CONTESTED STORIES:
CONSTRUCTING CHAOXIANZU IDENTITY

Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The Chaoxianzu (Joseonjok or Chosonjok in Korean) are an ethnic minority group associated with the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Autonomous Prefecture in northeast China. As a part of Korea’s historically displaced people -- the Korean diaspora – the Chaoxianzu have evolved an identity that is tagged with the term “contested,” as their historical narratives, the history of their autonomous prefecture and other areas in northeast China, and their identity as “Koreans” all feature contested complexities, controversies and multiplicities. This dissertation explores the construction of the Chaoxianzu’s contested ethnic identity, as reflected primarily in Chaoxianzu oral traditions, and in part through early 20th century Manchuria Chaoxian writers and contemporary Chaoxianzu return migration literature.

This dissertation examines the construction of Chaoxianzu identity through personal narratives, songs, and stories collected during fieldwork conducted from 2000 to 2004. This collected material has been transcribed and translated into English, and is presented as examples of constructed Chaoxianzu identity as both ethno-culturally Korean and ethno-nationally Chinese. In Chapter 1, the contested historical and territorial narratives of Chaoxianzu and the early Chaoxian migrants in Manchuria are discussed to provide a contextual background for understanding the formation of the Chaoxianzu Korean ethnic minority group in China. This chapter also includes selected
Chaoxianzu literary works on return migration to South Korea. Chapter 2 presents translated transcripts of a Chaoxianzu storyteller’s personal narrative and one of his favorite stories that establish a basis for discussing the definition of what constitutes a Chaoxianzu story and Chaoxianzu identity. Chapter 3 presents an oral history of Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection projects, as told by a Chaoxianzu folklorist who participated in pre- and post-Cultural Revolution period collection and preservation efforts. Chapter 4 presents a translated transcript of a storytelling performance and the interactions between a prominent Chaoxianzu scholar and a Chaoxianzu storyteller in 2001. This storytelling session, along with the conversations between the parties, illustrates the story selection processes used in constructing Chaoxianzu Korean ethnicity. Chapter 5 explores Chaoxianzu oral tradition and the early Manchuria Chaoxian people’s written literary tradition to address the problems of preserving ethnicity through selective processes.

Based on my research, it is clear that the ethnic category “Chaoxianzu” has been strongly influenced by the historic and geopolitical conditions in which the early displaced Chaoxian people of China (and later the Chaoxianzu) had to carefully negotiate between their ethnicity and polity. The return migration of Chaoxianzu to their ancestral land has created Chaoxianzu “Korean dream” experience stories, and their experience as the “Korean Others” triggered the re-examination of the hyphenated identity of Chaoxianzu as Korean-Chinese.
DEDICATION

In Loving Memory of Mom and Mr. Jin
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CHAPTER 1
COMPLEXITIES OF CHAOXIANZU IDENTITY

Introduction

This dissertation examines expressions of ethnic identity of China’s Chaoxianzu (Joseonjok) ethnic group as represented in personal narratives of Chaoxianzu community members and related works of fiction and explores problems and issues in negotiating constructions of Chaoxianzu ethnic identity in individual, national, and international contexts. The study is based on research and fieldwork conducted in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (Yanbian Chaoxianzu zizhi zhou) since September 2000. As a part of Korea’s historically displaced diaspora population, any discussion of Chaoxianzu is marked with the term “contested” (Park 2005, Lee 2005). As this dissertation will examine, oral narratives and written histories produced within Chaoxianzu communities in China contain contested complexities, controversies and multiplicities also found in official historical narratives of the Chaoxianzu people, histories of the autonomous prefecture as contextualized within northeast China, as well as in manifestations of Chaoxianzu identity in relation to “Koreans.” However, the examination of personal narratives reveals more intimate and personal perspectives than can be gleaned from other sources.

Studies made within the last decade on the Chaoxianzu and issues of Chaoxianzu identity by scholars such as Woo-Gil Choi, Byeongho Gim, Hyangsuk Gwon, Longfan
Jiang, Jin Woong Kang, Chunok Ryu, Dong-Hoon Seol, and Hyunho Song to name a few, have offered insights into the dual identities of Chaoxianzu as both ethnically Korean and politically Chinese through historical, sociological, and anthropological research. The return migration of some Chaoxianzu to South Korea has initiated re-examinations of “being Korean,” for both South Koreans and the Chaoxianzu. These studies attest that the prevalent concept of one Korean race (*dan il minjok* in Korean) and the umbrella term *minjok*, which can mean “people,” “ethnicity,” or “nationality,” is being reassessed in order to explain the cultural clashes between South Koreans and Chaoxianzu and the phenomenon of multiplicity within one ethnicity. A note on North Korea: issues of relations between North Korea and the Chaoxianzu will not be examined in this dissertation. The major rationale for this exclusion is the minimal influence of North Korean culture on the Chaoxianzu, as opposed to the influx of South Korean culture and Chaoxianzu immigration to the South. Other studies, however, could be productively made on North Korean and Chaoxianzu cultural interaction in terms of North Korean immigration into China.

Expanding upon my analysis of Chaoxianzu oral texts in my Masters thesis (Lee 2002), “A Performance Analysis of Chaoxianzu Oral Traditions in Yanbian, China,” in this dissertation I examine the dual identities of the Chaoxianzu as reflected in orally told personal narratives, in conjunction with a brief examination of earlier Chaoxian immigrant written works. The present study will show that the efforts by government folklorists in China to collect and preserve these oral and written works in order to represent the Chaoxianzu as a Korean ethnic group and as a Chinese minority group have entailed constructing a Korean ethnic identity narrative paradigm within the context
of Chinese ethnic minority classifications. Moreover, the acts of representation of Chaoxianzu Korean ethnic identity made within the paradigm have excluded the works and narratives of the displaced histories of Chaoxianzu that do not fit the official framework of the representation of ethnic identity. I will draw on the language and concepts of folkloristic theory in the analysis, particularly the works of Bauman, Mullen Shuman, and Stahl on personal narrative. As Mullen has stated, people “tend to make stories out of incidents that the culture define significant” and that through personal narrative the teller works out the “changing self image” (Mullen 1992: 3-4). Mr. Jin’s personal narrative and his “Red Cross Story” must be viewed both in terms of historical significance as a part of Korean history and also as Mr. Jin’s own individual life that was affected by the historical events.

Since the 1980s, a number of Western anthropologists and other scholars have approached the question of ethnic identity of the ethnic minority populations of China, including Dreyer (1976), Mackerass (1994), Mueggler (2001), Litzinger (2000), Schein (2000), Davis (2005), Notar (2006), Mullaney (2010). Stevan Harrell, in researching the complex configuration of certain officially designated ethnic groups in Southwest China that include the Yi, Naxi, and Tibetan (Zang) subgroups in Sichuan, states that ethnicity “shifts over space and time,” and contextually exhibits different meanings (2001b:12). According to Harrell, ethnicity is “contingent on location, time, and situational” and is based on, but not exclusively, culture, history, and kinship depending on various situations (2001b: 193). Ethnic identity varies in different contexts and each contextual definition of ethnic identity mutually affects one another (2001: 12). Due to the shifting characteristics of ethnic identity, ethnic identity should be examined in multiple contexts
and representations (2001b: 12). Harrell’s concept of shifting ethnicity and contextual meaning can productively be brought to bear on issues of ethnic identification among the Chaoxianzu. While Harrell has concentrated on kinship and economic structures, I will stress the utilization of oral and locally written materials as sources of information about ethnic identity among the Chaoxianzu. Paralleling to some degree how Mueggler, Schein, Davis, and Notar have made use of folk stories, folksongs, pulp fiction, personal narratives as sources of data on identity, I will concentrate on personal narratives and relevant written fiction as my primary sources of data (Ochs and Capps 2001, Mullen 1992, Allen 1998, Ryang 2008).

At base, self-identification of the Chaoxianzu as a “Korean” ethnic group in China, a designation that is sanctioned by the Chinese state, is being challenged by their South Korean counterparts. This challenge has in turn caused the Chaoxianzu to reexamine and redefine what it means to be “Korean” as Chaoxianzu. To understand the history and process of transformation of “Chaoxian” people into Chaoxianzu, and to provide further understanding of the complex contested ethnicity of Chaoxianzu Chapter One discusses contested official historical and territorial narratives and examines the contingently negotiated self-identification of their “ethnic-cultural identity” and “ethnic-nationality identity” through published works on the return migration of Chaoxianzu to South Korea.

Chapter Two is a translated transcript of a story told by my major Chaoxianzu informant, Mr. Jin, a locally famous Chaoxianzu storyteller who participated in a major storytelling event called the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Storytelling Competition held in 1997. In my earlier work, I have analyzed stories he told at the event, including his own
personal narrative and the “Red Cross Story,” from the perspective of folkloristic theories of performance (Lee 2002:86-99). In this dissertation I have included translations of these two stories in order to provide a frame of reference for the discussion on what a Chaoxianzu story is and who the Chaoxianzu are. Chapter Three is comprised of a Chaoxianzu folklorist’s oral history concerning the collection of Chaoxianzu oral traditions and the ethnographic methodology used in preserving Chaoxianzu oral traditions. Chapter Three provides a historical overview of the role of folklorists in Chaoxianzu oral traditions and also provides examples of the collected works that represent Chaoxianzu ethnicity.

Following the historical overview of collections of Chaoxianzu folklore, Chapter Four provides an example of the dialogical interaction between a Chaoxianzu folklorist and a storyteller within the context of Chaoxianzu oral performance today. The interaction between the folklorist and the performer, translated in this chapter, clearly indicates the significant role of the folklorist as assistant performer in shaping the storytelling discourse, its content, and the publication of selected works that represent the Chaoxianzu as Koreans in China.

To better understand the “non-Chaoxianzu” stories told by Mr. Jin whose storytelling performance is discussed in Chapters Two and Four, Chapter Five focuses on oral traditions, Chaoxianzu diaspora literature, and examines the early developmental stage of Chaoxian people’s literature in Manchuria and the early Chaoxianzu written literary works in a search for understanding of the definition of Chaoxianzu literature.

Based on my research, it is clear that the ethnic category “Chaoxianzu” has been strongly influenced by the historic and geopolitical conditions in which the early
displaced Chaoxian people of China (and later the Chaoxianzu) had to carefully negotiate between their ethnicity and polity. The return migration of Chaoxianzu to their ancestral land has created Chaoxianzu “Korean dream” experience stories, and their experience as the “Korean Others” triggered the re-examination of the hyphened identity of Chaoxianzu as Korean-Chinese.

**Glorious Joseon, Glorious Joseon**

The song below, “Glorious Joseon,” was composed and sung by a Chaoxianzu man, the aforementioned Mr. Jin, who at fourteen followed his parents to the historically-contested area of Gando 간도 (Jiandao, 間島 or 產島 in Chinese) (Sun 2009: 173-221, Park 2001: 206-208). Today, this area is known as Yanbian 延边, which is situated in Jilin Province, China and sits directly across from North Korea along the Tumen and Yalu rivers (*Dooman* and *Aprok* in Korean). The song “Glorious Joseon” embraces the nostalgic yearning for the homeland among the first and 1.5 generation Chaoxian migrants in Jiandao. Mr. Jin lived in China for over sixty years, but Joseon, not China, represented his home. A China-born Chaoxianzu folklorist (hereafter referred throughout this dissertation as CF), asked Mr. Jin why, after living in China for so long, he doesn’t sing about China, since China should be his home. Mr. Jin shyly responded that Joseon (Choson) is still his home. ¹
Bright Joseon bright Joseon
Glorious Joseon, Glorious Joseon

Beautiful rivers mountain, hurray great!
Beautiful Mountains and rivers, what a great place, hurray!

Five ten thousand years long long live
Tens and thousands of years, all live long

One's descendants (prosperity) far far away spread hey!
Our sons and daughters will prosper everywhere, hey!

Ding dong dang dong _____ sound machines made
Ding dong dang dong _____ sounds of machinery

The sound of working machines, oil them up, hey!
In general, today’s Chaoxianzu are described as “border-crossing” people who went to China in the early 19th century (Chaoxianzu Jianshi Bianxiezu 1986: 1). There are different historical views on the chronological formation of today’s Chaoxianzu as a part of the multi-ethnic Chinese nation (Huang 1996, Kim 1992, Piao 1990,). There is also scholarly debate on the level of participation and the significance of the role or contributions of the Chaoxianzu in modern Chinese history (Gim et. al. 1996:3-17, Bak1996: 73-95). In contrast with other Chinese ethnic minorities, such as Miao (Miaozu), whose historical ancestry is unclear and contested, the Chaoxianzu, even those who were previously classified as Han or Manchu and later reclassified by the Chinese authorities as Chaoxianzu, are clear on their ancestry (Tapp 2004: 20-22, Schein 2000: 48-49, An 1996: 34-57). How and why then did the historical narratives of the Chaoxianzu, and their identity as a Korean ethnic minority in China, become contested even among Chaoxianzu historians and scholars? What are the motivations and possible consequences behind the various proposed and much debated historical views on the Chaoxianzu and their history as part of the modern Chinese nation? China’s ethnic category “Chaoxianzu” undoubtedly represents “Korean-ness” through their practice of Korean language and culture; nevertheless, recent studies and publications indicate that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea, both Chaoxianzu and South Koreans have begun to question and re-examine what it means to be “ethnically Korean” and what it means to be “China’s Chaoxianzu,” which means an ethnic Korean with a Chinese political identity (H. Gwon 2007: 44-57, Kang 2008: ...
Ethnic identity studies of Chinese nationalities on how different official Chinese ethnic minority groups (shaoshu minzu, or “minority nationality”) dialectically negotiate, transform, and represent their ethnicity with and against the Chinese nation-state narratives have been studied by scholars such as Stevan Harrell on the Yi in Sichuan, Sara Davis on the Dai, Louisa Schein on the Miao, Beth Notar on the Bai, and Erik Mueggler on the Yi in Yunnan.

Ethnic identity, as Harrell states, is “defined not so much by their internal characteristics of shared descent and common culture, but more by their external relationships with other ethnic groups and with the state” (Harrell 1990: 516). Ethnic identity and the characteristics that define “ethnic-culture and descent” charged with meaning to “solidify a group that acts in a political and economic system that also contains other group” (Harrell 1990: 516). In the Chinese context the state “fixes ethnicity” which at times creates problems of congruency at local, national, and international loci. The storytelling performance between Mr. Jin (representing a local rural and immigrant generation Chaoxianzu) and a veteran Chaoxianzu folklorist (referred to as CF representing elite urban and China-born Chaoxianzu) in Chapter Four of this dissertation is an example of the tension and incongruent representation between a storyteller’s own perspective of who he is as a Chaoxianzu and an elite folklorist who has authority in constructing a collective ethnic identity of Chaoxianzu at the national level.

To Chaoxianzu, being recognized as an official ethnic minority group grants them the accessibility to economic, birth quotas, and political resources that the Chinese state offer to the minority groups and their autonomous areas (Olivier 1984: 12-16).
Therefore, maintaining their cultural traits such as language and culture that separated Chaoxianzu from their neighbors was crucial for the survival of their ethnic group and also crucial in betterment of their lives within China (Olivier 1984: 12-16). One way of maintaining their “Korean” ethnicity was carried out through collection and preservation projects of their folklore. The “Korean” ethnic identity of Chaoxianzu that “developed in isolation from the two Koreas” through efforts such as preservation of their oral narratives, language, music, dances, and display of numerous ethnic cultural activities, however “did not fit into the South Korean society” when two groups of ethnic Koreans met. The Chaoxianzu “were not really Koreans,” and the interaction between South Koreans render Chaoxianzu to “feel more Chaoxianzu (Joseonjok) of China” rather than Koreans, and strengthened the Chaoxianzu’s ties to their host country, China (Olivier 1984: 16).

Understanding who the Chaoxianzu are, and why they do not fit into the South Korean society cannot be accomplished without properly examining the process in how this ethnic group was historically constructed. It is also crucial to understand the importance of Chaoxianzu on who they are at different levels of locality in various contexts as the “primordial and instrumental factors of ethnic identities have different importance in different kinds of situations” (Harrell 1990: 520).

**Historical Background: Contested Identity of Chaoxianzu (Joseonjok)**

Praised in Mr. Jin’s song for its beautiful rivers and mountains, the land of *Joseon* (Choson), known in Chinese as Chaoxian (朝鮮), refers to Korea before it was divided into the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the Republic of Korea.
(ROK), and before the terms Bukhan (or Buk Joseon), meaning North Joseon, and Hanguk were used to represent North Korea and South Korea respectively. The term Joseon has the power to elicit different sets of historical, political, and socio-ethnic values in different contexts (Lee 2002: 6-7, Zheng 1996: 6). It can also reveal a person’s political affiliation. Historically, Joseon refers to the kingdom founded by the son born to Hwaneung, a mythical being, and a bear-woman (Janhunen 2003). It was also the name of the last kingdom before its last king changed its name to Dae Han, just prior to Japan’s annexation of Korea in 1910. However, today’s Republic of Korea, or Dae Han Min Guk in Korean, was re-declared in 1948, the year that has later played a significant and controversial role in dividing the ethnic identity of overseas Koreans. Within the context of referring to the people of Joseon, as in Joseon Minjok, Joseonin (Chaoxian Minzu and Chaoxianren respectively in Chinese), the term refers to all the sons and daughters of Ungnyeo (a mythical “bear-woman”) regardless of one’s nationality or residency. When it is used in a context referring to the territory or nation, the term normally invokes the historical kingdoms on one hand, but on the other hand and under certain contexts, especially when it is used by Chaoxianzu and North Koreans, the term refers specifically to North Korea, often accompanied by the prefix buk meaning “north.” In the context of Joseonjok or Chaoxianzu, with the respective suffixes “jok” and “zu,” it exclusively refers to the Chinese nationals who are ethnically Joseon (Chaoxian) people.

Chaoxianzu is a Chinese emic term that appears benign on the surface within the context of China and among Chinese minority nationalities; but in the larger Korean context, the term Chaoxianzu is charged with historically, socially, and politically
symbolic meanings and may be (re)-interpreted in various ways that invoke sentiments ranging from endearment to hostility within the Korean diaspora (Zheng 2001, Kang 2008).

The kingdom of Joseon doesn’t exist today, and its territory and people have been replaced with two very different Koreas sharing one peninsula. However, as seen in Mr. Jin’s song “Glorious Joseon,” for the historically and politically displaced first and 1.5 generation of Chaoxianzu, Joseon still represents their homeland, and they strongly identify with Joseon (Danico 2004: 1-23).4

Generally speaking, a majority of today’s Chaoxianzu are descendants of immigrants who settled in China at the end of the 19th century (Gim 2007: 3). However, despite their short history in China, the history of the Chaoxianzu is very complicated. Debates among scholars in various fields on the beginnings of the Chaoxianzu as an entity in China are still continuing. Some scholars argue that late Qing and early 20th century should mark the historical starting point for today’s Chaoxianzu since a majority of today’s Chaoxianzu ancestors settled in China during that time (Cheon 1996: 4-5, Jin and Jin 1990: 7-9, Gwon 2005: 16-18). Another group of scholars argues for the late Ming and early Qing periods as the beginning point of Chaoxianzu history, and point to historical records of sizable settlements of people from the Korean peninsula (Sun 2009: 41, Piao 1995: 1-30).

As an example of earlier migration, scholars point to the “Piao Villages”. In 1982 a group of people with the surname Piao (Bak or Pak in Korean), living in various localities in northeast China, petitioned the Chinese government to reclaim the classification of their “lost” ancestral nationality (Piao 1995). The Chinese government
approved most of their requests as valid and granted the reclassification of their official nationality to “Chaoxianzu.” This was a highly controversial decision among Chaoxianzu scholars and historians. According to CF, when he visited the Piao villages, with the exception of a few traces of “Korean” customs, the villagers had essentially been completely assimilated into the majority Han nationality Chinese culture.  

Piao Chang Yu, a Chaoxianzu scholar and historian who argues for the late Ming and early Qing as the starting point for Chaoxianzu history in China, offers a view that is more inclusive and accepting of the Piao clans’ reclassification than his colleagues who hold the view of 19\textsuperscript{th} century migration as the beginning point of Chaoxianzu history in China. He sees the reclassification of the Piao clans as a successful effect of China’s minority policy after 1982, and commends the Piao clans’ preservation of their ethnic consciousness and awareness, even long after they have lost their ethnic language and customs (Piao 1995: 13-14). Piao lists a number of what could possibly be the remnants of Chaoxian customs found among the Piao clans. According to him, the Piao clans do not marry within their own clans; historically they didn’t practice foot binding or accept foot-bound women as wives; they do not make “watery fermented bean paste” \textit{(doubanjiang} in Chinese) like non-Chaoxianzu nationalities but make “dry paste \textit{(deonjang} in Korean); when eating, they observe social hierarchy, providing a separate table for the elders, and so on (Piao 1995: 13-14).  

Min-Dong Paul Lee, conversely, offers a differing view that is suspicious of and questions the possible motives behind the Chinese government’s re-classification of Chaoxianzu or Korean ethnic identity, for the Piao clans (Lee 2005). Lee states that, drawing from Anderson, Gellner and Hobsbawm’s nationalism as a “...political principle
reflecting cultural and voluntary commitment of individuals within national political boundary,” it is no longer easy to define a fixed, permanent, static ideology or identity (Anderson 1991, Anderson 1997: 43-51, Gellner 1983, Hobsbawm 1990, Lee 2005:100). As an “imagined collective identity,” nationalism can be multi-faceted, situation based, politically charged, performed, and can also be changed (Harrell 1995:10, Lee 2005: 101). Lee sees the Piao clans an example. Referring to the *Dictionary of Chinese Nationality History* (Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzushi Dacidian published in 1995), the dictionary of China’s ethnic minority history where the origin of Chaoxianzu is linked to the ancient people of the kingdoms of Go Joseon (also romanized as Ko Choson) and Goguryeo (or Koguryo), whom have already “integrated” into the majority Han nationality (Lee 2005:102). Lee points out that the so-called origin of Chaoxianzu has been purposely de-linked from the other ancient Korean kingdoms’ such as Shilla (also written as Silla) whose territories occupied today’s South Korea. To scholars and historians who support the period between the late 19th and early 20th century as the starting historical point for Chaoxianzu history, the Chinese central government’s decisions to grant the Piao clans reclamation of their ancestry appear very suspicious and are a concern for the future of Chaoxianzu as a minority ethnic group.

The scholars who are suspicious of the Piao clans’ inclusion into the Chaoxianzu nationality not only question the government’s decision on granting ethnicity to the Piao clans, but also question the criteria for defining or granting ethnicity. When the Piao clans regained their ancestral ethnicity, a number of Chaoxianzu scholars, including the veteran Chaoxianzu folklorist CF (who has guided me in my study of the Chaoxianzu since the year 2000), visited these villages. CF remarked that his initial reaction to the
clans’ reclassification prior to visiting the Piao villages was a mixture of amazement, curiosity, and a proud feeling of finding a connection to his ancestral past, the ancient kingdom of Goguryeo (Koguryo) and Balhae (Palhae) (CF personal communication 2001). However, his visit to the Piao clan villages led him to question what it means to be a Chaoxianzu. In his observation of the Piao clans, he stated he could only identify one trait exhibited among the Piao clans as having “Chaoxianzu quality” -- their respect for elders. CF personally communicated to me that other than this one trait, these particular Piao clan people were in fact Han Chinese. CF didn’t reject the Piao clans’ claims, but he also didn’t indicate a strong sentiment to embrace these Piao as Chaoxianzu.

The questions on the inclusion of the Piao clans arose from two bases. First, a question was raised whether ethnicity should be based on one’s genealogy or culture. According to Han Chungwang, a Chaoxianzu scholar, the Piao clans have no blood relations to Koreans. Many members of the Piao clan have only one side of their parentage related to Korean ancestry, and some even have none. Han goes further and states that even if the Piao clan members are genealogically related to ancient Koreans, none of the Piao clan members, even after they were reclassified as Chaoxianzu, had shown any interest in learning the Korean language or traditions, and still live no differently as Han Chinese and Manchu nationalities (Lee 2005: 106).

The second argument questions the political motives behind the Piao clan controversy. This view not only questions the “true” ethnicity of the Piao clans, but also debunks a general belief that the surname Piao is a “pure” Korean surname. The surname Piao has been commonly believed to be exclusively a Korean surname. My
Chaoxianzu acquaintances and informants have confirmed this belief. When the Piao clans’ reclaim their ancestry to medieval Korean migrants based on their “pure” Korean surname, one of the responses of Chaoxianzu scholars that repudiated the claim was to point out that “Piao” was a common surname during the Yuan Dynasty among non-Korean ethnic people, and was not limited to Koreans (Lee 2005: 106, An 1996: 34-56). Regardless of the different views on the Piao clans, both the inclusionist and exclusionist views share a common concern-- do the Piao clans who are only shallowly aware of their Chaoxianzu ethnicity represent the future of the Chaoxianzu as an ethnic group?

The Piao clan controversy over the basis of their reclassification, which on the surface appears to be a pro-minority decision by the Chinese government that allows for previously oppressed minorities to reclaim their roots, alarmed the Chaoxianzu scholarly community and caused them to re-evaluate and retell their own historical narrative, one that is different from the history modeled by the Chinese Communist Party (Lee 2005: 106). The Piao clans, in the eyes of Chaoxianzu scholars, were an encroaching threat to the national identity of Chaoxianzu brought by the Chinese government’s creation of an assimilated, “ideal” Chaoxianzu model that fits within China’s grand scheme of its “civilization” project (Lee: 105, Harrell 1995).

The concerns of Chaoxianzu scholars and historians on the future of the Chaoxianzu are by no means baseless. The Chaoxianzu population growth has been static and many local Chaoxianzu schools have closed due to low enrollment (Gim and Ryu 2007: 14-16). China’s economic opening-up to the world, coupled with the “Korean Wind” and “Korean Dream” accelerated the unraveling of tightly-formed agricultural Chaoxianzu communities. “Korean Wind” that introduced variety of modern Korean
cultural characteristics ranging from fashion, Korean television dramas, and Korean pop music, and the dream becoming rich by working in Korea swept through the Chaoxianzu communities. The younger generation Chaoxianzu has left for larger cities and overseas in the search for jobs (Ri 2003: 28, Gwon 2005: 15-34). The outflow of working-age Chaoxianzu not only changed the demography of Chaoxianzu autonomous areas, but also caused a gender imbalance through “exporting” Chaoxianzu women to South Korea and to metropolitan areas within China (Hwang 2007: 136-140, Ri 2001: 172-183). Alternately, some Chaoxianzu men, especially farmers, have “married” North Korean women.

The influx of what seems to be “easily earned” foreign money has also affected the traditional work values of many younger generation Chaoxianzu. Being able to earn several month’s worth (or even a year’s worth) of income within a short time period working overseas or in China’s large cities has caused able-bodied Chaoxianzu to lease out their lands to the Han Chinese and become dependent on the income of their family members while seeking their own way to achieve the “Korean Dream” of the South Korean lifestyle (Hwang 2007: 136-140, Ri 2001: 172-183). The exodus of younger generation Chaoxianzu, especially Chaoxianzu women, has caused the Chaoxianzu population within Chaoxianzu autonomous areas to decrease, and has become a concern for maintaining their autonomy, culture, and Chaoxianzu nationalism. Therefore the inclusion of the Piao clans as part of Chaoxianzu ethnic group signaled the imminent degeneration of the “Chaoxianzu national spirit and identity” (An 1996: 50-54, Lee 2005: 106-107).

The controversy over the Piao clans’ membership into the Chaoxianzu nationality
raised the issue of how ethnic identity is determined. What are the criteria for becoming an ethnic group? Is it genealogical or cultural, or both? If ethnic membership is based on genealogy, does one need to have both parents’ lineages belong to Chaoxianzu, or just one side, to qualify? If it is cultural, what would happen to those Chaoxianzu whose parents are Chaoxianzu yet they themselves are unable to speak, read, and write Korean, and do not practice Korean customs? If the requirement of belonging to the “Chaoxianzu” nationality is strictly both genealogical and cultural, the result would be a rapid decrease in a population that is already experiencing feeble growth in comparison to the rates in which non-Chaoxianzu nationalities are growing within the Chaoxianzu autonomous areas. In other words, genealogy and cultural practices are both crucial in recognizing a person’s ethnicity, yet posing strict criteria might endanger the future of the Chaoxianzu and Chaoxianzu autonomy.

For example, a family in Jilin City whom I visited in 2004 had two fourth-generation Chaoxianzu children with limited listening comprehension skills and virtually no speaking proficiency in Korean. They have received a Han Chinese education instead of attending Chaoxianzu schools. Their grandmother, who was taking care of them while their mother was in South Korea working, stated that the decision to put their children through the Han educational system was made by the parents, and it was a practical one since they reside in an area where there were not any Chaoxianzu schools. The grandmother added that it was better to attend Han Chinese schools since they live in China, and Chinese language skills are need to live outside of the Chaoxianzu autonomous areas. This sentiment is also shared among one of the six college students with whom I had a chance to interact. One student, who was considering a career in
politics, although he spoke fluent Korean, stated that it was important for him to be fully integrated into the Han Chinese system since China is his country, and not Korea.\textsuperscript{10}

The generational transition from border-crossing migrant settlers to China-born Chaoxianzu has occurred, and the Korean peninsula that was once a fatherland to the first and 1.5 generation immigrant Chaoxianzu has become an ancestral land. The China-born Chaoxianzu, whether they practice Korean culture and speak the language, or listen to Korean pop music, politically affiliate and identify with China as their fatherland, but recognize themselves ethnically as belonging to the same ethnicity as Koreans (Jin 2004: 5). Jin offers three types of \textit{rentong} (認同) which, simply translated, means “identity”. The three types are: “personality, individuality, characteristics”; “sameness or oneness”; and “agreement or approval” (Jin 2004: 20-24).\textsuperscript{11}

A common \textit{rentong} litmus test to evaluate one’s degree of identification with Korea and “Korean-ness” is the question about a hypothetical soccer match between China and Korea (Ri 2000: 267). In 2001, I personally experienced this “litmus test” when a male Chaoxianzu student from Heilongjiang at the Central University for Nationality in Beijing asked me, “Who would you cheer for in a soccer game between Korea and America?” He was fully aware of my Korean-American background. He asked this question, as he later explained, to see how I balance my dual identity as an ethnic South Korean and as an American citizen. He was curious about people with dual ethnic-cultural and ethnic-political identities. When he asked me this question in 2001, the Korea-Japan Co-hosted 2002 World Cup Game was approaching fast and there was a question among the Chaoxianzu about which team would they cheer in a soccer game between China and South Korea.\textsuperscript{12} In the previous year, there was a friendly soccer
match between South Korea and another country that was watched by both South Koreans and Chaoxianzu. Chaoxianzu, especially the younger generations, did not cheer for the South Korea team. To a number of South Koreans who have interacted with Chaoxianzu, the Chaoxianzu’s attitude toward the South Korean team was an unexpected non-Korean behavior. It also reminded South Koreans that Chaoxianzu and South Koreans perhaps are not “same or one people” as they had expected and believed to be. The sameness or oneness, as Jin explains, doesn’t imply a complete exactness. It is rather “requiring the sameness while storing the difference,” or “deciding unity” and the process of requiring or deciding is accomplished through “approving and agreement,” a negotiation (Jin 2004: 22-24). A majority of Chaoxianzu speaks Korean, wear Korean traditional *hanbok* costumes during holidays and special occasions, consume Korean food, and know Korean folk stories; however, Chaoxianzu are Chinese and exhibit many non-Korean cultural and social characteristics and behaviors.

