the length of the vowels in native Korean and Sino-Korean words, they usually indicate whether the vowels are long or short. Gale's dictionary indicates the length of the first vowel in all words. The Government-General dictionary goes further in marking all long vowels in each word. Thus it is quite possible, merely through the use of dictionaries, to

1 The Unified System has taken this phonetic rule into consideration by omitting the sign of yotization in spelling the vowels which follow any of these consonants. A few examples of this rule and of the Unified System's revision of spelling are:

Romanization	Gale	Unified System	Meaning
<i>Chosön</i>	쵸 션	조 션	Korea
<i>cheil</i>	데 일	제 일	best
<i>chönyök</i>	저 녀	저 녀	evening

2 It is usual to speak of long and short vowels in Korean, but Professor Choi points out in his *Uri mal pon* 우리말본 (The fundamentals of our language), Söul, 1934, that there are actually three distinguishable lengths, long, medium and short. However, we have followed the usual method of distinguishing only between long and short forms.

3 There are minor exceptions as well. For example, the syllable *ch'e* ㅈ is apparently always short no matter what character it represents. Another exception is *ye* or *rye* ㅕ, representing the Chinese character 禮, which also is pronounced with a short vowel in Korean.

determine which vowels are long and which are short. However, it is usually unnecessary to indicate differences in vowel lengths in Romanizing, for the distinction is not important in most words, and with the exception of a few cases in which the vowels *e*, *i* and *u* are concerned, there can be little confusion caused by the failure to mark the length of the vowel.

We suggest, therefore, that the Romanizer employ a diacritical mark to indicate a long vowel only where he feels that confusion is likely to occur unless a distinction is made between long and short vowels. As an indication of the long vowel, we suggest the use of the long sign $\bar{\quad}$ over all vowel-letters but *e*, where we recommend the use of the accent acute, \acute{e} .

A few examples will help to indicate the difference between the long and short forms of a few vowels, and will illustrate how they may be specially Romanized in the cases where it is desirable to distinguish between the two forms. The *i* of 김 is short, Kim, in the common surname, but long, *kīm*, in the word for steam. The letter ㅏ indicates a short vowel in *munan* 문안 (inside the gates), but a long vowel in *mūnan* 문안 (respectful salutation). Similarly ㅑ is short in *kyul* 귤 (tangerine) but long in *yūmyōng* 유명 (famous). The vowel digraph ㅓ represents a short vowel in *megi* 메기 (food) but a long vowel in *méda* 메다 (to carry on shoulders), while the corresponding yotized form ㅕ is short in *yemul* 예물 (present) but long in *yésan* 예산 (agreement).¹

1 Jung's two phonetic renderings of each of the Korean vowel letters will give some idea of the differences between the long and short forms and the accompanying differences in their oral formation. This can also be roughly illustrated by a few English words. In each case the English vowel is by no means identical with the Korean, but it will at least help to indicate the nature of the change in the Korean vowel. The short and long forms of the Korean vowel represented by ㅏ may be compared to the *i*'s in *hit* and *machine*; the two forms of the vowel written ㅑ to the *u*'s of *put* and *rule*; and the long and short forms of the vowel represented by ㅓ to the vowels of *bed* and *they*.

IRREGULARITIES IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE VOWELS

There are some other irregularities in the pronunciation of the Korean vowel-letters besides those already taken into consideration. These for the most part occur in native Korean words, but they are also found in Sino-Korean words. They are sometimes regarded as simple corruptions or colloquialisms, but the phonetician naturally recognizes in them expressions of the normal development of the spoken language. As the *ŏnmun* spelling of native Korean words is usually phonetic rather than traditional, new spellings have sometimes conformed to these irregular pronunciations; but this has not always been the case. The result is a number of inconsistencies in *ŏnmun* spelling which cannot be ironed out by rules of Romanization. Therefore, although we take note of them, we cannot make provisions for them in our system of Romanization.

The *Chosŏnŏ p'yojun mal mcŭm*, a publication of the Korean Language Research Society, mentioned above, indicates the standard pronunciation and the revised spelling of irregular Korean words; but usually it is best to Romanize irregular Sino-Korean words according to the traditional pronunciations reflected in their standard spellings. Fortunately, in ordinary Romanization, these irregularities will rarely be encountered and will, therefore, cause little difficulty.

Studies of Korean dialects by Korean and Japanese philologists¹ have helped to make possible the formulation

1 Examples of such studies are:

Kim Yongun 金龍雲, *Pangon chosa* (Iksan chungsim) 方言調査 (益山中心) (An examination of the dialect around Iksan), *Han'gŭl* 한글 (1935) No. 8.

O Sejun 吳世濬, *Sat'uri chosa* 사투리調査 (An examination of dialects), *Han'gŭl* (1933), No. 9.

Ogura Shimpei 小倉進平, *Nambu Chōsen no Hōgen* 南部朝鮮の方言 (Dialects of southern Korea), Keijō, 1924, and other similar studies of the dialects of Chejudo and of Heian 平安, Kankyō 咸鏡 and Kōkai 黃海 Provinces.

of certain general principles concerning some of these irregularities. These may be classified in two general categories, first, "disintegration" and variation in vowels which are difficult to pronounce or are subject to change for other reasons, and second, the transformation of vowels through assimilation with other vowels.

"Disintegration" in Individual Vowels

One vowel-sound in which the process of "disintegration" is already complete is the sound of the original Korean vowel represented by *lower a* ㅏ, which has lost its phonetic identity. The vowel-letter ㅏ naturally has afforded one of the chief problems of the *ŏnmun* revisionists, who have discarded it in modern spelling. Generally it is now pronounced as *a* ㅏ in the standard dialect, but in native Korean words this is not always the case. The most important alternative pronunciation of this vowel-letter is *ü* ㅡ, which is often its pronunciation when it occurs as the second syllable of a word. For example, 오늘 (today) is now pronounced *onül*, and is written 오늘 in the Unified System.

Much less extreme cases of "disintegration" and variation are afforded by the yotized vowels, labialized vowels, and simple vowels written in *ŏnmun* as digraphs. In the case of yotized vowels there is a tendency to omit the yod element when the vowel is preceded by a consonant in the same syllable. One example of this is *yō* ㅝ, which may become *e* or *i* or sometimes *ae*. Occasionally this transformation has become well enough established in certain words to have led to an alteration in revised spelling systems, as in the word *pyōgae* ㅝ개 (pillow), pronounced and now spelled *pegae* ㅝ개. A more unusual example of this phenomenon occurring in a Sino-Korean word is found in the syllable *kyōl* ㅝ which in the word 桔梗 (violet) is pronounced and spelled *kil* ㅝ (kilgyōng ㅝ).

Almost all of the *ŏnmun* digraphs have variant pronunciations. For example, in parts of southern Korea the

tendency is to pronounce *ae* ㅐ and *e* ㅔ alike, and *ũi* ㅟ and *i* ㅛ alike; in central Korea, *oe* ㅚ and *we* ㅜ are confused in some words; and in the north, *ae* ㅐ is sometimes pronounced *ai* ㅑ.

The labialized vowels are not commonly used following consonants, but when they do so occur there is a tendency either to omit the labial element or to modify the vowel-sound. For example, 鎖國 (national isolation), traditionally spelled *swaguk* ㅅㅘㄱ, is now pronounced and spelled *swaeguk* ㅅㅑㄱ.

Assimilation between Vowels¹

Certain Korean vowels often influence the pronunciations of other vowels which precede or follow them. This phenomenon is called assimilation between vowels. A simple example of this is afforded by the word *chami* ㅈㅓㅐㅐ (interest), pronounced *chaemi* ㅈㅑㅐㅐ because of assimilation between *a* ㅓ and *i* ㅐ. The only vowels which affect their neighboring vowels consistently enough to demand consideration here are the yotized vowels and *i* ㅐ, which often affect the vowels which precede them. The affected vowels in these cases are thus pronounced as if written with the ㅐ (*i*) stroke added: *a* ㅓ becomes *ae* ㅐ, *o* ㅜ becomes *oe* ㅚ and *u* ㅜ becomes *wi* ㅟ. In native Korean words this assimilation is frequent but is not always made. Spelling has often conformed to the change in pronunciation. In Sino-Korean words, the assimilation is less frequent and is found only in commonly used words.

In native Korean words, *i* ㅐ is often directly assimilated into a preceding vowel, changing it as noted above. For example, *ttaida* ㅌㅑㅐㅐ (to be under arrest), is pronounced *ttaeda* ㅌㅑㅐㅐ. In Sino-Korean words, the two vowels do not become one, although assimilation takes place. For example, *kain* 個人 (an individual) is pronounced *kaein* 개ㅐㅐ.

¹ Much of the material for this section has been taken from Choi's *Uri mal pon*.

Even when a consonant intervenes between a vowel and an *i* |, the former is similarly affected. A familiar example is the native word *pangi* **방이** (onion), which is pronounced *paengi* **뱅이**. A Sino-Korean example is *ch'umi* 趣味 (artistic taste), pronounced *ch'wimi* **취미**. This phenomenon occurs most regularly and frequently in verb forms where the syllables *i* 이, *hi* 히 or *ki* 기 are inserted between verb stems and verb endings, either to denote the causative or to make active verbs passive.¹

Yotized vowels often influence the pronunciation of a preceding vowel in much the same way as *i* |. They are not directly assimilated, however, even when no consonant intervenes. Examples are *sayanghada* **사양하다** (to refuse), pronounced *saeyanghada* **세양하다**, and *namp'yōn* 남편 (husband), pronounced *naemp'yōn* **넴편**.

Although this general rule of assimilation may be followed for many words, particularly for verb forms, it is impossible to apply it strictly to the rules of Romanization because of its inconsistency. Even though the colloquial speech employs these euphonic changes, the unassimilated form is recognizable and acceptable in standard pronunciation, and thus it is not necessary to alter Romanization rules to meet the assimilation.

1 Examples are :

	Active Verbs		Causative or Passive Verbs		
Romanization	Ōnmun	Meaning	Romanization	Ōnmun	Meaning
<i>chapta</i>	잡다	to catch	<i>chaphida</i> (chaephida)	잡히다	to be caught
<i>pōtta</i>	벗다	to strip	<i>pōkkida</i> (pek kida)	벗기다	to cause to strip
<i>mōkta</i>	먹다	to eat	<i>mōgida</i> (megida)	먹이다	to cause to eat
<i>chukta</i>	죽다	to die	<i>chugida</i> (chwigida)	죽이다	to cause to die

III. THE CONSONANTS

It is generally possible to Romanize each of the *ŏnmun* vowel-letters with but a single Latin letter or digraph, but because of the influence of euphonic change upon the consonants, there must generally be a plurality of Romanizations for each of the consonant letters. To the Korean most of these euphonic changes are so natural that he considers them self-evident, but to those not familiar with the language they are bewildering at first, because they are not phonetically necessary in western languages. Therefore, a system of Romanization which does not take these euphonic changes into consideration will be misleading and inaccurate.

The name of one of the ancient Korean kingdoms is spelled **신라** Sin-ra but is pronounced Silla. The name of the Yalu River is written **압록** Ap-rok but is pronounced Amnok. A simpler example is the name of another ancient kingdom spelled **고구려** Ko-ku-ryŏ but pronounced Koguryŏ. Many people familiar with Korean are inclined to dismiss the last case as of small importance, but the distinction between the unvoiced plosive *k* and the voiced plosive *g*, though ignored in *ŏnmun*, cannot be overlooked in any system of Romanization which is to be used by those who do not know the Korean language.

In order adequately to Romanize the consonant letters, it is necessary to take into consideration their positions in the word in relation to the other letters and not merely as individual letters. This is most easily done by treating each *ŏnmun* letter separately as initial, medial and final letters.

The chart on the opposite inserted double page lists all the *ŏnmun* consonant letters, Ogura's literal transcription for them, his phonetic transcriptions for each letter in initial, medial and final positions, our Romanizations for the same three positions, and the Romanizations of Haguenaer, Gale, Eckardt, the French missionaries, and Jung, in the order named. The *ŏnmun* letters are arranged in the usual Korean order.

C O N S O N A N T C H A R T

Örmun	Lit. Tran.	Phonetic Transcription			MCCUNE-REISCHAUER ROM.			Hag-uen'r	Gale	Eck-ardt	Fr.	J ung
		Initial	Medial	Final	Init.	Medial	Final					
ㄱ	k	k	k, g, ŋ, ʔk	ᵏ	K	K, G, NG	K	k, g, ṅ	k, g	k, ng	k	g
ㄴ	n	n, n ^d , O	n, n ^a , l	n	N, O	N, L	N	n, l, O	n	n, l	n	n
ㄷ	t	t, t _ʃ , t _s	t, t, d, t _ʃ , d _ʒ	t	T, CH	T, D, CH, J	t	t, d (č)	t, d	t, d t _j	t	d
ㄹ	r	(r), n, O	r, l	l	N, O	R, L, N	L	r, l n, O	r, l n	r, l n	r, l	r, l
ㅁ	m	m, m ^b	m	m	M	M	M	m	m	m	m	m
ㅂ	p	p	p, ʔp, b, m	P	P	P, B, M	P	p, b m	p, b	p, m	p	b
ㅅ	s	s	s, ʔs, t, d, n	t	S, SH	S, SH, D, T, N, P, K	T	s, š t, n	s, t	s, d g	s, t	s, d
ㅇ	ŋ	O	O, ŋ	ŋ	O	O, NG	NG	ṅ	ng	ng	ng	ng ⁿ
ㅈ	č	t _ʃ , t _s	ʔt _ʃ , d _ʒ	t	CH	CH, J	t	č, dž	ch, j	tj	tj	z, d
ㅊ	č'	t _ʃ ', t _s '	ts', t	t	CH'	CH'	t	č'	ch'	tch	tch	tch d
ㅋ	k'	k'	k'		K'	K'	<u>k</u>	k'	k'	kh	hk	k, g
ㅌ	t'	t', t _ʃ ', t _s '	t', t _ʃ ', t _s '		T', CH'	T', CH'	t	t' (č')	t'	th, tch	ht	t, d
ㅍ	p'	p'	p', P	P	P'	P'	p	p'	p'	ph	hp	p, b
ㅎ	x	x, ç	x, ç		H	H	<u>h</u>	h	h	h	h	h
ㄱ(ㄱ)	sk	ʔg	ʔk		KK	KK	<u>k</u>	kk	g	g	kk	gg, g
ㄷ(ㄷ)	st	ʔd, ʔd _ʒ , ʔd _ʒ	ʔt, ʔt _ʃ		TT	TT	t	t _t	d	d	tt	dd, d
ㅂ(ㅂ)	sp	ʔb	ʔp		PP	PP	p	pp	b	b	pp	bb, b
ㅅ(ㅅ)	ss	ʔs	ʔs		SS	SS	t	ss	s	ss	ss	ss, d
ㅈ(ㅈ)	sč	ʔd _ʒ , ʔd _ʒ	ʔt _ʃ , ʔt _s		TCH	TCH	t	tč	j, t _j	dj	ttj	zz, d

o signifies that the consonant is unpronounced, thus omitted in Romanization.

Underlined letters in the McCune-Reischauer "final" column are for Romanizations in the new spelling systems

As will be seen by the chart, an attempt has been made in our system of Romanization to strike a balance between phonetic accuracy and general utility. Therefore, minor variations in pronunciation have been disregarded, but major differences have all been included. Our system of Romanizing the consonants is more complex than that of other systems, and, therefore, some may feel that it is not satisfactory for ordinary use, but when one sees the radical variation in the pronunciation of most of the consonant letters as recorded by Ogura, one will realize that all the simple systems, where most of the *ŏnmun* consonant letters have but a single equivalent in Romanization, are very misleading and inaccurate.

In order to make clear the problems involved in the choice of Latin letters for the Romanization of the *ŏnmun* consonant letters, we have first analyzed the consonants themselves from a phonetic point of view and have then discussed the variant Romanizations of each *ŏnmun* letter. The Korean consonants may be conveniently divided into two general categories, the plosives and the non-plosives.

PLOSIVE CONSONANTS

The plosive consonants may be divided into four series according to the articulating organs used in each. They are the labial plosives, which we call the *P* series, the dental plosives or the *T* series,¹ the velar plosives or the *K* series and the palatal plosives or affricates, which we call the *Ch* series.² The following chart shows the various forms of the

1 The point of occlusion of the Korean dental plosives is actually between the dental and alveolar regions, and, consequently, they are sometimes called alveolar plosives.

2 The consonants written in *ŏnmun* as ㅈ, ㅊ and ㅌ are transcribed phonetically by Jung as ,*ʃ*, *ʃ'*, and *c*, indicating that they are plosives, whereas they are considered to be affricates or fricatives by Ogura (*č*, *č'*, and *č'*), Haguenaer and others.

The use of symbols such as *dž*, *čč*, *č*, and *č'*, might be preferable for their Romanization but would introduce a new diacritical mark. The Romanizations of the French missionaries, *tj*, *ttj* and *tch* imply combinations of voiced and unvoiced consonants and, when written together with other consonants, would result in clumsy and confusing groups of Latin consonant

four plosive series. Each *ŏnmun* letter is accompanied by its Latin equivalent when it is pronounced as a plosive but not when, in accordance with euphonic changes, it is pronounced as a non-plosive consonant.