The shared cultural “oneness” and more than half a century of separation from relatives in South Korea have caused Chaoxianzu and Koreans to expect and assume an unconditional “embrace” of oneness. Additionally, the generational transition from immigrant Chaoxian people to China-born Chaoxianzu has transformed Korea from a fatherland to an ancestral homeland with economic opportunities. Before the opening of the borders between China and South Korea, South Korea was the land grandparents and great-grandparents talked about in their stories, as will be illustrated in the stories and songs featured in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

When China and South Korea formalized diplomatic relations after the end of the Cold War, the ancestral home became accessible to the Chaoxianzu-- accessible both
legally and illegally. The return of Chaoxianzu to South Korea has revealed various historical, social and cultural issues of the relationship between Korea and her diaspora communities. Unlike the Korean-American diaspora community which has always been an integral part of Korea through its open channels, Chaoxianzu exhibit cultural similarity with highly visible political and social differences. *Luo ye gui gen* (落叶归根),” which can be translated as “fallen leaves return to the root,” is an often-cited phrase in describing the healthy relationship between nationality as whole with its members (Lee 2005: 112). If the root and the leaves break from their symbiotic relationship, as Lee points out in the overseas- Korean case when “Koreans abroad forget their language and history (the root), they are limited to their banana identity,” an empty shell of ethnicity that could eventually lead to the breakdown of the relationship between Korea and her diaspora communities (Lee 2005: 112). To maintain a healthy root-to-leaves symbiotic relationship, both the core (root) and its leaves (the diaspora communities) must “…sustain shared memories and voice historical narrative in one’s own perspective without compromising…” (Lee 2005: 112). There is no doubt that the Chaoxianzu and South Koreans have shared memories and historical narratives up to the founding of the PRC and the outbreak of the Korean War; but the root-leaf symbiotic relationship was severed for many decades in the post-1949 period. Therefore, for any research involving Chaoxianzu and other Korean diaspora communities whose shared memories have been interrupted or separated from its “core,” and whose people have been historically, geographically, and politically transplanted, it is important to carefully consider the historical, social, and geographical contexts of those displaced. Thus, as Harrell discovered among the Yi of southwest China, the Chaoxianzu sense of identity is
contingent upon their interactions with other ethnic groups at various locations and for different objectives, such as socioeconomic or sociopolitical reasons (2001).

**The Contested Area of Jiandao (Gando)**

Historically Jiandao, or what is known as Yanbian today, had been a contested area between Korea and China. The term Jiandao (间岛 also written as 垦岛 or 垦土 in Chinese), according to Jiang Longfan, does not have a Chinese origin. It was a term used by Chaoxian people referring to the “false river” or “false island” area between today’s Longjing City and the Tumen River (Jiang 2010:1). Naturally, there are two very different views on Jiandao originating from Korea and China due to the historical border disputes between the two countries.

The Jiandao debate centers on the nature of the demarcation tablet placed on the source of the Tumen River to mark the border. The scholars, historians, and Korean politicians who question the legitimacy of the Qing Court’s authority over Jiandao base their argument against China’s claim of Jiandao on whether the “Tumen River,” recorded on the border talks between Qing and Choson courts, referred to 图门 (Tumen), 土门 (Tumen), or 豆满 (Douman) (Sun 2009: 182-186, Jiang 2010: 26; 46). Presently, the Jiandao territorial dispute appears to have been settled, as the Yanbian area is recognized as part of China’s territory; however, periodically Jiandao (Yanbian) has become the focal point of heated political and scholarly discussions for many Koreans. For example, in 1984, 54 Korean congressmen signed a petition challenging the legitimacy of the Jiandao Treaty (Jiang 2010:15).

In 1909, the Tumen River China-Korea Border Clauses (图们江中韩界务条款),
commonly known as the Jiandao Treaty (间岛协約 Jiandao Xieyue), was signed between the Qing court and the Empire of Japan. This treaty recognized the Qing Court’s authority over the historically-disputed Jiandao area between China and Korea. The 7 sections, or paragraphs, of the Jiandao Treaty stated that the Tumen River was recognized as the border. The treaty stated that the Chaoxian people who resided in the Jiandao area were subject to the control of the Chinese court, and that the Chaoxian people were to enjoy equal rights as Chinese. However, the Japanese consulate was given the right to oversee serious legal cases involving Chaoxian people (Jiang 2010: 138, Piao 1995: 52). The treaty also included the establishment of a railway between the northern parts of Korea and the Jiandao area (Piao 1995: 52). The significance of the treaty was that it allowed the Chaoxianzu people (Koreans) in the Jiandao area to have equal rights as their Chinese counterparts-- perhaps most importantly, the right to own land and the right to cultivate. What was not stated clearly was the status of the Chaoxian people in Jiandao. The treaty placed the Chaoxian people under Chinese law, but the Japanese consulate had the right to oversee any legal cases involving Chaoxian people. The citizenship of the Jiandao Chaoxian people was unclear.

The Qing court and the Japanese colonial government both offered their own interpretation regarding the citizenship of the Chaoxian people in the Jiandao area (Piao 1997: 57-60). As early as 1881, the idea of allowing the Chaoxian people in Jiandao to become Chinese subjects by “tifayifu, guihuaruji (剃发易服，归华入籍)”, literally meaning “shaving one’s hair and changing one’s clothes to be naturalized as Chinese” was recommended to the Qing court by the local Jilin officials, but the actual
enforcement of the policy began after 1890 (Jiang 2010: 53, Sun 2009: 5-7). However, the Qing Court’s assimilation policy of joining land ownership rights to citizenship, as reflected in the Chaoxianzu migration fiction presented in Chapter Four of this dissertation, was met with strong resistance. Some Chaoxian people followed the law and became Chinese subjects, but the majority of Chaoxian migrants saw it as an assimilation policy that disregarded their ethnic pride. The policy led some migrants to return to Korea and some to immigrate further north to Russia (Sun 2009: 163). The Qing Court didn’t have a formal nationality law until it was forced to sign the Jiandao Treaty by the Japanese colonial forces; therefore, the “hair and dress” criteria of naturalization of the Qing court was mostly for the purposes of cultural and social assimilation (Sun 2009:168, Jiang 2010: 50).

Following the Jiandao Treaty, a number of declarations and treaties were signed between the Qing and Imperial Japan. The Japanese government stationed a policing forces in the Jiandao (Yanbian) area on the premise that it was protecting its subjects—the Jiandao Chaoxian people. In 1915, after the annexation of the Korean peninsula, Japan presented the “21 Demands ( “21 条” 21 tiao in Pinyin),” to the Yuan Shikai’s Republican Chinese government which again declared all Chaoxian people, regardless of whether they had been naturalized as Chinese, were subjects of the Japanese Empire (Cheon 1996: 5, Bak1996:73-85).

The Chinese government neither agreed to, nor strongly opposed, this declaration (Bak1996: 73-85). Suddenly, all Chaoxian people in the Yanbian area were caught in a power struggle between Chinese and Imperial Japan. The Chinese government, not officially agreeing to the Japanese terms regarding the status of the Chaoxian people,
continued to enforce Chinese law and encouraged the Chaoxian migrants to obey the assimilation policy of hair and dress code (tifayifu, guihuaruji) to become naturalized, and sever their ties to the Japanese authority. The Japan government ignored the Chinese court’s policy and carried out their legal authority over the Chaoxian people (Park 2000: 205, Piao 1997: 59, Brooks 1998: 29-34).

By 1909, the population of Chaoxian people, regardless of whether they were naturalized “Chinese” with land rights, composed 75.2% of the total population of Jiandao (some statistics claim 80 %). Therefore, sovereignty over the Chaoxian people in Jiandao meant de facto sovereignty over the area (Jiang 1998: 139). Both Chinese and Japanese carried out their sovereignty over the Chaoxian people. The fall of the Qing court did not resolve the contested nationality of Chaoxian people in Manchuria. The Qing court was followed by the Republican government of Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), which signed the “21 Demands” with the Imperial Japanese Government, and also the local warlord forces of Zhang Zuolin (1875-1928), who held power in Jiandao (Piao 1997: 17, Park 2000: 202). Historical records indicate that between June 1930 and February 1931, over 800 Jiandao Chaoxian people were arrested by Japanese authorities in Jiandao; while the Chinese authorities arrested 1300 and executed 77 (Cheon 1996: 5). After being forced to sign the Jiandao Treaty, and becoming aware of Japan’s intentions over the Jiandao area, the Chinese government began imposing new regulations on the migration and naturalization of newcomers from the Korean peninsula. The new regulations placed restrictions on certain border areas, such as Wangqing and Hunchun, and required two Chinese guarantors and 5 years of residency in China before being able to apply for naturalization (Sun 2009: 168-170). It must be
pointed out the different parts of China enforced different naturalization laws at various times on the Chaoxian people. For example, areas north of Yalu River prohibited Chaoxian from being naturalized until 1907 (Sun 2009: 171).

The Chaoxian people in the Jiandao area became objects in power struggle between China and Japan, and the two governments’ contradicting and fluctuating policies, while their own Chaoxian (Joseon or Choson) court remained helpless. However, although the Koreans of Jiandao did not have strong political representation in deciding their citizenship or fate, they didn’t entirely lack a channel to voice their concerns. The position of Koreans in Manchuria was shaped by the constantly changing and contradictory policies resulting from shifting webs of political relationships between the Japanese, the Chinese warlord Zhang Zuolin (and his son who replaced him after his assassination), the allied forces of Chinese merchants, and civil bureaucrats (Park 2000: 202-204). Upon realization of how the Japanese government was using naturalized Koreans to purchase land in Jiandao, the local Chinese government changed its compulsory naturalization policy to a restrictive and prohibiting policy. The Chinese government, contradicting its previous claims on their sovereign rights over Koreans in Manchuria, including those in Jiandao, declared that the new naturalization policy would require Koreans to provide proof they were no longer registered as a Japanese subjects (Park 2000: 205). This restriction was obviously to prohibit Koreans in Manchuria from becoming Chinese citizens, and to prevent any landownership that could lead to Japanese occupation in Manchuria. The naturalized Korean representatives argued that Koreans in Manchuria didn’t have any proof of Korean citizenship or Japanese registration, and since they were essentially “stateless” it was not necessary for them to
give up any citizenship in order to become Chinese citizens. The Chinese government accepted this argument and canceled the restrictive naturalization policy in the 1920s (Park 2000: 205).

The lack of immigration and naturalization legal systems in Korea and China placed the immigrant Chaoxian people in a very ambiguous and dangerous predicament. Because Japan declared all Chaoxian people as Japanese subjects, and China claimed the Chaoxian people who had been naturalized as Chinese subjects, the two countries’ claims over Chaoxian people in Jiandao put them in a dangerously liminal position. The Chinese equated the Chaoxian people as a harbinger of Japanese encroachment, and referred to them as “little Japanese,” “the pioneer of Japan’s encroachment,” and “the root of the diplomatic dispute between Japan and China” (Piao 1995: 60). Although there was an increase in the number of naturalized Chaoxian people when China tied land rights to nationality, many Chaoxian people didn’t believe there was any reason for them to become Chinese since the Japanese authority in Jiandao actually held power in the area and didn’t recognize the naturalized Chaoxian people’s Chinese nationality (Piao 1997: 59-60). Furthermore, a majority of Chaoxian people didn’t accept or identify themselves as Japanese, and as a result they became “stateless” people during the Japanese colonial period (Piao 1997: 59-60).

The contradiction and confusion regarding the laws of citizenship and naturalization are also found in Japan’s policy on overseas Japanese subjects. According to Japan’s immigration and naturalization law of 1899, any overseas Japanese who severed ties with Japan for a lengthy period of time automatically lost his or her
Japanese nationality. In 1925 Japanese naturalization law stated that those who willingly obtained a foreign country’s nationality would also lose their Japanese nationality. The Jiandao Chaoxian people, caught in the struggle between two powers, suddenly found themselves going from being stateless to having dual nationality—claimed by both China and Japan.

The anti-Japanese struggle among the Chaoxianzu in the Yanbian area is well documented in Korea and China. The Chaoxianzu struggle against the Japanese colonial regime linked the goal of regaining Joseon independence, with the liberation of China from Japanese invasion. The accomplishment of Chaoxianzu in their anti-Japanese movement was often cited as being under the leadership of the Chinese, but since the 1980s, Chaoxianzu scholars and historians have actively voiced their own past, from their own Chaoxianzu perspective, emphasizing the historical role and contributions of the Chaoxianzu themselves in liberation (Cheon1996, Xu 2003, Lee 2000). The common ground found between today’s Chaoxianzu scholars and historians, regardless of their contention on the historical starting point of Chaoxianzu in China, is that today’s Chaoxianzu status and their right to autonomous areas were rightfully earned by the Jiandao Chaoxian migrants who later became China’s Chaoxianzu.

**Two Korean Ethnicities: Becoming the Other, Korean Chinese**

Although there were some contacts prior, the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the People’s Republic of China and Republic of Korea in 1992 ended nearly a half-century of separation between the Chaoxianzu and South Koreans— they were “reunited.”

Chaoxianzu who had family members in South Korea, especially
those with still “valid” hojoek, a family registration record, were given visas to visit their ancestral land. One of my informants was Mr. Li of Antu County in the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Autonomous Prefecture. He was known for his folksong repertoire and drumming skills, was one of the Chaoxianzu who went to South Korea on his South Korean relative’s invitation. The initial contact with South Korea was made by Mr. Li, who remembered his old home address and sent a letter searching for his relatives. When asked how he found his relatives in South Korea after so many years of separation, Mr. Li said “traditional Koreans tend not to move so much,” so he assumed that his relatives still lived at the same address.\textsuperscript{16} Waves of Chaoxianzu began to enter South Korea; some with the intention to merely revisit their old hometowns before they die in the “foreign” land (China).

Some Chaoxianzu visited South Korea with other motives. Many took with them Chinese medicine as gifts, and also to sell for profit to cover expenses (Ri 2000: 58).\textsuperscript{17} After the initial contact, through increased in interaction between Chaoxianzu and South Koreans, both sides began to recognize differences between them, and in some cases became hostile toward each other. My visit to a “Jingji (Gyeonggi) Village” (discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation) is a case in point. My sudden “unannounced” visit to Jingji Village drew unexpected attention from the villagers, and caused an angry outburst from a man who had recently returned from South Korea with an injury he incurred while working illegally there. In no uncertain terms, he harbored very strong hostility toward South Koreans.

Both Chaoxianzu and South Koreans with whom I have engaged during my fieldwork trips have stated that they’ve experienced difficulties in communicating with
each other. One of the first problems a Chaoxianzu person needs to overcome quickly in order to adapt to Korean working and living environments is getting accustomed to South Korean’s frequent use of foreign words in daily life. There are many “mishap stories” of Chaoxianzu employees who didn’t fully understand the Korean that was spoken in South Korea (Xu 1996). Many Chaoxianzu speak dialects of their ancestors from various parts of the Korean peninsula, or use words that are not commonly used in South Korea, especially among the younger generations. Korean spoken in South Korea is marked with loanwords from the West, the Korean spoken by Chaoxianzu is marked with borrowed words from Chinese language, words that sound very “foreign” to South Korean ears (Ri 2000: 211).

The migration of Chaoxianzu to South Korea was (and for many still is) strongly motivated by economic factors; and those Chaoxianzu who could not obtain proof of a valid South Korean hojeok, family registry, began searching for other ways to enter South Korea. Many who entered South Korea with legitimate visas stayed beyond their visa’s expiration dates. Korean visa brokerages became booming business, and many with falsified family registries (or as Han Chinese) applied for South Korean tourists visa and went to Korea to work in “3-D” (dirty, dangerous, and disgusting) jobs as illegal migrant workers (Seol and Skrentny 2009:153, Gwon and Bak 2005:167-170). The great financial burden and possible physical injury while working illegally did not deter Chaoxianzu from trying their luck at achieving the Korean Dream. In general, first 1-2 years’ income of a Chaoxianzu migrant worker is used mostly in repaying the debt incurred while obtaining a South Korean visa (Gwon and Bak 2005: 170-172). Due to the high costs involved with chasing the “Korean Dream,” unexpected events--
deportation, serious illness or injuries (with no health insurance), and even stolen wages—can jeopardize not only the illegal Chaoxianzu migrant working overseas, but can also financially ruin their families in China. Deportation or the threat of deportation, abuses from employers and other problems leading to Chaoxianzu suicides and protests publicized the brewing social issues with the illegal migrant workers in South Korea. Unlike non-ethnic Korean foreign migrant workers, Chaoxianzu saw themselves as compatriots (tong bao in Chinese) in their ancestral homeland, not as foreigners. Dramatic stories of unjust treatment at the hands of the South Korean government, even by the South Korean people themselves, was often heard from Chaoxianzu in China whose family members were working illegally in South Korea and by those who were in the process of obtaining their Korean visas.

A Chaoxianzu family from Jilin Province who sold “authentic” Chaoxianzu delicacies on the streets of Beijing was outraged by South Korea’s policy of deporting illegal migrant workers. It was simply incomprehensible to them how South Korea could enact and enforce such an “unjust” law on other Koreans. Each time there was news from their relatives in South Korea regarding policies on illegal migrant workers and deportation scares, the husband would tell me about it and would ask me the reason behind the South Korean government’s discriminatory policy against its own ethnic people. Both he and his wife didn’t see the detention and deportation of Chaoxianzu as Korea’s enforcement of its own immigration laws; they simply interpreted it as South Koreans being “greedy” and mistreating their own ethnic people. When I asked them about which country they consider their homeland, they would reply “China,” but point to South Korea as their ancestral homeland, which is also a part of their identity.
In their opinion, as South Korea is their ancestral home, they should rightfully be able to travel there in order to earn money. Yet they saw China as the place where they would open a business and build their new home, all with the income they earn in South Korea. Their story echoes the story of the Chaoxian migrant farmers who went to China in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in order to earn money and then return home to Joseon; the only difference now being that the roles (“homeland” and “host land”) of the two countries have reversed.

Chaoxianzu migration experiences, both illegal and legal, to their ancestral homeland and their interaction with South Koreans began to be expressed in essays, novels, and autobiographical writing after the 1990s. Zheng Panlong’s *Global Koreans* (*Shijie Chaoxian Renmin* in Chinese) shows a South Korean’s reaction to being called a “Chaoxianren” (“Joseonin”) (Zheng 1996: 6). Gim Jaeguk’s *There is no Korea* is based on the author’s personal experiences living and studying in South Korea. It illustrates how differently the world is seen and interpreted between South Koreans and Chaoxianzu. For example, Gim criticizes South Korean political campaigns that involved attacking and discrediting the personal character of candidates as “inhumane and unethical” (Gim 1998: 270-276).

Jin Wenxue (Gim Munhak in Korean) and Jin Yingxue (Gim Yeonghak in Korean), two Chaoxianzu brothers educated in Japan, wrote a book on their experiences in Korea. The title of their book could be translated as *Koreans, Become Bastards!* (*Hanguginiyeo Sangnomi Doera* in Korean, romanized; *Choloude Hanguoren* in Chinese) (Jin and Jin 2000). The authors’ stated purpose of their work was to promote understanding between Chaoxianzu and South Koreans. They provide very personal and
often subjective criticism on South Korean behaviors and material culture, from the Chaoxianzu point of view; not so much to simply criticize South Koreans, but in order for Koreans to understand the Chaoxianzu viewpoint. The authors acknowledge in the book that their observations are based on numerous short visits to South Korea (less than a week each time). The book begins with a call for Koreans to forgo the over-emphasized “us” ideology that, in the authors’ view, limits Koreans to seeing and understanding the world through a “Korean, we only” nationality-centered view (Jin and Jin 2000: 27-39). They also urge Koreans to abandon “useless formalities” and hollow displays in life. The authors’ constructive criticism and suggestions on improving the relationship between Chaoxianzu and South Koreans, and their analysis of South Korean culture and people, based from their experiences, raises the question of what it means to be “Korean” today and what it means to be “Chaoxianzu.” Their work has, according to one of the authors in the preface, brought positive responses from Korea.

Allegorizing Korean culture as salted fermented cabbage and other types of *kimchi*, the authors equate the salting process of vegetables with the stripping of individuality and creativity; the mixing of the seasonings with the vegetables represents the mixing of authoritarianism and foreign cultures; the fermentation of the vegetables represents the repulsiveness and corruptive characteristics of South Koreans’ exclusion of others and her self-centeredness. It is clear from the tone of the authors that today’s Chaoxianzu have become the “other Koreans” by South Koreans who cannot escape from this mode of “us-ness,” and are intolerant of differences and variation within South Korean culture (i.e., the Chaoxianzu and their Korean culture).

Interestingly, forming a parallel narrative with their Chaoxianzu forefathers who
crossed the border to northeast China and lived under the Japanese colonial rule, the Jin brothers also experienced China, Japan, and South Korea as sojourners. They describe their experiences of going through South Korean immigration while holding Chinese passports as “being pricked by a monster with thorns,” and feel that many South Koreans do not view the Chaoxianzu as compatriots who came from the same mythical “bear-mother,” but as total strangers. The authors’ effort to search for their roots and for a shared commonality with their grandparents’ homeland and people has resulted in disappointment. As soon as their Chinese passports were shown at the immigration check point, they were faced with harsh interrogative questions from the immigration officer who reminded them not to overstay their visa (Jin and Jin: 142). The authors, who are third generation Chaoxianzu, felt rejected by their grandparents’ fatherland and its people. There are a number of works by Chaoxianzu writers echoing similar sentiments of detachment, rejection, and isolation that parallel the sentiments expressed in the early migrant Chaoxianzu oral stories and song and the early Chaoxianzu migration literary works discussed in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

The Chaoxianzu experience and the “Korean Dream” have also given rise to a new category of fictional works based on migration experience to South Korea. One example is Wugenhua (无根花), by a female Chaoxianzu writer name Xu Lianshun. The title, literally translated into English means “rootless flower.” In Korean, the title is Baram Ggot (바람꽃) meaning “wind flower” (Xu 1996). In the story the main character, a Chaoxianzu man named Hong Jee Ha, travels from China to South Korea in order to search for his father’s relatives. He is also carrying his father’s ashes, in order to
honor his father’s dying wish of returning home. His “Chaoxianzu experience” in South Korea begins with running into a Korean prostitute when he couldn’t find his Chaoxianzu friend, who was already working illegally in South Korea. Feeling sympathetic towards the young woman’s reason for being a prostitute, he offers her half of his limited cash and then leaves. The story develops as Hong journeys through different parts of South Korea in search of employment.

Xu incorporates in the story many of the grave social problems the Chaoxianzu return migrant workers experience in South Korea as unprotected illegal workers. The story highlights the main character Hong’s run-ins with the South Korean police, his fight with an arrogant South Korean coworker on a fishing boat, and the suicide of his friend’s wife who was forced into a relationship with her South Korean employer, all of which all touch upon the current social problems that exist in South Korea. In Xu’s story, although the main character Hong does develop friendships with South Koreans, they are those who had received help from him.

Hong’s encounter with his long-lost father’s relatives (his father’s first wife and son) met with hostility and suspicion, quite unlike what Hong had expected. The following are excerpted scenes of Hong’s meetings with his relatives. I have included both the original Korean text followed by my translation. Xu sets the first meeting scene between Hong, his half-brother and his step-mother as follow (Xu 1996: 35):

...안씨의 제목에 홍지하는 커피잔을 들었다. 처음은 좀 쓸깃 갈더니 뒤맛이 은은하고 향긋했다. 목이 마르던차에 홍지하는 맥수를 마시듯 걸잡스레 후룩후룩 소리내며 마셨다. 단모금에 굽어난 커피잔을 탁자우에 탁
소리나게 놓으며 손으로 입을 써 문질렀다. 경악스러위하는 두 사람의 그
기절할듯한 표정을 의식하지 못하면서 홍지하는 커피 한잔을 더
요청했다…. “커피는 그렇게 마시는데 아니네. 조금씩 점차게 마시는게
커피문화예요.” “네? 이거 대단히 위험합니다. 너무 갈증이 나서 급히
마셨습니다.” 안씨 보라는듯 순가락으로 커피를 저으며 홀짝홀짝 마시며
물었다. “부친의 성함은 뭐했지요?” “홍범산업니다. 할아버지에는
홍순보이구요.” 흠칫 놀라며 헤드폰에서 눈길을 나누는 안씨와 홍성표. “저의
아버지는 홍희준입니다. 홍범산이 아니고.” 더 말할 필요도 없겠다는듯
홍성표가 심드렁하게 말했다. 안씨의 표정도 전보다 열정이 빠져있었다.
“이름은 고칠수도 있지 않습니까.” 안타까움이 옹음처럼 번져지는
홍지하의 얼굴을 놓치지 않고 안씨가 한수 더 였다…. (Xu 1996: 35)

Translation:
…Upon Ms. An’s (the first wife of Hong’s father) urging, Hong Jee Ha picked up
the coffee cup. At first it seemed a bit bitter, but had a mild and fragrant finish.
Since he was thirsty, Hong Jee Ha, as if drinking cold water, hoorook hoorook,
gulped it down. Placing the coffee cup that he finished in one gulp on the table
with a noise, he wiped his mouth with his hand. Without noticing the two
astonished people’s shocked faces staring at him, Hong Jee Ha ordered another
cup of coffee…

“Coffee shouldn’t be drunk that way. Little sips, genteelly drink it; that is the
coffee culture.”

“Oh? I am very sorry. I was so thirsty, so I drank it hastily.”

As if showing how it is done, Ms. An, while she stirred her coffee and taking one
sip at a time asked: “What did you say your father’s name was?”

“It’s Hong Bum San. My grandfather’s name is Hong Soon Bo.”
Ms. An and Hong Seong Pyo, a bit shocked, stared at each other’s eyes. “My father is Hong Hee Jun, not Hong Bum San.” Hong Seong Pyo said uninterestedly as if there was no needed to discuss the matter anymore.

Ms. An’s face also appeared expressionless. “Isn’t it possible to change the name?” Ms. An, looking at the devastated face of Hong Jee Ha and added more… (Xu 1996: 35)

Unlike Hong Jee Ha, who is emotionally excited about the possibility of finding his father’s long-lost family, his South Korean counterparts seems very suspicious and eager to dismiss the possibility of the father Hong Hee Jun and Hong Bum San being the same person. This scene also stereotypes the Korean superficiality of emphasizing formality and appearance, which Jin Wenxue and Jin Mingxue had raised and criticized as being a trait of South Koreans. The scene moves on to briefly explain Hong Bum San’s reason for staying in China (Xu 1996: 36).

그 이듬해 대동아공영권을 미친듯 부르짖던 일본이 무조건 항복을 선고하자 중국정부에서는 전쟁주범을 제외한 일본군인과 그에 소속된 가족들을 동방 본국으로 귀환시켰다. 일본으로 귀환되던 고향으로 영영 못가는것이라고 생각한 그의 아버지는 철_Reg한 아들무 양반에 포로영을 탈출하며 잡목림에 우거진 산속에 잠입했다. 그곳에 한동안 잠겨있다가 국세가 좌를 풀리면 고향으로 떠나려 했었는데 설상가상으로 덜커덕 장길부사에 걸렸다...병이 다 나온 다음 날행렬차를 타려고 도문으로 갔다. 그런데 그때는 이미 휴전에 걸려 날행으로 통한 철길이 차단되어있다. 결국 고향으로 가지 못하고 중국에 머무르게 되었다. (Ibid: 36)
Translation:

…next year Japan, which was fanatically calling out for a “Great Asian Joint Operation,” unconditionally surrendered; and the Chinese government, except for the war criminals, sent back all Japanese military and their family members to Japan. Believing that once returned to Japan it would be impossible to return to his homeland, his father (Hong Jee Ha’s father) on a pitch dark night escaped the prison camp and hid in the heavily wooded mountains. He was planning on hiding out until the political situation improved to go back home, but to make matters worse, he caught typhoid fever….Once he recovered, he went to Du Man (Tumen) to take the next train heading south. However, a cease-fire was declared and the southbound railroad was closed. As a result he couldn’t return home and remained in China. (Xu 1996: 36)

According to the novel, different reasons forced Koreans to remain in China, where they would and become Chaoxianzu. Some Koreans decided to stay because their family had already moved and settled in China and no longer had a livelihood to return back to in the fatherland; but some like Hong Bum San stayed because the border and the road became blocked and they were physically unable to return. It wasn’t Hong Bum San’s personal choice to remain in China. Korea after World War II was unable to repatriate its people who were displaced under Japanese colonial rule. The first and 1.5 generation Chaoxianzu I have interviewed also stayed in China because either the roads were blocked and they were physically unable to return, or they had no guarantee of a livelihood back in Korea.

The story moves on to the discharge of Hong Jee Ha’s injured friend from the hospital due to financial strains; but Hong and his friend decide to celebrate with a few
of their Chaoxianzu friends. Both Hong’s friend and his wife were working in Korea illegally when his friend was injured. Due to the illegal status of his friend, the South Korean company who hired Hong’s friend didn’t take any responsibility (Xu 1996: 107-108).

…어쩌다 교포끼리 한자리에 모인 이들은 필요 이상으로 웃고 떠들었다. 마치 이웃에비슬아에서 숨죽이고 살다가 자신의 존재를 새삼스레 확인한듯이었다. 하지만 홍지는 그들의 떠들썩한 소리를 들으면서 마음이 무언가에 쫓기는듯 같은지 없이 초조하고 답답했다. 편향문을 열어놓았지만 답답한 가슴은 열리지 않았다. 무언가 자꾸 움직이지 않고는 도무지 마음을 안정시킬수 없었다.

홍지는 홓례비준을 커려고 그쪽으로 몸을 돌였다.

불안에 바탕이 되는 홍지히의 모습을 이상한 눈길로 바라보고 있던 인규가 홓례비준의 개개기를 빼어버리며 말했다.

“불게 없다!”

“왜?”

홍지히의 눈이 동그래졌다.

“어제저녁 아홉시 뉴스를 봤니? 난 그거 보루서 다시 홓례비준을 커고싶은 생각이 없어겠어!”

“못했다. 그런데?”

“개새끼들, 그게 무슨 잘한 일이라구 홓례비준에 내나. 글쎄.”

“무슨 일인데?”

“불법체류한 중국교포 다섯명을 수색체워서 배에 싶는 장면이 나오더라. 강제로 포로병 귀환시키는 그런거였거든.”

최인규가 서비를 걸듯 격하게 나왔다.

“그들의 얼굴색이 완전히 죽은 사람 얼굴이었어요.”
요리를 복던 지해경이 한마디 깨거였다.
“왜 안그럼겠어. 빈털더리로 쫓겨가는데 죽은 시체가 갈지. 다를래 있어.”
끝없는 반말에 홍지하는 턱 빼가 막막해났다.
“이건 민족의 치욕이다. 동족끼리 어쩌면릴수가 있니. 독일이나 일본을 좀 봐라. 얼마나 가슴이 크나. 이민을 간 동포들에 대해 그들이 원하기만 하면 아무런 제한도 없이 받아들여 취업자리도 마련해주고 살수 있게 보살펴주겠니.”
최인규가 분해서 씹근덕거렸다.
“그러게 지구촌에서 제일 마지막으로 남은 분단 국가로 되고있잖니.”
“사촌이 기와집을 사도 배아파하는 민족이나 도랑이 넓으면 얼마나 넓겠어요.” (Xu 1996: 107-108)
Translation:
In order to turn the television on, Hong Jee Ha turned his body toward the television. In Gyu, watching anxious Hong Jee Ha with an unusual glance, taking the remote control and said, “There is nothing to watch!”

“How come?”

Hong Jee Ha opened his eyes wide.
“Did you watch yesterday’s nine o’clock evening news? After watching it, I never want to turn the television on again.”

“I didn’t watch. What happened?”

“Sons of bitches, how could they broadcast something like that on television as if it’s good news!”

“What happened?”

“They [South Korean media] showed five handcuffed illegal Korean-Chinese being placed on a ship. It was like forcing prisoners to return.”
As if instigating a fight Cheo In Gyu agitatedly stated:
“Their faces looked like dead people.”
Stir frying a dish, Jee Hye Gyeong butted in:
“How can they not be?! Being deported pennilessly, no different than the dead.”

The endless antagonism stiffened Hong Jee Ha’s jaw:
“This is a disgrace to this race. How can this happen among the same people!
Look at Germany and Japan, how big hearted they are! To those who emigrated,
if they wanted, without any limit will take them back and give them jobs and support them.”

Choe In Gyu said vexingly:
“That’s why this is the last divided country left on this global village.”
“These are the people who would get stomachache out of jealousy when their own cousins buy tiled roof house, how broad minded could they be!”

The sentiments expressed by Hong and Choe in the novel echoes that of the Chaoxianzu illegal migrant workers and their families, such as the Chaoxianzu man who sold authentic Chaoxianzu delicacies on the streets of Beijing. Because Chaoxianzu see themselves as Korean gyeo po and dong jok (qiao bao and tongzu in Chinese), literally meaning “overseas Koreans and same blood or brethren,” they view the deportation of Chaoxianzu from South Korea by the South Korean government as an ethnically immoral rejection of Chaoxianzu as Korean. The reaction to the deportation of illegal Chaoxianzu migrant workers in the novel illustrates how the “other Korean,” the Chaoxianzu who are the “Koreans of China,” are excluded from the “Korean nation” as part of overseas Koreans. The Chaoxianzu, as ethnic Koreans with Chinese nationality
working in their ancestral homeland, do not believe they should be subjected to the same legal processes as illegal non-Korean foreign workers because Korea once, and through “hereditary and emphatic nostalgia” still, represents their homeland (Ma 2011: 113). Any rumors of raids and deportations spread quickly-- not only within the Chaoxianzu communities in South Korea, but also among the Chaoxianzu in China, as so many have relatives already working illegally in Korea to support their families in China. Possible raids and the threat of deportation has become an inseparable part of the Chaoxianzu migrant workers’ experience in Korea, and also an important topic in Chaoxianzu novels written about the Korean experience. Xu describes the affects of rumors of possible raid on illegal Chaoxianzu migrant workers in Korea in her novel, *Rootless Flower*.

안그래도 근간 한국 애스컴들에서는 중국교포들에 대한 기사가 밝상우의 밀반찬처럼 렌일 오르내리기때문에 누구나의 신경이 개여진 유리조각처럼 날카로웠다.

복동법무부에서는 불법체류한 교포들에 대하여 엄청난 벌금을 시키고 그들을 고용한 고용주들까지도 그에 해당한 벌금을 시킨다고 포고문을 내어 붙였는데 하면 확간에서는 불법체류자를 신고한 시민에게는 후한 상급을 주며 불법체류자를 붙잡는 경찰관에는 직을 승급시켜준다는 여론까지 떠돌았다. 지어 감옥을 갖고 그들을 감금시키고 로동교회를 시킨다는 무시무시한 말까지 들였다. 중국교포들은 우삼한 육체질로동보다도 번거로운 정신적인 부담을 감내하기가 더욱 힘들고 고통스러웠다. (Xu 1996: 108)

Translation:
...recent Korean news regarding the overseas Koreans in China have been
appeared frequently, as frequent as the side dishes on meal tables, everyone’s nerves were pointy like the edges of broken glass.

The Mok Dong Judiciary Office posted a warning that not only would those illegal residents be fined a large fee, but even those who employ them would be fined as well. On the street there were rumors that those who report any illegal residents would be awarded a large sum, and the police who arrest them will be promoted. Furthermore, scary rumors of prisons being built to lock them up and educate them through labor were floating around. The overseas Koreans of China felt it more intolerable to endure this psychological burden than physical labor. (Xu 1996: 108).

Like most illegal migrant workers, illegal Chaoxianzu migrant workers working “3-D” jobs in South Korea, their ancestral homeland, also live in fear. Any legal measures enacted or taken against illegal residents in South Korea are quite often not viewed by Chaoxianzu as rational implementation of government policy or law, but are seen as a direct personal and ethnic betrayal and rejection.

Another example of the Chaoxianzu experience in Korea is the autobiographical work *Zai Han Zhongguo Chaoxianzu Nvren de Riji* (*The Diary of an Illegal Woman Worker in Korea*), written by Deusil Im. In the story, the author talks about her experiences in Korea as an illegal worker. In the preface, the author describes Korea as “...the land of Korea, the place where all Chaoxianzu no matter who it is want to go see...” (Im 2000: 1). The Chaoxianzu “...want to see it because it is the land where our ancestors lived, and also because it is a place where we can earn money. The land we so
yearned for, what is it to us? Was it a homeland, or a foreign land? It was both home and a foreign place.” (Im 2000: 1). Similar to many Chaoxianzu who just arrived in South Korea, Im switches from one job to another, working mostly at motels and in restaurant kitchens. At one of the restaurants, a phone call asking if there were any people without residence cards resulted in her dismissal from work the same day.

Translation:
...the owner called the local police station and sure enough was told to hide. Someone has reported. The owner couple left for the local police on their motorcycle, and I went into the inner building. I was so nervous I tried to read, but nothing came into my head, so I walked up and down restlessly. After a while, the owners returned. At the police station, they were fined 300,000 won,
so they deducted that amount from my salary and only paid me 100,000 won. The fine should be paid by the owner, but since I am an illegal resident I have no place to complain. The owner’s wife gave me her woolen sweater that she used to wear, and said it was possible to be raided tomorrow, so I must leave this evening. I asked if I could at least spend the night and leave, but she said no.

At eight o’clock in the evening, after putting blankets and the electric rice cooker in a wheeled suitcase, I left the restaurant. Where should I go? While shedding tears I headed north on Bong Chon Street and then again took steps toward the south of the street… (Im 2000: 26-27)

In order to avoid being recognized as Chaoxianzu, Im tries not to speak out or make eye contact; but other traits, such as the clothes she wears and even how she drinks coffee, reveal her Chaoxianzu identity. As noted by a motel owner where Im worked, Chinese tend to wear multiple layers of clothing during the winter and spring, whereas Koreans tend not to (Im 1996: 43). The way one drinks coffee can at minimum garner unwanted attention, as mentioned in “Rootless Flower” (Xu 1996: 88, Xu 1996: 35).

Im’s writing also introduces two issues involved in the illegal migration of Chaoxianzu. There are various ways for Chaoxianzu to enter South Korea. In the beginning, fueled by the fervor of reuniting families, invitations from South Korean relatives helped the Chaoxianzu counterpart easily obtain visas to South Korea. However, once these family visitations transformed into illegally working in South Korea, it became more difficult to gain family visitation visas. In response to the illegal use of family visitation visas for employment, the South Korean government established a policy of only allowing those over 55 to be issued family visitation visas upon
Another way to obtain a South Korean visa is through marriage. A statistical study shows that from 1993 to 2000, an estimated 60,000 Chaoxianzu women were married internationally (Jin 2007: 5, Huang 2007: 139). Another statistical study carried out by Korean scholars Tae Hwan Kwon and Gwang Seong Bak in 2007 indicates that from 1990 to 2002, there were a total of 54,799 marriages between Chaoxianzu women and South Korean men. Whether all the above marriages were legitimate is not clear. Once a Chaoxianzu marries a South Korean citizen (a majority of marriages involving Chaoxianzu women and South Korean men), the marriage allows not only for the Chaoxianzu partner to enter South Korea, but also allows the married couple to apply for family visitation visas for the parents of the Chaoxianzu partner (Gwon and Bak 2005: 156). In a situation where the parents of the Chaoxianzu partner are too old to travel or even in cases where the parents are deceased, invitations and visas are still sent, and subsequently sold to those who are looking for ways to go to South Korea for employment (Gwon and Bak 2005: 80, Ri 2000: 14). Chaoxianzu who purchased illicit Korean visas then travel under aliases, in order to match the names on the invitations and visas they’ve purchased. For example, in January of 1997, Im writes:

아침 열시에 대구할머니가 전화를 받고 손님방을 향해 소리쳤다. “거기 엄마설이라고 있습니까?”
나는 감짝 놀랐다. 그 доллар것이 한국에 와서 나는 엄마설인것이 아니라 최인숙이니 말이다. 내 본명을 아는 사람은 누구도 없는데...혹시 경찰...?
(Im 2000: 103)
Translation:
At ten in the morning, Daegu grandmother (a name to address an old lady from Daegu) answered the phone and yelled out to the private room “Is there a Im Deuk Sil?”
I was shocked, because I became Cheo In Sook, not Im Deuk Sil, when I came to Korea. No one knows my real name. Could it possibly be the police? (Im 2000: 103)

The use of aliases among Chaoxianzu in South Korea is also noted in Ri Hyeseon’s fieldwork (Ri 2000). A large percentage of her Chaoxianzu interviewees in South Korea do not use their real names. For example, one of her interviewees, who called himself “O Yong” at the time of the interview, was at times calling himself “Li” and other times “O.” O Yong is probably one of the aliases he was using at the time. According to Ri, there are a number of reasons behind using alias. It could be that some have already stayed illegally in South Korea, they purchased someone else’s passport or someone’s invitation, changed their family registry in China to meet the conditions for international marriage, or those who are living with other men or women in South Korea, or working in the sex industry (Ri 2000: 56).

*Korean Dream* (published in 2000 in China, and 2003 in Korea), is based on Ri Hyeseon’s fieldwork study of Chaoxianzu migrant workers in South Korea from 2000 to 2003. The book examines Chaoxianzu and South Korean concerns regarding Chaoxianzu issues in South Korea. Ri provides five categories of Chaoxianzu visa applicants to South Korea (Ri 2000: 7). The first category is composed of public servants, entrepreneurs, and artists, which comprise about 5% of total visa applicants.
The second category is mainly those who own small personal businesses. The third are those who apply for family visit visas (Ri believes that only a small percentage is actually for this purpose). The fourth group is composed of international marriage partners (Ri believes that there are a large number of illegal contract marriages that can cost from 7 to 10 million Korean won, or $6,000 - 9,500 U.S. dollars). The fifth category, a majority of visa applicants, are those who have one purpose -- financial gain. Within the fifth category, there are industrial and company trainees, public servants, and visas for in-laws. Obtaining falsified public servant and in-law visas cost about 75,000 RMB (over $11,000 USD), but the costs do vary (Ri 2000: 7-8).

A number of Chaoxianzu enter Korea with industrial training visas. Due to the low pay while they are receiving training, a large number of these trainees leave the program in order to work illegally, even when such action results in the loss of the security deposit they had to post (Gwon and Bak 2007: 81).21 The financial cost one bears in order to enter Korea is outrageously high when considering the annual income of an average worker in China. In general, Chaoxianzu who enter South Korea illegally pay between 60,000 to 100,000 RMB to the brokers for documents and preparation (Gwon and Bak 2005: 170-172).

Most Chaoxianzu who borrow money for their illegal entrance to South Korea do so at interest rates that can reach 5% per month, which can add up to between 40-60% annual interest rate. Therefore, deportation threat and unpaid wages from the Korean employer could cause a Chaoxianzu to seek out a way to return to South Korea for quick financial recovery (Gwon and Bak 2007: 82).

A Chaoxianzu woman from Yanji City who lived comfortably in a 200 square
A meter home was bedridden at a church in Bong Cheon District, South Korea at the time of the interview with Ri. The bedridden Yanji woman was involved in a hit-and-run motorcycle accident, and was initially hospitalized with a spinal cord injury that required major surgery and over 6 months of rehabilitation (Ri 2000: 51). However, unable to afford the required surgery and frightened of an unknown future, she left the hospital before her surgery. The woman from Yanji City initially spent 90,000 RMB (approximately $13,000 USD), but she was unsuccessful in gaining entry into South Korea. Additionally, she was defrauded of 30,000 RMB. Her second attempt was successful only after spending another 62,000 RMB. She had been sending money back home to repay the debt accrued since she began her illegal migrant work in South Korea, and still owes about 7 million Korean won (over $6,000 USD) (Ibid). Unable to work, she is living at one of the Korean churches that provide shelter and protection to illegal migrants. The church plans on persuading the hospital to give her the needed surgery, but she is still afraid of the possibility of medical complications involved with the surgery and the financial burden she’ll encounter during the recuperation period. “I don’t understand why I came out [to South Korea] when I was living well in China. I don’t know what money means. If I can pay off my debt, I would like to go home now” (Ibid: 51-52).

Korea and the Korean Dream provide hope and comfort to many Chaoxianzu in China. However, they also make Chaoxianzu feel like outsiders in the homeland of their ancestors, often treating them no differently than “illegal” foreign migrant workers from other countries. They are treated as criminals. O Yong, an interviewee previously discussed in this chapter, talks to Ri about his experience with South Korean
immigration law:

“In 50 years of living in China, I have never committed a crime; but in my homeland, because of overstaying my visa, I am cuffed for the first time in my life and treated like a criminal. Being forced out of my back to my homeland and family I am overwhelmed with sorrow. My family, cousins, all live here in Korea, but because I lived in China, and for only that reason, I am cuffed. Because of the crime of living in underdeveloped China…. My tears are not mere tears, but tears of agony; this must be written down!” (Ri 2000: 71).

Translation:

Another Chaoxianzu migrant worker remarks on social prejudices in South Korea during her interview with Ri (Ibid: 120).

한국인에게 하고싶은 말이 있어요. 중국조선족이나 미국조선족이나 다 똑같은 사람인데 차별하지 말라는거예요. 범무부출입국관리소 등에 가보면 미국 국적을 가진 한국인이면 미소를 짓고 레질하게 대해지만 중국조선족이 가면 반렌누치 (满脸怒气, 은 얼굴에 노기라는 뜻) 거든요.
Translation:
There is something I need to tell the South Koreans: China’s Chaoxianzu and America’s Chaoxianzu are all the same human beings, so don’t discriminate against us. At the Foreign Affairs Emigration and Immigration Office, they treat those who have American citizenship courteously and with a smile; but when a [Chinese] Chaoxianzu goes there, their faces are filled with anger.22

South Korean prejudice and discrimination against Chaoxianzu, and Chaoxianzu own prejudice and distrust of Koreans, are fueled by misguided social and cultural interpretations and expectations from both sides. They also rise from the seeming inability of Chaoxianzu to separate the individual from the law, and the rules of a nation-state (Ri 2000). Chaoxianzu and South Koreans had been separated by nearly a half-century, and Chaoxianzu have come to embrace a unique “ethnically Korean yet politically Chinese” identity. Whereas South Korea was heavily influenced by the West and Western culture, due to China’s ties with North Korea the Chaoxianzu maintained close relationships with North Koreans, fighting side by side with their North Korean brothers during the Korean War and following many North Korean standards of social norms.23

Resolving the social and political issues of the migrant Chaoxianzu in South Korea is not a simple matter of law, as law does not consider the historically displaced lives of the Chaoxianzu or their ethnic self-identification as Koreans. Being illegal in their ancestral homeland also renders them vulnerable to discrimination and abuses no different from those of any illegal worker. However, because Korea is their ancestral land, any discrimination or abuse suffered while there is viewed with charged emotions.
and leaves deep and painful scars on Chaoxianzu. The first step towards a mutual understanding would require South Koreans to take into account the historical displacement of Koreans to northeast China, and the social and political formation of today’s Chaoxianzu, in order to understand Chaoxianzu culture and their point of view. The reunion between South Koreans and Chaoxianzu occurred on expectation of sharing the same culture and social values without carefully considering historical and political separation between the two groups. Chaoxianzu views South Korea as their ancestor land, but ancestor land is not same as their home country. The first generation Chaoxianzu, as seen from Mr. Jin’s song, saw Korea as both ancestor and homeland, but for the Chaoxianzu who were born and raised in China and only heard of South Korea through their parents and grandparents, the place they would call home is China. As Ri writes, “we (Chaoxianzu) do not know Korea well at all. We still try to understand Korea with our Chinese and socialist ways, and the problem exists in the way we think. Perhaps once we solve this knot, we might be able to face Korean society more calmly and strongly” (Ri 2000:219).

The second issue apparent in both Im’s diary and Ri’s fieldwork concerns the disintegration of family structure and corruption of social morality among Chaoxianzu in both South Korea and China that could easily have a grave effect on the future of Chaoxianzu culture and identity in China. A study carried out by Yanbian University Women Research Center on “Yanbian Chaoxianzu Elementary and Middle School Student Affairs” in 2004 reports that 50-60% of the students are from broken homes, and
45.25% of the Yanji City Chaoxianzu middle school students have either a parent or both parents working overseas (Ryu and Gim 2007: 16). The problems caused by a parent or both parents working overseas are not limited to disappearing of nurturing home for the Chaoxianzu children. As Lin states in her diary, those who work in South Korea alone far away from their family members and spouses often connect with each other and or with South Koreans that may lead to the breakup of Chaoxianzu families (Im 2000; Kwon and Bak 2007: 86). Population growth and exodus of Chaoxianzu out of Chaoxianzu communities have been a deep concern for Chaoxianzu scholars and intellectuals in maintaining Chaoxianzu identity and culture (Gim 2007). Historically, Chaoxianzu experienced 3 major population fluctuations in their history. As an immigrant ethnic group in China between 1910-1945, before the surrender of Japanese at the end of WWII, approximately 1.4 million Chaoxian people had immigrated to China (Ryu and Gim 2007: 10). From the end of WWII (1945) to 1953, approximately 1 million Koreans returned to the Korean peninsula (Ibid). The estimated number of returnees during this period varies from scholar to scholar, ranging from a few hundred-thousand to one million, but it is clear that there were a large number of emigrants from Northeast China to the Korean peninsula. The latest population shift, within China and overseas, recorded between 1980-2006 and 1985-2006, respectively, estimated approximately 250,000 and 500,000 Chaoxianzu have left their communities in North East China for larger cities in China and South Korea (Ibid:11).

The Chaoxianzu towns and families I have visited have a large number of their members either working in larger Chinese cities or in Korea. In the absence of a parent or both parents, often the young and school aged children are left with aging
grandparents without much-needed parental guidance and care. In larger cities within China and sections of South Korea, Chaoxianzu “towns” and niches have formed; but these are outside of Chaoxianzu autonomy and cannot maintain strong ethnic social and educational structures. The exodus of working-age Chaoxianzu from Northeast China and the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Autonomous Prefecture, whether overseas as illegal migrant workers or to larger cities within China as part of the country’s “floating population,” is also causing a population decline within Chaoxianzu communities. According to a study, the Chaoxianzu ranks first among all Chinese ethnic groups in terms of negative population growth (Gim 2007: 4). Negative growth does not equate with zero birth, but it is based on a formula of annual total net births and deaths. For example, from November 1999 to January 2000, within all of China, the Chaoxianzu recorded 11,508 births and 11,536 deaths, with a total net decrease in population of 28 people. The Yanbian Chaoxianzu population growth entered negative growth beginning in 1996, while the nationwide Chaoxianzu population began negative population growth in 2000 (Ibid: 5).

Chaoxianzu communities are in transition. China’s open-door policy and economic reforms are causing the traditionally tight-knit agriculture-based Chaoxianzu communities to be caught in the middle of China’s transition into an industrialized state. As a part of seeking out new economic opportunities, the compact and traditionally isolated Chaoxianzu communities that withstood the Japanese colonial period’s cultural oppression and the Cultural Revolution’s cultural persecution are disintegrating, weakening their Korean ethnic consciousness (Choi 2001: 126). Without community and institutional support for Korean culture and language, dispersed Chaoxianzu still
congregate together and form small niches and “towns” in larger industrialized cities within China, but it is very difficult to maintain strong ethnic identity and culture and to continue speaking Korean language. A study indicates that in large cities such as Beijing, Harbin, Shenyang, and Changchun, about 60% of Chaoxianzu give up Korean language (Choi 2001: 126, Zheng 1999: 281). In addition to the economical transition, Chaoxianzu as a nationality is experiencing a generation shift, a transition from Korea-born generation to China-born Chaoxianzu generation. A study indicates that only 2.2% of the Yanbian Chaoxianzu households were born in the Korean peninsula (Choi 2001: 130). In a social research carried out in 1997, 60% of the Chaoxianzu view South Korea in terms of “economic progress”; 21% see it as a country of the same people; and only 14% of Chaoxianzu participants think of South Korea as the ancestral land (Ibid).

Conclusion

Today’s Chaoxianzu are faced with two major ethnic identity problems within China and South Korea. Domestically, Chaoxianzu communities are facing the problems of dissolving Chaoxianzu communities and a decrease in its population, which threatens the maintenance of the communities’ Korean ethnic culture and language. Internationally, Chaoxianzu face the issue of redefining their Korean identity, especially in the presence of South Koreans whose “unhyphenated” national identity as citizens of the Republic of Korea inherently give them their right to own and define what it means to be Korean. The words of a Chaoxianzu ethnologist at the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing who told me on our first meeting “…you (addressing me) want to study Chaoxianzu folklore? Then you should go to South Korea…” His statement exemplifies
the identity question of what it means to be a Chaoxianzu, a Korean nationality in China and what it means to be a Chaoxianzu in South Korea. The official Chinese discourse states that the Chaoxianzu are Koreans in China, and they are categorized as “Chaoxianzu (Korean-Chinese)” to represent the Korean ethnicity through their clothes, food, language and culture on nationally published books on Chinese minorities such as One Country Many Peoples: 56 Nationalities of China (2000). In this book, the highly essentialist description of the Korean nationality is accompanied by a picture of two women wearing traditional Korean clothes while husking rice:

The Korean nationality has a population over 1.92 million, mainly living in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture of Jilin Province. The Koreans have their own spoken and written language, and a fairly developed culture and education. Engaging in agriculture, the Koreans are well known for growing paddy rice in cold north China. They all, young and old, love to sing and dance. They attach great importance to hygiene and good manners, and their respect for the old and love of the young is widely admired. (Ya, Feng, and Qi 2000: 116)

Drawing on Harrell’s definition of ethnicity as “local, national, and internationally defined through dialectical interactions,” the Chaoxianzu, prior to their reunion with the South Koreans, “affiliated and identified” with the ethnic-cultural term Chaoxianzu, meaning the Korean (or Joseon) ethnicity, not the term “Jungguk Joseonjok,” meaning China’s Koreans (Harrell 2001b: 12, H. Gwon 2007: 45). The Chaoxianzu began identifying with ethnic-political term “Jungguk Joseonjok” through the dialectical interactions with South Koreans, and began questioning their own understanding of being Koreans in China. The Chaoxianzu, a Korean ethnic group, with their distinctive
Korean language that often reveals their “Chaoxianzuness” in South Korea, as illustrated in the return migration novels, do not identify with the South Korean nation state, but they identify themselves as a part of the Korean race. *Hanguk*, the South Korea that replaced *Joseon*, is a foreign term to the Chaoxianzu (Zheng 1996).

Immigrant Chaoxian people in China and today’s Chaoxianzu have maintained their ethnic Chaoxian “Korean-ness” throughout their turbulent history, while their nationality (or citizenship) shifted from being subjects of the Joseon Court, to Chinese Qing Court, to Japanese, Manchukuo, and to Chaoxianzu of the People’s Republic of China. Their strong ethnic consciousness is reflected in all aspects of their culture, including their oral traditions.

While written accounts, as illustrated by the works of fiction quoted above and examined in Chapter Five are readily accessed in print, oral stories are more difficult to assess beyond very intimate and fleeting oral contexts. Thus, this dissertation is concerned with the analysis of oral narratives, both those collected by the author and those that form the formal body of Chaoxianzu oral literature collected by formal researchers in China. The collection and textualization efforts for the stated purpose of preserving and maintaining their Korean ethnicity in China, as illustrated in my interview with the Chaoxianzu folklorist “CF” (see Chapter Three of this dissertation), is an example. Jeong Gilwoon, who led the collection effort, buried his transcriptions during the Cultural Revolution to preserve and safeguard his collection of Chaoxianzu stories. Presenting and identifying Chaoxianzu's Korean ethnicity in local and national contexts within China did not pose a challenge to the ethnic identity of Chaoxianzu.

Ironically the questioning of the “authentic” Korean ethnic identity of Chaoxianzu
was raised in the international context with the return migration of Chaoxianzu to South Korea. The return of Chaoxianzu, and the increasing international and inter-racial marriages in South Korea also questioned the South Korean discourse of defining Korean-ness. Chaoxianzu with their relatively recent migration history to China and their effort and desire to maintain their own culture and language even under Japanese colonial repression, focused on preserving and canonizing literary works that reflected the Korean experience in Manchuria, but failed to include works that reflect China’s Chaoxianzu or Chaoxianzu experience as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

In the Chaoxianzu oral tradition, the folklorist (CF) play a critical role in collecting and preserving the stories and songs that are determined to have Korean ethnic value. In general, the Chaoxianzu folklorists’ evaluation of an oral literature helped construct and preserve today’s Korean ethnic identity of Chaoxianzu. In the performance exchange between Mr. Jin and CF in the Chapter Four, the dialogical discourse method used by CF to assist the storyteller, indicates the practice of systematized ethnic self-understanding of the Korean identity in facilitating specific categories of story performance. By placing the utmost importance of the collection projects on preserving the Korean ethnic identity as a collective unit that could distinguish the Chaoxianzu from any other Chinese ethnic groups, the Chaoxianzu folklore preservation efforts may have neglected the narratives that reflect the displaced historical identity of Chaoxianzu on an individual level, such as Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story” and his personal experience narrative that are not within the boundary set by the elite Chaoxianzu.

Mr. Jin performed “Red Cross Story” at the 1997 storytelling competition and
also when I visited him in 2001. According to the Chaoxianzu folklorist who accompanied me in my visits to Mr. Jin (referred to as CF throughout this dissertation), the “Red Cross Story” is always the first story Mr. Jin tells when a storytelling opportunity is presented to him.

In the local and national contexts of presenting the Korean ethnicity of Chaoxianzu, Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story,” with Mary and Gary as the main characters, does not adhere to the discourse of Chaoxianzu identity as Koreans in China. However, by properly situating the story within its historical and social contexts, the “Red Cross Story” and its transmission background, embody not only the history of the displaced ethnic Koreans during the Japanese colonial period, but it also reflects the emotions of the displaced Koreans.

Sonia Ryang in *Writing Selves in Diaspora* examines two diasporic autobiographical novels, *Yuhi* and *Dictee*, written by two women writers-- Yangji Lee, a Korean-Japanese writer, and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, a Korean-American, in addition to autobiographies of her three informants living in the Korean diaspora. Ryang argues that *Yuhi* is a story of aphasic failure of the main character that is a reincarnated form of the writer herself (Ryang 2008: xxxi). *Dictee*, Ryang also argues, is aphasic in a syntactical sense (Ryang 2008: xxxi). Expanding on Sonia Ryang’s aphasic argument, the “Red Cross Story”, if disconnected from Mr. Jin’s personal narrative and Chaoxianzu history in general, also suffers from a type of cultural aphasia. Such a disconnection would remove any link to an empirical Chaoxianzu experience, the “Chaoxianzu-ness.”

Ryang interviewed three women in Korean diaspora communities: a Japan born
Korean-Japanese, an immigrant Korean-American, an America born Korean-American, and examined their autobiographies (written at Ryang’s request) to analyze how their “…selves are choreographed through both spoken and written discourses combining auto-analysis and auto-interpretation…” (Ryang 2008: xxxi) The three women defined themselves primarily as Korean, although each had discovered and rediscovered their “Korean-ness” in different ways, and at various junctions in their lives. The stories of their struggle to position and reposition their constantly transforming selves, negotiating against and within the host cultures, indicates that there is more than just one layer of Korean-ness and “…laden with thick ambiguity and multiply disconnected and simultaneously overlapping points of reference to ethnicity, politics, and culture, all traversing transnational, trans-cultural spheres…” (Ryang 2008: 20), as identity is not a fixed or stable “one true self”, but is “…the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within the narratives of the past” (Hall 2003: 236).

With its emphasis on personal narratives and tangential works of fiction, this dissertation seeks a two-fold purpose: (1) to present the first hand collected transcribed and translated stories and songs performed by locally well known Chaoxianzu storytellers and provide the context in which these stories are performed to be easily accessible to anyone who are interested in studying the over 2 million ethnic Koreans in China. As the Chaoxianzu folklorist interviewed in this dissertation, stated, although Chaoxianzu oral tradition has gained the attention from the scholars from Korea and Japan, their oral traditions have still a long way to the global academic stage and scholarly interest they deserve; and (2), to examine how construction and preservation of Chaoxianzu as a Chinese ethnic group/nationality (minzu in Chinese) have been carried
out in part through the Chaoxianzu folklore collection projects in China as a way of maintaining Chaoxianzu identity. Furthermore, this dissertation explores the ethnic, social, and geopolitical issues raised from representing the preserved Korean ethnicity of Chaoxianzu in the South Korean context. It is evident from Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story” performance, collected and published folklore works, and the cultural and social conflict between Chaoxianzu and South Koreans that the ethnic identity must be examined and understood as a constantly shifting negotiation between self-understanding and identification by outsiders. My hope is that this examination will aid in strengthening the dialogical discourse between the Chaoxianzu Korean community and the South Korean “core.” Based on the literatures from the relevant academic fields, both within and outside of the Chaoxianzu community, it is clear the dialogue between the Chaoxianzu and Koreans has already begun. It is my sincere hope that the storytellers and their stories included in my research can further assist in our understanding of Chaoxianzu as a Korean ethnic group of China and also as an important part of the Korean global diaspora community.
Notes: Chapter One

1. This song was performed as a part of Mr. Jin’s storytelling performance in 2000. See Chapter Four for the storytelling.

2. King Kojong (1852-1919) changed the name of the country to Dae Han Min Guk in 1897.


4. According to Mary Yu Danico, the 1.5 generation is a term that describes immigrant children who are not first- or second-generation. It refers to an in-between generation (2004).

5. Interview with CF in 2000.

6. In the case of the Piao clans, their ethnic consciousness and claims as Chaoxianzu is emphasized and cited as their Chaoxianzu identity.

7. CF stated during his telling of the Piao clans’ ethnic re-registration that the surname Piao is generally believed to be a pure Korean surname.

8. The term “Korean Wind” is a local term, yet embodies some sense of the more globalized term Korean Wave, which has its origin in Chinese news reporting of the late 1990s.

9. Personal communication with CF. While I was staying at a local folklorist home while interviewing Mr. Li, a folk singer, I met a Chaoxianzu man who was married to a illegal North Korean in April 2001.


11. The term “rentong” can also be defined as “ethnic commonalities.” Mark Bender discusses the role of “rentong” that is found in Yi folk literature which may hold the various Yi subgroups together (2007).

12. Ri Hyeseon states in *Korean Dream* (2001) that almost all the Chaoxianzu in South Korea are asked two questions: (1) if there were a war between the North and South Korea, which country would the Chaoxianzu support? And (2), in a soccer match between China and South Korea, which team would the Chaoxianzu cheer for? (Ri 2001: 267)
13. Resistance and reaction to the “hair and dress” code assimilation policy was depicted in Ri Geunjeon’s “Gonanui Nyeondae” published in 1982 and Choe Hong-il’s “Nunmul Jeojeun Dumangang” published in 1999.

14. According to CF, Chaoxian migrants would temporarily change their clothes to Qing Chinese style during inspections, and would then change back when the officials left. When land ownership rights became tied to one’s citizenship, one male member of a family would be naturalized for the purpose of land rights, or Chaoxian families would “borrow” an already-naturalized Chaoxian person’s identity to obtain the land.

15. Chaoxianzu have crossed the border between China and Korea as late as the 1950s. Some Chaoxianzu went to North Korea to start a new life, but returned to China in the early 1960s (Olivier 1984: 13).


17. Mr. Li also took with him some Chinese herbal medicine to Korea.

18. There were many reported incidents of illegal Chaoxianzu migrant worker suicide in Korean media. One example is listed on http://www.sisapress.com; dated Dec. 14, 1995. There are other reports of suicides of Chaoxianzu in South Korea.

19. I met this family in Beijing during the fall of 1995, and maintained a relationship with them until they moved to Shandong Province in 2004.

20. This is a proverb similar to “the grass is always greener on the other side.”

21. The security deposit increased from what used to be 20,000-30,000 to 70,000-80,000 in 1996, due to the high number of deserters (Gwon and Bak 2007: 81).

22. A Chaoxianzu referring to Korean-Americans here as America’s Chaoxianzu has a significant meaning as the term Chaoxianzu (Joseonjok) only refers to Korean-Chinese. Here, it is used as an inclusive term that refers to all overseas Koreans placing equality on all overseas Koreans; normally Korean Americans are referred to as ‘Jaemi Gyopo’, meaning “Koreans residing in America,” and ‘Jaeil Gyopo’ for Korean-Japanese.