CHART OF PLOSIVES				
Articulation Characteristic	Labial	Velar	Dental	Palatal
Unvoiced	ㅍ p	ㄱ k	ㅌ t *	ㅈ ch **
Voiced	ㅂ b	ㄴ g	ㄷ d *	ㅊ j **
"Forced"	ㅍㅍ pp	ㄱㄱ kk	ㅌㅌ tt	ㅈㅈ tch
Aspirated	ㅍ' p'	ㄱ' k'	ㅌ' t'	ㅈ' ch' **

* Also ㅌ as a syllabic final. See p. 28 and 29.
 ** Also the corresponding letter of the *T* series when followed by *l* *i* or a yotized vowel. See p. 28.

In English the plosives are easily and conveniently classified as pairs of unvoiced and voiced consonants (*p, b; k, g; t, d*). In Korean, however, besides the differentiation of voicing, the degree of aspiration and the presence or absence of glottal closure affect their pronunciation. These variations make it necessary to devise a Romanization scheme for the plosives which will provide proper distinctions between the four types indicated on the chart above.¹

letters. Since no other substitutes seem satisfactory, we have felt it best to follow our general rule of basing the Romanization of consonants on their nearest equivalent in English. We have, therefore, used the Latin letters *ch, j, tch* and *ch'* for this series. Because most of the foreign residents of Korea are English-speaking people and favor the use of these Romanizations and because the Hepburn and Wade-Giles systems use the same letters for similar sounds, we have chosen these Romanizations in preference to others which might be more satisfactory to non-English-speaking people.

¹ The average Korean does not distinguish between the voiced and unvoiced sounds of these plosives, as will be seen by the fact that both are written by the same *ŏnmun* letter. On the other hand the average American or Englishman does not distinguish between Korean unvoiced and aspirated

Unvoiced Plosives

There is considerable dispute as to whether the unvoiced plosives as initials are unaspirated or are slightly aspirated.¹ Even if there may be some slight aspiration, these forms are never confused with the fully aspirated plosives by Koreans. As medials these unvoiced plosives vary considerably in pronunciation, especially when they precede or follow voiced phonemes and are assimilated to become entirely different phonemes themselves. When they precede or follow unvoiced consonants they do not change radically, but are somewhat influenced by their neighbors.² In the final position the palatal plosive (*ch*) never occurs. The others are incomplete plosives characterized by occlusion at the point of articulation and probably accompanied by glottal closure. For the purposes of Romanization the variations in the phonetic value of the unvoiced plosives may be ignored, because they are slight and because they are clearly indicated by the positions of the plosives in the word.

The unvoiced labial plosive (*p*) is represented by **ㅍ** or

plosives. Three Korean words illustrate this, *p'al* 팔 (arm), *pal* 발 (foot) and *sabal* 사발 (bowl). To an American or Englishman the difference between the first two is very difficult to note, and many foreigners pronounce them alike. The Korean, on the other hand, often insists that he pronounces the **ㅍ** in *pal* and *sabal* the same, although the difference is striking to the western ear.

Many Koreans prefer to Romanize both the voiced and voiceless forms as *b*, *d*, *g*, and *j*, but this is altogether unsatisfactory for westerners. Others wish to Romanize them as *p*, *k*, *t*, and *ch*, but this is equally unsatisfactory. A few examples will illustrate the necessity of Romanizing the voiced and voiceless forms differently if the system is to be used as a medium for foreigners.

Ōnmun	Meaning	Variant	Romanizations	McCune-Reischauer Romanization
고 기	fish	<i>coqi</i>	<i>koki</i>	<i>kogi</i>
부 비	extra expense	<i>bubi</i>	<i>pupi</i>	<i>pubi</i>
단단히	tightly	<i>dandanhi</i>	<i>tantanhi</i>	<i>tandanhi</i>
데 짚	disciple	<i>jeja</i>	<i>checha</i>	<i>cheja</i>

1. Gim Shōn Gi concludes from recent kymograph experiments that they are slightly aspirated (*Le Maître Phonétique*, 3rd series. No. 58, April-June, 1937), but most other phoneticians claim that they are unaspirated. Jung transcribes them phonetically as *ḡ*, *ḑ*, *ḥ*, and *j*.

2. See note 2 on p. 31.

by the digraph ㅈ ¹ and the velar (*k*) by ㄱ or by the digraph ㄲ .¹ The unvoiced dental plosive (*t*) is usually represented by ㅌ , but as a word final it is represented by ㅍ , as in *tasöt* 다섯 (five).² The unvoiced palatal plosive (*ch*) is represented usually by ㅊ , but also by a ㅌ followed in the same syllable by an ㅣ *i* or a yotized vowel.³

One other consonant should be mentioned under the heading of the unvoiced plosives, although it is not regularly represented by an independent *õnmun* letter and is not included on the Plosive Chart. It is the glottal stop which occurs as part of the articulation of the "forced" plosives and also elsewhere as a medial. It is customary to represent the glottal stop by the letter ㅇ , but the spelling is not uniform. When this letter is used in the medial position it is called the *sai siot* 사이스 (middle ㅇ). It is discussed more fully in a later section.

Voiced Plosives

The voiced plosives occur only in the middle of a word

- 1 See pp. 41-42 for a discussion of these digraph spellings.
- 2 In standard spelling no letters of the *T* or *Ch* series occur as syllabic finals, and only ㄱ and ㅍ of the other plosives. See pp. 46-47 regarding the appearance of the other plosive letters in new spelling systems.
- 3 This is true with all forms of the dental plosive series (except *tt* ㅈ) which become palatal plosives before ㅣ *i* or a yotized vowel. In northern dialects this phenomenon does not occur, and instead the yod element is usually simply omitted from the yotized vowels. However, it occurs throughout the rest of Korea, including the capital, and in the Unified System has led to the substitution of the corresponding forms of the *Ch* series for letters of the *T* series when they are pronounced as palatal plosives. The following are a few examples of this phenomenon with the new spelling.

Romanization	<i>Õnmun</i> (Gale)	<i>Õnmun</i> (Unif. Sys.)	Meaning
<i>chibang</i>	디 방	지 방	territory
<i>cheja</i>	데 자	제 자	disciple
<i>sõngjõn</i>	성 던	성 전	church
<i>ch'õlto</i>	덜 도	철 도	railway

It should not be assumed that *i* never follows the plosives of the *T* series. For example the *õnmun* syllable ㅌ should be Romanized *ti*. In such cases care must be taken in Romanizing to be sure that the correct spelling has been used, since *t**i* ㅌ (belt) is often written 띠 . The latter spelling has been adopted by the Unified System.

between voiced consonants (m □, n ㄴ, ng ㅇ and sometimes l ㄹ¹) and vowels. Because of an established rule of assimilation, the otherwise voiceless plosives, p ㅍ, k ㄱ, t ㅌ and ch ㅈ have borrowed the voicing of their neighboring sounds and have become b , g , d and j .

The voiced labial plosive (b) is always represented by ㅂ and the velar (g) by ㄱ. The voiced dental plosive (d) is represented by ㄷ (used as a syllabic initial) or ㅌ (used as a syllabic final).² The voiced palatal plosive (j) is represented by ㅈ or by a ㅈ followed by i ㅣ or a yotized vowel.

“Forced” Plosives

The “forced” plosives have been the subject of considerable dispute among phoneticians, who disagree about the question of articulation and designation. Haguenaer calls them quasi-geminées, and Jung terms them “implosives” or “double plosives”. Ogura transcribes them phonetically with the symbol of a glottal stop preceding the explosion.³

1 The l ㄹ is quite variable in its influence on following plosives. In native Korean words the presence or absence of assimilation is largely dependent on the degree of independence of the two syllables. For example 물건 (objects) is *mulgŏn*, but 물고기 (fish) and 물방울 (drop of water) are *mulkogi* and *mulpangul* because the syllable *mul* (water) in these cases is felt to be an independent unit. However, this is not invariably the case, for the word 물방아 (water pestle) is pronounced *mulbanga*. In Sino-Korean words, on the other hand, there is a definite rule that assimilation nearly always takes place between the l and p or between l and k , but rarely between l and t or l and ch . The following words illustrate this rule.

Romanization	Ōnmun	Meaning
<i>wŏlbi</i>	월 비	monthly expenses
<i>wŏlgŭp</i>	월 급	monthly wages
<i>wŏlto</i>	월 도	a type of sword
<i>wŏlchong</i>	월 풍	the end of the month

2 Sometimes ㅌ as a syllabic final between vowels represents s as it always does as a syllabic initial. This is usually true when it occurs before a postposition or a verb inflection, although this general rule cannot be relied upon except in the Unified System of spelling. When occurring between vowels within the uninflected part of a word, ㅌ represents d . For example 갓옷 (hat and clothes) is *kadot*, but when the nominative postposition is added it is *kadosi* 갓옷이.

3 Ogura's phonetic transcriptions are ' g ' and ' k ', ' b ' and ' p ', ' d ' and ' t ', and ' dz ' and ' ts '. Jung also indicates glottal closure by the use of the International Phonetic symbols $g̚$, $p̚$, $b̚$ and $t̚$. The only point of complete agreement among phoneticians is that these plosives are unaspirated. Most phoneticians, however, also agree that they are unvoiced and have a certain glottal element.

A possible explanation is that the glottis is first briefly closed and then is opened simultaneously with the explosion of the consonants. These consonants are peculiarly resonant and are therefore commonly confused with the simple voiced plosives by Occidentals. We have called them "forced" plosives in accordance with a Korean term used to describe them, *toen sori* 된소리 meaning forced sounds.¹

The "forced" plosives occur only as initials and medials. There is some discussion as to whether they have the same phonetic value in both positions. Ogura makes a distinction between the two, as can be seen from the Consonant Chart, but his conclusion that the medial is unvoiced and the initial voiced is open to doubt, and, though the force of the explosion is probably lighter when the "forced" plosives are initials than when they are medials, no variation in Romanization seems necessary.

The "forced" labial plosive (*pp*) is usually represented by ㅍ or ㅍ , the velar (*kk*) by ㄱ or ㄱ , the dental (*tt*) by ㄷ or ㄷ and the palatal (*tch*) by ㅈ or ㅈ . As medials the "forced" plosives may also be represented by an unvoiced plosive preceded by the letter ㄷ , since the latter symbol when used as a syllabic final preceding an unvoiced plosive usually represents a glottal stop.²

1 This is the most widely used name for these plosives in Korea. The small ㄷ attached to the plosive letters is always called the *toen siot* 된시옷 (forced ㄷ) and the same adjective is applied often to the entire plosive. Sometimes the adjective *tchakködŭp* 짝거름 (identical-doubled) is used for them. The Unified System names the forms it uses, ㄱ , ㄷ , ㅍ , ㅈ , the *ssang* 쌍 (twin) letters.

2 For exceptions see section on *sai siot*. The unvoiced plosives following another plosive are pronounced very much like "forced" plosives, because the occlusion of the preceding plosive acts as the glottal stop which is a characteristic of the "forced" plosives. Since to Romanize the unvoiced plosive letters as "forced" plosives in these cases would result in large groupings of Latin consonant letters and would probably confuse the reader rather than aid him, it is best to Romanize the "forced" plosives occurring in such cases as common unvoiced plosives in keeping with the *ŏnmun* orthography. A person familiar with the language can tell from the combination of the two plosives that the second is a "forced" plosive. An example of this phenomenon and of its Romanization is the name of a Korean kingdom Paekche 백제 which is pronounced like Paektche 백제 .

According to these rules of Romanization the combination of a ㅍ or ㄱ

The choice of suitable Romanizations for the "forced" plosives is more difficult than in the case of the other plosives. *B, g, d,* and *j* are not advisable because, first, they have already been employed for the simple voiced plosives, and, second, because these letters should not be used to represent unvoiced sounds. The addition of diacritical marks to these letters or to *p, k, t* and *ch* would result in further complications and would probably not be very intelligible. Therefore, for want of more suitable Romanizations, we have decided to represent the "forced" plosives, in accordance with one form of their *ŏnmun* spelling, as a doubling of the unvoiced plosive letters. The first three, consequently, are to be Romanized as *pp, kk* and *tt* and the fourth, the palatal plosive, as *tch*, since *chch* is obviously too awkward.

Aspirated Plosives

The aspirated plosives occur only as initials and medials. The aspiration is always quite strong. We have indicated the aspiration by the usual symbol ' following the unvoiced plosive letters. Since this is used in the Wade-Giles system for the Chinese aspirates and also in most Korean Romanization systems, it is the most suitable symbol to use as the sign of aspiration.

The aspirated labial plosive (*p'*) is represented by $\text{ㅍ}'$, the velar (*k'*) by $\text{ㅋ}'$ and the dental (*t'*) by $\text{ㅌ}'$. The aspirated palatal plosive (*ch'*) is represented by $\text{ㅈ}'$, or by a $\text{ㅈ}'$ followed by *i* or a yotized vowel. The aspirated plosives, with the exception of the palatal aspirate (*ch'*), are also often repre-

preceded by the same letter is to be Romanized the same as the medial "forced" plosive digraphs ㅍ or ㅍ . For example ㅍ and ㅍ are both Romanized *t'okki*. Actually their pronunciations are not exactly the same, for the medial consonant of the latter is a simple "forced" *k* and that of the former is a compound consonant with a *k* preceding a "forced" *k*. However, for the sake of simplicity, it seems best to Romanize these two alike, since they are quite similar.

sented by their respective unvoiced letters as syllabic finals (ㅁ, ㄱ, ㄴ) when they are followed by the glottal fricative ㅎ (*h*). When the assimilation is complete between the syllabic final and the fricative, the result is a simple aspirated plosive. But since the assimilation is not always complete and the two are sometimes pronounced separately, we have thought it best not to Romanize such combinations as aspirated plosives but as unvoiced plosives plus *h*.¹

NON-PLOSIVE CONSONANTS

There are seven letters in the Korean alphabet representing non-plosive consonants. The sounds which they normally represent together with our Romanizations for them are given in the following chart.

CHART OF NON-PLOSIVES				
	Labial	Dental	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	ㅁ <i>m</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i>	ㅇ <i>no</i>	
Lateral		ㄹ <i>l</i>		
Semi-rolled		ㄹ <i>r</i>		
Fricative		ㅅ <i>s, sh</i> ㅆ <i>ss</i>		ㅎ <i>h</i>

The ㄹ (*l*) and ㄹ (*r*) might better be considered alveolar rather than dental consonants, but because of the relationship between them and ㄴ (*n*) and ㄷ (*t*) we have listed them as dentals.

1 Some examples of these combinations are :

Romanization	Ōnmun	Meaning
<i>haphada</i>	합 ㅎ 다	to join together
<i>sokhi</i>	속 ㅎ 히	quickly
<i>hakhoe</i>	학 ㅎ 회	scientific society
<i>mothada</i>	못 ㅎ 다	to be unable to do

Nasal Consonants

It should be noted that these consonants have no off-glide when they occur as word finals.

The labial nasal (*m*) occurs as an initial, medial and final. It usually is represented by the letter **ㅁ**. It is also sometimes represented by the letter **ㅂ**, since the labial plosive (*p*) becomes a labial nasal (*m*) before nasals, as in **입내** *imnae* (mimicry) and **십명** *simmŷōng* (ten persons). It is also occasionally represented by the digraphs **ㅁ**,¹ and **ㅁ**.¹

The dental nasal (*n*) occurs as an initial, medial and final, but it never occurs as an initial before **ㅣ** *i* or a yotized vowel.² It is usually represented by the letter **ㄴ**, but it is also sometimes represented by the letter **ㄹ**, since the dental lateral (*l*) becomes nasalized when it occurs as a word initial before a vowel other than **ㅣ** *i* or a yotized vowel, as in **락데** *nakche* (failure), and when it is a medial following all consonants but the lateral (*l*) itself. Examples of this are **십리** *simni* (ten 'miles') and **독립** *tongnip* (independence). The dental nasal (*n*) is also sometimes represented by the letter **ㄷ**, since the latter as a dental plosive (*t*) becomes nasalized through regressive assimilation before the nasals and through reciprocal assimilation before the dental lateral (*l*). Examples of **ㄷ** as a dental nasal are **갓모** *kanmo* (hat covering) and **닷탕** *tannyang* (500 cash).

The velar nasal (*ng*) occurs only as a medial and

1 See page 42.

2 In words which were once pronounced and are still usually spelled in standard orthography with an initial **ㄴ** (*n*) followed by **ㅣ** *i* or a yotized vowel, the consonant is simply omitted in the capital dialect. In the north it is retained, and there the dental lateral (*l*) is also pronounced as a dental nasal (*n*) when a word initial before **ㅣ** *i* or a yotized vowel. For example **ㄴ** (teeth) and **ㄹ** (a common surname) are both pronounced *ni* in the north but are pronounced *i* in the capital. The Unified System spells both as **이**.