23. One of the most prominent influences from North Korea on the Chaoxianzu is Hangul writing.

24. In Jingjitun, the old woman who sang songs while practicing croquet was taking care of her grandchildren. Another Chaoxianzu family I visited in Jilín City, the grandmother was also taking care of her son and grandson while her daughter-in-law was working in Korea.
25. In Beijing, the areas of Wudaokou and Wangjing are examples of well known “Korean towns”.

26. In his defense, much of the Chaoxianzu folklore collection focused on collecting materials that represent Korean ethnicity, and it is a common belief among Chaoxianzu scholars that there is only a 20% difference between the Chaoxianzu and Korean oral traditions.
CHAPTER 2
MR. JIN’S PERSONAL NARRATIVE AND “RED CROSS STORY”

Introduction

This chapter presents the translated transcripts of Mr. Jin’s personal narrative and his “Red Cross Story,” both of which were introduced and analyzed in my M.A. thesis (Lee 2002: 55-99). In my thesis, I explored the Chaoxianzu experience under Japanese colonial rule through personal experience narratives that are not included in the officially written history of the Chaoxianzu. Personal narratives have not been widely studied in the field of Chaoxianzu oral traditions, and it is my understanding through my conversation with CF that Mr. Jin’s personal narrative has not been collected or translated prior to my fieldwork. The purpose of re-visiting Mr. Jin’s personal experience narrative is to provide a context to understand Mr. Jin’s folk stories, especially the “Red Cross Story.” Mr. Jin’s life story is textually intertwined with his folk stories, especially the “Red Cross Story,” and furthermore, these stories tell the historical events that changed the history and the lives of Koreans and Chaoxianzu from an individual perspective (Mullen 1992: 4).

The significance of the “Red Cross Story” is not the story itself, but Mr. Jin’s repeated performance of the story at different events and the Chaoxianzu folklorists’ analysis of the story as non-Chaoxianzu story. Mr. Jin’s performance of the “Red Cross
Story,” which he told immediately following his personal narrative during my interview, and his emotional connection to it, in contrast to its exclusion from the Chaoxianzu stories, as declared by CF, led me to question the boundaries of Chaoxianzu stories.

Mr. Jin’s Personal Narrative

On January 28 in 2001, guided by CF and a local folklore association member, we visited Mr. Jin at his home. After exchanging greetings and introductions, Mr. Jin was asked to briefly name his hometown in Korea and the reason for his immigration to China. Mr. Jin’s personal narrative was the longest story he performed, and based on my brief fieldwork experience with other Chaoxianzu storytellers prior to this visit, Mr. Jin’s lengthy performance of his personal narrative was extraordinary and unexpected. I discuss Mr. Jin’s personal narrative here to provide a reference point and context for this dissertation. In performing his life story, Mr. Jin focused on his experience in the Japanese military fighting against the Russians in the Northern part of China, and the four years he spent as a prisoner of war in a Russian work camp. Although not included in this transcript, as his narration was interrupted by CF who asked him to tell a folk story, in my later visits, Mr. Jin stated that he tried to go back to Russia years later, but receiving the news of the birth of his son at the border made him return to China. The following is my translation of Mr. Jin’s personal experience narrative. Except from Mr. Jin’s occasional uses of Chinese, Japanese, and Russian words and phrases, Mr. Jin’s stories are narrated in Korean.
**Mr. Jin:** I originally lived in Gyeongsangbukdo Yongjugun Punggimyeon. My parents were poor, so I couldn't attend elementary school there. I spent my days gathering and chopping firewood until I was fifteen. Unable to support his six sons with his day to day labor alone, my father decided to immigrate to China. We came to a place called Najago. That was, really, March or April of 37 (referring to 1937).¹

**CF:** I see.

**Mr. Y. Jin (guide):** Where in Najago did you settle?

**Mr. Jin:** Byeongseonggo, Hubyeongseonggo. Byeongseonggo is divided into Jeonbyeongseonggo and Hubyeongseonggo. Jeonbyeongseonggo is the place where the Japanese came in and won the first battle, and Hubyeongseonggo is where the second battle occurred.

So, over there (referring to his hometown in China), really, at age fifteen, I graduated from elementary school!² After I graduated, I reached draft age. Eh, turned draft age. So I went to get a physical examination. So, I received a military physical exam, in Japanese its called *gogaku*. So, eh, I passed the exam, physically. So, I passed the exam, e, really, where did I receive training? A placed called Makseok in Gilim. So, I received a three-month period training at a place called Makseok. It was June 1945 when I finished the three-month training. So really, I received the physical exam and became enlisted. After the training, I ended up going to a place called “Hailar.” There is a place called Hailar in Inner Mongolia. Pass Hailar is Manjuri (Manzhouli in Chinese) and then is the border with the Soviet Union.

I went there as a gunner because I was in good health. Total of 48 people went. After about two months, the battle began. On August 9, military planes of the
Soviet Union crossed over and dropped bombs. Really, I experienced my first battle there. I spent the night there while being bombarded with chaotic gun shots and bombs. So, since we lack battle experiences, we just got enlisted, we were scared. The sound of gun shots, flares, or bomb explosions made us run here and there. It was just chaotic.

However, when things became momentarily quiet, then the commander would make us gather around. He said “you wretched men, even when you are running away, you are not doing it safely. You are just running all together, if the enemy sees you, we all will get killed.” But when you are scared, you can’t think (laugh). So, we spent the night there.

It turns out, because we were so close to the border, we were hearing explosions all over. The Japanese military couldn't hold its position. We were retreating to Daehangryeong (unclear exact location). A large amount of artillery was brought in and when the military was retreating, they were setting fires on them in order to avoid losing the ammunition to the enemy. The chaotic sounds were coming from the fires. We thought we were really fighting against the enemy. We were so scared. We ran around all over the place. So, we spent the day this way. Frankly speaking, we were really going to the battleground next day since we were gunners.

Everyone else was sent to Daehangryeong from Hailar before us. We had a few cars (unclear), so we rode in an automobile and headed toward Daehangryeong. Even on our way to Daehangryeong, we were being trained. Part of the military would hide and as we passed through, they would ambush us; then we would get off the car and pretend to fight. This is how we retreated.

Riding on an automobile only lasted one of two days. The cars were destroyed by bombs. We had to walk. Since everything was destroyed, we couldn't carry
much. (unclear) Enemy tanks were coming closer and without a car, walking, can you imagine how rushed we were?

At that time when we were receiving training, slight distraction brought you beatings. If you carried your gun improperly, or if you looked down, you got a good beating. During training, if you held the gun the wrong way, they would hit here and make the gun fall down, and then you would be beaten again and again. It was that strict during training. Once we entered the war zone, even (unclear), helmet becomes a bag. Running for my life I took it off and tossed it, in Japanese (unclear), the boots, this and that all went. Wearing jikatabi in Japanese was comfortable. We just carried some grenades and ran for our lives for about ten li. But running can’t beat tanks.

The Japanese military on the run would place ambush attacks on foothill sides and corners of hills to fight back. Without these sporadic counterattacks, we would all have been caught and slaughtered. So, while counter attacks were taking place, we would take a rest after running ten to twenty li, catching our breath, breathing heok heok. While resting, we picked up helmets that were thrown away by the Japanese military who had passed through the places before us, put boots on, and we picked up rifles too. Going through the same cycle many times, in seven days, that is, it should have taken only five days but hiding and counterattacking (laugh), resting to re-arm, so in a week, walking at night since we couldn't walk much during the day, we reached Daehangryeong.

Although Daehangryeong had lots of Japanese cedars, it also had lots of pine trees. That place also had big mountains. There was Daehangryeong and Sohangryeong. Do you know how many soldiers were there at Daehangryeong? 160,000 soldiers surrounded that area. So when we got there, a Japanese officer said “I lived in Daegu of Joseon for 19 years serving in the military. So I am very well aware of Joseon people’s personalities and characteristics, as if I were
one of you. Japan in its history has never lost in war. We are only temporarily retreating for military strategic reasons, but our military is attacking from Vladivostok, therefore do not be scared. Japan is the land of the spirits kamisama, it is impossible for us to lose! Do not be scared and fight!” He ordered us like that.

…it was August 15th, it rained that night. During that rainy night, the ammunition was about this big round (extending his arms to make a big circle), it reached my chest, it was a big gun. You can’t carry it alone. It took two people to carry it on their shoulders, it is only possible at that young age. If it was now, it would break my back and kill me (laughs). All day long I carried up the ammunition shells three times. The sun was already coming up.

So, the sun was rising so I rested for a while. Finally that time, the meal during that time, so-called nigirimeshi in Japanese, a rice ball, eh, one nigirimeshi was given. So I ate it. So that nigirimeshi, it was wrapped in Japanese nori seaweed. One per person. An apricot called anse, that apricot, in Japanese it is called hiroma, it looked like it was wrapped in the Japanese flag. White outside and red inside (laughs). It resembled the flag (Japanese flag). No side dishes, only that. (laughs). So after eating one, I was wet and exhausted from carrying three ammunition shells to the top of the high mountain all night long.

From the side, perhaps it was tanks where these big blasting sounds came from, kwang! kwang!. Forty-eight of us went, including my two closest friends. I was next to Karaomi and Kakoyama, three of us were there. “Hey, we will die (no matter what). We should find somewhere in the pine forest where no one can be seen to rest a bit.” So, during the battle, we went into the woods and laid down to rest. Until then, we slept through the battle. We slept. After sleeping, we went over to where we carried the ammunitions. The military was gone. All the guns were gone, so we searched everywhere.
We went down to this valley (*unclear*). Our military unit was there. They were setting up and making supper. It was potato noodles and some pork meat. We ate them up. After feeding us well, what they told us was that “right now the enemy is at our door, we must fight and destroy them. Everyone must prepare to give his life. Follow the “*Yamatotamashi*.” *Yamatotamashi* means the Japanese spirit. Afterwards, they made us stand in line with a bottle of beer (*pijiu*). “This is *saigono sake*, the last drink.” So they gave us a shot of *saigono sake* and then gave each person *onsino tabako*, the cigarette from the Japanese emperor.

And then, what was given to us was *shensajidai*, about this thick. Two *shensajidai* were given to me. This, really, when tank is about fifteen meters away, this has a string. You throw it on the road and as the tank moves on top, the tank pulls on the string and pulls the bomb under the tank. It was a tank bomb. If the tank was within fifteen meters, that is, five to six meters in sight, you place it here (chest), that *shensajidai*, so you run out and lie down and attach the string to the tank. As the string is pulled, the bomb explodes… (*unclear*). So, this way you destroy a tank, but then you have to die too. There was no way out (laugh). They trained us this way….

This way we were moving up the mountain. Whoever carried artillery shells would continue to carry them, whoever carried bullets carried bullets. Since we were in Mongolia, there were many camels; we had just passed Hailar in Inner Mongolia. Camels walk well in the desert, but in the hilly areas with weeds, roots, and stubs, they got stuck here and there. We kept on moving up carrying all the ammunition cases. The Japanese officers, with their sabers swinging, were in the front, and in the back were officers with pistols guarding us from running away. If anyone fell behind, or slid to the side, they would shoot that person right there. So no matter what, biting down on your tongue, you kept on going. When we reached the top, we found people who arrived there first.
digging a trench that was just big enough for a person to go in. From underneath, the sounds of tanks, *bung bung warang warang*, and automobile engines came. I thought we were going to die then.

The Japanese had shovels this big, and they worked really well. Tree roots under a certain size got chopped easily with that. It made digging very easy. We dug holes and hid inside. We did that to live. *(unclear)* The counter-offensive trenches were built in a way that they were under the ground. So when the enemy, without knowing they were there, would just go over them. Once the enemy had passed, then the soldiers in the trench would open fire from behind. So, going through all this and that, I drank that last cup of wine three times, but survived.

One day, some military men were fixing a car and started a small fire. They were making a lot of noise. They made us line up in front of the fire and gave us that saigono sake and two shensajidai. One shensajidai for throwing, and the other for short distances. I thought ‘yei ssi,’ darn it, no matter what, I am going to die. I should at least make a run for my life.’ So then I placed the tank bomb near a fire next to a jeep and pretended to go to the bathroom. About twenty meters away, people working on that jeep, not knowing I placed the tank bomb there, accidentally ran into it and it exploded…. So, I thought if I go back to that unit, my neck will not last after they investigate who placed that bomb there. I began walking without knowing which direction I was heading. I kept on going. I reached the foot of a mountain, there was a small stream running by. It was after daybreak.

Daehangryeong had a tunnel about ten *li* long *(unclear)*. Nineteen cars with white flags were driving into that tunnel. That was perhaps the Japanese on their way to surrender, but at that time not knowing the reason, I thought ‘ya-ah, very strange.’ I just thought it was very strange and left at that. I went over to the
tunnel (train tunnel). When I reached the front of the tunnel, it wasn’t just us. Others must have known, too.

_Ya-a_, over a hundred-thousand military refugees were there. It was so crowded, people couldn’t move at all. I was standing on the side of the railroad. Even the train couldn't move. It was covered with people, both inside and outside. _unclear_. Only way to move was to walk. _unclear_. Some people were riding on an automobile (truck?), so I tried to climb onto it. While I was trying to climb on the car, I heard some people speak in Korean. _Eoh eoh_, even in a situation like this I can find some Joseon people. So, “hey, hey, pull me up. Since you speak Korean, you must be a Joseon person.” So I climbed up and rode on it. There were three Joseon people. I overheard their talk. “Perhaps Japan is surrendering _unclear_. That is why this many people are gathering here instead of fighting.” They talked about such things. Hearing this talk, I threw away the _shensajidai_, including the short distance ones. I just kept five or six grenades and went to Daehangryeong Sobakgot. Russians were there already with their tanks. They blocked us from going any further. So, we were disarmed there….

So many military men, the rifles from the Japanese soldiers in the disarmament made over fifteen hills. And, and the grenades and bombs, these were disassembled just in case. I wasn't sure how many, but they formed a mountain. So, we were disarmed and spent a night there. In order to feed us, we were sent out to gather, since it was 15\textsuperscript{th} of August, any melons and watermelons we could find. But where could you find enough to feed us all? People who were behind couldn’t find anything. So, this way we somehow fed ourselves.

After the night, we were taken to a place called Jejehareubin (possibly referring to Qiqihar). Only in Jejehareubin could they hold 200,000 military men. That backward, tiny rural place (referring to Daehangryeong) couldn't hold that many people. So, we were told to grab whatever we could carry from storage. All
kinds of things were in there, but even if you are strong, there is a limit to your strength. So I took just one piece of what is called (unclear), a raingear called *amegaido*, and a pair of long boots. I rolled them together and placed them on my back. Jejehareubin was 90 *li* from there (unclear). Walking 10, 20, 30 *li* (unclear), in the beginning carrying the load wasn't too much to bear, but gradually the load became heavier. So people began throwing away inessential things. We were young soldiers, but many of the Japanese military men were in their 40’s and 50’s. They were busy keeping up with the rest even after they threw everything away. Arriving in Jejehareubin, 160,000 soldiers in one place, it was like being flooded with people. It sure was some scenery!

After placing us there, first for two or three days, they fed us this Russian bread that ran out quickly. Within four days, we were out of food. We were hungry but what could we have done? There were just too many people. The Japanese military, really, in order to feed horses made the Joseon people cut this *baraengyi* plants. Cut those plants and dried them, then put the dried ones into a mortar with some horse feed…. That can only last one or two days, so many people, how many meals could you have served with that? So that was gone, too. We were starving. Raw potatoes and zucchinis, so small, were brought into feed us but only couple pieces per person. (Potatoes and zucchinis) didn’t last too long. That was the first time I ever ate raw zucchini. Potatoes were boiled and served. The higher-ranking officers got big bowls of bigger potatoes whereas we the enlisted men were lucky to get three or four small potatoes. You could only endure a day or two. After a few days, I was starving but still alive. There wasn't too much you could do. So, I looked around to see if I could run away.

On that Jejehareubin field, military posts were in every direction and we were fenced in. You could see the big sun rising on the horizon. It looked so far away and endless. Until now (referring to serving in military), I never left home (family). I didn't have guts either. I couldn't figure out a way, but felt like I had
to run away. The three of us, we thought: ‘it might be safer to stay in, we could get killed so easily out there.’ So we stayed inside. Do you know what a Japanese officer said? Looking down on Joseon people, since we were looking everywhere for food, he said: “would you rather eat two meals of pure rice, or three meals of cooked millet?” He asked such question! We were starving. We didn’t care whether we ate rice or millet. So, we said we don't care if we would eat cooked millet until we could feel full. The Japanese military didn’t provide millet in their military rations. They would mix barley, never millet, or sorghum, only rice. Since we said we would even eat millet, he said “hantojino kusei ha shigataganai,” meaning the Joseon people cannot shake off their habits. Their customs cannot be improved. This way a few months passed, and the soldiers, out of hunger, were fighting over some potatoes skins left by the officers while washing the serving bowls.

Hunger seemed endless, and September 19, we were told we were going back home. We were put on a train. When I was getting on board, I saw the bottom of the train was lit with light bulbs, and each cart had a Soviet guard. Instead of getting out of there, the train headed north. We got on that train on September 19th. We arrived at this Russian place called (unclear), at the number 30 campsite on October 7, really. The railroad we took was double rail track, so trains going up took this rail, whereas trains coming down used the other track. Some days the train kept on going…. If it was a passenger train, it was possible to transport food but this was a cargo train. It traveled without stopping so didn’t have a way to distribute food. We just went without eating.

So, after 19 days, we were passing (unclear). Everywhere was full of pine trees. Among the pine trees, there was a large building. We were ordered to get off the train there. There were 2,600 men on that train. It snowed that day. When we were going in (to the campsite), Soviet madams, perhaps they have gained experience from immigrants before us, said “lucheuka” (romanized as ‘rtchka’).
and what else, “milala” (‘m’ilo’ in romanization). Milala means ‘soap’, lucheuka is ‘fountain pen’. They wanted to make exchanges. So if you had these things, you could exchange them for food. No matter what you give them, they would give you a loaf of bread (Jin referred to it as a “rice cake”) made out of potato.

Siberia had lots of potatoes. A bar of soap would get you a loaf of that bread, a fountain pen would get you a loaf of bread, and we continued our lives this way. But that can only last for so long. After exchanging everything, we started giving (unclear). They were on a one-to-one exchange basis. One bar of soap would get you a loaf of bread; a pair of long underwear would get you a loaf. Even a coat would only get you only a loaf of bread!

The three of us, Kakoyama and us, we were hungry and thirsty. We went into (unclear) things that were piled up there. They turned out to be dried, peeled fish. The three of us ate them up as much as we could. We were so thirsty we drank water until our stomachs became distended. We spent the night outside.

The others were fine, except I started having diarrhea. I went to the bathroom 19 times that night. In the morning I didn’t even have the strength to stand up. It turned out that I got dysentery, and bleeding too. The Japanese were really scared of dysentery. They isolated me from the others. The others were sharing blankets, but I was alone.

One could only behave like a human only when his world is at peace. When I am about to die there is no humanity, justice, morality, or manners. Only think about a way to survive. When I saw a baraengyi (a plant) I would put it in my mouth, find a potato…chewed on it before anyone could take it away. How then could anyone take care of some one who couldn’t take care of oneself? Lost all hope.

A person needs good friends. My friends and me, we swore to die together. We were closest among that 48 people (the gunners)... when we left, as an
emergency food, we received (in Japanese this type of work was called (unclear), today it is called mingong), after we spent three months working, a sock full of rice. We weren’t allowed to touch them without getting permission. Others somehow find a way to eat, but the sick ones couldn’t do anything to survive. Kakoyama and Karaomi secretly took one spoon full of rice out of socks and boiled it in a can to feed me. They squeezed the sock to cover up. When my rice sock seemed too obvious, being afraid of getting beaten, they would take some rice from their socks and fed me.

It was this way for a week (unclear)…. An order came down to send in sick people to a dormitory (inside of a building) first. My commander, Nomura, said, “The Soviet people are ordering sick people to go into the building. They give shots to the sick ones and kill them off. You won’t be able to go home. We have (unclear) soda. The Japanese had this black-colored anti-diarrhea medicine. Take this precious medicine and don’t go in.” Listening and thinking about it, his words did make some sense. However, I thought, “I am going through such hardship because I followed you. I cannot move my body on my own. I would rather get that shot and die than live this way. You think I would listen to you anymore?” I said, “I will go.” “Baka”, ‘imbecile’ in Japanese, “baka”. So, I was transferred. My two friends, supporting my arms, jik jik, dragged me to the hospital and placed me there. The “Dokttoreu” (‘doktor’ in Russian romanization), the doctor pulled out my tongue and looked at it. He said “urgent.” They made me lie down and gave me a shot. Lying there after the shot, ya-a, this is it! They are really killing people by giving them shots. (laughs) I am really going to die! These feelings were overcoming me. It must have been a full moon that night. When it became dark, in that pine forest, the moon came up. Looking out I saw among the many people who just came into the hospital like me, some must have died already. My eyes caught a few corpses being moved out on gurneys. I thought, ‘I am going to be just like that!’ I looked up at the moon, and suddenly thoughts of my hometown, my parents,
and my siblings came about. Without realizing... my pillow was soaked. I had a lot of tears back then.

(After a while) I thought “how strange!” Why am I not dying yet? The next morning, they gave me another shot and fed me some porridge. I thought, ‘If they wanted to kill me, they should just give me a shot. Why are they giving me medicine and feeding me porridge?’ So two, three days passed. I began to feel better. Within a week I could sit up all by myself. Because I didn’t have any other disease, only dysentery, my recovery was fast. I was out of the hospital in 15 days. After I got out, I went to take a bath. I took my top and pants off and placed them on the bathroom floor. Can you imagine what the pants of a person who suffered from dysentery look like? All were thrown away and I got new ones. I washed and changed.

After fifteen days or so, I was taken to a canning factory to work. Everyday 2,000 lambs and 2,000 cows were slaughtered there. A rail was on the ceiling turning this way. You place a lamb or a cow on the hook from the rail. Usually the lambs stopped crying. Everyone (Russians) working there were female. Each of the workers was assigned a specific duty. A person who drained blood from the necks of these animals only drained blood, one who was assigned to cut legs only cut legs. People worked on what they were assigned to do while the rail was turning. Once it (the animal on the hook) went around, then the canning process was done. Since we worked at a canning factory, we ate canned meat and lamb. After a while my body... (laughs). So recovering this way, one month went by.

One day we were told that people who were sick were being sent home first. So we, about 500 of us, got on a train. On that train, among the ill soldiers, an old high-ranking Japanese military officer was there. Heading eastbound, after six stops, we were so happy since we were going home; but when we got off the
train, where were we? It was Anahara (*possibly* Arkhara), a paper-mill (were you still in Russia?) Yes, still in Russia, only six stops. So I was taken to a paper mill. What did they make us do? We cut off the rotten parts of logs, (*unclear*), and then placed the logs on a saw machine. It then sliced logs. Each time a log was cut, you pour water on the saw….

Within five days of working there, the weather turned cold. It was winter already. The food they were giving us was neither porridge nor rice. It was just thick gruel. They gave us a slice of meat with that thick gruel. Being fed this you wouldn't die, but after a while, when I was going up the stairs, I had to support my legs with my hands. My hair turned yellow from malnutrition. When dividing food, the Japanese looked for the bucket with more food. We, the Joseon people, when we were given food, we just ate it up; but the Japanese added water and re-boiled it to make more….

One day it was really cold and I had to go to the bathroom. Because the amount of food we ate, going to the bathroom once a week was pretty fast. After taking care of my business, it was -70° C. I had to undo all my belts and knots and there were so many. Before I could tie two of them, my fingers were frozen and I couldn't get dressed. So, thinking all they could do was to kill me, I went into the boiler room. It was so cold outside steam came out when I opened the door to enter. I just wanted to warm up my hands, so I hid somewhere. A Russian madam took me over to the heater. Scared, I pleaded with her. “I will never come back here….” She said something, but I got out. But my hands were still frozen. Unable to tie my belts I decided to go back in. I thought ‘so what, if they kill me then let it be.’ I pretended to get some water. She looked at me and let me sit in front of the boiler. And then she tied my belts for me. From then on *Kkareseukki* (*romanized* as ‘Koreiskii’) just say *Kkareseukki*, meaning “I am a Joseon person”. Others weren’t allowed to go in there, but I was. So, whenever I felt too cold, I went in there. From that madam I learned
some words such as names of countries, mother, and father. I began to understand what she was talking about. One day she said “Kkareseukki”, she knows a Joseon person, a man, here. She said, “When lunch time siren goes off, you should come here to meet him.” Ya-a, however she said tomorrow lunchtime, yet three days passed and still no sign of this Joseon person. “Ye-i,” I said “Madam, you lied to me.” It turned out it was the October revolution memorial day. The locals rested but the prisoners worked. (Yes, it is October 10th) She said in Russian all theses, but I couldn't understand everything. So, after four days, she said, “Kkareseukki, that person coming over there holding an ax in his hand is that Kkareseukki Baba (father).” So, screaming “Abai” I ran toward him.6

A Russian guard (there were logs piled up in all directions there, and guards were hidden between these piles. I didn't know this fact then) thinking that I was trying to run away, placed me under arrest and made me kneel down at gun point. With all the commotion, the madam from the boiler room came out. “You tell him right now. When did I try to run? I only wanted to go meet Kkareseukki Baba, but got caught by this guard. With your words my life can be spared. Tell him quickly!” I was saying these words with foam in my mouth and begging for my life. Russian madams, they love to laugh. She was laughing without saying a word for me. I felt like I was going to hyperventilate, but that madam wasn't speaking at all. Laughing for a while, then she spoke few words. That guard said, “Kkareseukki, stand up and talk to that man (Kkareseukki Baba).” (Baba said) “You came with the Japanese?” “Yes, I came with the Japanese.” It turned out that this man came over to Vladivostok when he was 19. When we met he was 64, but his wife was only 29, so young. So I finally met him this way. He was a carpenter. That was why he was carrying an ax.

(Unclear) Sometimes he would bring some potatoes to feed me. Food was very hard to find. I was so happy to get any food (laugh). I, at least, peeled the skin
off the potatoes. While I peel the skin off, some one was, like a donkey, picking up the skin and eating them. It turned out to be that Japanese officer who asked me whether I would eat three meals of millet or one meal of white rice in Jejehareubin. “Hey, do you remember what you said in Jejehareubin?” “Shigatagai naindesuyo”, please for give me. But what could you have done? We were all in the same situation. I began learning the language from the Kkareseukki Baba. I began with the most necessary words. It must have been the madam or that Abai who spread the words (unclear). So, when Joseon people from nearby place passed by, they would call out, “hey, Kkareseukki!”

Sometimes madams would drop by to play. They kept on coming to play. Wa, I came to this land. In the Joseon custom, bragging about a woman reflects smallness; if I get involved in something, without knowing the language well, how could I survive? So, I didn't do anything. One day it was told that all the Joseon people were to take their belongings once dinner was finished, and get ready to move. There were 5 soldiers and 2 officers, total seven of us. Two officers were in their forties. We were between 21 and 22 years of age. A Russian officer told us we were being separated from the rest of the Japanese army. The Russians would give us plenty of food if we would work hard. We were so happy we saluted many times. That night, seven of us were given a small room to ourselves, and really, they gave us a lot of food. Eating like that for a while, my yellow hair on my body was disappearing! And then, we got cleaned. In the past, we only got just enough water for 500 people to drink, but now seven of us could drink and wash our faces. Once we washed off, we looked handsome. The Russians “that’s Kkareseukki, that one is also Kkareseukki.” They could tell by just looking at us.

We worked hard during the day. Since we were working well, the Russians removed all the Japanese officers and placed us in charge. Each one of us was in charge of 50 to 70 people. They told us “you are to manage these people.” Just
manage. And then all the Japanese officers went in and made us, the Joseon people, stand in front when we line up. The Russian madams instructed us to work since we understood the language. They would tell us to cut the logs into certain sizes, take what to where, load what to where, and so forth. Then we would tell the other prisoners. Before, when a work order was given, the Japanese would say “wakara naindayo”, in Japanese meaning “don’t understand” and pretended they didn’t understand what to do, but now we translated the work order into Japanese. They could no longer pretend. “Hai, hai” answering, they were working fine (laugh). Therefore the work output went up. Even the Japanese, looking at the situation, must have felt that they should form an alliance with the Joseon people. That is if they wanted to survive and go back home. They took fountain pens, razors, watches, etc. and gave them to us. Then we in turn, since we were under the Russian madams’ instruction, we gave these things to the madams as gifts. The Japanese wanting to be on our good side gave gifts. The Russians, receiving gifts from us thought the Joseon people were different from the Japanese. We were generous, hard working, strong bodied, and handsome. We were number one (thumbs up gesture)!

When we were in a resting area, these madams who were interested in the Joseon people came over and tried to play with us. (unclear) We told them, “When we came out of Vladivostok we were to work for three months and then go home. We cannot follow you and reveal all the secrets of the Japanese military. We are a part of the Japanese army, and some day we will be returned to Japan, to our homes in Joseon. We cannot cause any harm to others. We are all in the same situation….” We didn't harm any Japanese. We felt sorry for them.

The Russian madams came to us and wanted to have relations. They would come and sit right next to us, would give us cigarettes, even light them for us. Then the Japanese would ask us for cigarettes and a sip of wine. They put their hands out, but how could a few sips of wine and a few cigarettes be given to all
of them? Once in a while feeling bad for them, I would give them a cigarette, one guy would take it away, and then one cigarette would be passed around. That would only last so long. Ones who didn't get a turn would just sit there and drool. If there were really sad looking ones, I would ask the madam to give them cigarettes. When I asked, they did give cigarettes to the Japanese men. So, if people wanted cigarettes, they had to be on my good side (laugh). Some of them were the ones who used to hit us on our heads. They were high ranking officers.

The Russians, even their women were strong. They had strong arms. The Japanese were no match for them. If the Russian madams pushed and threw them, then they would just fall down. They could have done nothing. The Russian madams playing with us like that asked, “Joseon people are all nice but why don't you want to igerurai igerurai (‘igrai’ in Russian) with us?” But according to our Joseon customs, having such a relationship with a female acquaintance would be considered as disgraceful, shameful act. Therefore, every time they wanted to play, we would come up with excuses.

If they would bother us one place, we would go somewhere else to hide. One day they asked, “Why don’t you want to play with us?” I told them, “Your officers would scold us if we do.” But they would say, “It’s okay”. One time the captain, riding on a horse, came to inspect the camp. The madams reported what I said to him. The captain jumped off his horse and took the madam and me. Then he made us hold each other, and said “it’s okay” in Russian.

After that we didn't avoid them. If they wanted to play, we would let them. If they grabbed onto our arms, we would let them. If they wanted to wash our faces, then our faces would be washed. After a while, in the resting area, some madam would light cigarettes for us, some other ones would put on lotion, and some would ask us to look at their pretty faces, so we looked. When we had to
return to work, these madams would be on my arms. So when the Japanese saw
me like that, they would say, “taishitamon”, great, “taishitamon (great)”.

I became used to this way of life. Well, in a foreign land with no relatives, there
was no shame. At first I was scared, but afterwards became resourceful. When I
saw pretty madams, first it began with just a few kisses, but it became a habit.
When they wanted to kiss you, you couldn’t really avoid being kissed. When a
rooster wants to go on top of a hen, the hen puts her bottom up for the rooster. If
you would hold someone and ask for kiss (unclear). I asked myself “why is it
like this”? Very strange! So, we asked the madams once. “We are prisoners of
war. How can you be in love with us?” They answered that love has no borders.

And there were many Russian women. If they had pursuers then they thought of
themselves as having value. They would think, ‘I must be good looking since
people are interested in me.’ Women who didn’t have any pursuers would think
‘how ugly am I to have no one pursuing’ and would become really disappointed
(laugh). Therefore when we went to that canning factory, on our way back and
forth from work, kissing and hugging became just a part of normal daily routine.