Theoretically it is possible for *n* to appear before *i* as an initial, for *ni* would be the correct Romanization of the syllables **ㄴ** and **ㄹ**. However, the latter is never used and the former occurs only in a very few native onomatopoeic words.

final.¹ It is usually represented by the letter ㅇ.² It is sometimes represented by the letter ㄱ (and the digraph ㄱ³), since the velar plosive (*k*) becomes a velar nasal (*ng*) before nasals through regressive assimilation and also before the dental lateral (*l*) through reciprocal assimilation. Examples of ㄱ as a velar nasal are 국민 *kunɡmin* (the nation) and 작란 *changnan* (play).

Lateral and Semi-Rolled Consonants

The dental lateral (*l*) occurs only as a medial and final. As the final consonant of a word, like all other Korean consonants, it has no off-glide. Phonetically speaking, this lateral is quite "clear", and thus is more like the French than the English *l*. It is usually represented by the letter ㄹ as in *pal* 발 (foot) and *halmōni* 할머니 (grandmother). It is also sometimes represented by the letter ㄴ, since the dental nasal (*n*) becomes a dental lateral (*l*) when preceding or following another dental lateral, as in *Silla* 신라 (a Korean kingdom) and *ōllūn* 얼른 (quickly).

The dental semi-rolled consonant (*r*) never occurs except as a medial between vowels or between a vowel and the glottal fricative (*h*). Like the lateral (*l*), it is "clear", and thus is not similar to the usual English *r* but is more like the clear French *r*. It is represented only by the letter ㄹ, which normally represents the dental (*l*) but is pronounced with a semi-roll between vowels and before *h*. Examples are found in *maru* 마루 (floor) and *irhūm* 일흠 (name).

1 In ancient pronunciation it was also used as an initial. For example, the Chinese character for fish 魚 was once probably pronounced *ngō*, though now it is pronounced *ō*. In compounds employing this character the *ng* sound is often retained in modern pronunciation. For example, 鮪 *pu* plus 魚 *ō* is pronounced *pungō* (perch) and 鯉 *i* plus 魚 *ō* is pronounced *inō* (carp). In both these examples Gale's dictionary spells the words as pronounced (붕어 and 잉어), and in other similar cases the standard *ōnmun* spelling has been changed to fit the pronunciation.

2 The letter ㅇ as a syllabic initial is now used as the sign of the absence of a consonant, although at one time there was a distinction between the two letters, one, ㅇ, representing the absence of consonant sound, the other, ㆁ, representing the *ng* sound.

3 See page 42.

Fricative Consonants

The dental fricatives (*s*), (*sh*) and (*ss*) occur as initials and medials only. The first two are represented by the same letter, *ㅅ*. Before *wi* ㅜㅣ (ㅜㅣㅣ), *ㅅ* is pronounced much like the sound written *sh* in English, and, consequently, we have Romanized it *sh* in this case, as in the word *shwin* ㅅㅜㅣ (fifty). Before the vowels *i* ㅣ, *oe* ㅝ and the labialized vowels, it has this same tendency, but less noticeably except in non-capital dialects, and so we have Romanized it before these and all other vowels as a simple *s*. For example, *san* ㅅㅏ (mountain) and *sirmun* ㅅㅣㅁㅜ (newspaper) have quite different initial consonants although they are Romanized the same. This consonant is usually accompanied by aspiration, but there is no agreement among phoneticians as to its degree or significance.¹ Since there is this disagreement, and since the Occidental usually does not notice the aspiration, it seems best not to add the sign of aspiration in Romanizing this consonant.

The third dental fricative (*ss*) is known as a "forced" *s*. Like the "forced" plosives its articulation is probably accompanied by glottal closure and greater tension, which produce somewhat stronger pressure at the point of friction than in the case of the simple *s*. In accordance with the *õnmun* spelling of this consonant and our Romanizations for the "forced" plosives, we have Romanized it as *ss*. This fricative is represented by the compound letter ㅆ, as in ㅆㅏ *ssüda* (to be sour).

The glottal fricative (*h*) occurs only as an initial and medial. As an initial it is pronounced with more friction in some words than in others, but, since the difference is slight and usually of no importance in the identification of the word, we have not made provisions for this variation. As a

¹ Haguenaer and Ogura do not note this aspiration in their transcriptions. Gim Shõn Gi notes that this fricative is consistently aspirated wherever it occurs. Pieters notices a distinct glottal aspiration when the *s* is a word initial followed by the vowels *a* ㅏ, *õ* ㅝ, *o* ㅜ and *ae* ㅝ.

medial between vowels and between voiced consonants and vowels the aspiration is generally very light and sometimes scarcely noticeable. As noted above, this fricative (*h*), following unvoiced plosives, is sometimes assimilated with them to produce aspirated plosives. For example the word *sokhi* 속히 (quickly) is pronounced *sok'i*. However, because this assimilation is not always complete, it is best to disregard it in Romanization. The glottal fricative (*h*) is represented only by the letter *ㅎ* and is always Romanized *h*.

RULES FOR THE ROMANIZATION OF THE CONSONANT LETTERS

In the preceding two sections the Korean consonants and their euphonic changes have been discussed from the phonetic point of view. In this section each *ŏnmun* consonant letter will be considered from the point of view of its Romanizations. The rules governing these Romanizations are listed in the following pages, applying only when standard spelling is used. Romanization problems introduced by new spelling systems are discussed in a later section especially devoted to them. The order of letters is the common Korean order found in the Consonant Chart. The definitions are from Gale's dictionary.

Ōnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples	
			Rom.	Ōnmun Meaning
ㄱ (k)	Initial	1. Always <i>K</i>	<i>kugyōng</i>	구경 view
	Medial	1. <i>G</i> between vowels and after ㅁ <i>m</i> , ㄴ <i>n</i> , ㅇ <i>ng</i> , and ㄹ <i>l</i> .	<i>kugyōng</i>	구경 view
			<i>kūngwang</i>	금강 mine
Final		2. <i>NG</i> before ㅁ <i>m</i> , ㄴ <i>n</i> , and ㄹ <i>l</i> . 3. <i>K</i> before and after all other consonants.	<i>chōn'gi</i>	전기 electricity
			<i>yangguk</i>	양국 western world
			<i>mulgōn</i>	물건 objects
			<i>kungmin</i>	국민 the nation
			<i>mangnae</i>	막내 youngest child
			<i>changnan</i>	작란 a trick
			<i>naksim</i>	낙심 discouragement
			<i>hapkye</i>	합계 sum total
			<i>kakkak</i>	각각 one by one
			<i>sokhi</i>	속히 quickly
	1. Always <i>K</i> (occlusive)	<i>tok</i>	독 earthenware jar	

Ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ŏnmun Meaning	
ㄴ (n)	Initial	1. <i>Not Romanized</i> before | <i>i</i> and yotized vowels. 2. <i>N</i> before other vowels.	<i>i</i> <i>yŏin</i> <i>yetch'ŏk</i>	나 teeth 녀인 a woman 옛적 ancient times
	Medial	1. <i>L</i> when preceded or followed by ㄹ <i>l</i> . 2. <i>N</i> in all other cases.	<i>nal</i> <i>nongmin</i> <i>öllün</i> <i>yöllak</i>	날 day 농민 farmers 얼는 quickly 련락 connection
	Final	1. Always <i>N</i> .	<i>Hananim</i> <i>hanmun</i> <i>san</i>	하늘 God 한문 Chinese 산 mountain
	ㄷ (t)	Initial	1. <i>CH</i> before | <i>i</i> and yotized vowels. 2. <i>T</i> before other vowels.	<i>chibang</i> <i>chŏn'gi</i> <i>tasŏt</i>	지방 territory 전기 electricity 다섯 five
Medial		1. <i>J</i> before | <i>i</i> and yotized vowels when preceded by a vowel or by ㅁ <i>m</i> , ㄴ <i>n</i> , and ㅇ <i>ng</i> . 2. <i>D</i> before other vowels when preceded by a vowel or by ㅁ <i>m</i> , ㄴ <i>n</i> , and ㅇ <i>ng</i> . 3. <i>Ch</i> before | <i>i</i> and yotized vowels when preceded by ㄱ <i>k</i> , ㅂ <i>p</i> , ㄹ <i>l</i> and ㅅ <i>s</i> . 4. <i>T</i> before other vowels when preceded by ㄱ <i>k</i> , ㅂ <i>p</i> , ㄹ <i>l</i> and ㅅ <i>s</i> .	<i>chŏnji</i> <i>sujŏn</i> <i>kamjŏng</i> <i>tanjo</i> <i>Sangje</i> <i>mudang</i> <i>ödüme</i> <i>samdüng</i> <i>mandu</i> <i>aengdo</i> <i>yakcho</i> <i>pakchi</i> <i>hyŏpchŏng</i> <i>ilchŏng</i> <i>nŏtchŏm</i> <i>pyŏktol</i> <i>haptong</i> <i>yŏlto</i> <i>ittaga</i>	천지 heaven and earth 슈던 paddy-fields 감당 appraisal 단tone monotone 상대 God 무당 sorceress 어디 where? 삼등 third class 만두 bean-jam bun 잉도 wild cherry 약도 contract 박디 barren ground 협정 agreement 일당 without doubt 놋담 brass dish shop 벽돌 brick 합동 combine 열도 temperature 잇다가 by and by
Final		(Used in new spelling only)		

Ŏnmun lette	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ŏnmun Meaning	
ㄱ (<i>n, l</i>)	Initial	1. <i>Not Romanized</i> before | <i>i</i> and yotized vowels.	<i>in'gün</i>	린근 neighbour
			<i>yöksa</i>	력스 history
	Medial	2. <i>N</i> before other vowels.	<i>yangban</i>	량반 the nobility
		1. <i>R</i> between vowels and before <i>ㅎ h</i> .	<i>nakche</i>	락테 failure
Final	1. <i>L</i> before all other consonants and after <i>ㄴ n</i> and <i>ㄹ l</i> .	<i>maru</i>	마루 wooden floor	
		<i>irhom</i>	일홍 name	
	3. <i>N</i> after other consonants.	<i>halmöni</i>	할머니 grandmother	
ㄴ (<i>n, l</i>)	Initial	1. <i>N</i> after other consonants.	<i>mulgön</i>	물건 objects
			<i>Silla</i>	신라 Korean kingdom
	Medial	1. <i>N</i> after other consonants.	<i>mullihak</i>	물리학 physics
			<i>Chongno</i>	종로 Bell Street
Final	1. Always <i>L</i> .	<i>tongnip</i>	독립 independence	
		<i>simni</i>	십리 ten "miles"	
ㅁ (<i>m</i>)	Initial	1. Always <i>M</i> .	<i>pal</i>	발 foot
	Medial	1. Always <i>M</i> .	<i>mal</i>	말 horse
	Final	1. Always <i>M</i> .	<i>namu</i>	나무 wood
ㅂ (<i>p</i>)	Initial	1. Always <i>M</i> .	<i>ũmsik</i>	음식 food
			<i>pam</i>	밤 night
	Medial	1. Always <i>P</i> .	<i>pal</i>	발 foot
			1. <i>B</i> between vowels and after <i>ㅁ m, ㄴ n, ㅇ ng</i> and <i>ㄹ l</i> .	<i>sabal</i>	사발 a dish
2. <i>M</i> before <i>ㅁ m, ㄴ n</i> and <i>ㄹ l</i> .			<i>tumbae</i>	담배 tobacco
Final	1. Always <i>P</i> (occlusive)	<i>chunbi</i>	준비 preparation	
		<i>yangban</i>	량반 the nobility	
		<i>kalbi</i>	갈비 the ribs	
ㅍ (<i>p</i>)	Initial	1. Always <i>P</i> .	<i>simmyöng</i>	십명 ten persons
			<i>imnre</i>	입내 mimicry
	Medial	1. <i>P</i> before and after all other consonants.	<i>sönni</i>	섭리 providence
			<i>tapchang</i>	답장 written reply
Final	1. Always <i>P</i> (occlusive)	<i>yakpang</i>	약방 dispensary	
		<i>chöpsi</i>	접시 plate	
ㅑ (<i>ya</i>)	Initial	1. Always <i>P</i> (occlusive)	<i>pap</i>	밥 food

Ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ŏnmun Meaning	
ㅅ (s)	Initial	1. <i>SH</i> before ㅈ (ㅉ) <i>wi</i> . 2. <i>S</i> before others vowels.	<i>shwipta</i> <i>san</i>	쉽다 apt to 산 mountain
	Medial	1. <i>SH</i> when a syllabic initial before ㅈ (ㅉ) <i>wi</i> . 2. <i>S</i> when a syllabic initial before other vowels (except after ㄹ) and when a syllabic final before ㅅ <i>s</i> and ㅆ <i>ss</i>	<i>sonshwipta</i> <i>moksa</i> <i>naengsu</i> <i>musik</i> <i>kyössun</i> <i>kassagi</i>	손쉽다 to be easy 목스 pastor 냉수 cold water 무식 illiteracy 겉순 extra sprouts 갓사기 hat cover
		3. <i>N</i> before ㅁ <i>m</i> , ㄴ <i>n</i> and ㄹ <i>l</i> .	<i>kanmo</i> <i>channabi</i> <i>tannyang</i>	갓모 nat covering 갓나비 monkey 닷량 500 cash
		4. <i>T</i> before ㅇ <i>h</i> and letters of the <i>T</i> and <i>Ch</i> series, and before other plosives when in a compound word.	<i>ithae</i> <i>ittaga</i> <i>chött'ong</i> <i>natcham</i> <i>putch'ae</i> <i>katpang</i>	잇히 two years 잇다가 by and by 젖동 the breasts 낮잠 siesta 부채 fan 갓방 hat manufactory
		5. <i>D</i> when a syllabic final before vowels except before postpositions.	<i>yötkarak</i> <i>midüm</i>	엿가락 candy stick 믿음 belief
		6. <i>P</i> before ㅂ <i>p</i> when not in compound words.	<i>kippada</i>	깃쁘다 to be happy
		7. <i>K</i> before ㅋ <i>k</i> when not in compound words.	<i>ökkae</i>	엿기 shoulder
ㅇ (ng)	Final	1. Always <i>T</i> (occlusive.)	<i>kat</i>	갓 hat
	Initial	1. <i>Not Romanized.</i>	<i>al</i>	알 egg
	Medial	1. <i>Not Romanized</i> as syllabic initial. 2. <i>NG</i> as syllabic final.	<i>Togil</i> <i>nongmin</i>	독일 Germany 농민 farmer
	Final	1. Always <i>NG</i> .	<i>pang</i>	방 room

Ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ŏnmun Meaning
ㅈ (ch)	Initial	1. Always CH.	<i>chang</i> 장 a cabinet
	Medial	1. J between vowels. 2. And after ㅁ m, ㄴ n and ㅇ ng.	<i>tojang</i> 도장 seal <i>kamja</i> 감자 potato <i>minjok</i> 민족 country <i>myōngji</i> 명지 Korean silk
	Final	2. CH after all other consonants, ㅋ k, ㆁ p, ㄹ l, and ㅅ s. (Used only in new spelling.)	<i>mokchang</i> 옥장 meadow <i>apchip</i> 앞집 house in front <i>mulchil</i> 물질 matter <i>yetchök</i> 옛적 old times
ㅊ (ch')	Initial	1. Always CH'.	<i>ch'a</i> 차 tea
	Medial	1. Always CH'.	<i>kimch'i</i> 김치 Korean pickle
	Final	(Used only in new spelling.)	
ㅋ (k')	Initial	1. Always K'.	<i>k'o</i> 코 nose
	Medial	1. Always K'.	<i>waek'ong</i> 왜콩 peanut
	Final	(Used only in new spelling.)	
ㅌ (t')	Initial	1. Ch' before | i and yotized vowels 2. T' before other vowels.	<i>ch'ōndang</i> 천당 heaven <i>t'asan</i> 타산 calculation <i>t'okki</i> 토끼 rabbit
	Medial	1. CH' before | i and yotized vowels. 2. T' before other vowels.	<i>tongch'öl</i> 동철 copper <i>chot'a</i> 조타 to be good
	Final	(Used only in new spelling.)	
ㅍ (p')	Initial	1. Always P'.	<i>p'al</i> 팔 arm
	Medial	1. Always P'.	<i>söp'an</i> 서판 writing board
	Final	(Used only in new spelling.)	
ㅎ (h)	Initial	1. Always H.	<i>hana</i> 하나 one
	Medial	1. Always H.	<i>manhi</i> 만히 many <i>hakhoe</i> 학회 scientific society
	Final	(Used only in new spelling.)	

Ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples Rom. Ŏnmun Meaning
ㄱ (ㄱ) (kk)	Initial	1. Always <i>KK</i> .	<i>kkakchi</i> 껍지 shell <i>t'okki</i> 토끼 rabbit <i>pakkot</i> 박꽃 gourd flower
	Medial	1. Always <i>KK</i> (except after ㄱ k, where it is <i>K</i> .)	
	Final	(Used only in new spelling.)	
ㄷ (ㄷ) (tt)	Initial	1. Always <i>TT</i> (theoretically <i>tch</i> before <i>i</i> and yotized vowels, but never used.)	<i>ttang</i> 땅 the earth <i>hōritti</i> 허리띠 girdle <i>yōttae</i> 엇저 yet
	Medial	1. Always <i>TT</i> (except after ㅅ s, where it is <i>T</i>).	
	Final	(Not used.)	
ㅍ (ㅍ) (pp)	Initial	1. Always <i>PP</i> .	<i>ppuri</i> 뿌리 root <i>soeppul</i> 쇠뿔 ox horn
	Medial	1. Always <i>PP</i> (except after ㅍ p, where it is <i>P</i>).	
	Final	(Not used.)	
ㅅ (ㅅ) (ss)	Initial	1. Always <i>SS</i> .	<i>ssūda</i> 쓰다 to write <i>k'ongssi</i> 콩씨 bean seed <i>chopssal</i> 좁쌀 millet <i>kassagi</i> 갓차기 hat cover
	Medial	1. Always <i>SS</i> (except after ㅅ s, where it is <i>S</i>).	
	Final	(Used only in new spelling.)	
ㅈ (ㅈ) (tch)	Initial	1. Always <i>TCH</i> .	<i>tcharūda</i> 찌르다 to be short <i>kkomtchak</i> 쑥쑥 suddenly <i>mitchak</i> 밧쑥 under half
	Medial	1. Always <i>TCH</i> (except after ㅅ s, where it is <i>CH</i>).	
	Final	(Not used)	

Only three consonant digraphs, ㄱ, ㄷ, and ㅍ, appear in standard spelling, and these only as syllabic finals in native words.¹ The general rules for the Romanization of these

1 In ancient Korean, compound consonants occurred as initials. For example *ssal* 쌀 (grain) was formerly pronounced *psal* 쌀. For this reason the names of grains often contain a *pss* medial, as in *chopssal* 좁쌀 (hulled millet) and *ipssal* 입쌀 (hulled rice), which are compounds of *psal* with *cho* 초 (millet) and *I* 리, the surname of the last dynasty of Korean kings.

digraphs are given below. Only ㄹ and ㅁ are used as word finals. The other, ㄴ, is used exclusively for verb roots and is thus always followed by syllables indicating inflectional endings. The ㄹ *l* is often silent in consonant combinations, as shown by the rules of the following chart, and in such cases the vowel is usually slightly prolonged.¹

Ŏnmun letter	Position	Rules for Romanization	Examples	
			Rom.	Ŏnmun Meaning
ㄹ (<i>lk</i>)	Initial	(Not used)		
	Medial	1. <i>LG</i> between vowels. 2. <i>L</i> before letters of the <i>K</i> series. 3. <i>NG</i> before ㅁ <i>m</i> , ㄴ <i>n</i> and ㄹ <i>l</i> . 4. <i>LK</i> before ㅎ <i>h</i> . 5. <i>K</i> before all other consonants.	<i>kalgi</i> <i>mölkümhada</i> <i>öngmaeda</i> <i>pulkhida</i> <i>kükchöktaeda</i>	괭이 rake 맑음하다 to be clean 얹다 to tie up 붉히다 to dye red 긁적다 to scratch
	Final	1. <i>K</i> (occlusive)	<i>tak</i>	닭 chicken
ㅁ (<i>lp</i>)	Initial	(Not used)		
	Medial	1. <i>LB</i> between vowels. 2. <i>L</i> before letters of the <i>P</i> series. 3. <i>M</i> before ㅁ <i>m</i> , ㄴ <i>n</i> and ㄹ <i>l</i> . 4. <i>LP</i> before ㅎ <i>h</i> . 5. <i>P</i> before all other consonants.	<i>nölbï</i> <i>yalp'anhada</i> <i>nönmamul</i> <i>sülphüm</i> <i>nöpch'i</i>	넓이 the width 얇관하다 to be thin 널나물 name of flower 슬픔 grief 넢치 the sole
	Final	1. <i>P</i> (occlusive)		
ㅂ (<i>lm</i>)	Initial	(Not used)		
	Medial	1. <i>LM</i> between vowels. 2. <i>L</i> before ㅁ <i>m</i> . 2. <i>M</i> before other consonants	<i>ölmagada</i> <i>kümgida</i>	옮아가다 to move 굶기다 to starve
	Final	(Not used)		

1 In some dialects the pronunciation of the ㄹ *l* is retained, particularly with ㄹ. For example, *tak* 닭 is pronounced *talk*.

THE MEDIAL GLOTTAL STOP (SAI SIOT) AND IRREGULAR ASSIMILATION BETWEEN CONSONANTS

There are certain exceptions to the rules for the Romanization of the consonants which demand special consideration. The largest group of exceptions are in the Romanizations of ㅂ, ㄱ, ㄷ and ㅈ as *b*, *g*, *d* and *j*. Under certain conditions the normal assimilation, which would result in the voicing of those consonants, does not take place, as, for example, in the word *hancha* 한자, which, according to the rules, should be *hanja*. In such cases the voice is stopped by glottal occlusion before the pronunciation of the plosive. This irregularity is often found in words in which the semi-independent character of a part of the word has prevented the normal assimilation, or in compound words which may have once been separated by a postposition. There are also other factors which may produce the medial glottal stop.¹

There are several ways in Korean orthography to denote the presence of this glottal stop. This is generally accomplished by the use of the letter ㅅ, called the *sai siot* in this case. Sometimes this is done by attaching the letter ㅅ to a preceding syllable ending in a vowel, as in the spelling *twikkan* 뒷간 (outhouse). Sometimes the glottal stop is indicated by changing a plosive letter of the second syllable to its "forced" form, as in *sontŭng* 손똥 (the back of the hand). Perhaps the most satisfactory method of indicating its presence, at least for dictionary purposes, is that used by the Government General dictionary, where the letter ㅅ is inserted independently between syllables when the glottal

1. Some commonly used Chinese characters which are usually preceded by a glottal stop in combination with other characters are 字 (character or word), 章 (chapter), 徵 (symptom), 契 (contract), 病 (disease) and 法 (law). One cause for the presence of this glottal stop is probably phonetic. That is, the dentals ㄷ ㄷ and ㅈ ㅈ and the palatal ㅊ ㅊ are preceded by a glottal stop when following the dental ㄴ ㄴ. In native Korean words the glottal stop is commonly found after prefixes which may once have contained a final consonantal element, such as *twi* 뒤 (rear), *u* 위 (above) and *hu* 후 (after). Several studies on the cause of the medial glottal stop have been made by Korean philologists, but as yet the problem has not been fully investigated.

stop occurs.¹ Thus the word *hancha* is written 한ㅈ. Gale's dictionary makes no attempt to indicate these irregularities in Sino-Korean words, but in native words the spelling has generally been adapted to them.

It has been necessary to make special rules of Romanization for these irregularities, but at the same time these rules have been formulated with a view to keeping the system as simple as possible. First, when the *sai siot* is used in the Government-General dictionary between vowels and plosives, or at any time before the letter ㅈ *s*, the plosives or ㅈ *s* should be Romanized as their respective "forced" consonants, that is, doubled. Second, when the *sai siot* occurs between consonants and plosives, the plosives are to be Romanized as if they were initials and the preceding consonants as if they were finals. This irregular spelling is sufficient to indicate the break between the two consonants caused by the glottal stop.²

Other exceptions to the rules of Romanization occur with the use of ㅈ as a syllabic final in the medial position. As shown above it is often used to indicate a glottal stop, but at other times it is used to represent *s* or the dental plosive *t* and its phonetic variations. Of the rules governing its Romanization (see page 39) the last three need further explanation.

Rule 5, the Romanization of ㅈ as *d*. When a syllabic final before a vowel. ㅈ is Romanized *d* unless the following vowel is an inflexional ending, in which case it is Romanized

1 The use of this symbol in the Government General dictionary does not always indicate the glottal stop, but often indicates a brief pause between the syllables, or at times represents the various pronunciations of a syllabic final ㅈ. Before plosives and *s* it always indicates the glottal stop, however. Before other consonants it should be Romanized as follows: 1) after vowels, as if it were attached to the preceding syllable, thus 우ㅈ옷 *udot* (outer clothing) and 예ㅈ말 *yemal* (ancient sayings); 2) between consonants to be disregarded, as in 칼ㅈ날 *k'allal* (knife blade) and 강ㅈ엿 *kangyöt* (black candy).

2 Examples of the medial glottal stop, the variant spelling of the Government General and Gale dictionary, the Unified System's orthography and our Romanization follow.

s. This rule is invariable in the Unified System of spelling but may have exceptions in other systems. It may be followed as a general rule. Thus 옷옷 is *udot* (outer clothing) but 옷옷이 (the same word with the nominative postposition added) is *udosi*.¹

Rules 6 and 7, Romanization of ㅅ as *p* and *k* before ㅍ *p* and ㅋ *k* respectively. These rules only apply to words which cannot be broken up into separate independent words. According to Rule 4, the ㅅ is Romanized *t* before these plosives in all compound words. In non-compounds, however, the ㅅ usually indicates a glottal stop before ㅍ *p* and ㅋ *k*, (which transforms them into "forced" plosives). Even words formed by adding prefixes should be considered compounds, but there is considerable variation in pronunciation and it is impossible to make a hard and fast rule for the Ro-

Romanizations	Gov. Gen.	Gale	Unif. Sys.	Meaning
<i>twikkan</i>	뒤ㅅ간	뒤(뒷)간	뒷간	outhouse
<i>kippal</i>	기ㅅ발	기ㅅ발	깃발	flag bunting
<i>tambaettae</i>	담배ㅅ대	담뱃대	담뱃대	smoking pipe
<i>utchari</i>	우ㅅ자리	웃자리	웃자리	upper seat
<i>issae</i>	이ㅅ새	니ㅅ새	잇새	space between teeth
<i>munkan</i>	손ㅅ간	문간(ㅅ)	문간	space inside gate
<i>chinᄁöp</i>	진ㅅ법	진법	진법	military tactics
<i>sontüng</i>	손ㅅ등	손등	손등	back of hand
<i>pangchang</i>	방ㅅ장	방장(ㅅ)	방장	room curtain
<i>hancha</i>	한ㅅ자	한자	한자	Chinese characters
<i>sanyssori</i>	상ㅅ소리	상소력	상소리	low language

1 Although Gale's dictionary may be used of a guide for the standard pronunciation and Romanization of words containing the ㅅ between vowels in the body of the word, it cannot be used for adding postpositions. For example, *kkot* 꽃 (flower) followed by the nominative postposition 이 이 is not *kkosi* but *kkoch'i* (spelled 꽃이 in the Unified System).

The Government General dictionary has even greater variation in orthography, for example 갓인갓 is the spelling for *kujün'göt* ㄱ존갓 (all sorts).

manization of these combinations.¹

Other irregularities in assimilation between consonants occur but are not generally important. One such is the occasional pronunciation of two medial ㄴ *n* as *ll*, when the second is followed by a yotized vowel. An example of this irregularity is *mannyōn* 만년 (ten thousand years) which may be pronounced *mallyōn*. Another case is the assimilation of *p* by a following *k*, through which the labialization of the former is lost and the two together become the "forced" plosive *kk*, as in *papkūrūt* 밥그릇 (rice bowl), which may be pronounced *pakkūrūt*. Another example is the change of the dental nasal *n* to a labial nasal *m* before labial consonants, as in *sinbal* 신발 (shoes), sometimes *simbal*, and in *sinmun* 신문 (newspaper), sometimes *simmun*. There is also the common change of the nasal *m* and *n* to the velar nasal *ng* before the velar plosives, as in the word *kamgi* 감기 (a cold), usually *kanggi*, and *chōn'gi* 전기 (electricity), usually *chōnggi*. In all these cases the unassimilated pronunciations of the consonants are quite understandable and are usually considered more correct. Therefore, in ordinary Romanization, problems of this sort are best ignored.

THE CONSONANTS IN NEW SPELLING AND THEIR ROMANIZATION

In new systems of orthography the spelling of the consonants has been considerably revised in order to divide clearly between word roots and inflexional endings or postpositions. For the most part this has resulted in the shifting of letters from their positions as syllabic initials to the bottom of the preceding syllable, as in *낮에*, formerly spelled *나제* *naje* (daytime), and *없이*, formerly *업시* *ōpsi* (without).

1 One factor which complicates this problem is that, through accidental assimilation, the *t* of compounds sometimes is assimilated with the following *p* or *k* to produce the "forced" plosives. For example *katkōri* 갓거리 (string to hang hat by) may be pronounced in rapid speech as *kakkōri* 가서리. The latter, however, is not considered good pronunciation and should be avoided.

Such cases afford little difficulty in Romanization.

The use of \bar{h} *h*, however, as a syllabic final, generally serves another purpose. Before unvoiced plosives it indicates that the plosives are aspirated, as in **좋다**, formerly **조락** *chot'a* (to be good).¹ In the new spelling the letters **ㄷ** (*t*), **ㄷ'** (*t'*), **ㅈ** (*ch*) and **ㅈ'** (*ch'*), when used as syllabic finals, should all be treated like the letter **ㅈ** of standard spelling, except when they occur as medials between vowels or before \bar{h} (*h*). Between vowels they may be Romanized as if they were syllabic initials rather than syllabic finals; and before \bar{h} (*h*), the **ㄷ'** (*t'*) and **ㅈ'** (*ch'*) are unaffected, but the **ㄷ** (*t*) and **ㅈ** (*ch*) are assimilated, usually, with the \bar{h} *h* and become aspirates.² Similarly the aspirate **ㅋ** (*k'*) and the "forced" plosive **ㄲ** (*kk*) may be treated as **ㄱ** (*k*), and the aspirate **ㅍ** (*p'*) as **ㅍ** (*p*).³

New spellings also use many new consonant digraphs as syllabic finals. Below is a small chart showing those used in the Unified System. The chart includes, 1) rules for Romanization as medials before vowels, 2) as word finals, 3) the *ǰnmun* letter which may be used as a substitute for the digraph when the problem of determining the assimilation before consonants comes up, and 4) examples of words in which these digraphs are employed.

1 This spelling preserves the verb root within the syllable as well as the independent character of the postposition. Thus the relative participle is written **좋은** and the verbal connective **좋고** instead **조흔** and **조코** as formerly. The form **좋소** is pronounced **죇소** (as it was formerly written). Thus in Romanization, a syllabic final \bar{h} should be represented as follows: *h* before vowels, *s* before *s*, aspiration for the unvoiced plosives, and disregarded elsewhere.

2 Examples of these plosives are as follows: *mitta* 믿다 (to believe); *midūm* 믿음 (belief); *tatta* 닫다 (to shut); *tach'i-da* 닫히다 (to shut up); *tadūn* 닫은 (shut, adj.); *pat* 밭 (field); *pach'i* 밭이 (field, nom.); *pat'e* 밭에 (to the field); *kkot* 꽃 (flower); *kkoch'i* 꽃이 (flower, nom.); *kkonmaeji* 꽃매지 (flower fruit); *nat* 낮 (day); *naje* 낮에 (in the day); *natcham* 낮잠 (day sleep).

3 Examples are: *puōk* 부엌 (kitchen); *pakke* 밖에 (outside); *ap* 앞 (the front); *ammun* 앞문 (front door).

IV OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

SYLLABLES AND WORDS IN ROMANIZATION

It has been customary in Romanizing Korean to divide words into syllables by means of hyphens. Ordinarily hyphens are used in Chinese Romanizations and not used in Japanese, thus providing a choice of precedents for the Romanization of Sino-Korean words. Although the Korean language is strongly influenced in vocabulary by the so-called monosyllabic Chinese language, it retains its characteristics as a polysyllabic agglutinative language. Thus in Korean, a given syllable may vary widely in pronunciation according to the nature of the other syllables in the word, whereas in Chinese a syllable is little affected by its neighbors except in tone. A simple example, the word Silla, will help to clarify the point. In Chinese, *hsin* 新 plus *lo* 羅 are pronounced Hsin-lo but in Korea, *sin* 新 plus *na* (la) 羅 are pronounced Silla. To hyphenate this name as Sil-la would imply that it is composed of two parts which individually are *sil* and *la*, which is obviously misleading.

The use of the hyphen may be justified if it is either an aid in identifying the Chinese character or a help in pronunciation. The phonetic individuality of the Chinese character is much less marked in Korean, because of euphonic changes than in Chinese. For example, the character 年 with the *ŏnmun* spelling 년 is pronounced and Romanized *yŏn*, *nyŏn*, *lyŏn* and *yŏl*¹ depending on the preceding and following syllables; and *chŏng* might represent the *ŏnmun* spellings 적, 적, 정, 덕, 덩, each of which denote independent groups of Chinese characters. Obviously, then, the identity of the character behind the Romanization is no clearer with the hyphen than without it if euphonic changes are to be included in the Romanization. From the standpoint of pronunciation the hyphen is generally just as unnecessary and often

1 E. g. *yŏnp'yo* 年表 (chronological chart), *simnyŏn* 十年 (ten years) *ch'illyŏn* 七年 (seven years) and *yŏllae* 年來 (for years).

actually misleading. To hyphenate Togil 독일 (Germany) as Tog-il would lead to its mispronunciation. One may conclude, therefore, that the use of the hyphen to separate syllables has no justification either as an aid in identifying the Chinese character or as a help in pronunciation, and is consequently best avoided.

Without doubt it would be convenient to use a hyphen to separate letters which represent two separate sounds but which, when occurring together, might otherwise be thought to represent digraphs, such as *oe*, *ae*, *üi* and *ng*. However, the common practice in the case of such vowels is to indicate a break in the pronunciation by placing the mark ` over the second vowel. The first two vowel combinations would thus be Romanized *oé* and *aé*¹ to distinguish them from the digraphs *oe* and *ae*.¹ With *üi* no distinguishing mark is necessary, since the digraph itself represents a diphthong.

When *n* and *g* are pronounced separately the symbol ' may be used to separate them. Thus 전기 is to be Romanized *chö r'gi* (electricity) and 정인 as *chöngin* (lover).

In Romanizing sentences, book titles and the like, the problem of a correct division into words is important. It is difficult to define what is a word in any language, and the problem is particularly complicated in Korean where divisions have been traditionally made by syllables and by clauses. Therefore in Romanizing groups of words a division into units roughly comparable to those in European sentences should be made if the Romanization is to be intelligible to the average Occidental.

One can not lay down hard and fast rules for word divisions, and much depends on the special considerations and needs of each individual problem of Romanization. How-

1 These combinations very rarely occur except in sentences when a noun is followed by a postposition as, for example, *ttaë* 땅에 (in the earth) and *Chongnoë* 종로에 (on Bell Street). In other cases also where two independent vowels occur together in Romanization, the same sign may be used over the second vowel if the Romanizer fears that otherwise the word might be mispronounced. For example, *noök* 로옥 (prison).

ever, a few recommendations will help bring some uniformity. The problem with native Korean is different from that of Sino-Korean and these two types of words should therefore be considered separately. In native Korean, as in native Japanese, the verb, including what may be called adjectival verbs or verbal adjectives, should be written together as a single unit, no matter what its length or complexity. Thus, verb stems with their auxiliary verbs and inflexional endings are to be Romanized as single words.¹ The nouns, likewise, should be written together with their postpositions, including those called case endings, not separately as in Japanese, because phonetically the two are so merged that it would often be difficult and misleading to attempt to divide them. The few remaining native words, such as adjectives, adverbs, and the like, may be Romanized individually as their corresponding form would be in English.

In the case of Sino-Korean words, as in modern Chinese and Sino-Japanese, there can be no clear criterion for the separation of groups of syllables by words other than the word-feeling of the language itself. The character combinations found in dictionaries serve as good indications of this division; but only through much experience can one master the division of Sino-Korean words, which, after all, is always partially a matter of individual interpretation.

Despite the above recommendations, in all Romanization problems, except the most simple, there will be considerable doubt as to the proper division of a phrase into words. This problem will have to be solved in most cases by the individual. There are many cases where there is a partial division does not seem great enough to justify writing them as separate words. It is for such cases that we have reserved the use of the hyphen; but we believe that on the whole it should be used as sparingly as possible.

1 It is possible in Romanization to divide verbs formed by Sino-Korean nouns plus such verbs as *hada* 하다 (to do) and *toeda* 되다 (to become) into their two component parts, but since many of them have become common Korean verbs we prefer generally to Romanize them as single words.

Euphonic changes often occur in spoken Korean between independent words, as in many European languages. Thus the Romanization of a sentence word by word does not represent as clearly as it might the pronunciation of the sentence as a whole. Nevertheless, a division of the sentence into word units seems to provide a more intelligible Romanization for the use of Occidentals, than a division by syllables or clauses.

The following sentence illustrates our suggestions for the division of a sentence by words.

한글 운동은 燕山君朝에 이르러 큰厄運을 당하였다
 운 동 연 산 군 조 익 운 당

Han'gŭl undongŭn Yŏnsan-gun choë irŭrŏ k'ŭn aegunŭl tanghayŏtta.

(The Han'gŭl movement was placed in an extremely critical position during the reign of the ruler Yŏnsan.)

THE ROMANIZATION OF PROPER NAMES AND TITLES

Proper names like words should not be divided into syllables, as has often been done in the past. For example, the geographic term 光州 should be Romanized as Kwangju. Irregularities occurring in proper names such as in P'yŏngyang 平壤 which is colloquially pronounced P'iyang or P'e-yang, should usually be ignored in Romanizations intended for scholarly use.

Personal names demand special consideration. As in China, the great majority of surnames are monosyllables representing a single character, while a few are two character names. The given name, which follows the surname, usually has two characters but sometimes only one. In both two character surnames and two character given names the general rules of euphonic change should be observed, and the two syllables should be written together.

The problem of the euphonic changes between a surname and given name or title is very difficult. A man known as Paek Paksa 백박사 (Dr. Paek) might prove to have the

full name of Paeng Nakchun **백낙준** because of the assimilation of the final *k* of his surname and the initial *n* of his given name. The use in Romanization of both Dr. Paek and Paeng Nakchun for the same person would result in considerable confusion. Therefore it seems best for Romanizations purposes to disregard euphonic changes between surnames and given names or titles, so that the above name should be Romanized Paek Nakchun.

For ordinary social use our Romanization often may not prove suitable for personal names. Even in scholarly work there are also a few instances of rather well established Romanizations for proper names which might be left unchanged, just as the names of some of the provinces of China still have traditional Romanizations not in accord with the Wade-Giles system. There is, for example, Seoul, which some may prefer to the Sōul of our system. Another very important example is **李**, the surname of the kings of the last Korean dynasty and still a very common Korean surname. Actually it is pronounced in the standard dialect and should be Romanized *I*, but some may prefer to retain the older Romanization, *Yi*, because that is already the familiar form. In any case the other Romanizations of **李**, *Ri* and *Li*, should not be used.

THE SIMPLE USE OF THIS SYSTEM OF ROMANIZATION

This Romanization system, with but a very few exceptions, may be applied by the use of two simple charts, the Syllabic Table and the Chart of Euphonic Changes of the Consonants which are to be found at the end of this article.

In using the Syllabic Table, the corresponding "forced" plosive letters, **ㄱ** *kk*, **ㅍ** *pp*, **ㅌ** *tt* and **ㅈ** *tch*, and the aspirated forms, **ㅋ** *k'*, **ㅑ** *p'*, **ㅓ** *t'* and **ㅉ** *ch'*, may be substituted when called for in the columns of the four unvoiced plosive letters, **ㄱ** *k*, **ㅍ** *p*, **ㅌ** *t* and **ㅈ** *ch*. Also **ㅆ** *ss* may be substituted for *s* and *sh* in the **ㄴ** column. Special note should be taken of the double Romanizations given in the **ㄴ** and **ㄹ**

columns. The first in each case should be used for the first syllable of a word and the second for all other syllables. The Romanizations of the consonant letters as finals are included at the bottom of each column.

For those inexperienced in Romanizing Korean we suggest the following procedure :

1. Write the word in *ŏnmun*, transcribing it from the Chinese characters if it is a Sino-Korean word.

Examples: Sino-Korean word, "museum" 博物館 equals 박물관. Native word, "bowl" is 사발.

2. Romanize each syllable separately according to the Syllabic Table, adding the syllabic consonantal endings as given.

Examples: **박** equals *pa* plus *k* and is therefore *pak*. This process will give *pak mul kwan* and *sa pal*.

3. Correct the medial consonants according to the Chart of Euphonic Changes of the Consonants and then write the syllables together.

Examples: *pak* plus *mul* gives a medial of *k* plus *m*. In the horizontal *K* column, where it intersects the vertical *M* column, will be found the correction *ngm*. Therefore *pak mul* becomes *pangmul*. This process will give the words correctly Romanized as *pangmulgwan* and *sabal*.

This very simple process will prove adequate for almost all Romanization problems, but occasionally there are irregularities which do not come within the scope of these two charts, and for these reference must be made to other sections of this paper. For example, the variation in the value of λ as a syllabic final in the medial position is discussed on pages 44 to 46. The Romanization of the three consonant digraphs, ㄹ , ㅃ and ㅍ , is discussed at the end of

the section on "Rules for the Romanization of the Ōnmun Consonant Letters." Other irregularities are discussed in "Irregularities in the Pronunciation of the Vowels," "The Medial Glottal Stop (*Sai Siot*) and Irregular Assimilation between Consonants" and "The Romanization of Consonants in New Spelling."

letter from the French shipwrecked crew "... the words of the letter ask only for food and a ship... so it appears that no invasion is intended...."

1722, 6th moon, 19th day. The king welcomed the Chinese envoy in one of the palace buildings. After returning to his quarters he went to the sacrificial building to observe the ceremony of mourning. Today it was reported that in Asan, a cow gave birth to a calf with one body and two heads. 1

The above are typical extracts from the *Yi Dynasty Annals* (*Yŏjo Sillok* 李朝實錄) which record the affairs of the Korean court, day by day, throughout the five centuries of the dynasty. These chronicles, originally in a set numbering over seventeen hundred books, are now published in a set of eight hundred and forty nine volumes, the facsimile edition of Keijō Imperial University.

The most striking feature about these Annals is the particular emphasis placed upon objectivity in their compilation. Each king at his inauguration established a Board of Annals, the *Sillokch'og* 實錄廳, composed of the leading scholars of the kingdom, to edit the records of the previous king's reign. These men had access to all the records of the government. They also used the notes which had been privately kept by the official historians concerning the daily affairs of the court. When the Annals of each reign were completed no one was allowed to read them, not

1. The first extract is from the *Howjaeg Annals*, Bk. 14, p. 7 r; the second from the *Yongjong Annals*, Bk. 23, p. 37 r. In citing the Annals in the following article, the date of the entry in the Korean calendar plus the book and page number is usually given. The Romanization is strictly in accord with the McCune-Reischauer system, explained in this issue of the *Royal Asiatic Society Transactions*, except for the surname 李 which is Romanized in the optional form *Yi* rather than *Li*. Names of places are not accompanied by Chinese characters or *sinmun*, since they are listed in the appendix. Other Korean names are followed by the Chinese characters (*hanmun*) and also native script (*ŏnmun*). The *ŏnmun* spelling follows the *Han'gul*, or Unified System.

THE YI DYNASTY ANNALS OF KOREA

1857, 8th moon, 4th day. The Border Defence Commission reported the court concerning a letter from the French shipwrecked crew "...the words of the letter ask only for food and a ship... so it appears that no invasion is intended."

1729, 5th moon, 19th day. The king welcomed the Chinese envoy in one of the palace buildings. After returning to his quarters he went to the sacrificial building to observe the ceremony of mourning. Today it was reported that in Asan, a cow gave birth to a calf with one body and two heads. 1

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even the king. This inviolability was established very early in the dynasty, as is shown by the following incident :

"In 1431 the king asked to see the *T'aejonŭ Annals* (1401-1419) which had just been completed. Maeng Sasŏng 孟思誠 孟思誠 孟思誠, the Minister of the Right, however, answered that the Annals were a true record... the purpose of which was to provide for future generations an unbiased account of the events of the king's reign. 'Even though Your Majesty should read them,' he concluded, 'you probably should not wish to alter them. And if you see them, other kings after you will wish to do likewise. The historical officers will thus be afraid to write accurately, thinking that they might be dishonestly accused ' The king saw the wisdom of this advice and followed it.'²

An attempt to break the precedent in the following century is recorded in the Official Encyclopedia (*Munhŏn Pigo* 文獻備考 文獻備考 文獻備考) :

"In the first year of Sŏnjo (1568, when the records of the late king were to be published, the Court ministers petitioned the king to allow them to read them and certify as to their correctness. The historians, however, presented a counter memorial, urging the king to forbid the violation of the Annals. The historians were supported by the two chief government offices, the Ch'unch'ugwan 春秋館 春秋館 春秋館 and Sahŏnpu 司憲府 司憲府 司憲府. The request of the ministers to permit the reading of the Annals was denied."³

However, in spite of the reverence with which the Annals were regarded, one is struck by the pettiness of a great many of the entries, which deal for the most part with the small affairs of the court words and actions of the king, his kindness to his ministers and their families, or his debauchery and cruelty. Memorials are quoted which concern a request for a small plot of land, a pension for an old official, or relief from a rapacious governor. Edicts concerning the building of a new gate, appointment of officials, and recognition of worthy service fill many pages. Entries like this are put side by side with those of an important nature, such as a memorial concerning a plan for defense against tribal invasions from Manchuria, the report of an embassy returning from Peking, and an edict for the promulgation of

2. *Kukcho Pogam* 國朝寶鑑 (History of the Dynasty), Vol. 1, p 21-22. See also Yi Chaeuk 李在郁, "Richo Jitsuroku no Seiritsu ni Tsuite" 李朝實錄の成立に就て (concerning the formation of the Yi Dynasty Annals), reprinted from *Bunen Hokoku* 文獻備考, No. 18, Keijō, 1937, p 13.

3. *Chūngbo Munhŏn Pigo* 增補文獻備考 (Enlarged Official Encyclopedia), Sŏul, 1908. Bk. 221, p 22 r. See also Seno Batai 瀨野馬態 "Richo Jitsuroku Shozai no Ido ni Tsuiie" 李朝實錄所在ノ移動ニ就テ (Concerning the removal of the depositing places of the Yi Dynasty Annals) *Seikyū Gak isō* 青丘學叢, No. 4 (1930), pp 93-102.

a new alphabet or the manufacture of movable type. In spite of this melée of the important with the petty, the *Yi Dynasty Annals* are an indispensable source for the study of Korean history during the dynasty, as well as for the study of general Far Eastern history throughout this period of five hundred years.

The Annals of the reigns of the last two kings, Kojong (1864-1907) and Sunjong (1908-1910), have not yet been published although they have been written. The compilation of these last Annals was effected in the years 1930 to 1934 by a specially appointed board of Japanese and Korean historians. For the reign of Kojong there are reportedly fifty eight volumes, and for Sunjong five volumes. No announcement has yet been made as to the time when these will be available for research.

The history of the compilation and preservation of the *Yi Dynasty Annals* is an interesting one, showing the great care taken to keep them intact as well as the high regard paid to the historians and keepers. Even such minor details as the periodical sunning and drying were attended to by a formal ceremony conducted by high officials. Several complete sets of the Annals were preserved in storehouses located in various parts of the country. Despite precautions, however, these histories narrowly escaped destruction upon several occasions, as will be described in the following pages.

I THE COMPILATION OF THE ANNALS

The Court Historians.

The board of editors which was appointed upon the death of a king came to be called the Board of Annals (Sillokch'ōng). It was the duty of this board to compile the True Record (Sillok) of the late king's reign. This board was not composed of official historians only, but of other government officials and literary men of recognized integrity as well. Most of them continued their regular duties during the compilation of the Annals. The office, therefore, was only temporary.

There was, however, a permanent office, that of court historian, the officers of which came to be known by the name of Hallim 翰林한림.¹ The Hallim's records constituted the major source used in the editing of the Annals.

The Munhōn Pigo, under the heading of the Spring and Autumn Office (Ch'unch'ugwan 春秋館춘추관)², states that there were historical officers in all of the dynasties of Silla 新羅신라, Koguryō 高句麗고구려 and Paekche 百濟백제.

"At the time of King Chinhūng 眞興왕 (540-576 A. D.) of Silla, Yi Sabu 異斯夫이사부 memorialized the throne concerning the writing of a national history. He urged that it was necessary to record the good and the evil of the king and his subjects. 'If there is no record,' he queried, 'how can the next generations condemn or praise the past?' The king then commanded Kō Ch'ilbu 居柒夫거칠부 and others to collect and compile the history.

"Also the contemporary kingdom of Koguryo possessed from its early years one hundred volumes of historical books called the *Yugi* 留記유기 (Remaining Record). King Yungyang 嬰陽왕 영양왕 (590-617 A. D.) ordered Yi Munjin 李文眞이문진 to revise them.

1. It should be noted that the Korean and Chinese institutions bearing the same Chinese name 翰林한림 (Hanlin and Hallim), are not the same. The Chinese institution was a government office, the National Academy, whereas the Korean, at least in recent times, was the title of an official court scholar whose duties were largely historical but partly literary.

2. The Ch'unch'ugwan might be called the Historical Office. In this office, however, certain literary projects of the court were carried out also, as well as those of an historical nature.

"In Paekche also, a scholar by the name of Kohŭng 高興고흥 was commanded by royal authority to write a national history. Thus we know that all of three dynasties had historical officers, although their official title is not known."³

The *Munhŏn Pigo* tells in further detail of the development of the institution of historical officers during the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392 A. D.) 高麗고려. An historical office (Sagwan 史官사관) which kept the records of the administration was established at the beginning of the dynasty. The office was renamed and then divided into two parts, one of which the Spring and Autumn Office (Ch'unch'ugwan), was put in charge of the editing of the Annals of a deceased king and of preserving the sets of Annals located in the palace and in the storehouses. The other, called the Hyemun'gwan 藝文館예문관, was the office of the court historian, as well as a general literary department. The title Hallim for the court historians, was probably adopted during the Koryŏ dynasty. These institutions were continued by the Yi dynasty.⁴

A system of "right and left historical officers", attributed to the precedent of the Chinese court, was adopted. One officer sat on the king's left at meetings of state and wrote down his words, and another sat on his right and recorded his actions. The latter office gradually became the

3. *Munhŏn Pigo*, Bk. 221, p. 17 (1). The material concerning the Silla compilation was probably extracted from the *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 (History of the Three Kingdoms) where much the same information is to be found. See *Chŏsen Shi* 朝鮮史 (35 Vols., Keijō, 1931-8) Part 1, Vol. 1, pp 456-57, 7th month, 545 A. D.