So time passed…. Once I went to a textile factory, that factory was originally
operated by the Japanese. Many pretty women were working there, operating
knitting machines and sewing machine. One of the women who was there was a
girl named Anna. She said, “I came from Moscow to work here for 3 months.
Three years have passed but I don’t see a sign of my return home. I gave up on
the idea of going back to Moscow. I want to make this place my home. Do you
want to live with me? If you stay with me, you can get 800 rubles. One person
can live off of 400 rubles. You don't have to move a finger if you stay with me.
So, live with me!” “Okay, let's live together” “We can live together under one
condition. If you return home and your parents reject me because my blue eyes
and blonde hair, you have to make sure nothing happens to us.” “That is no
problem, but how can you go with us?” “Well, I can hide in the bathroom on the train during inspections.” (unclear) There were many similar incidents.

Once I went to this farm. There was a 16-year-old girl named Sue. I went there with two others. She asked me to promise her that the next time I would come, come alone. (unclear – for some reason he was unable to go and see her). She walked ten li to see me. The four years I spent living in Russia this way. I felt I was well taken care of and I felt like I belonged there.

In 1948, the months of November and December we were told that Joseon people were going home. All of us were gathered together. Out of 160,000 men there were 166 Joseon people; among them I found Karaomi and Kakoyama. I was so happy to see them alive. We exchanged our home addresses just in case some of us didn’t make it out alive. When the sick people were taken to other places, the healthy ones were taken to a forest to cut down trees. The Japanese punished the ones who didn’t obey them by withholding food. The harsh life made them so skinny and sick. After we were all gathered around, the Russians divided us into different groups. The First group included two other Joseon persons and the seven of us from the paper-mill. The second group had about thirty people. People in the second group were to stay at the camp and clean the area, cut firewood, and so on. People in the third group wore yellow markers and they were to stay back and rest. My two friends were in the third group and couldn’t go out to work. When we went out to work, we played with madams, got things to eat. If you stayed behind you would feel suffocating.

Sometimes we would switch, but even with their yellow eyes, they could tell the difference. They would tell you to get back in (laugh). They made us wash at least once a week, followed by lice inspections. If you had even one on you, you couldn’t go out to work. During that time there were many lice. In order to pay my friends back when I went out to work I would bring things back to them. The
food warehouse had canned food and rice. Their rice was very big. So in order to store food for many years, you had to lay them out. So, I worked there. Canned food was stored for many years too.

Once I worked greasing some shovels. While working we could play and sometimes open canned food to eat. We were allowed to open bagged food. The Russians were nice. They didn't care. Sometimes I would put things in side of my pants. If you got caught, you couldn’t bring things out, if not you could. I paid my friends back this way.

Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story”

Mr. Jin’s personal experience narrative was interrupted by CF when CF politely asked Mr. Jin to tell a story. Mr. Jin followed his personal narrative with the “Red Cross Story” that led to CF’s comment on how Mr. Jin not only tells this non-Chaoxianzu story at different events, but that it is always the first story Mr. Jin chooses to tell. CF’s comment raised important questions that, until that point, didn’t enter into my research. Mr. Jin heard the “Red Cross Story” in a Russian work camp from another Korean prisoner of war; and the story itself, without the foreign names of the characters, reflects the importance of education, family values, yearning for family and homeland that are all part of Chaoxianzu oral traditions. However, the “Red Cross Story” is not a Chaoxianzu story. Mr. Jin began the “Red Cross Story” when CF asked him to tell a folk story.

The following is the translated recording transcript of Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story”, as performed by Mr. Jin in 2001. This transcript was included in my M.A. thesis “A Performance Analysis of Chaoxianzu Oral Traditions in Yanbian, China.” During the performance of the story, Mr. Jin assumed the roles of “Narrator” and all the
characters. For the purpose of clarity, I have indicated the names of the characters who were “speaking,” including that of the “Narrator.” It is important to note that Mr. Jin, who was very calm and even humorous in telling his personal experience narrative, became quite emotional and burst into tears while performing the “Red Cross Story.”

**Narrator:** Before in old days, in a country called Italy (I-ta-li-a), there was a pier. On this pier, a Buddhist monk-- perhaps in the West, in Italy, Buddhist temples owned a lot of land-- was walking by. A Buddhist monk on his way to the temple from his session of begging passed through the pier in the evening. He spent a few days going back and forth. Each time his way back to the temple when the sun was about to set, he heard a six or seven year old child's sorrowful cry. Although the monk was curious to find the source of such a pitiful cry, he couldn’t stop to look for the child. One day, unable to bear it any longer, the monk went to talk to the crying child.

**Monk:** “Child, child. What is making you cry not just one day, but everyday at this time?”

**Narrator:** He asked. The child responded.

**Child:** “I am seven years old. My father left home before I was born, to a far away land in order to earn money. Other people who left with him are coming back. Other people are coming back and get reunited with their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters. They all get together to hug and dance. They celebrate in joy as if they are returning from a trip. People are returning. Only I for some reasons, as an only child, although seven years have passed, cannot be reunited with my father. I wait thinking maybe it is today he comes back, or maybe it will be tomorrow, I wait and wait all day, but only to return home with tears. Also my mother lonely and yearning for my father day after day, month after month,
finally went mad. She built a grass-hut and dug a big hole with a thatched door inside. She sits on a corner of the hole and laughs hysterically all day long. So, everyday on my way back home, I must beg for food in order for us to survive.”

**Monk:** “Oh, now I understand the reason behind your cries. I wish I could help you. I will give you some money for now. This should take care of you for today. Since I am not on my own, I need to discuss your situation with others at the temple to see if we can do anything for you and your mother. After I talk with others, I will let you know.”

**Narrator:** So the monk returned to the temple and informed others of the child’s story. The overseer of the temple, *laoban* asked to see the child in person. Next day, on his way back to the temple, the monk again heard the child’s cry. He went over to see him. The crying child was watching people who were returning to their own country being reunited with their sisters, fathers, mothers, and brothers. People and their families were holding hands and dancing in happiness. The monk took the child to see the *laoban* of the temple. The *laoban* reading the child’s face saw that this child looked bright with a good future, so the *laoban* decided to help him. He sent the monk to bring the child’s mother to the temple. When the monk arrived at the grass-hut, just like what the child described, the child’s mother was sitting on a corner of a hole, laughing and crying madly. The *laoban* at the temple arranged for the mother to spend her days resting, enjoying the serene scenery, and taking leisurely walks. As for the child, the *laoban* hired a teacher to educate him. Indeed men's intelligence is limitless. China’s Sanpa became a college student at age eleven. Very similar in this child’s case, this child was endlessly bright, teach him one, he knows two, teach him two, he knows four, teach him four, he knows six. The child was very intelligent. Within ten years, his teacher had nothing more to teach him. The child said,

**Child:** “Since I have finished my study and as an only child who has not seen his
own father face, I would like to go search for my own father and bring him back to my suffering mother.”

**Narrator:** The people at the temple thinking the child was still too young were very hesitant to let him leave. However, the child with his strong will and determination convinced the people that he must go and look for his father. Realizing how strong the child's wish was, the monks gathered some money for him. The child’s mother, living in a serene environment, breathing in clean air, looking at beautiful scenery for about ten years, regained her mental health. As a mother, it was unbearable to send her young son to a far away foreign place, but knowing her son’s will, she reluctantly agreed to let him go. The child said,

**Child:** “My father, since he left to work at a gold mine at that time,”

**Narrator:** The Child, guessing that America is one of the capitalist countries that demand the most gold.

**Child:** “...will first go to America to look for him.”

**Narrator:** His mother and the people at the temple agreed that America should be the first place to look. Before the child left, the laoban gave him a small cross (a pendant) on a necklace and said,

**Laoban:** “My brother and I built and managed this temple together until he decided to go abroad. He wanted to build his own temples to make money and also make a name for himself. When he left, he took an exact replica of the cross I am giving you. A man's fate is unknown. Perhaps someday this cross may help you on your journey.”

**Narrator:** So, the child took the cross and boarded a ship to leave for America.
While on the ship waiting for the ship to depart--the ship’s steam siren hadn’t gone off--looking down on the water, tears began dripping on the child’s face. At that moment, wung- wung-, the sound of steam siren went off. The ship - sureureuk- began moving away from the dock. As the ship pulled away, the child felt water drop on his nose. He looked up and saw a young girl with a face like a shaved chestnut, lips like cherries, a high nose, and crescent moon shaped eyebrows. Indeed she looked like a spring butterfly. She was a woman of matchless beauty, yet she was spitting on his face. Shocked and mad at the same time, clinching his two fists, he went up to the first class passenger deck. Usually commoners were not allowed on the first-class passenger deck; but being upset he pushed his way up and found the girl. He asked her,

**Child:** “Why are you spitting on me? What is your name?”

**Narrator:** She answered...

**Girl:** “I am Mary.”

**Child:** “How old are you?”

**Girl:** “Sixteen.” "So, what is your name?”

**Child:** “I am Gary, I am also sixteen.”

**Narrator:** So, two sixteen year olds met.

**Mary:** “So, why were you crying looking at the water?”

**Narrator:** Mary asked Gary. Gary explained his situation to Mary. Mary said to him...

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Mary: “Don’t be sad, even if the sky falls on you, there always is a way out. There is time for everything.”

Narrator: She continued,

Mary: “My father is the Foreign Minister of America. We are returning home after his business in Italy. If you travel with us, it will be safer. And instead of looking all over America on your own, place ads in the newspapers for your father. That will be faster and better. So be my friend and travel with us.”

Narrator: Ah, he met a good person. So, they played together on the ship. Since he had already studied a foreign language (referring to English), he had no problem conversing. The two (Mary and Gary) became very fond of each other. When the ship finally arrived in America, the news has already traveled there. Americans have cars and airplanes, but for very important guests, they use two-horse carriage. Even now they still do. So, they took him on a two-horse carriage and entered the home of the Foreign Minister. Wow, the front yard of the house was like a flower park. The back yard had a pond. Fully bloomed peonies surrounded the backyard pond, and gold fish were playing in the water. It was like entering a paradise. So, the first couple of days, enticed by it all, Gary and Mary played and played like a pair of butterflies flying here and there. Time quickly passed and already two months had gone by. There is an old saying that even the rotting of the handle on an ax is not seen, spending every day, eating well, and having fun playing, Gary forgot the reason for coming to America. One day, he said to himself,

Gary: “No one has responded to my newspaper ads! As a man, even if the newspaper can't find him, I should go and search for him on my own. I must find him.”
Narrator: Mary, unable to convince him otherwise, prepared food and some money, and sent him away with a heartfelt goodbye.

Narrator: So, Gary carrying his food and money, went over the mountain, crossed a river, and walked through a prairie, day after day without knowing where to go, he kept on going. One day, when the sun was about to set and the sky was becoming dark, in the distance came, -babababak-, galloping sound of a horse. It was followed by what sounded like more horses. Becoming frightened, Gary hid next to a big rock and kept his eyes open. A man was riding on the first horse, and behind him a group of men were chasing him while shooting at the first man. A bullet hit the first man on his arm and knocked him off of his horse. The first man’s horse, scared by the gunshots, ran away. Gary ran out and carried the man who got shot to a nearby cave. The men who were chasing the man searched the surrounding area, but when they heard the man’s horse running away, they went after the horse thinking that the man was still riding. After they left, Gary wrapped the man’s arm with a cloth and carried him about fifty sixty li until they reached a temple. It was midnight and all the gates at the temple were locked, but inside was still lit. He knocked and knocked on the door. It took some time and begging for a person to come out. Even then the person was very unwilling and hesitant to let them in. After they were taken in, Gary and the person cleaned up the man’s wound and fed him some gruel. At the daybreak, the wounded man regained consciousness and asked what had happened. Gary told him about everything from his childhood to the events leading up to carrying the wounded man to this temple. In his story, Gary mentioned his father’s name, his mother’s age and her name. After regaining consciousness and listening to Gary’s story, the wounded man was absolutely sure that Gary was his son! Gary is an only child, his son is about Gary’s age; Gary’s parents’ names are the same as his and his wife’s!
**Wounded man:** “Your name is Gary? I am your father!”

**Narrator:** (looking back) Gary’s father’s wish was to bring back money to his family, and since there were many gold mines on this side of America, he worked at a gold mine for ten years saving every penny. He was finally on his way back home when somehow the robbers found out and came after his money. --yiya eohwa dungdung nae sarang a ⁹-- dancing and turning-- Words could not describe the scene. So, the man at the temple looked at the cross on Gary’s neck, and realized that it belonged to his brother.

**Laoban's brother:** “So my brother raised you and took care of you. You are a precious guest who came this far away to America. Since it has been ten years since both your father and I left home, it is time for us to go back home. With the money we saved we will have a good life. Let’s go home.”

**Narrator:** The next day, they went to the home of the Foreign Minister. Now, having found his own father and the brother of his benefactor, Gary was extremely happy just thinking about reuniting his parents. He danced and played with Mary. Watching them play together, the Foreign Minister and the other two adults felt that these two were a match made in heaven. How can people who met so casually became deeply fond of each other and feel love for each other? How is it then possible to separate the two? Being a foreigner doesn’t mean being a guest forever. So, the adults decided to realize the match made in heaven. Since a wedding is not to be rushed, everyone agreed that Gary, his father, and the brother of the laoban should return home to reunite with their families. Once families are reunited, then they should all come back to America for Gary and Mary’s wedding. So, Gary and other two men aboard a ship and --buwung, the ship departed. About twenty days later, one afternoon when the sun was setting, the ship was nearing the pier where Gary used to cry as a child. Gary’s parents were about to be reunited in front of all the people from the
temple. All the dreams were about to come true, but like crows flying over and pears falling down, perhaps it was ill fate, the emergency siren on the ship went off. Without knowing what was going on, people in panic were rushing from one place to another. After a moment or two, the news of the ship running into a rock was announced. However, for some strange reason, the ship wasn’t sinking and everyone on board was saved. After the ship docked, the two men looked everywhere for Gary but couldn’t find him. Not long after the ship had arrived at the dock safely, the captain and the shipmates carried Gary’s body to the beach next to the pier.

**Captain:** “People, please listen. Our ship on its way here ran into a rock leaving a hole for water to gush in. Gary jumped in and blocked the hole with his body. He saved thousands of people on board.”

**Narrator:** When this news was announced, all the people cried. Yes, they had a memorial for Gary. So, this news traveled to the Foreign Minister’s home in America. Mary came to Italy right away. As soon as Mary got off the plane, she held Gary’s body. She cried and cried, poured out all her tears. Suddenly, she took some pills and killed her self. Since then, the cross became the “Red Cross”, the sign of the hospital. This is how the “Red Cross” came about.

Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story” indeed exhibits non-traditional Chaoxianzu characteristics, the use of Western names for the main characters and the story’s setting in Italy and America being the most obvious. However, the story also has familiar Chaoxianzu motifs such as Buddhist monks, temples, and a pervasive nostalgia for returning “home.” This story’s underlying themes and sentiments resonate closely with Mr. Jin’s personal experience narrative. Unfortunately, I did not have an opportunity to discuss the “Red Cross Story” with Mr. Jin in any meaningful detail, but by contextualizing the “Red
Cross Story” within Mr. Jin’s personal history, it is not difficult to understand Mr. Jin’s reason for always performing the story.

In separate personal interviews conducted in 2000 and 2001, Chaoxianzu scholars and folklorists Jin Dongxun, Huang Youfu, and Piao Changmo all provided an estimate that 80% of Chaoxianzu oral traditions share their origins with the oral traditions of the Korean peninsula, and 20% are uniquely Chaoxianzu. The shared oral traditions between the Chaoxianzu and those of the Korean peninsula, along with a shared language and cultural practices, validate the Chaoxianzu’s ethnic, cultural, and historical ties with the Korean peninsula as ethnic Koreans living in China. However, the existence of the uniquely Chaoxianzu oral traditions as part of multiethnic Chinese nation helped the Chaoxianzu legitimize their affiliation to China as distinctively different from the Koreans on the peninsula.

Chaoxianzu displays of “Korean-ness,” supported in part by the eighty percent of their oral tradition that have been preserved and recognized as Korean in Chinese context, is being marginalized and not recognized by South Koreans in the South Korean transnational context (Olivier 1984: C16, Seol and Skrentny 2009: 152-162). Ironically the shared oral traditions between Chaoxianzu and South Koreans, such as the bear woman myth and the stories of the Royal Inspector Bak (presented in the fourth chapter of this dissertation), help Chaoxianzu and South Koreans mutually recognize their shared descent and common culture as ethnically Korean. However, in reality, many cultural markers, behaviors, and uses of the Korean language can deny Chaoxianzu “full” membership and the associated benefits enjoyed by other overseas Koreans in the eyes of South Korean society (Seol and Skrentny 2009: 152-158). The category of
“uniquely Chaoxianzu oral traditions” is largely a political construct with fairly rigid criteria that excludes stories such as “Red Cross Story” from the category. The key issue is that both Korean origin and uniquely Chaoxianzu oral traditions categories have been delineated based on certain values and ideologies that serve the interests of the Chinese nation-state and Chaoxianzu as an ethnic group within China (Olivier 1984: C12). These stories defined the relationship between the state and the Chaoxianzu, and differentiated the Chaoxianzu from other Chinese ethnic groups (Davis 2001: 25-41, Mueggler 1995). Chaoxianzu oral traditions are one of the cultural markers that clearly confirm Chaoxianzu’s rights and status as the ethnic Koreans of China. However, collection and preservation projects defined boundaries in which certain narratives of both the Chaoxian people in Manchuria and the Chaoxianzu were silenced and excluded (Gim 2009). The excluded stories, such as Mr. Jin’s personal narrative and the “Red Cross Story,” are part of Chaoxian people of Manchuria and Chaoxianzu history that provides a more complete contextual background in understanding who the Chaoxianzu are.
Notes: Chapter Two

1. Mr. Jin used the word “really” numerous times throughout his performance. The word was part of Mr. Jin’s storytelling style.

2. Based on Mr. Jin’s command of Chinese and Japanese, it appeared that Mr. Jin has received a level of education above primary school level; whether self-taught or formally is unknown. Mr. Jin repeated the same answer when CF asked him about his educational background.

3. One *li* is approximately 400 meters.

4. *kwang! kwang!* is a Korean onomatopoeia for a loud noise, such as banging and explosions.

5. *Barangyi* is a type of plant called “finger grass.”

6. *Abai* is a Korean regional dialect word for “father” *Abeoji*.

7. Mr. Jin did not refer to any of his stories by titles. I use the title “Red Cross Story” for clarification and analytical purposes only.

8. *Laoban* is a Chinese word for “boss”.

9. *Yiya eohwa dungdung nae sarang a* is a descriptive phrase expressing one’s happiness. The phrase *nae sarang a* means “my love”.
Introduction

Chapter two introduced translated transcripts of Mr. Jin’s personal experience narrative and his unconventional “Red Cross Story,” stories that raise questions on what constitutes a Chaoxianzu story. The veteran Chaoxianzu folklorist (hereafter referred to as CF), who evaluated and subsequently deemed the “Red Cross Story” as a non-Chaoxianzu story, participated in numerous Chaoxianzu folklore collection projects that eventually helped shape the boundaries of Chaoxianzu oral traditions and their associated categories. In order to understand the essence of “Chaoxianzu stories,” this chapter examines the historical background of Chaoxianzu folklore collection projects and explores the stories that were “canonized” as Chaoxianzu stories (Kolbas 2001, Gullory 1993). The history of Chaoxianzu folklore collection projects is based on translated transcripts of my interviews with CF regarding the Chaoxianzu folklore collection projects that occurred before and after the Cultural Revolution. The history of Chinese folklore studies has been written in detail by scholars such as Duan Baolin, Zhong Jingwen, and Liu Yincheng. However in the Chaoxianzu case, I was only able to find a brief history of Chaoxianzu folklore studies in the prefaces of some folklore collections. Interestingly, in the response to my questions about Chaoxianzu folklore history and the folklorists who conducted the collection projects, CF stated that it is his
hope in his retirement to write a history of Chaoxianzu folklore studies and those who were involved in the collection projects. CF has been guiding my fieldwork in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture area since we met in 2000; we began our ethnographic collaboration in 2001. He himself has performed numerous stories, and has offered valuable explanations and insight on the stories performed by the storytellers we visited. I first asked the question on the history of Chaoxianzu folklore studies and his own experience in collection projects in 2001 after our visit to Mr. Jin’s home, but he didn’t offer a detailed explanation until 2004.

I began further inquiry into the collection and preservation efforts carried out by Chaoxianzu folklorists and collectors to examine what criteria and frameworks were used in the preservation process, especially after Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story” has been evaluated as non-Chaoxianzu story by the folklorist CF on January 28, 2001. The brief introductions included in the prefaces of various collections, although citing key participants and storytellers, didn’t provide a critical analysis on the political, ethnic, and personal motives behind the collection projects or the evaluative processes involved in the textualization of collected oral traditions. The stated goal of the Chaoxianzu collection projects prior to and after the Cultural Revolution was to preserve the ethnic Korean cultural heritage from older generation Chaoxianzu before they die.

**Official Classification of Chaoxianzu and Folklore Collection**

Thomas Mullaney states that the newly-founded People’s Republic of China’s recognition of nationalities through a nationality classification system was politically important for three reasons: (1) maintain the nation’s territorial integrity and resolve
historical inter-ethnic hostilities within the territories; (2) recognition of a multiethnic state in contrast to the Nationalist’s assimilationist, single-nativity policy; (3) provide a resolution to the approximately 400 different self-identified ethnic group categories that arose from the initial post-1949 census that asked respondents to write-in (freeform) their ethnic affiliation (Mullaney 2011: 3-4, 17). In contrast to southwest China, where self-classification became a problem for the central government, the ethnic people in north China were clearly distinct and differentiated from the majority Han (Ibid: 16). In the Chaoxianzu case, prior to being officially designated as Chaoxianzu, the Chaoxian people living in China were referred to as “Koryo people”, “Chaoxian people” and “Han (韓) people” (Jeong 1999: 22-23. As early as 1928 the Chinese communists, who recognized the strategically important role Manchuria’s Chaoxian people could play in Manchuria fighting against the Japanese and the Nationalists, included them as one of the minorities of China, and approved of their rights to self-determination (Heo 2003: 39, Jeong 1999:20-21). During the civil war between the Chinese Nationalists and Communists, the Nationalist policy rendered the Chaoxian people as “aliens” and stripped them of land rights in the areas under Nationalist-controlled jurisdictions in north China; whereas the communists guaranteed land rights to Manchuria’s Chaoxian people. A large number of Chaoxian people in north China joined the Communist’s fight against the Nationalists. Becoming a part of the multinational Chinese state as a newly-created “Chaoxianzu” ethnic group at the national level meant official recognition of, in their view, rightfully-deserved equal political and social rights as the Han Chinese. Although political self-governance never materialized, the Communist’s promise of self-
determination for the Chaoxianzu was partially fulfilled with the establishment of the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Autonomous Prefecture in 1952.

From the immediate post-1949 era to the Cultural Revolution, state-sanctioned Chaoxianzu folklore collecting had two symbolic meanings. First, after generations of oppression by different authorities throughout their history in Manchuria, Chaoxianzu folklore and culture was finally recognized by the state as something of value and worthy of preservation (Beijing Daxue Chaoxian Wenhua Yanjiusuo 1993: 5). Second, the collected Chaoxianzu works were given a place among China’s greater category of ethnic minority oral literatures, and a large portion of the stories that were collected reflected anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist, and class struggle motifs and themes that echoed the ideology of the newly-founded communist state.

This chapter presents an oral history, as told by CF, on Chaoxianzu folklore studies and collection projects. It is accompanied by selected stories from earlier publications to provide a historical context of Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection. The collected stories have built today’s Chaoxianzu folklore studies, and became a crucial part in preserving and representing the Chaoxianzu Korean ethnicity in China. Additionally, this chapter discusses how the early Chaoxianzu collection methodologies have shaped my own fieldwork experience.

Collected Works and Stories

The folklore collection movement in post-1949 can be divided into 4 periods (Zhong 2002). During the first period (1949 to 1957), the National Folk Literature and Art Research Association was established in Beijing in March 1950. In November 1950,
following the footsteps of the Geyao Yanjiuhui (literally meaning Folksong Research Association) of the May Fourth Movement and their weekly journal *Geyao* (Folksong), the association created the short-lived *Minjian Wenyi Jikan* (Folk Literature and Art Collection Journal) (Liu 2006:592). It lasted for only three issues, but the second issue published in 1951 included a special section on selected Chaoxian (Joseon) legends, folktales, folksongs, and proverbs (Zhongguo Minjian Wenyi Yanjiuhui 1951 Issue 2: 83-99). Written in Chinese, the legends and folktales of the Chaoxian section begins with a ginseng story, a translation of which is provided below:

In the past, in a small village far, far away, there lived an old farmer. One day the old farmer became gravely ill. He wanted to find some medicine to cure his illness, so he called his son and instructed him: “Son, go deep in the mountain and look for old ginseng roots. Don’t come back empty handed. My illness can only be cured by the ginseng.” His son was 20 years old. As soon as he heard his father’s instruction, he went into the mountain. He searched the mountain foothills, searched the mountainsides, climbed up to the mountain tops, search this mountain and that mountain. He searched everywhere, but couldn’t find ginseng. He took his father’s words to heart and circled around the mountains for 50 years until he found ginseng deep in a mountain within the Eastern “three provinces”. He was already 70 years old that time.

Now an old man, he returned to his hometown with the ginseng that his father asked him to find. But his father was already long gone, and the circumstances in his hometown had changed as well. His hometown was now ruled by the Japanese. Everyone in his hometown had worrisome looks on their faces, living a very harsh life, slaving away, never feeling full in their stomachs. At the same time everyone kept their lips closed because any misspoken words could get
them punished. In truth, they were oppressed to the point they no longer had the spirit to talk. Witnessing such circumstances, he was overwhelmed with sadness. Originally he was going to eat the ginseng himself to become younger and stronger, but he thought ‘what is the point of regaining youth? Now even the young people could go on living. If one doesn’t toil for the Japanese devil, then it is hard to eat three filling meals in a year. I would rather be old or die early.’ (不给日本鬼子拉去做苦工的，也是一年难得三餐饱。)

From then on he just kept the ginseng inside his pouch. During this period, something nobody expected took place. From far, far away in the north came Soviet Union troops. They were fighting to defeat the Japanese. All the Chaoxian people knew that the Soviet Union troops were there to help and aid them; therefore the Chaoxian people spared no effort in welcoming and assisting the Soviet troops. One day at dusk, a woman from the village went into the mountain to get some strawberries and found an injured Soviet officer. The villagers moved the injured officer to the best straw shed in the village and selected two of the best caregivers to look after him. That night everyone in the village was filled with concern, and no one slept.

The next day in the early morning, one of the caretakers said to the villagers, “Unless we have a special medicine, this person won’t get better!” At that moment, the old man carrying the ginseng came forward and said, “I am willing to give my precious ginseng to save him. This will definitely help him.” No one could believe the old man, but they let him try. The old man was allowed to care for him that night. He slowly fed the precious ginseng, which took 50 years to find, to the injured officer. In the morning, the injured Soviet officer was able to get up from bed (Zhongguo Minjian Wenyi Yanjiuhui 1951 Issue 2: 83-99).
This ginseng story was published after the Korean War had begun, and the ginseng motif is well-known in the “three northeast provinces” (Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning Provinces), especially around Changbai Mountain (Mt. Baekdo). It is recorded as a “...legend of the friendship between the Soviet Union and Chaoxian (Joseon) people” and was edited by A Qi, without giving the name of the storyteller (Ibid).

In July 1958 at the Quanguo Minjian Wenxue Gongzuozhe Daibiao Dahui (National Folklore Workers Congressional Meeting) the 16-point policies (quanmian souji, zhongdian zhengli, dali tuichang, jiaqiang yanjiu 全面搜集，重点整理，大力推广，加强研究) were developed as the base policy for the various folklore projects. During this time, the Chinese Folk Literature and Art Research Association proposed “Sanxuan Yishi (三选一史, three selections and one history)” as the goal of compilation for different ethnic nationalities (Duan 2006: 385). The selected categories of folklore were: folk tales, folk songs, proverbs, and the literary history of each group were given the priority.

The collection of folklore materials, especially that of folk songs, was encouraged by Mao Zedong, and led to the collection and publication of collections such as Zhongguo Difangxijicheng (literally translated as “Chinese regional play collection” 中国地方戏集成), Zhongguo Minjian Gequjicheng (“Chinese folk song collection” 中国民间歌曲集成), Gesaer Wangzhuan (King Gesar narrative 格萨尔王传),” etc (Ibid). The Chaoxianzu folklorist, “CF”, was a part of this folktale collection team in the Yanbian Area.
Doing Ethnography in Chaoxianzu Communities: An Oral History of Chaoxianzu Folklore Collection

My initial entry into the Chaoxianzu communities of Yanbian Prefecture began when I accompanied a Chaoxianzu professor at the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing who was guiding an ethnic Mongolian professor and her Chinese research assistant to Yanji City in 2000. The Mongolian professor and her assistant were interested in examining the spread of churches within the Yanbian Chaoxianzu communities. During this trip, I was introduced to a number of Chaoxianzu scholars and folklorists; among them was the veteran folklorist, “CF” (who eventually became my mentor and teacher, leading me on many folklore collection trips). After my introduction to CF, and literally entrusted under his guidance, I was told to come back to Yanbian during the winter, after the harvest season was finished. I returned to Yanbian during the winter as I was told and began my fieldwork under the guidance of CF.

After my arrival in Yanji City, I contacted CF and informed him of my arrival. Within days, I was called to visit him at his house to plan our fieldwork trips. He showed me numerous collections of Chaoxianzu oral traditions, and we discussed my fieldwork objectives in terms of the number of stories I required. Because at that time I didn’t understand the history behind Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection projects and movements, I explained that my goal wasn’t to write a folk story book, but rather be able to examine and analyze the process of Chaoxianzu storytelling performance. Whether he initially understood my goal, CF began contacting other members in the Chaoxianzu Folk Literature and Art Association (Chaoxianzu Minjian Wenyi Xiehui). Thus my initiation to collecting Chaoxianzu oral traditions began.
My first ethnographic experience occurred very suddenly with a phone call one evening, informing me that we would be going on a short trip to Tumen City very early the next morning. We took an early train to Tumen City and, per his suggestion, rode an open bicycle-pulled cart through the cold morning, eventually arriving at the office of one of the folk literature association members. From there, we were guided to the house of one of three storytellers. Our local contact provided a general introduction to the storytellers, and then CF introduced himself and me. CF briefly talked about our purpose of visiting them, and then told the first story himself, which led to everyone’s participation.

I was often called to visit CF’s home while I waited for my next fieldwork trip to be arranged. CF told many stories: the story of “Ong Seong Ra Ja,” “Nostalgia Hill” (Lee 2002: 29) and “Horse Hoof Mountain” (Lee 2002: 24-25) were among the stories he told. He would also often invite me to eat with him and his wife. It wasn’t until much later that he revealed that while I was listening to his stories and learning from him, he was testing and observing me to determine whether I would be able to conduct fieldwork in rural Chaoxianzu communities where only limited facilities and amenities are available. One of the tests, as he recalled, was after one of our meals-- he offered me water in an unclean bowl that he had just drunk from. During the spring and summer, his other tests included identifying different crops, such as young potato plants and barley shoots. Only once he felt confident of my abilities did we begin taking even longer trips.

Between my fieldwork trips, I visited CF often and began interviewing him. During one of my visits, I expressed my interest in the history behind the Chaoxianzu Folk Literature and Art Association and its folklore collection projects. The day
before my next visit, he had written down some of the important events and dates to talk about the Chaoxianzu folklore collection projects. The following is a partial transcript and translation of my exchange with CF on this topic. As CF indicated to me, some of the dates mentioned may not be entirely accurate. He had previously stated his desire to write a personal account on the formation and development of the Chaoxianzu Minjian Wenyi Xiehui, therefore I didn’t press him on questions he appeared uncomfortable answering. He began his testimonial narrative on the history of Chaoxianzu oral tradition by tying it to the Chaoxianzu immigrant history. The following transcript is his personal account of the history behind the Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection project. This interview took place in CF’s home on June 4, 2004. As student, CF aspired to be a writer, but he was called by his teacher to join the oral collection project, which he ended up doing for over forty years.