Regarding Koguryŏ the *Samguk Sagi* contains the following; "By royal decree the king commanded Yi Munjin to simplify the ancient history and to make a new collection of five volumes, *Sinjip Ogwŏn* 新集五卷. At the beginning of the kingdom, when writing was first introduced, there was a man who wrote down one hundred volumes of past events, the name of which was *Yug'*. Now part of this compilation was omitted and part revised." *Ibid.*, p. 530, 600 A. D.

No definite date is given in the ancient histories for the Paekche compilation. Kohŭng, however, became an official in 375 A. D., according to the Korean Biographical Dictionary (*Chŏsen Jimmei Jisho* 朝鮮人名辭書), Keijō, 1937, p. 1,348.

4. It should be noted that these institutions varied in name and in scope of activity from time to time throughout both the Koryŏ and Yi dynasties.

more important and in time preempted the title, Hallim. The officer at the left, who wrote down the king's words, received the title of Chusō 注書주서 or Chief Clerk.⁵

The diary of the Hallim was called the Administrative Record (Sijōnggi 時政記시정기) or the Historical Notes (Sach'o 史草사초). This included the uncensored observations which it was the special privilege of the Hallim to make; these officers attended the king upon all occasions. They also used the various departmental records in writing their daily record, which, when completed, contained three parts: (1) accounts of the business of state which was transacted between king and ministers (Ōjōn P'ilgi 御前筆記 어전필기. (2) critical comment upon the acts of the court and upon other public affairs (Sadan 史斷사단), usually inserted in the Annals without revision, and (3) criticism of the conduct of officials and famous persons after their death

5. A famous Korean minister and historian, Yi Sugwang 李睟光이수광 (1563-1629) in his collected works, *Chibong Yusol* 芝峯類說지봉유설, wrote: "The Chinese system of former ages provided that the left historical officer wrote the speech and the right recorded the movements of the king. The other happenings in the palace were also recorded by these officers. The Hallim was the title of the Historical Officer. He takes his materials from the messages to and from the king and his ministers to all government departments, including the Tax, Domestic, Ceremonial, Army, Law and Industrial Offices. These he examines and organizes as a single record..... The method of writing history in our country generally follows this form." Quoted by Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, pp 10-11.

The titles and duties of these officials changed from time to time and are impossible to define clearly. The *Munhōn Pigo* gives 1457 as the date when the Chusō was given the duties of clerk, and thus distinguished from the Hallim. Bk. 221, p 20 r, under Ch'unch'ugwan. The following comment regarding the system of right and left historians as it was adopted early in the Yi dynasty is also contained in the *Munhōn Pigo*: "In 1389 the historical officers were first allowed to be present in the king's lecture room. An officary, Mun Habu 門下府문하부 advised the king that it was the proper duty of that officer to be present to record the words and acts of the king and to write other information concerning the national policy and public events. Without ill feeling he should record the truth. In the last years of the Koryō dynasty, the honest writing of the historical officers was discouraged because of the evil condition of the state. Thus the king disliked the officer to be near him. By seeing the faults of the former dynasty, the king should command the historians to take their places near him, one on each side, each day, so that they might record the political events of the time as well as the words and conduct of the king. These comments should not be limited to the king, but should include the language and conduct of the ministers as well. Thus it would be a model for future generations. The king consented to this advice." Bk. 220, p 4 r, under Lecturing Office.

(*Sōjol* 書卒서졸). These records, incorporated into the Administrative Record *Sijōnggi*), proved to be the most valuable single source used by the Board of Annals in their compilation at the close of each reign.

At the beginning of the dynasty, the historial officer (Hallim) was not an important official, as is evidenced by the following quotation :

"In 1490 the chief Hallim, Yi Chu 李翊이주, said to the king, 'The historical officers in China stand on the right and left of the Emperor and record what they see and hear; but the officers of our country, bowing to the floor, write their records with difficulty. I think that this is not proper.' The king then commanded that the historical officers were to write their accounts sitting on each side of the king rather than with their heads bowed."⁶

King Sejo in the 15th century and King Chungjong in the 16th century both are on record as having urged the historians to write the truth, even though it might be disparaging.⁷ The following quotation shows the esteem in which historical integrity was held at the end of the 16th century.

"At the time of the Hideyoshi invasion all the people of the palace moved to Uiju 義州의주, but there were not enough historical officers present to attend to the proper records. A man by the name of Ki Chahōn 奇自獻커자현 was appointed to act as Hallim, but he was not highly esteemed. In the ceremony of induction, a special clause was added to the usual wording which read: 'Because of war and the lack of capable officials, we cannot recommend this man highly.' Hearing this all the people felt very sorrowful."⁸

In the 17th century, however, the infamous party rivalry in the Korean court began to influence the writings of the Hallim. It was reported that in the compilation of the *Injo*

6. *Ibid.*, Bk. 221, p. 21 r, under Ch'unch'ugwan.

7. *Ibid.*, Bk. 121, p. 20 r, under Ch'unch'ugwan. "King Sejo gave instructions to the Hallim in 1456 as follows: 'What I do right and wrong all people see. It is not right that anything should be hid. The historical officers should record in detail what actually happens.'" *Yōllyō, al-kisul Pyōlchip* 燃藜室記述別集 언더실거승별집: "In 1508, Chungjong gave forty hair pens and twenty ink stones to the Chōngwōn 政院정원 and Hemungwan and gave instructions written in his own hand that each of the officers should use them for writing down exactly what the King did, whether it be right or wrong, without hesitation." *Munhōn Pigo*, Bk. 218, p. 16 l. under Sūngjōngwōn.

8. *Munhōn Pigo*, Bk. 221, p. 15 r, under Hemungwan, quoting *Chibong Yusōl*, see *f. n.* # 5, p. 6.

Annals (1623-1650) the Administrative Record of the Hallim could scarcely be used.⁹ In the early eighteenth century the practice of destroying these records as soon as the *Annals* were compiled was well established.¹⁰ By the middle of this century the Hallim had begun to lose their position. First they began to omit the critical comment (*Sadan*) from their records and in the 19th century even the criticism of officials (*Sōjol*) was discontinued. During the reign of Kojong (1864-1907) the Chusō or clerks took over all the work of recording the affairs of state, leaving the Hallim nothing but their titles.¹¹

There is a story, dating from the early nineteenth century, concerning a Hallim who was punished for tampering with the records. Chōng Wōnyong 鄭元容정원용, a Chusō who was famous for his fast writing, one day recorded the state meeting of three chief ministers, and having corrected and copied his account, took it to the king. The king read it and gave orders for it to stand as written. But a lower Hallim, Sō Kisu 徐淇修서괴수, who had left the palace earlier in the day, did not hear the order, and by request of his uncle, the prime minister, changed the words of the speakers. For this he was condemned to exile for twenty years.¹²

9. Cho Kūksōn 趙克善조극선, Yagok Samgwan'gi 冶谷三官記야곡삼판기. "In compilation of the Injo *Annals* the records of the historical officers were so poor that they had to be corrected in every article."

10. *Chōsen Shi*, 5th series, Vol. 8, p 92; 1728, 2m, 27 d. "At this time, Yi Kwangjwa 李光佐이광좌 asked the king not to allow the washing away (obliteration) of the Hallim *Sijōnggi*. The king replied that if the record remained, some evil result was certain to occur. Yun Sun, 尹淳윤순 said that the washing of the manuscript was a recent practice, and was not so in former times. The king answered, however, that the mountains and valleys had provided a just opinion. So the advice of the ministers was not followed."

11. The *Sadan* was probably discontinued at the end of Yōngjo's reign (1777), and the *Sōjol* at the beginning of Ch'ōlchong's reign (1850). Each Hallim had a box made of wood, about 5 feet long, 3 feet deep, and 2 feet wide, in which he kept his records. None of the Hallim could look inside the box of another, and because of their shape and size they were called the Hallim coffins. When a Hallim was appointed to the office he was given one of these boxes, and when he left he could take it with him as a mark of distinction. Even after the Hallim ceased to keep the records, the office was continued and each Hallim had an empty box which he took home with him. A former Hallim gave the writer this interesting information.

12. This anecdote was told the writer by an official connected with the Ch'unch'ugwan of the former Korean government.

In spite of the Hallim's decline in importance and reputation during the later period of the dynasty, their contribution to the accuracy and completeness of the Annals was considerable and should not be underestimated.

The Writing of the Annals.

We now turn to an examination of the work of the special Board of Annals (Sillokch'ōng) which compiled the record at the end of each reign. The Annals for each reign form a complete set in themselves, the volumes being numbered from one up in each set. Appended volumes are sometimes added, containing further notes on the reign. Each reign's Annals are given a full title, for example the first king's Annals are called the *T'aejo Kanghōn Taewang Sillok* 太祖康獻大王實錄 태조강헌대왕실록.

During the first two centuries of the dynasty the Spring and Autumn Office (Ch'unch'ugwan) was responsible for the editing of the Annals, and in this office the work of compilation was done by a board of editors especially appointed to do it. This board was later given the title, Board of Annals.¹³ At the end of the first six months of mourning for the deceased ruler, the ministers presented a request that the editorial board be appointed. Soon afterward a series of ceremonies connected with the establishment of the Board of Annals began. Divine aid was first invoked for the proper appointment of members, the appointees were then presented for confirmation, finally they were invested with their office and then only did they start their work of compilation.

13. Added to each king's Annals is the date upon which the king issued the order for the compilation, the date of its completion, and the names of the officers who compiled it, together with other pertinent data. An examination of this data shows that for the Annals of the first 15 kings, 12 are attributed to the Ch'unch'ugwan and three Tanjong (1453-56)-Yōnsangun (1595-1507), and Kwanghaegun (1609-23) have no mention of the compiling office, though it was probably the same. From Injo (1623, 1650) on they were compiled by the special board known as the Sillokch'ōng or Sillok Inch'ulch'ōng 實錄印出廳 실록인출청.

This was by no means an easy task. The Board was usually composed of about thirty officers, most of whom had other positions of importance in the government. The chairman of the three chief ministers, directed the editing. Three high-ranking officers were the final "editors", each being responsible for a certain period of the reign. Under them were several "compilers" usually six in number, who further subdivided the reign and proceeded to go through all the sources to choose which parts should be included in the Annals. Each of the officers had a number of clerks to copy the materials at his direction.¹⁴

The "compilers" gathered together all the source materials of the reign, checked the entries which were important and passed the documents to their clerks to copy. This vast compilation was turned over to the "editors" who made a further revision in the account before giving it to their assistants to copy. The ranking officer then corrected the final copy of the Annals and turned it over to the printing office for publication.¹⁵ The *Sunjo Annals*, 36 volumes re-

14. The following list of officers is taken from the *Myŏngjong Annal* (1546-1568), chosen as illustrative of the usual Board.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Ch'ongjaegwan 總裁官총재판 | (Chairman) |
| 2. Three Toch'ŏng Tangsang 都廳堂上도청당상 | (Editors) |
| 3. Six Pang Tangsang 房堂上방당상 | (Compilers) |
| 4. Sixteen Nangch'ŏng 郎廳랑청 | Clerks) |

15. The following dates from the record of the *Sillokch'ong* compiling *Sunjo Annals* are an interesting account of the progress of writing.

Death of Sunjo	...	1834	11 m, 13 d
The Board reported readiness to begin compilation		1835	5 m, 10 d
The Board of Annals met and decided procedure	...	...	6 m, 19 d
Dropping out of useless materials begun			6 m, 25 d (Extra month)
Ending of this work	...	...	9 m, 20 d
Compilers revision and copying begun			11 m, 10 d
Ending of this work	...	1836	7 m, 8 d
Beginning of correction (editing)			7 m, 21 d
Beginning proof-reading of manuscript	...	1838	3 m, 8 d
Packing	...	...	4 m, 18 d
Placed in Ch'unch'ugwan	...	...	4 m, 21 d
Feast given to officers	...	...	4 m, 27 d
Manuscripts destroyed	...	...	4 m, 28 d
King thanks the Board	...	...	4 m, 29 d
15. End of correction, proof-reading and printing	...	...	4 m, 10 d (Extra month)

ording Sunjo's reign (1801-1835), took about three years to complete; over one year for the work of the "compilers" most of which was taken up with copying, a year and a half for the editing, and over two months for the printing and final correction.

The most important single source in this compilation, as mentioned above, was the *Administrative Record* (*Sijōnggi*) of the Hallim; The second most valuable collection was the *Diary of the Office of the Royal Secretaries* (*Sūngjōngwōn Ilgi* 承政院日記승정원일기) which contained the records of the Chusō. This included all of the official state documents, memorials, edicts, court orders, as well as a verbatim record of court and ministerial business.¹⁶ This diary dated from the beginning of the dynasty, but during the Hideyoshi invasion in 1592 all of the previous records were destroyed. These archives, however, are intact from 1623 down to 1894, numbering 3,407 volumes in all. The records after 1894 were kept in a different form but they likewise survive. They are at present kept in the fireproof vaults of the Keijo Imperial University library, together with the other manuscript sources mentioned below. This diary naturally provides the most complete and well-documented record of Korean court affairs since the 16th century. The most important items have been culled from it, of course, for inclusion in the *dynasty Annals*.

The third important source was the *Daily Reflections* (*Ilseōnglok* 日省錄 일성록) of the king and his chief ministers, begun in 1760, which soon took the place of part of the *Administrative Record* (*Sijōnggi*). When Chōngjo (1777-1801) was still a prince he began to write the *Ilseōngnok* as diary, and he continued the record after he became king. For this

16. There is a study concerning this Diary by a Japanese scholar, Nakamura. 中村榮考. "Chosen Eisccho no Shoseiin Nikki Kaishu ni Tsuite," 朝鮮英祖朝の承政院日記改修に就て. "Concerning the alteration of the *Sūngmungwōn Ilgi* of Yongjo's reign (1726-1777)."

purpose he set up a special library, called the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 규장각, in which the Daily Reflections were collected and kept. His chief ministers wrote their impression of the daily state meetings, which he compared with his own records, making corrections and additions. The custom was continued after his death and lasted until the end of the dynasty in 1910. During 150 years, 2,329 volumes were written and are still preserved.

The records of the other departments of the government were also used in writing the Annals, most important of which were the following: The Record of Military Defence (Piguk Tungnok 備局騰錄 비국등록), kept by a special Border Defense Commission (Pibyōnsa 備邊司 비변사), established in 1556 because of the repeated Japanese pirate invasions along the coast, and maintained as a war office; and the archives of the foreign relations office (Sūngmunwōn 承文院 승문원),¹⁷ which were usually considered of minor value except when foreign affairs definitely overshadowed court routine.

When the work of the Board of Annals was over, and the finished draft had been printed and bound, the various ceremonies connected with disbanding the Board took place. Unique among these was the ceremony whereby the manuscripts which had been used in the compilation of the Annals were destroyed, commonly called the "Washing of the Rough Draft". In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this included the disposal of the Hallim's records for the preceding reign. All of these materials were taken to a paper manufacturing establishment outside the Ch'angūmun 彰義門 창외문 where the ink was washed from the paper under the direction of the members of the Board.

The removal of the Annals to the storehouses was accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. The following memorial of the Minister of Ceremonies, presenting the ceremonial

17. The Sūngmunwōn was the Royal College of Literature, literally translated, but the office was in charge of all relations with foreign states including China.

program to the new king in 1661, illustrates the significance of the event.

"The officials should wear colored costumes for this ceremony, and they should be preceded by musicians to play drums and instruments according to ancient custom. However, the historians have completed the compilation of the Annals in less than three years after the death of the late king, which is quite unusual, so it is necessary to alter the ceremony in keeping with the period of mourning still in force.

"In this instance, therefore, a special ceremony must be formulated which will omit the use of musical instruments and will allow the wearing of white mourning hats and clothing instead of the official colored headdress and costume. Since this would not be adequate for the occasion, it might be best to postpone the ceremony until the autumn season when the period of mourning has elapsed. The Annals may be temporarily stored in the Spring and Autumn Office by a special ceremony with the ministers wearing mourning clothes, until the time when proper ceremonies may be conducted.

"The king followed his suggestion and the removal of the Annals to the storehouses was postponed until later that year."¹⁸

When this ceremony was over the specially appointed officers, each with a set of the Annals, started for the storehouses which were in various parts of the country, four in number after the Hideyoshi invasion.