Peace Lee [hereafter referred to as Lee]: Could you tell me who were the key people involved in the folklore association and who came down from the central government?

Chaoxianzu Folklorist [hereafter referred to as CF]: Well then, I am just going start talking about it. If you have any questions, please ask, and if I get sidetracked, then just tell me so.

Lee: Yes.

CF: I thought about your questions (referring to previous questions on the collection of Chaoxianzu oral traditions and the formation of the Chaoxianzu Folklore Association prior to the Cultural Revolution), and I feel that I need to tie it to the immigrant history of Chaoxianzu. Well, the majority of Chaoxian
people came to China in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Of course, there are those who migrated earlier. It is very important to examine the social background. When the Qing government allowed people to come and develop the land, the Chaoxian people came. They lived in mud huts that were not built on the ground and had no walls. They built huts under the ground and lived in them. They didn’t have electricity. They would work all day long and at night what could they do? They didn’t have television or anything. So at night, they would gather around together and tell stories. I was about ten years old when we were liberated. I was at the age when people love to listen to stories. There was a person who told stories really well, so in the evening, we would all gather around his house to listen to his stories.

\textbf{Lee:} Liberation came in 1945? \textsuperscript{6}

\textbf{CF:} Yes, it was 1945, so it was before 1945. So I would listen to the old stories at that person’s home, and at night they would serve corn porridge to the kids when we were hungry. Some of us would stay at this storyteller’s home all night, and some of us would go home. So what I am telling you here is that in the past the folk stories were transmitted well. Lumbering and charcoal making in the past would provide very good conditions to share and transmit oral traditions. People from all different areas would gather and mutually give and take different stories to forget about their fatigue and harsh life.

Now I think about the past, what kind of stories the early settlers could have told other than the traditional stories they, what my teacher Jeong Gilwun called, the stories carried over in the gourd bowls from Joseon, and their migration experience stories.\textsuperscript{7} Looking back, stories such as “Nostalgia Hill,” it’s the one I told you about before, repaying someone’s kindness as in the story of crossing the Tumen River, or how one saved his wife from a group of bandits didn’t suddenly became available when we began our collection. Therefore, these
stories existed and were transmitted among the people long before we began to collect them, including the famous Crossing the River Song ("Wolgang Gok"). As a testament to the active oral literary scene, a Russian man, Mikhailovskii, collected the Chaoxian stories around Changbaishan (Baekdu Mountain) and published them.\(^8\) I just want to make a statement here that even before liberation our oral traditions were actively transmitted. Another evidence of the existence of the Chaoxian people’s oral traditions was a collection of stories called *A Chronicle of Changbai Mountain and River Post* (*Changbaishanjiang gangzhilüe* 長白山江崗志略) that included about 20 Chaoxian people’s oral stories by Liu Jianfeng who was a local official in Antu county.\(^9\)

**Lee:** Was this person a Chinese? Han Chinese?

**CF:** Yes, he was Han Chinese. He composed *A Chronicle of Changbai Mountain and River Post*, and I read it. There were 20 or so stories collected from Chaoxian people.

**Lee:** Back then the stories were told in Korean?

**CF:** I am not sure, but he probably didn’t speak Korean. The stories would have been told to him in Chinese. Anyways, prior to liberation, there were many old style schools and night schools here. Young children would gather around in the evening and taught the “Thousand Characters” and so on. There was a Joseon patriot named Yi Donghee who came to China and compiled textbooks that included fairy tales and folk stories to teach the children moral lessons. Therefore I believe it is only logical that any discussions about China’s Chaoxianzu oral traditions should include what I just talked about.

After liberation in August 15, 1945, separated from China proper, in the Yanbian area when the Japanese retreated, we were liberated. Since Yanbian already
became a base for the communist revolution, the Chinese Communist administration was quickly established. Now I will tell you the story of how Chaoxianzu Minjian Wenxue developed from that time on, for the next 17 years up until the Cultural Revolution. Is it okay for me to narrate this way?

Lee: Yes, it’s good.

CF: So now, although we were liberated, if I were to talk about the early period of oral traditions we need to talk about the early 1950s. In the 1950s, around 1954, the Arirang Journal and Yanbian Wenyi were founded. And then the Zhongguo Chaoxianzu newspaper, the Dongbei (Northeast) Chaoxianzu newspaper was founded. This was the predecessor of today’s Yanbian Daily. They changed the name to Yanbian Daily later. There were articles published through the newspaper and Wenyi that talked about the importance of folk literatures and how it should be valued and developed. This, I think, was the beginning. I think the reason for promoting the importance of folk literature was that folk literatures began to be viewed as an integral part of Chaoxianzu culture. China is different from elsewhere in that only when matters were decided at the governmental level can anything gain any currency. Therefore, such articles were published as early as the 1950s; and as a next step, the newspaper and the journal called for the submission of folk literary works. I think they ended up collecting 600 pieces. In the past, the folk stories were viewed as useless things that people told to pass the time; so, they didn’t have the concept of folk literatures as our valuable inheritance. So the government, through the articles published in the journal and newspapers, and through collection of folk stories, sought to reform the people’s view of folk literatures.

The Yanbian Writers’ Association (Yanbian Zuojia Xiehui) was established on August 15, 1956, and within this association, the Yanbian Folk Arts Committee (Yanbian Minjian Wenyi Weiyuanhui) was formed within the association. Jeong
Gilwun became the first chief of the association. He was originally a student studying in Japan, but he became interested in Chinese classical philosophies, so he came to Zhejiang China to study. During his studies in China, he came in contact with New Fourth Army (Xin Si Jun) and decided to join the military unit. So he gave up his study and became a soldier. He began his military career in China before liberation, he participated in China’s liberation war; and then when the Korean War broke out, he went to Joseon and fought in the war. He was fairly high ranked.

When the Korean War ended in 1952, he came to Yanbian. He could have become a high official in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous government, but he refused the position and expressed his interest in literature-- so he became the chief of the Yanbian Writers’ Association. So, being established in 1954, I wrote it down, it was 1956. It was established in 1954, and then in 1956 in Hunchun, the association held its first storytelling competition. This was in the history of Yanbian, and especially in the history of the folk literature and Folk Writers and Artists Association (Minjian Wenyijia Xiehui) was the first storytelling competition.

Why didn’t we go down to Hunchun and do fieldwork instead of collecting stories this way? Well, the conditions during that time didn’t permit fieldwork, but many good storytellers were living in Hunchun. Additionally the people who judged the competition were not folklore specialists. Gim Yeo Sam was a poet and so was Ji Seonwu, who returned to Joseon later. So for this storytelling competition, all the good storytellers gathered to compete, and the storytellers who caught the attention of the judges were Gim Gyu Chan, Bae Seon Nyeo -- who told “Baek Il Hong” -- Yang Jae Tae from Longjing County, and others who could tell a few stories.
A good number of stories were collected from the competition, and the famous “Baek Il Hong,” “Jin Dal Rae,” and “Strong Bachelor” were also collected from the competition. A prominent South Korean folklorist, Choe In Hak, stated that Bae Seon Nyoe’s story “Baek Il Hong” is not found in the Korean folklore repertoire at all.¹ Prior to the publication of “Baek Il Hong,” based on Bae Seon Nyoe’s storytelling, the “Fist Negotiation (Joo Meok Dam Pan)” edited by Jeong Gilwun was published. This was a story of a poor family living next to a rich aristocrat. The poor family had a pear tree near the wall between them and the rich man. A branch of the pear tree happened to lean over the wall. Instead of allowing the poor family to harvest the pears, the rich man claimed any pears hanging on his side of the wall as belonging to him. One day, the bright young son of the poor man put his fist through the rich man’s door, and when the rich man scolded him, the young child claimed that his hand now belongs to the aristocrat.

Gim Yongsik was a famous person who later was declared a rightist and was imprisoned but he wrote “Jangjeong and Joong” (literally strong young man and a monk). After the competition, folk literary works such as Jeong Gilwun’s “Strong Bachelor” and “Baek Il Hong” began to be published.

In my recollection it was 1958. In 1958, what happened was that the Minjian Yanjiuhui sponsored a training class. So those from all counties in Yanbian who were involved in oral literatures were gathered to be taught the definition of oral literature and so on. My teacher Jeong Gilwun lectured on how to collect, how to edit the collected works and so on. One of the people who participated in this training class was Li Longde (Yi Yongdeuk). He was only 19 years old. The majority of the trainees were young people. The Chinese Folklore Literature and Arts Research Association (Zhongguo Minjian Wenyi Yanjiuhui), back then it was called “yanjiuhui” (“research association”), not “xiehui” (“association”). The secretary of the Chinese Folklore Literature and Arts Research Association
was Mr. Lin Shan, and he was dispatched to Yanbian. He spoke and taught the training class as a representative of the central folklore research association. He also separated the Oral Literature Research Association (Minjian Wenyi Yanjiuhui) from the Writers’ Association (Zuojia Xiehui), and ever since then the Yanbian Folklore Research Association has been an independent entity. He stated that the Yanbian Folk Literature and Arts Research Association is the Chinese Folklore Research Association’s Yanbian branch, and gave recognition from the central association. There were a total of five folklore associations in all of China, including the central association, and we were one of the five. So, since then the Yanbian association has enjoyed central recognition. This was mentioned in a small communication written by a former vice-premier of the Chinese Folk Writers and Artists Association to the internal folk literatures and arts researchers. The Chinese Folk Literature and Arts Association, well the Writers’ Association, is an entirely all-civilian entity, whereas the folklore association is a half-governmental and half-civilian entity. So I want to state that it is clear that the Yanbian association was one of the earliest organizations in the country.

As an initial step, in 1958 the Yanbian association began with Yanbian University’s Korean department students. They organized Korean department students for fieldwork. I was studying at the university then and I was selected as one of the students. My teacher Jeong Gilwon said to me that I should set aside my interest in writing novels and follow him in this study. Back then it was me and Gim Cheolju, . We went to Wangqing, Antu, and all over Yanbian. There were two research groups. One was to collect folktales, and the other one was responsible for folksongs. We followed our teachers Jeong Gilwun and Gim Daesang to collect folktales. The music side was, back then, collected by Go Jaseok who was teaching at the Yanbian Arts School, and Jeong Jinok. They were famous in music circles. There was also Yi Singi who collected plays. So in 1958, we went around to collect. There was also Gim Taegap who graduated
from the Yanbian University Korean department and also those from the
Yanbian Arts School who collected folksongs by either inviting singers or going
out to the field to collect.

I think it was 1961, I remember it as being 1961. My teacher Jeong Gilwun
called for a meeting. The reason for the meeting was to pass on the message from
Ju Deokhae (Zhu Dehai) and also to announce that they would be dispatching
collection teams. Ju Deokhae, at that time, felt the urgency to collect the folk
literatures and arts. So the first message was, “Go out and collect [folk literatures
and arts] at the speed of the fire department going to put out fire.” The second
message was related to the central association’s 16-point policies. The 16-point
policies included collect in full scale (quanmian souji 全面搜集), collate focal
points (zhongdian zhengli 重点整理), vigorously transmit (dali puji 大力普及),
and strengthen the study (jiaqiang yanjiu 加强研究).

But Comrade Ju Deokhae didn’t say to observe these policies. He used his own
conventional words, saying: “Comrades, go out with a large sack and bring it
back fully-filled with folk literatures, regardless whether it’s good or bad.” So he
was telling us to collect in full-scale, regardless of good or bad. Bring them back
and then sort it out, good and bad ones, through “jigakjil”. Do you know jigakjil?
The scraps will get tossed out and only the seeds will fall; then collect the seeds
once they’re filtered.

It was decided there, for example, in collecting folktales, my teacher Jeong
Gilwun would lead the team as the head and then the rookies such as me, my
schoolmates from Yanbian University, Han Wungap from Longjing, Woo
Jeongseok, Gim Younghan, Gim Chungmuk from Dunhua, Yi Youngdeuk, and
so on joined the folktale team. And then the folksong collection team was led by
Yi Hwanghoon, and then Gwon Gyo...well it’s been a long time, so I forgot their
names. Anyways, so-and-so would be in charge of the dance collection. They
would collect dances such as Ganggang Soowolrae and so on. There was also a team for collecting folk arts, collected paintings, led by Yi Dongwuk. So this way an extensive collection team was organized and sent all over Yanbian, Heilongjiang, and Shenyang Manyeong areas.

I remember back then we had to carry our own blankets and walked any distance that could be reached on foot. For example, let’s say we are going to Wangqing. From Wangqing we would walk to a place called Jungpyeong, nearby Wangqing, and then from Jungpyeong, we would walk to Sorijachon. We mostly walked to collect. Once I was at a place called Hwaryong (Hualong) to collect from the people. Back then we carried a recorder that was huge. Only the younger generation could carry it. We would carry that thing and record folktales. But you know, sometimes while telling folktales people would sing folk songs. So we would replay what they just sang, and when we replayed a man began crying. He was from Pusan Gapsan. He said he was very moved by the fact that the society had improved so much that he could listen to the recording for free when in the past it would have cost him one mal (18 liters) of barley. People would prepare a feast with wild rabbits and pheasants to feed the collectors.

It was an extensive collection effort if we look at the pre-Cultural Revolution time period. As for the collected materials, we made written summaries of each collected story. For example, let’s say there was an old man in Wangqing Joongpyeon named Gim Jangryeong. He was originally from Gyeongsang Province before he came to China. So we made a record of all the names of the performers, their hometowns, the dates of migration, and the summaries of the stories performed. We made a list file. Do you know how long it was? It was 2400 pages long. After the collection inquiry was done, Jeong Gilwun, Gim Yeosam and I made folk literature data collection; we made “Collection 1” and “Collection 2”. We didn’t edit at all in these two data collections. We adhered to the performers’ original words, all 2400 pages of them. We stored these at my
teacher Jeong Gilwun’s home. The folksong collection, I think they collected about 500 songs, and published a book on anti-Japanese songs based on the 100 anti-Japanese songs that were collected.

My teacher Jeong Gilwun, before the Cultural Revolution, published a book called *Cheonji eu Malgeunmul (referring to the clear water of the Heaven Pool on top of Baekdu Mountain)*. This was the first independent individual folk literature collection in the Yanbian area. This collection had the stories centered around Baekdu Mountain Heavenly Pool such as the “Strong Bachelor,” “Bongseonhwa,” and so on. There was also a collection called *New Story Collection...* Unlike America, China has what’s called Xin Gushi Xuehui (“New Story Society / Academy”) that is within the Minjian Wenyijia Xuehui. This society studies the new stories transmitted among the people. These stories are newly formed. For example, there is a farm called Dawn Farm that was modeled after the former Soviet Union style farm. There might be a story of Chairman Mao visiting and so on. This is the kind of story that would be collected and published through Xin Gushi Xuehui. After the data collections came out, a new story book was also published. There were a lot of materials we collected.

The period between 1958 and 1966 saw rapid nationwide development and expansion of folklore collection, especially with the establishment of special agencies, as illustrated by CF’s account above. The collection emphasis was given on the new stories (Zhong 2002: 834-835). According to CF:

**CF:** While following our teachers around collecting materials, we were just rookies, our teacher Jeong Gilwun and others were very skilled. Traveling around we would go see the elders, and Jeong Gilwun would say “I didn’t come
here alone. I brought our treasures [referring to the younger generation Chaoxianzu] with me. Our treasures will first give the elders a bow.”

So we would pay our respect to the elders first, and then my teacher Jeong Gilwun would sit down and tell a story. This would be followed by the elders’ stories. In storytelling you have to give and take, and even the farmers living in the rural areas would hesitate to think whether their stories would fit into the political ideology and generation of that time. So my teacher would on certain occasions tell vulgar stories as well. Seeing a researcher tell such story, the people would open up and tell all the stories they know. So by liberating their ideology, we collected many stories.

By 1962 our oral tradition collection project reached its height, but the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) started. First to get hit by the Cultural Revolution was the folk literatures. These old stories were thought of as “evil spirits”. So Jeong Gilwun, Gim Yeosam, and even I were persecuted. We had these signs hanging and were paraded on the street since the Minjian Wenyijia Yanjiuhui was designated as the base for the “evil spirits.”

Oh, I forgot to tell you one thing. In 1958 there was a commendation for elders who could tell stories well. A storyteller names Han Byeonryul from Hwaryeong was recognized during that commendation. He was an educated person. I went to see him with my teacher Jeong Gilwun. I believe he was 86 years old then, but he was still wearing a Gamtu to mourn his father’s death. He said, “I thought these stories were useless and valueless things, but now you teachers tell me how they are valuable cultural inheritance, I will tell you all the stories I know.” So we heard many stories from him. Back then we thought if we spent too much time in one place, we will miss out on other opportunities so we decided to _____.

There was a man named Jo Seongju who sang songs mainly from the northwestern part of Korea like Baebaengyi Gut that is well known in Joseon
literature. He sang for 90 minutes. This data is still available. People like Han and Jo were given recognition.

When the Cultural Revolution began, we all became “evil spirits.” Jeong Gilwun and Gim Yeosam were “sent down,” but I was able to remain at the television station. The focal point of this struggle was to criticize the “blood” or “pedigree” view. What is this pedigree view? Ju Deokhae and other Chaoxianzu are the same people as the Joseon people; so these Chaoxianzu were “traitors” who aimed to sell-out the country; and the folklore studies was leading this selling-out of the country. Within this pedigree criticism, Jeong Gilwun’s “Cheonji eu Malgeunmul” which talked about pouring water from the Heavenly Pool to make the Duman (Tumen) River in the east, Aprok (Yalu) River in the west, and Songhwa (Songhua) River in the back, but instead this story was viewed as selling Baekdu Mountain to Joseon.

Next to get persecuted was Gim Yeosam. His “Yeoldu Samcheonribeol” became a target. At that time, Wu Jeongseok from Yongjeong (Longjing in Chinese) edited a book called “Geunom do Geunom” (literally, “that rogue is that rogue”). Wu’s story is a simple one...

A man who prepared for the civil service exam in the old days went to take the exam. His knowledge and skills were more than enough to pass the examination; but at the end it turned out that he didn’t pass, and those who weren’t really able to pass did indeed pass by bribing the examiner. On his way back home, he passed through a mountain and saw a tiger. The tiger is the king of the mountains, so it could kill all creatures. Even here, the man witnessed that those who offered bribes to the tiger got to live and those who didn’t were eaten. So, the meaning is that the civil service examiner is the same as the tiger, that one rogue is same as that rogue.
Wu was accused of satirically comparing Chairman Mao to the tiger, and was accused of violating _____ law. He was imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution period. Today it sounds funny. A story that has nothing to do with politics.…. 

Wu Jeongseok’s “Geunom do Geunom (meaning that rogue is same as that rogue)” was included in the collection *Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji* (Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji 1978: 405-406). The following is a translation of “Geunom do Geunom” (in Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji 1978: 405-406):

This took place far distance in the past. One poor scholar went to the capital to take the civil service exam, but because he didn’t have any bribery money, he failed the test and was on his way back carrying his knapsack trudging by a mountain. He hears boisterous laughter in the mountain, so he went up to take a look.

On top of a bluish satin mat sat an old toothless tiger on his front legs. A crane carrying a frog in its beak with its neck stretched out tipped toed on its bean-sprout-like thin legs to feed the tiger. The old tiger being happy to be fed meat was letting out a hearty laugh.

At that moment, all kinds of birds in the mountain started to compete in entertaining the old tiger by singing. A magpie sitting elegantly on a tree branch “*Gga gga gga, gga gga gga*” began singing, and a golden nightingale sitting on a weeping willow took its turn, singing: “*Ggoe gol ggeo gol.*” Resonating like a pearl rolling on a jade plate, all the birds joined in and danced, swinging here and there with the chirping rhythm.
Next was the crane’s turn. The crane, behaving arrogantly, drank a sip of water from the stream, and stretching its neck could barely “Ggi ook, ggi ook” sang a song.

When all the singing was done, the old tiger, acting as the judge, said that although the nightingale’s singing was good, it was too feeble. Therefore the award should go to the crane. And with a dry cough, he got up and left. All the birds upon listening to the verdict went, “goo, goo, goo, jae, jae, jae (chirping)” and laughed.

The poor scholar watching this unfair decision and remembering the unjust world said, “That rogue is same as that rogue”, and with a sigh continued on with his journey.

This story is also included in the ten-volume collection of Hwang Guyeon, as a story performed by Hwang. The two versions, the above recorded version based on Wu’s recollection of the story prior to the Cultural Revolution and Hwang’s version collected almost 20 years later, share remarkable similarities, with only minor differences in sentence structure and word choice. Possible explanations are that since the storyteller’s name is not recorded in Wu’s edition of the story, this story was well-known in Longjing (where both Wu and Hwang lived). Another explanation is that the earlier written version of the story was told to Hwang by one of the collectors, and then Hwang repeated the story back, which is consistent with the custom to “give and take” stories in Chaoxianzu storytelling performance tradition. CF acknowledges Hwang’s ability to remember and repeat previously told stories with his own innovations. However, it is a common practice to reprint stories that the Chaoxianzu oral tradition collectors and
folklorists find significant in representing the Chaoxianzu quality, in other words having “worthiness”. CF continues his account of past continues with the destruction of Chaoxianzu folklore collections.

**CF:** Like the Emperor Jinshi burning all the books, they burned the two data collections, so we don’t have any record of them now. And the 2400 data files were taken to the top of the Yanbian Daily building and set on fire, so all of them went up in smoke. Jeong Gilwun protected the materials he wanted to publish by wrapping them in oil and burying them, so when the revolution ended, he could dig them out to be published. That’s how we have “Baek Il Hong.” Setting aside the hardship the collectors endured in collecting these materials, all the stories and songs collected and edited became ashes and smoke.

When the Gang of Four was brought down, many of us declared that we would never touch folk literatures again. However, the Gang of Four was gone and as our lives returned to normal, we started to participate in the project again. The most urgent mission was recovering the collected materials since the 2400 stories and folksongs were all gone. So we were divided into two teams. One team took on the fieldwork collection responsibility. Once again led by Jeong Gilwun and others, they went first to nearby places to collect the stories from the previous storytellers before it was too late. The other team was composed of those who participated in the collection project prior to the Cultural Revolution, and were called to gather at the Yanbian People’s Publisher. Yi Yongdeuk, Gim Changmook, and all others gathered. We were told to edit the stories based on our memory from the collection project prior to the Cultural Revolution to at least be able to publish a book. So we were able to publish the “Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji (Collection of Yanbian Folk Literature).” Gim Yongsik, Gim Jaegwon, Gim Yonggap, Jeong Gilwun, Gim Yeosam, and others all divided the work and edited all the materials we remembered. My teacher, Jeong Gilwun, dug out the
materials he buried and published them under the title “Baek Il Hong.” So in one way we were able to salvage things. Another way we tried to recover was by holding a folksong contest.

Lee: Where did it take place? In Yanji?

CF: It was April of 1979. Fortunately, Sin Okhwa and Bak Changyeol were alive. They were good singers. Basically most of them were still alive. Sin Cheol, Gang Seongi, Jo Samyong, Yi Hyeongyu, Wu Jaegap, and so on, about ten of them came. I am not sure ____ , but I don’t think I am very wrong on the names. We would take some liquor to them at night, and during the day we asked them to sing. We were able to collect _____, we published 3 books….

In 1979, the Yanbian Minjian Wenyijia Xiehui was restored, and once again as urgent as “fire department going out to extinguish a fire,” the association and its members began the recovery project. The recovery of the lost folk materials from the destructive force of the Cultural Revolution utilized three methods. First was sending out teams to areas to discover storytellers and folksong singers and record them. The second method was to rely on the each county’s culture center to send their representative folk performers. The third method was through the network of all the Minjian Wenyijia Xiehui, surveying their local area for any storytellers and folksong singers. In an avaricious attempt to collect as many lost folktales as possible, the association invited about 30 elders who were known for their storytelling from the three northeastern provinces, situated them in a large room in rows, each of them with numbers, and asked them to tell stories. Conflicts arose between storytellers due to the different length of stories each person told, and also between the storytellers with different educational backgrounds. However, much of the conflicts and tense moments between the 30 storytellers were resolved through jokes and vulgar stories told by each other. From this collection project, 668 stories were collected.
CF confessed that the hardest part about collecting stories and folksongs is drinking with the storytellers and hosts. If a folklorist didn’t drink with the storytellers or with the local people participating in the performance, they refused to participate. Therefore, in his attempt to stay sober and finish his project, when the folklorist and his partner(s) visited different storytellers, the collectors would take turns in drinking with the storyteller or the local people gathered at the scene.

In 1983, *Jin Deshun Gushiji* (Collected Stories of Jin Deshun) was published by the Shanghai Wenyi Publisher. The significance of this work was that not only was it the first folktale collection of an individual among the 56 nationalities in China, but it was also a Chaoxianzu woman’s story collection. Jin Deshun (Gim Deoksun) was originally from Gyeongsang Province in Korea, lived in Heilongjiang China, and then moved to Shenyang where her stories were collected, edited, and translated into Chinese by Bae Yongjin (Pei Yongzhen in Chinese).

CF wanted to visit Jin Deshun (Gim Deoksoon), but their request to meet with her was refused. The reason for denial may be explained by the following. During 1983, in the Liaoning provincial capital of Shenyang, a Chaoxianzu storyteller with a repertoire containing approximately 150 stories was discovered. This discovery of a Chaoxianzu storyteller with such a large repertoire in Shenyang (outside of Chaoxianzu cultural and historical center of the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Prefecture) led to the search for storytellers with comparably sized, or even larger, repertoires living within the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Autonomous Area. Based on CF’s testimony, it was imperative for the Yanbian folklore association to find a storyteller who could represent the Chaoxianzu oral tradition from the Yanbian area. This search led to the discovery of Hwang Guyeon,
who later became known as a “storytelling king.” Hwang was known for his particularly high ability to remember all the stories told to him by the collectors, whereupon he would retell the stories back to the collectors upon later revisits. He would point out how the story was originally told to him and then would inform them if any parts were changed. Hwang Guyeon, according CF, never told the same story twice. It is also important to understand that the goal of the post-Cultural Revolution collection movement was to collect as many folklore materials as possible to compile and to recover the lost materials.

In 1983 and 1985, the Yanbian Folk Writers and Artists Association (Yanbian Minjian Wenyijia Xiehui) was able to publish its third and fourth material collections. The first and second collections, although lost in the Cultural Revolution, were not replaced by the newly-collected materials. In 1997 the Yanbian Folk Writers and Artists Association once again held a storytelling competition, though this competition did not result in a published collection. The majority of the storytellers I visited with CF and the local Chaoxianzu folklorists have been discovered through their participation in this event.

The post-Cultural Revolution period is referred to as a “recovery period” by Zhong Jingwen. From 1977 to 1980, previously persecuted folklorists regained the motivation to restart collection and publication of folklore materials (Zhong 2002). During this period, there were two types of collections: folklore materials collected and published by individuals, and compilations of folklore materials collected by groups of folklorists. According to Zhong, in doing fieldwork there were “three kinds of sharing” “三同” \( (santong) \): 同吃 (eat together), 同住 (live together), 同劳动 (labor together).
With the addition of 同娱乐 (recreate together), there existed “four kinds of sharing”, or 四同 (sitong) (Zhong 2002: 837).

This method of fieldwork is still being practiced today in Chaoxianzu communities. CF led me on fieldwork experiences that followed this method of sharing meals, living quarters, labors, and entertainment within the Chaoxianzu communities we visited. He cautioned me at the beginning of my fieldwork that one thing any collector must avoid is placing any burdens on the storytellers or the local communities. For example, it is crucial to avoid any holidays or agriculturally busy times of the year. It is best, in CF’s view, to carry out fieldwork in the late fall or during winter after the harvest. Additionally, because those storytellers who participated in the 1997 Yanbian storytelling competition were living in rural areas where only limited and or no facilities are available, we must share their food, share their rooms, and help-out with their daily chores. On occasions where the local storyteller couldn’t provide lodging, CF arranged for me to stay at a local Yanbian Wenyijia Xiehui member’s home and commute to the storyteller’s home.

Three types of collection methods were also encouraged in the post Cultural Revolution period: inviting the storyteller or singer; collecting while living and working side by side with the performer; and through hosting a mass program such as the storytelling competition mentioned by CF (Ibid). The third type of collection method requires planning and funding at the governmental or corporate agency level, so although it is a good method to discover new storytellers and singers and collect a large number of folklore materials, it is not often carried out.
On recording stories, Zhong Jingwen recalled that if there were two or more collectors working together, the tasks of recording and interviewing were divided between the collectors, especially in the absence any recording equipment (Ibid). It was clear in my fieldwork experience in the Chaoxianzu communities that there exists age and gender based hierarchical roles among fieldworkers. Although CF explained that he was assisting me in learning about Chaoxianzu stories, I was clearly the student led by the teacher, very much similar to how the veteran CF was taught by his own teacher. On each visit, he would start by expressing his gratitude to everyone involved providing accommodations and then would introduce me with an explanation of the importance of the future generation learning from the older generation. He often began telling a story himself to incite the storytellers to open up, similar to how his teacher initiated the storytelling performance in the past. In the past, a Chaoxianzu storytelling performance would normally involve multiple performers who would “give” and “take,” but since it was difficult to do so in modern times due to other entertainment options, CF gave a disclaimer while apologizing for his lack of skill in telling stories that he would have to perform the role of an assistant in storytelling to provide a break.

After CF’s recounting of the history and people involved in the Yanbian Minjian Wenyijia Xiehui, he ended his account of the past collection history with his final thoughts. In his view, collecting and editing folk materials should be accompanied by theoretical analysis of the collected works. He feels that it is crucial for the Minjian Wenyijia Xiehui to strengthen its theoretical knowledge among its members to be able to participate on the international stage to exchange knowledge. There were occasions where the association worked jointly with various South Korean organizations and
universities, but Chaoxianzu folklore scholarship, he feels, needs to find its own independent methodology and scholarship for their own folklore.\textsuperscript{13} CF’s words on the issue resonate with those of the late Zhong Jingwen, the most prominent Chinese folklorist. Zhong Jingwen, and CF, both believed that there existed overt literacizing and politicizing tendencies in collection practices within China. CF believes these tendencies continue in the case of Chaoxianzu story collection. In the Chaoxianzu case, for example, the same story published in different collections share such near word-for-word similarities that it is not clear whether the story was collected as a group effort. The lack of information on the storytellers as a part of the collection work adds difficulty in the textualization process (Honko 1998). Additionally, there also exists an imbalance between the research and collection in the field of Chinese, especially in Chaoxianzu folklore (Zhong 2002). The Chaoxianzu have a very extensive list of the published collection works, especially since the recovery period and after, but in comparison to the number of collections and published folk stories and songs, the analytical research of these stories appears slow in catching up with the collected materials. CF admits that in comparison with the folklore projects and studies occurring in Yunnan Province and at Yunnan Nationality University, the Yanbian area and Yanbian University are behind in their research and are also lacking in stature on both the national and international stages.

**Post Cultural Revolution Chaoxianzu Folk Literary Collection Works**

The downfall of the Gang of Four signaled a new era that restarted the previously prohibited collection and publication of ethnic folk literatures. The destruction of the previously collected 2400 pieces of folktales and the data collections to the compilation
of the four “Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji (Collection of Yanbian Folk Literatures)” that rose from the memories of the collectors.

Published under the heading *Junghwa Inmingonghwaguk Changgeon 30*

*Junyeonginyeom: Yeonbyeon Mingan Munhakjip* (중화인민공화국 창건 30 주년기념: 연변민간문학집; in Chinese Pinyin: Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Chuangjian 30 Zhounianjinian: Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji) [“Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the People’s Republic of China”], sixty-nine folktale pieces were re-collected and edited by a group of twelve collectors. This collection included the tales of “Baek Il Hong,” “Strong Bachelor,” and “Bong Seon Hwa” that were wrapped in oil and buried underground for safe-keeping during the Cultural Revolution, as stated by CF. Each story in the collection is headed by its title and the name of the editor, even when the storyteller’s name is well known. The tale of “Baek Il Hong” (literally meaning “one hundred days of being crimson,” referring to red Zinnia flowers) which, according Choi In-Hak, a prominent South Korean scholar at Inha University, is only found in the Chaoxianzu repertoire, begins with the explanation of the name:

번천하에 철철이 철파라 피는 꽃은 모두 며칠동안만 피건만 여름부터
찬바람이 불 때까지 장둔대가장자리에서 백일동안이나 피는 꽃이다 있으니
우리 조선족 인민들은 그 꽃을 일리 “백일홍”이라 부른다.

**Translation:** Under the sky, all the flowers that bloom from season to season only lasts for a few days; but from the hot summer until the cold wind, planted near the crock pots with spices and sauces, there is a flower that lasts for 100 days. We Chaoxianzu people call this flower “One Hundred Days of Crimson.”
The story continues with the question of why Chaoxianzu people plant Red Zinnia near their ceramic spice and sauce pots. The reason is not due to the flower’s beauty, but because where Zinnia are planted, one would not find any poisonous snakes. A translation of this story is provided below:

Long, long ago in the old days, before the time there were any Baek Il Hong on this land, there was a fishing village on the coast of the bright blue Eastern seashore. In a house on the east of the village, there lived a strong bachelor steersman; and on the west side lived a kind-hearted, talented beauty. These two grew up together on a boat and became closer as they grew. One day standing on the bow of the boat, they promised, like the deep sea water, to grow old together.

Since that day, the beauty counted the days with her hands for the day they could be united as a couple, and began preparing for her dowry; the bachelor happily went to sea carrying the stars on his back, and returned home carrying the moon on his head, working with all his might.

_Eogi Yeocha Eogi Yeocha_
Fishing boat is going off
The boundless expanse of water, wading away
Fishing boat is going off

_Eogi Yeocha Eogi Yeocha_
Make a good haul
All the people in our fishing village
Let them fare well.

One day, the bachelor with his fellow fishermen singing the fisherman’s song went out to sea. Searching for a school of fish, they waded through the boundless
waves, crossed twelve seas and arrived at a sea full of fish. The fishermen, full of glee, were about to cast their nets. Suddenly, a gale started to blow and the sea water twisted up tens of gil (one gil equals the height of an adult) into the sky. The fishermen looked in the sea to figure out what was going on, and they saw a three-headed serpent in the water that was chasing the fish away. The serpent was causing a violent storm that could wreck the ship. The fishermen barely returned home alive, let alone caught any fish. The men came back alive, but their future appeared bleak since the appearance of the heinous serpent, the fishermen could no longer freely go out to the sea to fish. Their living conditions deteriorated, and the days were accompanied by long sighs from the adults and hungry cries of the young children. The fishermen couldn’t ignore situation, but they couldn’t think of any way to resolve their plight.

In the bleakest moment, the bachelor rose and called to unite all their strength to fight against the serpent. All the young men from the village followed his lead and decided to fight for their lives. The skilled metal smiths pounded-out shiny swords and axes; the carpenters fortified the ship. The wives and young women stitched up clothes for the fighters and loaded the ship with dried food.

The day they were setting out to sea, all the villagers came out to send off the fighters and wish them a victorious return. The beauty of the west side house entreated her lover ten times, twenty times, to be careful. Fully knowing he was setting out to the sea to fight the serpent to the death, he reminded the beauty of the importance of the fight and then gave her a mirror. He said, “If you can see a white sail through the mirror, then I am well. If you see a red sail and then the mirror becomes murky, that means something has happened to me.” She couldn’t say anything to him. He consoled her again, and with drumming and gongs resonating in the sky, the fighters embarked on their journey to fight against the serpent.
The villagers prayed for the victorious return of their fighters, and the beauty looked into the mirror every day. Days passed, and every time she looked in the mirror, the surface of the mirror was clear as the Eastern Sea, and she was able to see a white sail. She, going from one house to another, joyfully spread the good news to the villagers.

After over a month since the fighters left, suddenly the mirror showed signs of high waves, became murky and then clear; it then turned murky once again. The beauty felt as if she was sitting on needles with worries. The mirror then again became clear, and she was finally able to let out a relieved sigh.

She looked in the mirror again after a while, and suddenly there appeared a dark sail. Her heart dropped. She sat for days just crying looking into the mirror, but the dark stained sail didn’t turn white. Holding the mirror, the beauty went out to the shore and she cursed the serpent. She waited and waited but her lover, didn’t return and the dark stained sail in the mirror only seemed to get darker. Holding the mirror, overwhelmed by the feeling of yearning for her lover and burning with hatred of the serpent, she fell into a deep sleep, never to awaken again.

The villagers, overwhelmed with sadness, buried her at a sunny place overlooking the sea. Strangely the day after they buried her, colorful flowers bloomed on her grave. Among the flowers, an especially large attractive red flower came out and bloomed for many days without withering. On the 100th day after this nameless red flower appeared, from far across the sea the villagers heard drums and gongs sounding.

It was the fighters that went out to kill the serpent! The villagers shouted with joy and danced and jumped with happiness. When the ship landed, the bachelor jumped off the ship and informed the villagers that the serpent had been destroyed and now everyone could freely go out to the sea to fish. The villagers
shouting shook heaven and earth. When the bachelor didn’t see his lover among
the people, he asked the whereabouts of his lover. The villagers explained what
had happened.

Just then the bachelor turned around and looked at the sail of his ship, and
noticed that the sail had been stained with the blood of the serpent. It turned out
that when the first head of the serpent was cut off, its blood splattered on the sail
and therefore a dark sail was reflected in the mirror. Unable to control his grief,
the bachelor ran over to her grave and threw himself down. Through his
heartbreaking tears he could see his lover greeting his victorious return with the
villagers. The villagers brought back the unconscious bachelor; and when he
stood up from the grave, suddenly, the red flower that bloomed for 100 days
instantly dropped all of its petals and withered.

From that time onward, every year in the summer, the beauty’s grave was full of
those nameless flowers that bloomed for exactly 100 days and unfailingly
withered on the 100th day. Therefore, the villagers named the flower “Baek Il
Hong.” Since the beauty died harboring a deep hatred of the serpent, no snake
can ever come near a Baek Il Hong flower.

Since that time on, every year, in order to remember the kind-hearted and
talented sauce-making beauty and also to prevent snake intrusions, the women of
the fishing village planted Baek Il Hong around areas where they stored ceramic
pots containing spices and sauces (Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji 1979: 87-94).

The mirror motif in “Baek Il Hong” is similar to the legend of a dragon well in Longjing
City, the story of a love affair between the third son of the Eastern Sea Dragon King and
a mortal girl. In this story, a mortal girl is told to watch the color of the well water to
protect the safety of the third son of the Eastern Sea Dragon King; muddy water
represented “danger” or the death of the Dragon Prince (Lee 2002: 24). Stories on the
origins of certain fauna and flora are prominent in Korean oral traditions. Stories such as
“Hal Mae Ggot” (Grandma Flower), which contains an explicit message on being pious,
was told to me very often when I was young, and “Why are Doraji Flowers Blue” and
“Gourd Flower” (included in Hwang’s volume) share the motif of human beings, usually
women, turning into plants after an unjust or tragic death (Gim 2008).

Beginning in 1979, Chaoxianzu folk literature studies produced a large number
of publications. Chaoxian Language Magazine Catalog Index: 1951-1990 (Zhongguo
section, listed 673 different folk literature stories published in various journals and folk
literature collections from 1979 to 1990 (Li et. al. 2002:395-407).

From 2007 to 2008, a ten volume Chaoxianzu Collection of Hwang Guyeon
(Huang Guiyuan) was published through the Yanbian People’s Publisher ten years after
Mr. Hwang passed away. Mr. Hwang, as collector and editor Gim Jaegwon (Jin
Zaiquan) noted in the brief introduction of Mr. Hwang’s life, was the 22nd descendent of
the famous Prime Minister Hwang Hee (Gim 2007). 14 Hwang Guyeon came to
Manchuria in 1937 alone without his family, attended both a survey school and a police
academy and then served as a police officer for 3 months under the Japanese. He also
served as an agricultural specialist, utilizing his fluency in Chinese, Japanese and Korean.
Mr. Hwang was first “discovered” by Gim Jaegwon in 1983, when Gim led a folk
tradition collection team through the towns and villages of the entire prefecture (Ibid).
He was well known in his village as the “story king,” and was recommended by the
villagers. However, it turned out that he had refused to tell stories since the Cultural Revolution, when he was labeled an “evil spirit” (Jap Guisin in Korean) and persecuted because of his stories. Only after hours of pleading and convincing him of the value of his folk stories for the future generations of Chaoxianzu did Mr. Hwang begin to tell his stories again. Mr. Hwang passed away in 1987 leaving over 1000 stories (Gim 2007).

The ten volume collection of 2007 was not the first publication of Mr. Hwang’s stories after he was discovered by the Yanbian Wenyijia Xiehui collection team in 1983. His folktale collection Cheonsaeng Baepil (A Match Made in Heaven) was published in 1986, followed by a second collection Pagyeongno in 1989, and a third collection Hwang Guyeon Yiyagijip (Collected Stories of Hwang Gugyeon) in 1990. Other than the three collected works, Hwang’s stories have been collected and edited by several eminent folklorists, such as Gim Jaegwon, Bak Changmuk, and Bak Changu. His works have appeared in various journals and newspapers, such as: Yanbyeon Ilbo (Yanbian Daily), Heukryonggang Sinmun (Heilongjiang Newspaper), Jangbaeksan (Jangbaek Mountain), and Jungguk Mindam (China’s Folktales).

Mr. Hwang told approximately 290 folktales, 180 myths, biographical stories, and historical tales in 1984; approximately 120 legends and anti-Japanese stories in 1985; approximately 200 unofficial historical stories and humorous stories between 1985 and 1986; and before his death in 1987, Mr. Hwang told approximately 280 proverbs and riddles (Ibid). Each volume of the collection is divided by types of stories preceded by a short preface and a brief biography of the storyteller. The first volume contains relatively lengthy stories of the celebrated courtesan Hwang Jini, the royal secret inspector Bak Munsu, the royal minister of Goryeo Jeong Mong-ju, and the traveling
poet Gim Sat Gat. The second volume is a collection of stories from China that include a very short story on the god Pangu separating heaven and earth, and various tales based on historical people, from the Warring States to Wu Zetian of the Tang dynasty. A majority of the stories in the second volume are very short, some being shorter than a page; however, almost all the stories in the volume are historically set, or are related to important Chinese historical figures. The third volume, as a collection of “historical stories,” contains historical stories of Korea. The fourth contains stories of famous people including a story of the storyteller’s famous ancestor-- Prime Minister Hwang; the fifth volume contains “stories of wits”; while “love stories” are bound together under the sixth volume. The seventh volume contains what is called the Hyangto (Xiangtu in Chinese), literally meaning locale or region. These are the stories that are tied to the local geography such as the “Horse Hoof Mountain” (Lee 2002: 24-25) and stories that are related to local history including a story titled “Hangil Myeongjang Kim Il-Sung” (The Anti-Japanese Fighter, The Great Commander Kim Il-Sung). Children’s stories or fairy tales are published in the eighth volume, while the ninth and the tenth volumes each contain stories of flora/fauna and humorous stories, respectively.

The “Anti-Japanese Fighter The Great Commander Kim Il-Sung,” like other stories of anti-Japanese fighters, heroes and heroines included in the volume, is filled with detailed historical dates and based on the text was told in a biographical style. The story begins:

“김일성은 1912 년 4 월 15 일, 아버지 김형직, 어머니 강반석의 장남으로 태어났다. 본명은 김성주 (金成柱)이다” (Kim Il-Sung was born in April 15,
1912 as the first son of father Kim Hyung Jik and mother Gang Banseok. His given name was Kim Seongjoo)” (Gim 2008 Vol. 7: 505).

The biography develops in chronological order until 1945, when Kim leaves the Soviet Union and arrives in the three Northeastern Provinces. He then travels through the Soviet Union to Pyongyang, North Korea. The storyline leaps from 1945 to Kim’s death in 1994, and ends with a remembrance of Kim as a comrade who fought side-by-side with the anti-Japanese fighters, beloved by both Chinese and North Koreans (Ibid: 515).

Kim Il-Sung’s story belongs to a part of the “Xin Gushi” (literally ‘new story’) mentioned by the veteran folklorist in his account, and ideologically well suited for both the Chaoxianzu and Chinese nation-state narratives of the anti-Japanese. During my visit to the Jingjitun in Jilin, I asked the elder men of the village if they knew of any legends involving Mao Zedong, but none of them knew any. However, one did remember hearing about Kim Il-Sung getting captured and mysteriously disappearing from a prison.

The stories of Kim Il-Sung, Hong Beom-Do (another famous anti-Japanese fighter), Korea’s anti-Japanese hero An Junggeun, and the Chaoxianzu leader Ju Deokhae (Zhu Dehai in Chinese Pinyin) to list a few, were geographically restricted to their lives and actions within China as a part of Chaoxianzu’s “Xiangtu” (local or regional) stories. These Chaoxianzu heros and heroines provide a historical counter voice to the early Chaoxian people’s experience as “little Japan” under Japanese colonial rule. Both Kim Il-Sung’s story and Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story” are part of the Chaoxian people’s
experience during the colonial period; yet the “Red Cross Story,” with its yearning for family union and homeland, has not been recognized as a Chaoxianzu story.

The publication of the complete collection of Hwang Guyeon’s stories from 2007 to 2008 was the fruit of over a half-century of collection work by the Yanbian Wenyijia Xiehui and their collectors. This ten volume collection has already been released in CD format, and Hwang has been hailed as a Chaoxianzu storytelling master for his 1070 stories. Each volume of the published collection contains black-and-white and color pictures that provide a kaleidoscope of post-Cultural Revolution folk literature collection and collectors, as well as a glimpse into the personal life of the storyteller.

There are three types of collections: collected stories by one folklorist of a single storyteller, such as Gim Deoksun, Cha Byeonggeol, and Hwang Guyeon; collections of stories from various storytellers by a single folklorist; and collections of stories from various storytellers by a team of collectors and folklorists. The individual storyteller’s collections shed light on the life of the storyteller, whereas the collections based on multiple storytellers at most list storytellers names and sometimes the dates of collection. These collections, whether based on a single storyteller’s stories or multiple storytellers, are not mutually exclusive. In other words, some are the same stories that are told by different storytellers but collected, edited, and published by different folklorists.

For example, storyteller Cha Byeongeol’s stories in Pal Seonnyeo (“Eight Fairies”), published in 1987, includes a story titled “Gwabuga Janggadeulda(㧻Ṗuko ⾃ وعن) (A Widow Gets Married in English); but here the term jangga (장가) “to marry” is a gender-specific term referring to males getting married. Therefore it can be
translated as “A Widow Takes a Wife” (Im, Han and Seo eds.1987: 374-377). A story under the same title was also included in Bak Changmuk’s multiple storyteller collection titled Sarang San (Love Mountain), published in 1982 (Bak 1982: 81-91). The two versions share the same theme, but are set in completely different contexts. The following is a translation of the version included in Pal Seonnyeo.

In a village there lived two brothers. The older brother, when he came of age, took in a wife; but since the younger brother was too young to have his own family, all three of them lived together. Unfortunately the older brother became ill and never recovered. So the younger brother and his sister-in-law were left together.

In the old days there existed a custom of kidnapping widows to remarry. It just so happened that at the time, there lived a widower at a village beyond the hill, and when he found out about the widow, he stirred up a commotion on how he was going to kidnap this widow to be his wife.

Like the saying “feetless words can travel 1000 li,” the rumor of the possible kidnapping reached the ears of the widow. Upon hearing the news, she became overwhelmed with apprehension and unable to eat or drink, she went to bed. The brother-in-law watching her asked, “Sister-in-law, how come you are not eating or drinking and becoming ill?” The widow replied, “I heard that the widower from the village beyond the hill is coming to kidnap me. What can I do?”

Listening to his sister-in-law’s lament, the brother-in-law mulled it over for a while, and then opened his mouth. “Sister-in-law, I have a good plan. Don’t worry.” Starting that night, the two of them switched rooms. The brother-in-law slept in his sister-in-law’s room and the sister-in-law slept in the upper room.
In the dead of one night, about ten men with covered faces rushed in and, mistaking the brother-in-law as the widow, rolled the brother-in-law in the blanket he was sleeping in and carried him off to the widower’s home in the village beyond the hill.

The widower lived with his parents and a sister who had reached marriageable age. The kidnappers, as soon as they got to the widower’s home, placed the “widow” in a room in the dark, and came to talk with the family. “Let’s have the wedding tonight” one suggested. But the parents of the widower said, “No, even if she is a widow, we need to pick an auspicious date to consummate the marriage to guarantee a safe future. Let’s have her stay with Daughter until we decide on the date.” So the mother of the widower said to her daughter, “My daughter, why don’t you go and accompany your future sister-in-law? She must feel unsettled in this unfamiliar place, so go ahead and keep her calm.” The daughter, obeying her parents’ wish, entered the room where the widow was kept, took her clothes off, and went in under the same blanket as her future sister-in-law.

The mistakenly kidnapped brother-in-law, who was sleeping half-naked, grabbed the widower’s sister and said, “Don’t do anything. If you scream, both you and I will be disgraced.” Therefore the sister of the widower couldn’t do anything. In the morning, when he let go of her, she ran to her parents and told them the truth. “My goodness, the widow has changed into an accidental son-in-law! What do we do?” The parents, afraid of disgracing the family if this news were to spread, decided to take the brother-in-law of the widow as their son-in-law, and sent him back to his home.

A few days later, the parents of the girl sent a match maker to the brother-in-law’s home and made their marriage proposal. When the auspicious date came,
they held a wedding and took in the brother-in-law of the widow as their son-in-law (Im, Han and Seo eds.1987: 374-377).

The other version of “A Widow Takes a Wife” in Bak’s collection Sarang San was narrated by Hong Jonghwan in 1979. Both stories share the thematic motif of the widow kidnapping custom; however, the earlier version told by Hong is much longer and has a very explicit didactic lesson in which a morally corrupted, upper gentry class yangban is tricked by his servant. The following is a brief translated excerpt and summary of “A Widow Takes a Wife” from the earlier version collected in 1979 and published in 1982.

In the past there lived an old rich man who not only wrapped himself in silk and enjoyed all sorts of delicacies three times a day, but also was greeted with people bending their backs like a bow. There was nothing he lacked.

However, like the saying “if there is an uphill then there is also a downhill,” one day his beloved wife suddenly was struck with stomach pain and died instantaneously. The rich old man, being a womanizer, within three days of losing his wife became so overcome with his desire to remarry that he lost his appetite. Everything tasted like sand in his mouth.

Then one day as if he found an answer to his wish, he called a servant named Soedol who was well known for his strength and wittiness. The rich old man treated the other servants like cows with no regard, but when he talked to Soedol, he was different. The rich old man said to Soedol, “Why don’t you stay in today and listen to what I have to say?” Soedol replied, “Oh, sir, what are you talking about? You told me it is my fate to work day and night like a cow! Wow, today
luck has fallen from the sky!” Ignoring Soedol’s clownish remark, the old man said, “Stop being foolish and listen to what I say! You are quite aware since I lost my wife I have been living a very lonesome life.” Soedol replied, “Of course! Not only am I aware, but I have also seen the chicken dropping-sized tears coming out of your eyes. I also heard the sighs coming out of your painful heart like a spouting chimney with my two perfectly working ears.”

The rich old man was not comfortable hearing Soedol’s words, but he needed Soedol, so he could only sweet-talk him: “Boy, when I told you not to work on the field today, that means I have a very important matter for you to handle, so stop joking around and put this gat [a traditional Korean hat] and silk clothes and go to the village over the hill.” Soedol, being born as a servant and stuck with the servant stigma all his life, upon hearing the words gat and silk associated with him, was dumbfounded—so he just stood there. Soedol finally said, “Wait, what do you mean?”

The rich old man said, “Look here boy, there isn’t much to being a yangban. If you have money, you can create a yangban. Stop chattering and put on the gat and silk clothes and go visit the village over the hill.” Soedol asked, “Why do you want me to go to that village?” The rich old man said, “Well, in that village there is a young rich widow, isn’t there? Go there and look around her house and report back to me!” Soedol asked, “Sir, are you thinking of kidnapping the widow?” The rich old man said, “What if so? The king and lords may act respectably, but if you look under them, they are not quite different from what people believe. This is an urgent matter, so go and see if everything is true so I can grab her back here.”

The story continues with Soedol dressed up as a yangban, going to the rich widow’s home to confirm that the rumor was true regarding the widow. He runs into his old
friend, Eoksoe, working at the widow’s home and the two devise a scheme. Soedol keeps the old man waiting anxiously for three days until finally returning home. Soedol, upon returning, instead of directly reporting what he was sent out to find out, purposefully talks around the topic, which causes the rich old man to become even more anxious. Soedol finally tells the rich old man how rich and beautiful the widow is, and suggests that the rich old man should kidnap the widow before anyone does. However, Soedol also tells the rich old man a rumor he heard during his excursion-- that the widow, unlike a typical obedient woman, is very strong. Even the widow’s dead husband who could kill a snake by just merely looking at it couldn’t control his wife.

According to the story, that night Soedol and the other strong servants go to the widow’s home, kidnap her, and bring her back to the old man’s home. They place her in the bridal chamber. The old man joins his new “bride,” but instead receives a good beating from his new “bride” and is kicked out of the room. He tries a number of times, but each time he is kicked and thrown out of the room. The old man, unable to tame his new “bride”, asks his daughter to go and calm down her new mother. The old man’s daughter, being upset at her father for not thinking about marrying her off and instead getting a new wife (along with feeling sympathy for the kidnapped widow as a woman) enters the bridal chamber, but she too is also pushed out a number of times. Finally, the daughter is allowed in. Perhaps the kidnapped widow became tired?

For the next ten days, only the daughter is allowed in. Running out of patience, the rich old man finally bursts in to the room with a club. But even before he could take a swing, he is kicked out of the room, with his broken club rolling on the floor. The text continues:
The daughter said to her father, “Father, please stop now.” The rich old man said, “What?” The daughter, pleaded with her father, “Who came up with such a law?” The rich old man rampantly said, “Pah, widows are like animals, so Heaven created the law for them to be kidnapped. What would that wretched woman do? I will tame her no matter what!” The daughter said to her raging father, “Then, do what you want, but that room is not for you to enter.” “Get out of my way, I will not let her live past tonight!” The ignorant rich old man not being able to understand his daughter’s words, burst into the room, however this time it wasn’t the widow who stopped him, it was his daughter.

The daughter, pleading with her father said, “Father, you must leave this room! Please look at that person. He is not the widow you wanted, but the widow’s servant Eoksoe!” The rich old man instantaneously fell to the floor. The daughter said, “Father, I am leaving with him. Please tell Heaven not to ever create such a law again!” The daughter and Eoksoe disappeared like fog. The rich old man, using all his might, grabbed onto a doorpost and stood up. He screamed out, “Mercy, what plight this is! Heaven, what does this mean? I went to hunt for a widow, but ended up hunting a son-in-law. My goodness, my heart is about to burst! The widow is taking my daughter... The widow is taking a wife... wagh... wagh... The rich old man being choked with tears slumped over and never got up again.

Listening to the commotion, Soedol and the other servants laughed from their servant quarters and said, “This damned law let’s a widow take a wife!” (Bak 1982: 80-91)

This earlier 1979 version of the “A Widow Takes a Wife” resonates closely with the theme of a poor man’s triumphant over a rich corrupted man, just as is seen in “Horse
Hoof Mountain,” where a poor man gains the rich man’s daughter. In the later 1987 version of the “A Widow Takes a Wife,” the strong socio-economic class struggle theme is absent. The role of the daughter is also very different in the two stories. In the earlier version of the story, the daughter is obedient--yet critical--of her father’s ill behavior, and puts forth her criticism of the old custom; whereas in the later version, the daughter’s is obedient and silent.

These two versions of the story are set in very different story contexts; however, they share the same title and widow kidnapping theme. Unlike these two stories, there are a number of stories published in multiple collections narrated by different storytellers that do not exhibit much difference, like the story “Geunom do Geunom” in Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji (Yanbian Minjian Wenxueji 1978:405-406) and the version included in Hwang Guyeon collections (Gim 2007). A number of duplicated copies of edited stories with their collector-editors’ names also appear in these collections.

My Reflexive Position

Only after the first phase of taking me to visit different storytellers in the Yanbian Area, did CF inform me that he had tested me to see if I could handle eating, living, and working together with the local storytellers. In many respects, I wasn’t fully aware of how folklore collection was carried out within the Chaoxianzu communities, and collecting many stories wasn’t as much a priority of mine as seeing a storytelling performance. Prior to embarking on my fieldwork in Yanbian, I was prepared to carry out “textbook model” fieldwork-- interviewing people during day and writing a full
account of each event based on my notes and memory. Similar to Sara Davis’ fieldwork experience among the Dai nationality, my prepared methodology for conducting ethnographic fieldwork greatly differed from the local way of doing ethnography. My first visit to the three storytellers in Tumen proved that my fieldwork plans would require a drastic change from the “textbook model” and accepted Western methodologies I studied as a graduate student.

Because my fieldwork interviews often had to be arranged through local and prefecture folklorist associations, and also being an outsider and a younger female, it was clear that my interviews with local storytellers would have to be carried out by CF. My questions were often answered when they were repeated by CF. Another problem that I encountered during the initial phase of my fieldwork was that the format of storytelling performance had shifted from multiple storytellers to one storyteller, in which the responsibility of assisting the development of performance, was imposed upon the fieldworker. Fortunately CF took on the role of a storyteller, but occasionally everyone in the room was asked to perform-- including myself. I began preparing a story or a song after my first unexpected invitation to deliver a “command performance.”

Eating, living, and working together with a storyteller or a local host required a modification in the documentation of the fieldwork experience. The majority of the performers I visited, as I have stated before, were those who participated in the 1997 storytelling competition, and were previously recorded by both Chinese and foreign scholars; therefore, they were acutely conscious of the recording equipment and behaviors of the fieldworkers.
Performers such as Mr. Jin and Mr. Li would stop in the middle of their conversation or performance to make sure I was finished writing, or would be curious about my notes. I quickly abandoned taking notes in exchange for an uninterrupted performance. Sharing living quarters with the performers also presented a problem in writing fieldwork notes. Such was the case of Mr. Jin, who lived in a two bedroom home with a *kang* style living room. During the winter everyone slept on the *kang* next to each other (a *kang* is a raised stone slab heated by fire underneath, resembling a large stone bed). The large bedroom was used for food storage, and the small bedroom was used to store Mr. Jin and his wife’s personal belongings— with a small space just large enough for a person to sleep. Due to the harsh cold winter in northeast China, everyone had to sleep on the heated *kang* and typically the light was turned off very early in the evening. I would have to wait days until I could return to Yanbian University to write my fieldwork notes.

The local Chaoxianzu storytellers, folklorists, and CF were all concerned about my well-being under their care, similar to what Louisa Schein had experienced during her fieldwork. However, my non-Western appearance and my Korean ancestry led to a “different” fieldwork experience from that of Schein. Viewed as an ethnic and cultural “insider,” I had to incorporate the local ways of doing ethnography into my own methodology (Kim 2002: 156-164). Often, I would put forth my questions to CF or other local folklorists, and they would ask the performers my questions. Safety-related restrictions and supervision were offered, but at the same time, as an ethnic Korean person, I was expected to act within the cultural mores and gender-defined behaviors in my interactions with my hosts. On one occasion, I was asked to look after an old
grandmother while her relatives, my hosts, were away for the day. My own immigrant background, and having family members in both North and South Korea, also offered a shared commonality with many of the old Chaoxianzu storytellers. I was not only a student who was “being shown the ropes” on how to do fieldwork, but I became a member of the “younger generation” Chaoxian people who needed to learn about her heritage (Reinharz 1997: 3-20).

On occasions when we couldn’t go on our planned trips, I would visit CF and he would assume the role of storyteller and told the stories he and others had collected in the past. CF was always very explicit about citing the collector’s name or making a disclaimer when he was telling a story that wasn’t collected by him. This practice of acknowledging the collector’s copyright, not the storyteller’s copyright, is inherent in published collections as well. It is customary to find in published folk story collections the collector’s name (or names if collection was carried out by a team), even when the storyteller’s name is not cited.

The purpose for CF’s retelling of the stories to me didn’t become clear until much later, while I was conducting fieldwork alone. The Chaoxianzu storytellers I had met during my fieldwork were not professional storytellers who performed on stage, but regular people who exchanged and told stories recreationally, like Li daipo’s (daifu in Chinese, “doctor” in English) elderly mother in Jilin City, who sang at a neighbor’s 60th birthday party. However, in competition with other types of recreations, such as television, satellite dishes, and computers, the stages and occasions in which these storytellers and singers can share their stories and songs are dwindling.
Mr. Li, a folk song singer from Antu, was very critical of how the elders were assigned numbers and asked to perform in a queue when he participated in the 1997 storytelling competition. In Chaoxianzu storytelling and folksong singing performances, the element of *pan* (or p’an), the performance arena that refers to the “mental and physical space for wholehearted participation” (Park 2003: 1), and *heung*, atmospheric excitement, have to exist and be balanced for the performers to participate; and the skilled collectors would be able to improvise such balance in a performance with a single performer by developing a rapport with the storyteller and his family, and also through opening the storytelling performance by telling a story. In a single storyteller storytelling performance, the gaps between the performer’s story performances are filled by the folklorist who connects the storyteller to the repertoire. The gap cannot be filled with just any stories, only the stories the performer or performers can associate with and approve of their values and meanings.

**Conclusion**

The folklorist’s stories signal to the storyteller the premises of the types of stories can be performed in a collection, as evident in CF’s statement about his teacher telling a certain type of story to incite all types of stories. In collecting Chaoxianzu folk stories and songs, the folklorist assumes multiple roles of a collector, an interviewer, a performer, an evaluator, and a publisher. In order to be able to assume these multiple roles that are required for a successful fieldwork experience, one needs to know and be willing to engage in the storytelling act, as well as be able to relate to the lives of the people who are telling the stories. However in doing so, the collector constructs a premise in which
certain types of stories are excluded. CF taught me the stories that are regional or local 
(*Xiangtu* category), and also geographically tied to the Yanbian Area. He also performed 
famous stories that any Chaoxianzu storyteller could easily relate to and the stories he 
believed to be the essential embodiment of Chaoxianzu ethnicity, such as the story of the 
royal secret inspector Bak. It was only when I had to carry out interviews without CF’s 
help that I realized my fieldwork collection trips with him were not just fieldwork, but 
classes in which he had given me an opportunity to briefly experience the lives of 
Chaoxianzu folklore collectors and folklorists, and how to do genuine Chaoxianzu 
folklore collection fieldwork.
Notes: Chapter Three


2. A brief history of Chaoxianzu folklore collection is included in collections such as Zhongguo Chaoxianzu Wenxue Xuanji Koubei Wenxue, edited by Beijing Daxue Chaoxian Wenhua Yanjiusuo and published by Minzu Chubanshe in 1993; and Jin Dongxun’s (Gim Donghun in Korean) Jungguk Joseonjok Gujeonseolhwa Yeongu, published in 1999.

3. Personal communication that took place on June 4, 2004.


5. CF answered some years later after I first asked about his experience in collecting Chaoxianzu oral traditions.

6. The liberation referred here is 1945 when Japan surrendered, not the 1949 when PRC was found.

7. Jeong Gilwun (1919 - 1991) was born in Chungcheong Province in South Korea and later participated in the anti-Japanese war in China. He went to the Yanbian area in the 1950s, and served in various literary associations such as the Yanbian Wenyi Xiehui.


9. In 1908, Liu Jianfeng (1865 - 1952) surveyed Mukdan (today’s Shenyang) and the Changbai Mountain regions. While conducting his survey of the area, he collected folk stories from the Chaoxain people of the region and included them in his “Changbaishan Jianganzhilüe”.

10. Xin Si Jun was founded in 1937 and was controlled by the Communists.

11. Gamtu is a type of hat made out of horse hair and fabric.

12. Jinshi Hwangje (Qin Shi Huangdi in Chinese) (259 B.C. - 210 B.C) united the warring states and declared himself as the first emperor.
13. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Korea and China, a number of Chaoxianzu scholarly works and joint projects in Korea, such as *Jungguk Joseonjok Yeoksa Yeongu* I and II (1996), *Korean Dream* (2003), and *Jungguk Joseonjok Gujeonseolhwa* (1996).