In 1571, the fifth month, the *Mǔōngjong Annals* (1546-68) were completed. but because of a famine throughout the country, the Minister of Ceremonies urged that the distribution to the storehouses be delayed until autumn. The Minister of the Right objected to the delay and in his memorial suggested that the usual celebrations be simplified and his suggestion was accepted. Usually the officer who carried the Annals (Pongansa 奉安使 봉안사), was met outside the walls of each city enroute by great crowds of people, who were entertained by dwarf tumblers and other professional entertainers.¹⁹ The city officials, attended by dancing girls,

18. Seno, *loc. cit.*, 93.

19. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.* p 14, quotes from the memorial of Yi Imyōng 李頤命 (1658-1723), a favorite minister of King Sukchong (1675-1721), found in his collected works, *Sojaejip* 疏齋集, vol. 5:

likewise gathered to greet the Pongansa. Because of the famine at this time, however, no entertainment of this nature was provided.¹⁹

The following section discusses the means taken for the preservation of these honored documents and the history of their safekeeping. It is interesting to note that even the periodical sunning and drying was an occasion for special ceremonies. Usually every year officers were sent from the capital to examine the condition of the Annals in each of the storehouses. They performed their duties according to the established ritual, (such as carrying the books held high over their heads) and when they returned reported in detail as to the state of preservation of the volumes.²⁰

19. "Your majesty has honored me greatly by appointing me Pongansa to Taebaeksan, but I beg to ask your majesty to change the usual forms in regard to the ceremonies in the transportation of the Annals to the storehouse. Because the people of the cities and country and the governors of the provinces are especially busy at this season of the year, I urge that the cities not be permitted to present the customary elaborate entertainment, and that only a few attendants accompany me. If this is done, the people will be happy in this year of famine."

20. This report was called the Pokswae Hyōngjian 曝曬形止案. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, makes use of this report to trace the movement of the Annals from storehouse to storehouse, and to determine the comparative care in preservation.

II. THE PRESERVATION OF THE ANNALS

The credit for the preservation of the unbroken series of Annals is largely due to the Korean courts faithful adherence to the plan of distributing the Annals among several storehouses in different parts of the country. Even with this system of safeguarding them, they barely escaped destruction several times. The precedent for the historical storehouse probably came from China. In the preface to the Records of the Board of Annals, Yi Chōnggu 李廷龜 이정구 (1564-1636), a famous Korean scholar wrote :

"At the beginning of the Yi Dynasty the Spring and Autumn Office was established in the western part of the Kyōngbok Palace 景福宮경복궁. The officers of this department were put in charge of the Administrative Record (*Sijōnggi*). All of the historical documents of successive reigns were stored here. They also made three copies which were distributed to Chōnju 全州 전주, Sōngju 星州성주, and Ch'ungju 忠州충주. These were frequently examined and aired and a system for their preservation was formulated. This is in reality the principle of Ssū-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 who wrote, 'The original should be kept in the famous mountain and duplicate copies in the capital.' This principle was responsible for preserving the national history safely and long."²¹

The system was much the same as that employed by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties of China, but in Korea even greater pains were taken to insure safekeeping.²² The Koryo dynasty had also made use of historical storehouses, and the Yi dynasty no doubt carried on the tradition without much

21. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, p 3, quotes from Yi Chonggu's Preface to the *Sillok Inch'ulch'ōng Chemyōngnok*, vol. 39 of *Wōlsajip* 月沙集三九卷實錄印出廳題名錄. Yi Chaeuk further amplifies the theory that the practice of storehouses was adopted according to the principles of the famous Chinese Han historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, quoting memorials of other officials in which the same words occur: 藏之名山副之京師. This quotation is said to have been taken from the preface to that historian's well known work the *Shih Chi*.

22. The Ch'ungju repository, where the Koryō dynasty had stored its history, was probably the first one used by the Yi dynasty. An account of the Kaech'ōn temple 開天寺개천사 there contains a brief history of the Koryō repositories.

interruption.²² The first definite mention of the distribution of the Annals to storehouses is in the Sejong Annals, where, for the year 1443, is a reference to the allocation of the Annals to four repositories: The Court, Ch'ungju, Sōngju, and Chōnju.²³

These Annals, which included the records of the first three kings of the dynasty, 1392-1419, had all been written and copied three times by hand. The task was an enormous one, and only one set apiece was written for the next two kings. An important minister, Yang Sōngji 梁誠之양성지, was much disturbed by this negligence and in 1467 presented a long memorial to the king, called the "Ten Articles concerning Books," in which he urged the necessity for copying the Annals and taking further steps for their protection.

"Four sets of the Annals of the first three kings were made and distributed, but of the last two kings only one copy has been made. This is not proper. Happily now we can cast small letters, our prized discovery, which will make the reproduction of the Annals much easier. I beg your majesty to command your printing department to print three more sets and preserve them in the three storehouses. . . . Now that we have the "small letters", it is also possible to bind the books without the iron decoration and to use silk cloth for their better preservation.

22 "The Annals of the Koryō dynasty were first kept in the Haein temple in Hyōpch'ōn 陝川海印寺형천해인사, but because of the Japanese piratical raids they were removed to Sōnsan 善山선산. Next they were brought to this temple (Kaech'ōn), but were taken soon after to the Ch'ilchang temple in Chukchu 竹州七長寺죽주칠장사. In 1390, however, because of the frequent Japanese raids which imperiled them again, they were brought back to the Kaech'ōn temple. At the time of Sejong of the Dynasty these books were brought to Sōul for the editing of the Koryō history." *Sin Tongguk Yoji Sunghnam*, 新東國輿地勝覽 vol. 14. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

23. *Sejo Annals*, Bk. 110, 1445, 11 m, 21 d. The following volumes were distributed at this time: *T'aejo Annals*, 15 vols., *Chōngjong Annals*, 6 vols., *T'aejong Annals*, 36 vols. An earlier mention in the Annals occurs in 1439, when it is recorded that the storehouses of Sōngju and Chonju were built. *Sejo Annals*, Bk. 86, 1439, 7 m, 3 d. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, gives a detailed history of the repositories. He concludes that the Chōnju repository was not built until 1445, although the other two may have been used earlier, taking his information from the records of the Chōnju repository itself, written by Kim Kilson 金吉孫.

"I beg you also to remove the storehouses to safer locations. This would probably be best accomplished by taking them from the cities and putting them in remote mountain temples which will be far removed from invasion or from people who might want to destroy the record....."²⁴

Yang Söngji's recommendation that the Annals be printed was evidently accepted, for from this time onward they were always printed. But his suggestion to move the storehouses away from the cities was not carried out, and so a century later all but one of the repositories were destroyed by the Japanese in the Hideyoshi invasion. This one storehouse escaped because it happened to be located out of the line of the Japanese march. When the storehouses were once again established after the invasion they were situated in mountain retreats.

Before the Japanese invasion in 1592 there was only one major accident to the Annals. In 1538, the caretakers of the Söngju repository accidentally set the building on fire when trying to smoke out the wild pigeons which nested under the eaves. The entire set stored there was destroyed.²⁵ It was later recopied, however, from the original copy in the capital, and a new repository was built in 1543.²⁶ Fifty years later the Japanese destroyed this new set also.

Three out of four sets were destroyed during the Hideyoshi invasion as mentioned above. The way in which the Chönju set was saved is ably summarized in the *Chösen Shi* (History of Korea) :

24. Yang Söngji, *Nulchaejip* 訥齋集, vol. 3. Cited by Seno, *loc. cit.*, p 95, and by Yi Chaek, *loc. cit.*, p 3-6.

25. *Chunajong Annals*, Bk. 89, pp. 20, 21, 1539, 11 m, 13 and 16 d. Also p 34, 12 m, 1 d. where another report indicates that the burning might have been incendiary.

26. Yi Chaek, *loc. cit.*, mentions the interesting fact that in Söngju one of the districts of the town is known as *sakkol* 사골 (history-town), dating back probably to the time when the Annals were stored there.

"During the Hideyoshi invasion, one of the Japanese detachments approached to attack the walls of Chōnju, having passed through Ich'i 梨峙 이치. A certain man, Yi Chongnan 李廷鸞 이정난, who had formerly been the officer in charge of the books, led the citizens of Chōnju in preparing its defense. The provincial governor, Yi Kwang 李洸 이광, arranged his line of battle outside the city at Yongamdae 龍巖臺 용암대 and during the day set up artificial soldiers and filled the mountains with waving flags. At night, he ordered his men to light long lines of torches. By this means they prepared to defend themselves against the enemy. The Japanese soldiers, fearing to enter farther into the region with their unsupported force, did not dare to attack the walls of Chōnju but retreated, never to return.

"At this time, O Higil 吳希吉 오희길, who was one of the officials in charge of the Annals, together with others, took the portrait of T'aejo, the founder of the dynasty, and the Annals to a safe hiding place located on Naejang Mountain 內藏山 내장산. O Higil, An I, and others were put in charge alternately to guard them until the seventh month of the following year"²⁷

The court fled from the capital northward to Uiju on the northern border. The next year he moved southward to Kangsō 江西 강서, near P'yōngyang 平壤 평양, to which place the magistrate of Chōnju urged him to have the rescued volumes brought.

Sōnjo Annals give an account of the plans for removing these valuable documents to the north.

"The Minister of Ceremonies reported as follows to the king: "The Annals of the preceding kings were preserved by the governor of Chōlla Province by his keeping them hidden in a safe place, but now the enemy is about to invade the district and the Chōnju magistrate is fearful lest he will be unable to protect them further from possible misfortune. He therefore asks that they be removed to the place where the king is staying. The matter was discussed with the chief historian. He recommended that the Annals of the founder of the dynasty first be brought, and then if the enemy

27. *Chōsen Shi*, Series 4, Vol. 9, p 528, summarized from various sources including the *Sōnjo Annals*, Bk. 30, 1592, 9 m. 13 d.

should approach closer to the refuge, the remainder should be moved to a safer place until they could be brought to the king."²⁸

Two weeks later the Annals record that the plan was made definite for their removal.

"Now the power of the enemy has become stronger and stronger, according to a report from the Administrative Department. The pictures of the founder of the dynasty and the historical books in Naejangsan must be immediately removed at all costs.....An historical officer should be appointed especially for this mission, thus to remove the books and bring them to the king.

"The king agreed to this proposal and also recommended that the official should be accompanied by an assistant since there was so much danger enroute. The king also thought that the land route would be very difficult although shorter, whereas if the sea route were employed, although it was dangerous, several stops might be made enroute. He therefore instructed the Administrative Department to investigate the matter carefully and decide which route would be preferable. The department decided that the historical officers should go to the places where the books were kept, and then decide according to the exigencies of the situation as to the safest means of bringing them back."²⁹

This surviving set of the Annals was destined to travel about the country for a number of years before, order being restored, they could be recopied. According to the diary of one of the men who guarded these books, it appears that they were first moved overland by a twenty-horse caravan to Asan 牙山아산, on the coast, then by sea to Haeju 海州해주, where the king had gone from Kangsŏ. King Sŏnjo was able to return to Sŏul, the capital, that same year, and moved the books back with him, storing them on the island

28. *Sŏnjo Annals*, Bk. 40 (Vol. 20), p 12-1; 1593, 7 month, 9 day.

29. *Ibid.*, p 35-1 to 36-r; 1593, 4 month, 17 day.

of Kanghwa nearby.³⁰ But soon, the king was convinced that they were not safe there either because of continued Japanese attacks. He therefore decided to have them taken far into the mountains in northern Korea, to a special mountain retreat previously suggested as a repository. The plans are recorded as follows in the Annals :

"The king said that the Annals would be unsafe if they were kept in Kangwha and might well be moved to Myohyangsan 妙香山묘향산. He asked the chief minister if that were not true. The minister replied that the Pohyŏn temple 普賢寺보현사 in Myohyangsan was very high, so that it could not be approached except by high ladders. The king was pleased and said that the Annals should be kept there. He appointed the chief historian to go to examine the place to see if it would be suitable."³¹

The Annals were soon thereafter moved, for the records of the drying indicate that they were in good condition at Myohyangsan three years later.³²

30 *Munhŏn Pigo*, Bk. 59, p 71. "In 1592 because of the Hideyoshi invasion, the officer of the government building in Chŏnju, whose name was O Higil, carrying the portrait and the Annals, went to Naejangsan in Chŏngŭp-hyŏn 井邑縣, and then by government order they were removed to Asan by ship and then to Kanghwa city. In the same reign, 1537, they were removed from Kanghwa to the Pohyŏn temple on Myohyangsan near Yŏng-byŏn."

Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, quotes from various sources regarding the removal of the Annals. He quotes a Japanese writer as follows: "In August, 1936, I had the opportunity to see a book belonging to An I's descendants, called *Imgye Kisa* 壬癸記事, in which written concerning the removal and guarding of the Annals and the portrait for Taejo which were in Chŏnju..... They escaped the military attack by removal to Naejangsan, and then by government order they were carried under guard to Asan. After An I, with others, took them from Asan to Kanghwa. The diary covers their movements up to that time. They reported the delivery of the books to the king who had fled to Kangsŏ. He congratulated them for their excellent care of them, and the documents, indicating his pleasure, are included in the *Imgye Kisa*."

Seno, *loc. cit.* shows that the Annals were kept in Haeju for sometime, since the records of the drying of the books show that they were there in 8th month of 1594.

Sŏnjo Annals, Bk. 57, 1595, 11 month. "The Spring and Autumn Department reported to the king that the Annals were now to be removed from Haeju to Kanghwa. The magistrate of the latter city had been commanded to prepare a place where they could be properly kept, and to arrange for their careful handling. The department, however, doubted whether any official house contained the proper furnishings and was built by suitable architecture....."

31. *Sŏnjo Annals*, Bk. 82 (Vol. 51), p 21-1; 1596, 11 month, 7 day.

32. Seno, *loc. cit.*, 98.

As soon as the Japanese danger was over, the problem of recopying the Annals came up. "After the king returned to the capital," wrote Yi Chōnggu, "all the people discussed the problem of revising and printing the Annals. The King was anxious that new copies be made also. After some delay the work was at last begun in the 7th month of 1603 and the task was completed in the 4th month of 1606."³³

The Annals tell considerable of their own history at this time.

The Spring and Autumn Department memorialized the king as follows: "We have examined the Annals and count the total to be 577 volumes. All the words in these volumes are very numerous. Even though they be copied by fast writing hands, we are afraid that we will receive your displeasure for slowness and inaccuracy. Although there are ten of us members of this department, the number is insufficient. Even if our number were doubled it would take one month for us to copy thirty volumes, writing every day with great diligence. Two years would pass in the copying of only one set.

"From these facts it seems best that the Annals be printed. But even by printing the task is very difficult because of the lack of type. If we use all the type available in all government offices, we will be able to finish three sets in about five years time, thus taking the same time as we would take in copying only one set by hand with our present membership.

"The king said that the volumes indeed were not small and that the writing was not easy, so that the literary officers could scarcely be expected to copy three sets. He suggested having a printing office established on Kangwha island to do the printing. Thus discussion arose as to how the printing would best be accomplished."³⁴

In order to carry out the plan of duplicating the Annals, the surviving set was brought from the northern mountain refuge back to Kangwha, but rather than set up a printing establishment there, it was decided that the work be done at the capital. All of the volumes were not brought

33. *Ibid.*, quoting from Yi Chonggu, vol. 39 of *Wōlsajip*. See f. n. 21.

34. *Sōnjo Annals*, Bk. 162 (vol. 93), pp 12-1 to 13 r; 1603, 5th month 16th day.

up at once, however, but only a few at a time. When these had been duplicated they were returned to Kangwha and exchanged for more.³⁵ In three years the work was completed. The new sets were composed of 256 volumes by combining books of the previous edition.

In 1606, this edition of the *Annals* was distributed to newly built storehouses throughout the country. This time the repositories were built outside the cities in inaccessible locations. The original copy of the *Annals* was kept on Kangwha, first in Manisan 摩尼山 마니산, storehouse, then Chōngjoksan 鼎足山 정족산. One copy was put in the palace as usual; one set was sent to Myohyangsan, the temple repository in the north;³⁶ and one set was sent to T'aebaeksan 太白山 태백산, in a particularly inaccessible region north of Andong 安東 안동, in north Kyōngsang Province 慶尙道 경상도. There was a fifth set also, probably the final proof of the printing, which was sent to Odaesan 五臺山 오대산, in Kangwōn Province 江原도 강원도.³⁷

These storehouses were specially constructed and the personnel of the guard likewise carefully selected. The

35. *Ibid.*, pp 151 to 16-r; 1603, 5th month, 19th day. Seno, *loc cit.*, p 99, in examining the records of the drying of the books found that the first five boxes, containing the records of the first two kings, were not in the Kangwha repository on the 18th of the 10th month this year, showing that they were probably being copied in the capital at that time.

36. This set was removed in 1633 to a specially built storehouse in north Chōlla province, Chōksangsan 赤裳山, probably because of the rebellious region in which Myohyangsan was located. This latter storehouse was built in 1614, and after repeated memorials urging the removal it was at last accomplished. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, p 9, who quotes at length from the Records of the Chōksangsan Castle, *Chōhsongji* 赤誠誌, vol. 5. For the removal see *Injo Annals*, Bk. 29; 1633, 1st month, 23rd day.

37. The publication data at the end of the *Myōnǒjong Annals* indicates that this was true. Seno, *loc. cit.*, 100, provides some interesting personal data. "After the annexation of Korea by Japan, the Odaesan set was sent to Tokyo Imperial University where I saw it several times. This extra copy actually was probably the proof copy of the re-edition after the Hideyoshi invasion, there are many corrections written into the text and because the part before Sōnjo's reign is apparently not complete nor fully correct when compared with the Taebaeksan set. There is also much writing on the inside of the double sheets, which may show that it was printed on waste paper. Since this set was destroyed in the Tokvo earthquake of 1923, further examination of this unique phenomenon is impossible."

following description of one of the storehouses is illuminating :

Buildings :

- Storehouse proper. 24 by 32 feet (12 *kan* 間丈), made of stone.
 Special guardhouse. 16 by 24 feet (6 *kan*) The royal messenger stays here when he comes yearly.
 Geneological record house. Same size, Two guards live here.
 Guardhouse for resident monks. Same size. Abbott and monks numbering twenty-seven men stay here.
 Storehouse for arms. A little larger (7 *kan*).
 Munition storehouse. 8 ft. sq. (1 *kan*).

Personnel :

- Chief official, one man.
 Military guards, numbering 131 persons, eleven of whom were replaced each month.
 Archers, 24 men, two replaced each month.
 Military officer, one man.
 Common soldier-guards, 40 men, 12 changed each month.³⁸

Because of these precautions the Annals did not again run the risk of complete destruction. A serious internal rebellion in 1624 was responsible for the loss of most of the palace set.³⁹ The Manchu invasion of 1636 resulted in the destruction of many volumes of the old original set at that time stored on Kangwha island. A fire in 1653 destroyed two more volumes of this same old set. Previous to this there had been suggested a plan for filling out the missing volumes of the two mutilated sets, but this was postponed until as late as 1665 on account of political disorder in the

38. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, pp 9-10, has copied these figures from the records of the Cl.ōksangsan storehouse, the last one built.

39. Seno, *loc. cit.*, and Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, have both investigated in detail the history of the Annals subsequent to the Hideyoshi invasion. Seno quotes from the *Sūngsōnuōn Ilgi* 承宣院日記, the following: "The Ch'unch'ugwan has reported that the Annals of the storehouses outside the city have been safely preserved. But the set in the palace was lost by the calamity of the rebellion of Yi Kwai (Igwailan 李适亂). An historical officer should be sent to Kangwha to examine the set there to see if anything has happened to it."

Seno adds: "One source indicates that an official collected what he could of the books before the revolt, sending some away and burying some

It might be true that some of the Annals were saved then but it is doubtful. I examined the sets which were kept in the Government General building some years ago and found that besides the sets which had been brought from Kangwha and Taebaeksan, there seemed to be part of another set from which many volumes were missing. It may be that they were the remains of the palace set which were later recovered and moved to Kangwha."

country. One of the officials in charge of the copying at this time wrote a volume entitled "The Painfulness of Copying the *Chöksangsan Sillök Tunggyo Tonggorokki* 赤裳山實錄騰校同苦錄記 적상산실록등교동고록기 explains the difficulties involved.

"The national history was well preserved in the famous mountains, and was thoughtfully cared for to avoid calamity. But unfortunately the Kangwha set not able to escape the invasion, so that the Annals from T'aejo to Sünjo and the *Kwanghwa Ilgi* 光海日記 광해일기, (Diary of Kwanghae-gun) were lost to the number of 280 volumes. At that time it was proposed to copy the Chöksangsan set, but because of other business it was postponed for twenty years. Now, however, the king and his ministers have decided to embark upon this work, for which officers have been appointed.

"From the southern province, 300 scholar copyists were employed to copy it by hand. Also 31 special messengers to handle the volumes. The work was begun in the 6th year of Hyonjong (1665), 21st day of the 12th month, and was finally completed on the 9th day of the 12th month of the following year. It has now been removed to Kangwha."⁴⁰

However, Yi Sangjin 李尙眞 이상진, the writer of the above extract, discovered that one volume from the *Munjong Annals* was missing. It could not be found in any of the storehouses, neither was there any trace of what had become of it. Probably it was lost at the time of the reproduction of the Annals after the Hideyoshi invasion. Fortunately the missing volume covers only a two month period.⁴¹

Fortunately, also, although certain portions of the Annals have been rewritten in later generations, never has the original history been destroyed. The revised account was simply deposited with the original. The Annals of three kings' reigns were rewritten, either because of suspected inaccuracy or because of omissions in the original, and additional volumes were placed with the records of two or three other reigns. The Annals of Sönjo, king at the

40. Quoted by Seno, *loc. cit*, p 101.

41. The missing volume is Bk. 12, covering 12th, 1451, and 1st month, 1452.

time of the Hideyoshi invasion, were the first to be revised. The additional volumes numbered forty-two, and were added to the 221 already compiled for the reign. They were written mainly by a famous minister, Yi Sik 李植 이식, who had participated in the government during many years of Sōnjo's reign.⁴²

The Annals of Hyonjong (1660-1675) were rewritten by members of another political party when they came into power. The leader, Prime Minister Kim Suhang 金壽恒 김수항, memorialized the king, "The *Hōngjong Annals* are too brief and contain many errors concerning officials, their names and rank. Since there is a precedent for revising them as the *Sōnjo Annals*, allow us to do so and place the revision with the original Annals."⁴³ The king finally agreed, and so twenty-eight books, bound in twentynine volumes, were added. These gave more detailed history and were probably more accurate in many respects than the previous record.⁴⁴

After the rewriting of the Annals of Kyōngjong (1721-1725) there was an effort made to destroy the original history. Yi Saryōm 李師濂 이사렴, memorialized the king, "The editors were disloyal and there are many places where they confused black and white and right and wrong. There-

42. *Injo Annals*, Bk. 42, 1641, 2nd month. A long memorial of Yi Sik's is quoted here, tracing the controversy regarding revision. The revision was begun in 1644 but not completed until 1657. Kim Yuk 金楅, finished the work after Yi Sik died. The main reason for the revision is that an intense party rivalry became manifest in the early years of Sōnjo's successor, Kwanghaegun, who is noted for his incapacity as king, which influenced the writing of the *Sōnjo Annals*.

43. Yi Chaeuk, *loc. cit.*, 16: *Sukchong Annals* Bk. 11, 1681, 5th month, 22nd day.

44. The previous Annals contained only 22 volumes. The revision was completed in 1683. *Sukchong Annals*, Bk. 14, 1683, 3rd month, 11 day.

fore they are very untrustworthy.”⁴⁵ When the first draft of the revision was completed a memorial was presented to the king asking for permission to burn the first-written Annals, but the precedent for retaining the original was firmly enough established so that the king decided to keep both records.⁴⁶

Thus were the Yi dynasty Annals written and preserved, and by the Korean terminology, “delivered” to future generations. In 1923, the Tokyo earthquake resulted in the destruction of the Odaesan set which had been taken to the Tokyo Imperial University,⁴⁷ thus justifying once more the advice of the Han historian that there should be duplicate copies kept in safe storehouses.

There is now no longer any danger that the Annals will be lost, for the Keijo Imperial University has published a facsimile reproduction and distributed this edition among Japanese Imperial Universities and other educational institutions.⁴⁸ This reproduction of about 40 sets comprising 849 volumes each was completed in 1933, and cost subscribers ¥6,000 apiece. The success in the tremendous work of faithfully reproducing these Annals demonstrates the industry and care for accuracy which characterizes Japanese scholarship at its best.

45. *Chǒngjang Annals*, Bk. 4, 1777, 10th month, 29th day. The king ordered that the revision begin.

46. *Chǒngjong Annals*, Bk. 7, 1779, 7th month, 28th day. The first drafts of the revised Annals were completed and after some discussion, it was decided to keep both new and old compilations. *Ibid.*, Bk. 9 : 1780, 4th month, 16th day, there was a memorial presented indicating that the revised Annals needed further work for completion. Also *Ibid.*, Bk. 11; 1781, 2nd month, 15 day. The final completion was sent to the repositories in 1781, *Ibid.*, Bk. 11, 1781, 7th month, 6th day.

47. Of this set, 57 volumes, comprising 157 books, survived, having been taken to the home of a professor for examination against the regulations of the University library.

48. The exact number of sets printed was not made public. The University library manuscript custodian informed the writer that about forty sets were made, about twenty of which have been distributed. Unfortunately there has been no provision for the distribution of any of these sets to foreign Universities.

ANNUAL MEETING

June 1st, 1938

The annual meeting of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society met at the Seoul Union on Wednesday, June 1st, 1938, at 4:30 p. m. with an attendance of about 30 members.

Tea was served by the ladies of the Council: Mrs. Cable, Mrs. McLaren, Mrs. Koons, Mrs. Underwood and Mrs. Hobbs.

The Acting President, Dr. Koons, called the meeting to order at 5 p. m.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

President Koons presented a report which was accepted with thanks. (See report attached.)

Mr. Hobbs presented the report of the Treasurer and it was accepted with thanks. (See report attached.)

There being no Librarian, due to the absence from Korea of both Mr. Whittemore and Dr. Clark, the Chairman made a few remarks in regard to the Library and the use of the Library by its members.

It was moved, seconded and carried to recommend to the Council that a small catalogue, or list of books in the Library, be printed and made available to the members and friends.

Dr. Underwood reported for the Publications Committee. (See report attached.)

Mr. C. A. Sauer, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, read the report of that Committee nominating the following Officers and Councillors for the coming year :

President.....	Dr. H. H. Underwood
Vice-President.....	Dr. E. M. Cable
Recording Secretary.....	Rev. Wm. C. Kerr
Corresponding Secretary	Dr. H. D. Appenzeller
Librarian.....	Mrs. Chas. I. McLaren
Treasurer	Mr. T. Hobbs
Councillors	Dr. B. W. Billings
	Dr. J. L. Boots
	Rev. A. A. Pieters.

Nominations from the floor were called for and as none were forthcoming, it was moved, seconded and carried that the Secretary cast a ballot for the nominations as made by the Committee. This was done thus electing all the nominees. Miss Shirley Cable, Miss H. A. Hachler of the Salvation Army, Rev. Thompson B. Southall of Soonchun Mr. P. D. Perkins of Kyoto, were elected to membership.

There being no new business, Dr. Koons proceeded to read a very interesting paper on "Notes on Some of the Dolmens in Whanghai Province."

Mr. J. H. Morris showed some moving pictures illustrating some points in his discussion.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 p. m.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Report to the Annual Meeting on June 1, 1938

In the absence of the President, I have the honor of summing up the year's work of this organization. The most striking feature of the year has been the number of Council Members who have been obliged to relinquish their connection with the Society. Dr. W. M. Lee, Vice-President, found it necessary to resign. Mr. Ralph Cory, Corresponding Secretary, was transferred from the U. S. Consulate-General in Seoul to Tokyo. Dr. W. M. Clark, President, was sent to the U. S. A. on emergency health leave. Mr. Whittemore, the Librarian, has resigned from the Northern Presbyterian Mission, so putting an end to our hopes of his return to work in this country. Rev. Charles Hunt is taking his furlough.

At present, the place of President is being filled by one of the Councillors. Dr. Underwood is combining the work of Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Mr. Hobbs that of Treasurer and Librarian, and by action of the Council. Dr. Cable and Mr. Pieters have been asked to serve with Mrs McLaren, as Councillors, till this meeting.

Nominations for the ensuing year will be presented by

the Secretary. I wish, on behalf of the Society, to thank all who have risen to the occasion in this way, and have carried on for the duration.

Volume XXVII, containing "Some Notes on Father Gregorio De Cespedes, Korea's First European Visitor," by Mr. Cory, and "A Biographical Sketch of Archbishop Mutel," by Mr. Gompertz, was published in 1937.

One open meeting was held, at which Prof. McCune of the University of California, and Prof. Reischauer, of Harvard, presented their plan for a System of Romanization of the Korean language, based upon phonetic science. This naturally caused the most intense differences of opinion among some of the auditors. The system has been somewhat modified, and their paper will shortly be published as part of Volume XXIX, with a foreword by Dr. Underwood.

The catalogue of Transactions has been brought up to date, and will be put in your hands this afternoon. I trust that each member of the Society will be diligent making known to others the variety and richness of our published Transactions, and encouraging them to become owners of such as arouse their interest.

The Council is planning, while the writer of this report is on furlough, to allow him to arouse interest in the Society, among Libraries and similar institutions, in the belief that wider distribution of our Transactions will benefit the Society in more than one way.

1938 promises well for publications, for the Council plans to issue two volumes to contain: United States-Korean Relations, 1866-1871 and "A System of Romanization of the Korean Language.

E. W. KOONS

Respectfully submitted,
HORACE H. UNDERWOOD

THE PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

The Chairman of the Publications Committee, Rev. Charles Hunt left on furlough in March and at that time I was asked to temporarily fill his position. The chief duty remaining is that I make this report to the Society.

Since last annual meeting Volume XXVII of the Society's Transactions, containing Mr. Cory's paper "Gregorio de Cespedes" and Mr. Gompertz's paper "Biographical Sketch of Archbishop Mutel" was published and distributed.

The Treasurer has also on the advice of the Publications Committee put out a little catalogue of our Transactions. Some copies of which are on hand here today.

A variety of circumstances has delayed and prevented the publication of the additional volumes during the present year, but at the last meeting of the Council held on May 12th the following publications were decided upon :

Volume XXVIII, Dr. E. M. Cable's paper on "United States-Korean Relations between 1866-1871."

Volume XXIX, Prof. McAfee, McCune, and Dr. Reischauer's paper on a "System of Romanization of Korean Sounds" and Dr. Koons' paper on "Notes on Korean Dolmens." It is possible that a brief paper by Prof. McCune on "The History of the Records of the Yi Dynasty" may be included in this volume.

Volume XXX, Mrs. Boots' paper on "Korean Musical Instruments" and Prof. Goodrich's paper on "Sino-Korean Relations at the end of the 14th Century."

It is our hope that Volume XXVIII and XXIX can both appear in print before the end of the calendar year and that Volume XXX may be published early in 1939.

Dr. E. M. Cable's paper is already in the press and we have good reasons to hope that the above schedule may be carried out promptly.

Respectfully submitted,

HORACE H. UNDERWOOD

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY

1. Members residing in Seoul may keep books for one month only. For each additional day, the fine is ₩ .05.

2. Out-of-town members may keep books for two months only. For each additional day, the fine is ₩ .05.

3. If it is necessary to keep books longer, the librarian must be asked for permission.

4. Books may be renewed on expiration of the allotted time.

5. Not more than two books may be taken out at a time, unless special permission is granted by the librarian.

6. The keys may be obtained from "Information" in the C. L. S. offices, and the books given to him to be dated and the cards placed in the box. He must also be given returned books.

7. Magazines may not be taken out of the Board Room except when they are bound and numbered as ordinary books.

8. Please be careful to return books and magazines to their proper places after reading them, or else place them on the desk and the librarian will replace them.

9. A complete index will be found on the desk. Kindly make use of it.

DR. E. M. CABLE

DR. E. W. KOONS

REV. A. A. PETERS

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Cash Statement

June 1 1937—May 31 1938

RECEIPTS :		EXPENDITURES :	
Dues	¥ 159.10	Printing 500 copies Transactions Volume No. XXVII	¥ 433.55
Sales of Volume No. 26 ...	5.00	Rent for Seoul Union ...	5.00
Cash Sales	282.64	Postage	9.44
INTEREST :		LIBRARY ACCOUNT :	
Current	1.01	Rebinding	37 50
Fixed Deposits	76.05	Books Purchased	36.40
Total	77.06		73.90
Balance brought forward from last account :	523.80	SUNDRIES :	
Reserve a/c	1,500.00	Notices of meetings	6.35
Fixed Deposit	871.59	Clerical work	27.41
Current a/c	74.34	Fee for book-keeping	20.00
	2,445.93	STATIONERY :	
		10 receipt books, etc.	10.53
		Total	¥ 586.18
		BALANCE ON HAND :	
		Reserve account	1,500.00
		Current account	883.55
			2,383.55
			¥ 2,969.73
			¥ 2,969.73

Audited and found correct
 Alex. A. Pieters
 C. A. SAUER.
 May 20, 1939

Respectfully submitted
 THOMAS HOBBS
 Hon. Treasurer

It is our hope that Volume XXVIII and XXIX can both appear in print before the end of the calendar year and that Volume XXX may be published early in 1939.

Dr. E. M. Cable's paper is already in the press and we have good reasons to hope that the above schedule may be carried out promptly.

Respectfully submitted,
 HORACE H. UNDERWOOD

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- Journal Asiatique
13 Rue Jacob, Paris VI.
France
- Journal of the American Oriental Society
c/o Yale University Press,
New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
- Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
104 South Fifth Street,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.
- Geographical Journal
Royal Geographical Society,
Kensington Gore,
London, S. W. 7, England.
- Geographical Review
American Geographical Society of
New York, Broadway at 156th St.
New York City, U. S. A.
- Bulletin of the Geological Institute of Sweden
University of Upsala, Sweden
- Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
Ceylon Branch of R. A. S.,
Colombo, Ceylon.
- Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
Bombay, India.
- Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.
- Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan
Osaka Building, 3 Uchisaiwai Cho,
1-Chome, Kojimachi-Ku, Tokyo.
- Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
20 Museum Road, Shanghai, China.
- Archiu Orientalni, Orientalni Uslav N. Praze
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