14. Hwang Hee (also written as Hwang Hui) (1363-1452) served as a prime minister during the Joseon Dynasty. There are many folktale involving him.

15. Bak Munsu (1691-1756) served the Joseon Court in various positions, but is most famously known for his service as a royal inspector. Jeong Mong-ju (1337-1392) was a loyal subject to Goryeo (Koryo), whose refusal to serve the Joseon Court cost him his life. Gim Sat Gat was as a wondering poet who wore a *satgat* (a hat made of straw), and is a famous folktale character based on Gim Byeongyeon (1807-1863).

16. Pangu is a Chinese mythical giant who held the heavens and earth apart. After he died, his body turned into different parts and elements to form the world (Yang and An 2005: 176-181). Wu Zetian (625-705) was a female monarch during the Tang dynasty.

17. Kim Il-Sung (1912-1994) was the founder and leader of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

18. Mao Zedong (1893-1976) was the head of state of the People’s Republic of China from 1949 to 1959 and chairman of the Chinese Communist Party until his death.

19. An Junggeun (1879-1910) was a Korean independence fighter who assassinated Itō Hirobumi, Japan’s first Resident-General of Korea. Ju Deokhae (Zhu Dehai) (1911-1972) was born in Russia, and was an anti-Japanese fighter. He later became a political leader of the Chaoxianzu and served as the Chinese Communist Party Secretary of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture.

20. Interview conducted in 2004.
CHAPTER 4
COLLECTING KOREAN ETHNICITY: GIVING AND TAKING STORIES

Introduction

The Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection projects discussed in Chapter Three resulted in the publication of a large number of collections after the Cultural Revolution. The motivation behind the collection projects was very explicit – preservation (Harrison 2007: vii-viii). In preserving oral traditions, the Chaoxianzu folklorists and collectors played multiple roles beyond mere collecting, as the following translation of the interaction between the Chaoxianzu folklorist “CF” and a performer will show. It is clear from CF’s account of his teacher Jeong Gilwun (presented in Chapter Three), that Chaoxianzu collector-folklorists can lead, shape, and mold the storytelling performance discourse through participating in the performance as a storyteller.

In the Chaoxianzu collection of oral traditions, the folklorist or collector is endowed with the authority to evaluate, select, transcribe, edit, and textualize the folk stories or songs that, borrowing CF’s words, are “worthy of study”. Therefore, the Chaoxianzu collectors and folklorists have the authority to exclude stories and construct a paradigm that reflects certain key values and characteristics of the Chaoxianzu identity. For example, in the following translation of the storytelling performance of Mr. Jin and CF, CF’s continuous inquiry and performance of history-based stories (such the royal
Inspector Bak leads Mr. Jin to follow with stories with similar motifs. CF’s direct evaluation of certain stories told by Mr. Jin, and his act of telling Mr. Jin what type of stories “I (the younger generation) would appreciate,” underscores the authority folklorists and collectors possess in determining the categories of stories that are preferred and valued within Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection, and which are selected to be preserved to represent the Chaoxianzu experience (Naithani 2010).

In this chapter, I have translated and analyzed the storytelling performance of Mr. Jin, assisted by CF, in order to show an example of the dialogical “give and take” of Chaoxianzu performance discourse in which the folklorist has influenced the types of the stories performed. The identity of the Chaoxianzu reflected in Chaoxianzu oral traditions have been shaped and preserved to represent Korean ethnicity in the Chinese context as the Chaoxianzu are Koreans in China; however, in the Chaoxianzu’s encounter with South Korean counterparts, the Chaoxianzu’s preserved Korean ethnicity is being de-recognized by themselves as “Korean.” The clash of two Korean ethnicities is raising questions as to what it means to be Chaoxianzu and what it means to be Korean; and the Chaoxianzu’s Korean ethnicity, so selected from their oral traditions, needs to be re-examined as well.

**Folklorist and Storyteller: A Case Study**

The following are transcriptions of storytelling performances given by Mr. Jin and CF, who was assisting Mr. Jin in “giving and taking” stories that I recorded at Mr. Jin’s home in the Yanbian area of Jilin Province, China on January 28 and 29, 2001. These storytelling sessions took place in Mr. Jin’s kang-style living room, where the edge of
the raised floor was part of the kitchen and three large cement pots were boiling away. During this session, Mr. Jin had just told his personal narrative and then performed his favorite piece, the “Red Cross Story”, in which he became very emotional. Once Mr. Jin calmed down, CF asked him to continue with his storytelling, but expressed his concern for Mr. Jin’s health (due to Mr. Jin’s age) and asked him not to become too emotional.

While transcribing these stories from the original Korean and then translating them into English, I have attempted to follow and preserve the performers’ original phrasing (to the extent still intelligible in English), tone, voice, onomatopoeic sounds and interjections such as “yeora” (expressing well then, or all right) and general spirit of their discourse, rather than “cleaning-up” their language in order to conform to standard spelling and grammar. Blank lines represent unclear or unintelligible words or phrases. (See Appendix B, Story 1, page 297 for Korean Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin: In the past, there was a child who was traveling with his salt vendor parents, selling salt all over different villages. They sold salt and when times were tough, they had to beg for food. They were half-beggars and half salt vendors who traveled all over Joseon (Choson). They lived a wandering life. When the child turned seven, he was still traveling with his parents and thought that his whole life would follow his father’s-- selling salt. He could only learn begging and nothing else. Such thought entered his head. So, yeora, he thought whether the man is my father or not it’s better to leave him and to seek out my own fate. Telling his legs to save his life, he went over the mountains, waded through
rivers, and crossed prairies. He experienced all kinds of hardships; begging for food and so on he went over a hill, oh boy!

There was a school in a small village, and from there resonated reading that was very lovely to the ears. So he entered the school gate. “Oh, if my parents were a bit well off, I could study with them. How wonderful it would be. He stood mesmerized for a while and decided to help out by sweeping the yard, living here and helping out with errands and sweeping. Would you be willing?” The child said “yes, thank you!” and stayed at the school. Three years at a school, one can compose some writings. Without directly learning, he just heard here and there while carrying on with his errands, he still learned better than those who sat inside. So the village school teacher said “For now on you don’t run errands, but attend school like you are my own child.” Therefore he started studying. He studied really well. You teach him one word, he knew two; teach him two, then he knew four! He was that kind of genius! Since he studied well, the teacher would say to other students, “look at him, well, he works and runs errands, but still studies so well. You only attend school-- but look at yourselves!” The teacher would spank the other students while praising him. The other students were spanked often. The other students thought “before he came we didn’t get spanked like this, and there was no problems. Oh, that’s it! Only after that bastard came, we got spanked often, always compared with him and getting scolded.” They became very hateful. But then there is no way out of it. The teacher is fond of him. Besides, whether others hate him, scold him, the child didn’t care and didn’t pick fights. He just quietly got along, gracefully and kindly, got along with them. There was no way to get back at him. They could only study together.

Well, it became time to go to the capital to take the civil service exam. So other students, well, during that time, those boys who attended school were all from rich families. Sons from poor families couldn’t even think about studying. The
rich students prepared a lot of money to travel to the capital to take the exam. They rode on donkeys, *olradang dalradang*, going to the capital. Even in the old days the poorest place was the school house. One couldn’t even find a stick to beat a dog. There was no money, no wood, just hardship. So the teacher sold all his possessions and gave the boy some travel money. Others were riding on donkeys, but he went on foot. So walking along, but his classmates hated him following, so they came up with all kinds of outrageous ideas. “Hey, you little brat, do you see over there on that cotton field a young woman and her mother working? Go and kiss that girl and come back, otherwise we are not taking you along with us.” “Is that so?” “That’s right!” In the old days, girls and boys after age seven couldn’t even sit together; girls and boys at age seven were not allowed to even sit together, you know, but in the day when a bachelor couldn’t even grab a young woman’s hand they tell him to go and kiss a young woman, what an outrageous thing! So the young man ran over there and said to the mother and daughter, “My god, my eye!” So the mother came and pry opened his eye, and *hoo hoo*, blew in. The young man ran over there with a closed eye screaming in pain. “My goodness, hey, hey!” calling to her daughter, “come here and take a look at his eye! Something must have gotten in. This young man is in pain, it’s not a time to care about gender separation, hurry over here!” So obeying her mother, she pried-opened his eye and looked. Seizing that opportunity, *ppok!*, he kissed her and ran off.

Ah, that rascal was very witty! What a clever rascal! Well, so they let him follow behind their donkeys, but they thought ‘if we take him along, he’ll pass the government exam and we will fail, we need to somehow get rid of him.’ So they came up with another idea, and said to him, “Hey, tonight while we sleep you weave fifteen arms length of straw rope with ashes, otherwise we are not taking you along!” Ah, how can one weave rope with ashes? There are ashes in the kitchen. He calmly thought about it and remembered that the owner has made taffy and left some in a bowl. ‘Eureka!’ Mixing the taffy with ashes gently *sal*
sal sal sal weave the rope. He weaved a rope with ashes. Ah, that rascal is extraordinarily smart! They could not get rid of him.

They demanded him to do all sorts of things, but were unable to get rid of him. Without a way to get rid of him, they arrived in the capital. The rich men settled in a place equal to today’s apartment or perhaps hotel, and prepared for the exam and rested; but the young man had no place to sleep. He stayed at a station or outside and went to a stationery shop and said “I am here to take the civil exam but do not even have a brush. If you would allow me to borrow a brush, I perhaps will have a chance to repay you someday.” The shop owner said “Ok, you can have this one.” So he got a brush, an ink stick, and some paper.

On the early morning of the exam, he prepared and went to the testing site. The place was already full of people, so many that he couldn’t pass through them. So he went off to somewhere and put black smears all over his clothes and returned. “Excuse me, excuse me, please, let me through. Let me through.” Well, the exam participants wore ramie summer jackets with clean silk trousers; they cannot afford to have their clothes dirtied. Who wouldn’t avoid him? All of them avoided him, so he was able to stand in the front row. Once the exam began, without stopping and with ease, seol seol seol seol wrote his answer and turned it in to the examiner. The examiner looked at it and instantly placed it under his leg. The other examinees, when they turned in their exams, the examiner just put them on the top of his desk, making a huge pile of answers. The examiner only separated the young man’s answer sheet.

Following the next day’s exam, it was announced that he had become the royal secret commissioner! After he became an official, he thought about his salt vendor parents and how they, in their old age, probably were only beggars. He thought “What is the point of making a name only for myself? As a son, I cannot turn my back on my parents! I will throw a party for three months and ten days in
this country to search for them.” So as his only wish, he asked for permission to throw a 100 day party, and received permission from the prime minister. So the party took place.

On one of the evenings, the sun is setting and the party is about to end, wearing clothes made of straw bags, there came his mother limping behind his father! Watching them from a high place, without any doubt, it was really them! So he ordered the servants, “Look here!” “Yes, sir,” the servants answered. “Those beggars coming in now, take them to that empty house in the inner side of the village.” “As you wish, sir.” So they were given a table full of food, and then taken to the empty house. They were sitting there without knowing what was going on. Other people, after they were done eating, went on to wherever they needed to go, but only they were taken to the empty house.

That night, the young man thought to himself “I must see them at least once, but how do I deal with my wife?” It was difficult to go without her knowing. He was at a loss. So that night, he pretended to sleep from the very early evening. His wife, seeing he turned-in early, also went to sleep. ‘Now is the time!’ Believing she is asleep, he silently got up and dressed. His wife seemed to be sleeping. So he quickly opened the door and ran to that empty house. She pretended to sleep, and watching her husband run off to some place at night, thought it strange. She thought there must be some unspeakable circumstance that is making her husband behave strangely. She thought to herself, “I must follow him at once.” So she followed him quietly at a distance where he couldn’t see her.

He arrived at the empty house, opened the door and went in. He called out to his father and mother; all of them were hugging, crying, and laughing while talking about the past. The father suddenly took out all the meat, rice cake, candy, and tofu pieces that they got from the party and said, “You must be starving, eat these.” They were crying madly with each other causing all commotions. In the
old days, most of houses had back windows. The wife was watching through a
door in the back window and saw all of this. The young man was unable to tell
his parents that since he is now a high official in the government that he doesn’t
eat these; so, just like old times and the old manners, he pretended to eat with
gusto, but in reality he was throwing them out the back window. His wife, not
knowing the exact reason for him throwing out the food, gathered all the food
pieces in her skirt. So once they were able to calm down, he said to his parents
that he will somehow take care of them and let them live comfortably. He asked
them to just stay put and keep things quiet.

When he went back, his wife taking all the food pieces followed him back. Once
she returned, she set up fire in a brazier and in a pot poured some oil and all
kinds of seasonings; she stir fried the food pieces and prepared Korean Soju
drinks. When the husband returned, she asked him where he has been. He lied. “I
had some matters to take care so to take care of them and also to go for a walk, I
went out.” “Is that so? You must be tired. Please take this wine” and she poured
him a glass. He drank that drink and took a bite out of the stir-fried dish. When
he said how delicious the food was, his wife slapped him hard. “You, bastard!
How dare you of all lower-class people would enter and ruin my one-of-a-kind
aristocrat family! You have ruined me, what am I to become now? I cannot hold
my head up. How dare you, a son of worthless beggar, dare to do this?” Once the
matter became clear, that she now knew the whole thing, he said “Please spare
my life. I have done you wrong” and he bowed down and begged. So the woman,
while crying said, “No matter what you are still my husband, and a husband is
like the sky and a wife the earth. It was wrong for me to slap you. It was purely
out of anger and I couldn’t control it. Nevertheless, because of this and that, we
cannot discuss separation or divorce. If this were to spread and enter my parents’
ears, they would not be able to hold up their heads high. You and I must think of
some way to resolve this problem. “Oh, thank you!” the husband said.
So then it is true that you were unmarried, and you only lied about not having parents. Why don’t we take them to some inn and send out letters explaining on such, such date and time, the in-laws of the prime ministers will be coming so we can bring them. So they put their heads together and came up with a way. Meanwhile, they ordered a servant to stand guard at the inn and whenever they got a chance they would teach both mother and father-in-laws “sky choen, earth ji, back hyeon, yellow hwang” and once they mastered that they taught them etiquette, and customs, and so on, taught them all, including the yangban aristocrats’ way of talking and writing. They totally transformed the beggar father and mother and sent out a letter to the prime minister telling him of their arrival. Well, how was this possible? It was believed that the prime minister’s son-in-law was an only son without any living parents, what kind of rumor is this?

While the rumor spread, the beggar in-laws, riding on a two horse carriage, walgedang dalgedang, entered the prime minister’s home. Well that day people were all chaotic and confused. Watching the beggar in-laws greet and behave, they appeared to be yangban. They also appeared to be very well cultured in their speech. Well, wajajak, the rumors of how great the prime minister’s in-laws were spread. So the prime minister decided to hold a party in honor of his in-laws. Well, he ordered to prepare all the delicacies of land and sea and invited ministers to eat and drink. Watching them take in wine and exchange in talk, in every way they seemed well-educated yangban aristocrats. Of course everyone was very much enjoying it. It is all the same in the old days and now, when the atmosphere is good, people sing to entertain.

Everyone was taking a turn singing songs, and the songs they sang were very elegant and very nice to listen to. All were excited and well, except at the end it was the beggar father-in-law’s turn to sing a song. Oops, the daughter in-law didn’t teach him how to behave in such situations. So he had no song to sing.
What can he sing, *Arirang* or a beggar song? What else to do? So the beggar father-in-law thought while he was traveling hearing the boatmen sing *eiyiyo eracha*, just give a pull, *eiyiyo cha a*, and that song came into his mind. So with no other song to sing, he sang “*eiyiyo cha a* just give a pull.” Well, in the old days, the lowest of the low class people were the boatmen, salt vendors, and butchers. These are all considered to be very low class. *Pae, pae, pae, pae*, spitting, all guests left. The prime minister has lost face, and he can no longer uphold his face. Therefore the house is now ruined.

The husband left with his parents, aimlessly, and the wife was thinking of the old saying “even if the skies fall there is a way to get through”. In the old days and now, killing oneself will not regain one’s honor-- one should stay alive and earn the honor back. So she made up her mind and dressed as a man; she left aimlessly as well. She went over mountains, passed through prairies, aimlessly went over high peaks, crossed deep waters, walked without sleeping comfortably, walked without eating, and went on and on. Walking for a long time, she arrived at a mountain valley.

The valley was full of palace-sized tile-roofed houses; well, the flowers and ponds, it was a very uncommon place. At the doorway there was a sign saying that whoever came to this place and plays chess with the owner, if one wins, the owner will surrender his house; but if one loses, he will become a servant. So there was an advertisement. In the old days, advertisements were called *bangwie*. So after reading the *bangwie*, what could be the worst outcome!? When a person reaches one’s limit, there isn’t much that person wouldn’t do. It doesn’t matter if I become a servant at least I should try. So she challenged the owner.

Only after a few moves, well this owner is a good chess player since he has thousands of servants, but even so, only taking a few moves, he admitted that he had lost. The game wasn’t even over. He said “Until now I played against all
these people and won them as my servants; but only from you do I experience such humiliation. I will only take a set of blankets and leave.” Afterwards, in front of all the servants, standing next to her, the owner explained “Due to this and that reason I played chess, and if I win will keep him as a servant, and if I lose I will hand over my property. Since a man’s words are worth a thousand gold pieces, I will keep my promise. I am handing over my property.” and left.

Among the thousands of servants there were her husband and parents-in-laws who came before her and lost in chess games. Well, so there at that moment, she said to her servants that this man and his parents are her husband and her parents-in-law. From then on she placed a small wooden boat in the pond, and let her father-in-law pull the boat’s rope “eyiyo cha a, just give me a pull”. He was also serenaded by a courtesan drumming an hourglass drum tu deong deng de de deng. Every day they would eat slices of freshly caught fish, drink wine, and enjoy dung ta dang drumming.

Under the heavens no matter how fine the heavenly fairies are, it can’t be better than this! So the wife wrote a letter and sent it to her father. Her father, even after reading her letter, he couldn’t really believe it so he didn’t come. She sent the letter two or three times, but he still didn’t come. So she went herself with a few servants. She went to her father and said, “In truth they are not low commoners, but yangban aristocrats. He meant to say how he enjoys playing boats with courtesans, but, unable to boast, he instead ended up singing that song. If you go and see it for yourself, you would understand. Just think of it as being fooled by me once again and go.” So she invited her father and had him sat on the boat. The father-in-law sang “e e yeo cha a” while accompanied by courtesans dancing and drumming doong ddeu deung ddoong ddang; wow, under the heavens, ha, there is nothing finer than this! So her father was very impressed. They sent out invitation letters to those ministers who spat and ran off at the party and had
them come and enjoy the boat ride *toong da dang ddoong ddang*. They regained their honor and lived well.

So I received a letter telling me that they passed away yesterday or the day before yesterday. I went to pay my respects, but I sent off a bag of rice cakes from there on a deer. But the deer, out of joy *jeol si deong jeol si deong* jumped and the rice cakes all fell off and became glued to the deer. And the wine, so they gave me some wine and I loaded the wine on an ant, but, my, the ant tightened the wine bottle too tight, on its way back fell into a hole left by a cow footprint filled with water and almost drowned. When I saved the ant and untied the wine, it was too tightly tied and pinched the ant’s waist. From then on, the ant’s waist became pinched, *e*. Well, the wine was spilled and a herring scoundrel was so greedy that he scooped and drank all the spilled wine and made its eyes all turned red. *Ah*, a ______ was watching from the side and *ha ha ha ha* laughed too much so that it made its ears and eyes turned. *Ah*, a hairtail next to him became scared *hu da dak* ran off and tried to go through a little hole on the wall and pulled to the point where his tail almost got cut off, from then on belt fish became flat.

Mr. Jin does not remember where he heard this story. CF, after Mr. Jin finished telling this story, pointed out another version of the story. In CF’s version of the story, the guests were invited again, but this time the young wife intentionally did not add salt to all the dishes in order to point out what makes food flavorful. Yet the people who make the lives of the upper class enjoyable and flavorful, such as salt vendors, belong to the bottom caste of society, and are not treated like human beings. After Mr. Jin’s story ended, the topic of conversation shifted to daily life. Mr. Jin also gave a performance of a short story originally written in Hanja (Chinese character) about an exchange between
a man and a woman. When I asked about the story, Mr. Jin replied that he is good at remembering stories and songs, and he needs only to hear something once or twice to remember it. He sometimes adds certain rhetorical aspects to the story such as descriptive, formulaic, similes like a character having a “face is like a carved out chestnut”. However, he commented that he doesn’t change the story plot. Rather, he only attempts to “decorate” and “ornament” in order to add “flesh” to the story.

After telling the story above, he began singing a song he composed. *(See Appendix B, Song 1, page 305 for Korean Hangul transcript)*

**Mr. Jin** *(singing):*

Glorious Joseon, Glorious Joseon
Beautiful Mountains and rivers, what a great place, hurray!
Tens and Thousands of years, all live long
Our sons and daughters will prosper everywhere, hey!
Glorious Joseon, Glorious Joseon
Beautiful Mountains and rivers, what a great place, hurray!
Ding dong dang dong _____ sounds of making machinery
Sounds of working machines, oil them up, hey!
Glorious Joseon, Glorious Joseon
Beautiful Mountains and rivers, what a great place, hurray!  

**CF:** Did you compose this song? Well, you left Joseon almost sixty years ago, but you still sing about glorious Joseon? You should say glorious China!

**Mr. Jin:** I am still a Joseon person.
Mr. Jin’s comment caused everyone to laugh. He then began singing a few lines from a rice planting song and continued on to sing a passage from the traditional p’ansori narrative, *Story of Chunhyang*. (See Appendix B, Song 2, page 306 for Korean Hangul transcript)

**Mr. Jin (singing):**

Wearing a short ramie summer jacket  
Look at those powder-like breasts  
If someone saw _____

_Eossiguna_ great! _Jeolssiguya_  
We cannot not play

How sad and pitiful!  
The mother of Chunhyang is pitiful  
holding food on the side  
go in and out of the jail  
Locked up in jail, Chunhyang  
Even if I die in jail  
_____ I won’t allow it  
Save me, save me  
Save me my Yi doreyong in the capital  
_ddang da dang dang dang, ddang da dang dang dang dang_

I can do this all night long.  
It is supposed to be given and taken with others…
CF apologizes for his inability to assist in the folksong singing exchange; for if there were a person to give and take, the singing performance could go on all night long. CF states that it was regrettable to discover Mr. Jin so late. Mr. Jin claims that he is able to perform “Jangbu Taryeong,” “Yangsando,” “Milyang Arirang,” “Sabalga,” and many other songs as well, but due to the lack of participants, Mr. Jin only sang parts of different songs, and began singing songs in Japanese and Russian. After singing a part of the Russian song in Russian, Mr. Jin continued his linguistic code-switching by singing the same song in Korean:

*Mr. Jin:*

My nation, how vast and spacious country
With many rivers, mountains and plains
Country with free people
Other nations, I do not know

It is clear from Mr. Jin’s performance of songs in Japanese and Russian that he is not only displaying his performance skills to his audience, but also proving his extensive worldly experience through his command of different languages. Mr. Jin, however, repeatedly denied receiving an education beyond primary education. After singing, Mr. Jin began telling a story. *(See Appendix B, Story 2, page 307 for Korean Hangul transcript)*

*Mr. Jin:* This story I am about tell is not even an old story. Over there in Joseon Southern Gyeongsang Province Masan, there was a boy named Sanemodo Yosio.
He graduated from an elementary, graduated from a Japanese elementary school and when he searched for a job, he couldn’t find any. So out of options, he secretly went over to Japan.

Once he was over there, he was still unable to find a job, so he was just walking back and forth in front of a Japanese shop. The shop owner watching him fumbling and touching _____ the owner thought he is a thief, so beat him and then knocked him down. The boy said to the owner, “It is not what you think. I am not trying to steal something. I have no money to continue with my education back home, so I secretly without my parents knowing came over to Japan. I don’t know any place, the water and the land are strange to me. I have no place to go so I sit here on the _____ purely out of boredom; I had no intention of stealing it. When the boy told the owner, the owner said “Is that so? Then, would you be willing to help out with some errands at my shop and stay here?” The boy was glad to accept the job. He ran out of food and became helpless, really.

So he became an errand boy at the shop. In the beginning he swept the yard, cleaned what the Japanese call oka, living room floor, cleaned the bathroom, and so on. He did all these menial things. One day passed and then two days passed. Sometimes someone dropped a one-cent or five-cent coin in the yard here and there. So he picked up the money, not for his own keeping, but returned the money to the owner. It turns out that the owner was testing him. Sometimes he would place a dollar bill in the bathroom, and then the boy again would pick it up and return it to the owner. Overall the boy behaved very decently, he was an honest person. The boy’s face and overall impression seemed that he would have a bright future, so the owner told him not to run menial errands and put him in charge of one of the counters to learn business. When he started selling things he was very friendly and very sharp. He did an excellent business. The owner, watching him do well, took a look at the boy’s hand writing. Although he only
finished elementary school, his writing looked like someone who received a college education, so fine and good.

So for the next three years, the boy worked very diligently and honestly, and the owner treated him like, as if the boy, now a young man, is his own son, very kindly. During those three years, the owner’s daughter who was attending Tokyo University graduated and returned home. So the owner told her about the young man and showed her his handwriting. She took a close look at him and could see that he is not an ordinary man. So at night the young man would bring an abacus and money and do daily accounting of the sales. Initially they interacted in such a way, but after while each night he would come and stay with her until ten or eleven o’clock and leave. Finally he would tell her the truth, “I am in love with you. Would you be willing to take someone like me who is just a mere errand clerk, and you are so precious... So I cannot even talk about marriage as it would be improper to speak. No matter what, as long as you agree, I would like to spend the rest of my life with you.”

A few months passed and she was engaged to him. The news of their engagement spread, even to a previous fiancé whom she was engaged while in school. That man was a villain. When this villain heard the engagement news of his former fiancée, he attacked them everyway to break the engagement off. Unable to fend him off, the two of them, dressed as men, left the town. They thought that perhaps they leave and given some time, the villain might have moved on with his life and let them live in peace. Therefore their plan was to go to Hokkaido, work for about three years, and then once things quieted down return home.

The two of them separated and went on their own way. The man went to a shop again and saved every penny without spending. He saved for three years and on the day they were supposed to meet, he went to a bridge where he was to meet
his fiancée but there was no sign of his fiancée. He still waited. His fiancée also went to a shop in Hokkaido as a clerk but she was dressed as a man. Everyone probably thought she was a man. She worked really diligently, and the owner wanted to take him in as his son, treated him like one as well. The owner paid her a lot as well. Well, that shop owner had a beautiful daughter. Since she was disguised as man, the daughter became intrigued by “him.” She honestly fell in love with him. Every night she would visit him and not leave him alone. “My goodness, please stop”, she tried to dissuade the owner’s daughter, but she persisted as if her life depend on it. The daughter would say “I must spend the rest of my life with you. There is no one else for me in this world. I must be with you”. Well, when it became apparent that there is no other way to persuade the daughter, she told her the truth. “You don’t understand! I am also a woman. My parents owned a shop and hired a person from Joseon. I fell in love with him and we got engaged, but my previous fiancée whom I was engaged in college but broke it off. That scoundrel found out about my engagement and tired to ruin me, even kill me, so we came here to wait until he would forget me and move on with his life.” She said even if he is she, it doesn’t matter. She said “the man you love must be good for me as well. I will follow you as his second wife.” So things turned out this way and the fiancée tried to convince her to stay, so she couldn’t come to the meeting place on time.

The man had to wait over an hour, and saw two women walking toward him instead of one. Once they settled in to talk, they told him the whole story. She explained what kind of person she is, how it came to come with her, and how she wouldn’t separate from her no matter what. And then the fiancée said, “If you like her then its okay with me.” Well, listening to the reason behind bringing her along, the man said “then let’s all go and live well together”. So they returned home to find out that the villain has taken away her father’s property, heo heo, and chased out her parents out of the city to live in a distant run-down corner of Tokyo city. The villain also took over her father’s shop. All the ill was done to
her family just because he bought her a ring once upon a time. He confiscated all of her father’s money and property since he had power. Well, he must have won over legal suits and everything. Her parents were living in a hut!

So then what happened was, they decided not to instigate any problems. Instead they could take back everything permanently ____. So they built an apartment right next to that villain and opened up a shop. The two women can sell things so well. Anyone walking by couldn’t resist coming in. The two beautiful women were in shop selling things, how wonderful it was. Within three years the villain who robbed her father’s shop and ran was all ruined. All the customers came over to their shop and they became so rich. So the man lived well with two Japanese wives.

The plotlines of the stories translated above closely follow the “Red Cross Story” and Mr. Jin’s personal life experiences. In all four stories, including Mr. Jin’s personal narrative, the male characters have very humble beginnings. But, through hard work, all the male characters are ultimately awarded with woman (or women), regardless of the tragic ends found in the “Red Cross Story” and Mr. Jin’s love affair with a Russian woman. In addition to gaining a woman’s love, there exists a motif of the main male character traveling, or leaving his home or family, to succeed on his own merits. Mr. Jin made a comment in his performance on how it is important for a man to see the world. He stated that a traveling fool is better than a sitting general. His personal narrative, the “Red Cross Story,” and the two stories translated above all share a worldly male figure as the main character. Another common feature found in the four stories is the cultivated quality of the main character. Mr. Jin, although he denied being educated, sang songs in Japanese and Russian, implicitly demonstrating his literary, linguistic, and cultural
fluency through his command of different languages. Moreover, the main characters in the three stories are all bright young men who are given opportunities to be educated. As the session continued, Mr. Jin told more stories, but shifted to ones of foolish scholars.

(See Appendix B, Story 3, page 311 for Korean Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin: Once upon a time, there was a man who has traveled numerous times to the capital to take the government civil exam, but had no luck in passing. It was enough to make one go mad that he failed so many time. So after about ten times of failure and feeling drained, he felt that if he doesn’t pass this last time, he wouldn’t be able to live with honor. His wife, in order to support his study, endured all kinds of work and hardships, and this time she even had to sell her hair and the donkey to finance his trip. When she gave him the travel money, she said if he doesn’t succeed this time, their livelihood will be jeopardized.

He was on his way to the capital, sat down on a bridge on the outskirts of the city, and started to think. ‘Well, I have studied for ten years while my wife suffered tremendously trying to fund my ten trips to the capital. Damn it! This time she even sold her hair to fund my trip and if I don’t pass how could I return home?’ He sat on the bridge with his shoes off, looking distraught and muttered to himself. That moment, the prime minister in the capital was on the bridge sightseeing, and saw a strange man. This man looked like he was going to drown himself, but what would cause him to take his own life? ‘Let’s go find out.’ So he went and asked “Young man, look here, why are you, in the prime of your life, wanting to end your life? Although I am not sure what good will it do, but why don’t you tell me your pitiful circumstance first, and then do whatever you want. Why don’t you just talk to me?” So the man told him his story from the beginning to the end. “I am from a poor country home. I studied for ten years and took the exam over ten times in over ten years. However, every time my score was not good enough and failed. This time my wife sold her hair to fund my trip,
and if I don’t pass, how could I continue living? I thought that it would be better to just throw my body in this water.” So pitiful, I alone _____. “Well, is that so? Then you do not need to die. It must have been hard for you. Tomorrow there will be a special exam in the capital, just come tomorrow. There will be a letter yeon of yeon, just look at the letter and say it is the letter yeon of yeon. 8 Again, when asked what letter it is, just answer it is the letter yeon of yeon then I will let you have a comfortable life, so don’t die.” What this stranger said didn’t seem trustworthy. “Although I appear incapable, I can save you, so don’t forget and come to the exam place tomorrow.”

So just in case it might be true, well, still it is better than dying. At least he should go and check to see if it is true. The next day he went to the exam place and he was the only one there. The exam already ended, but since it is a special exam, he was the only one. He entered and saw the man who told him to come yesterday sitting up on the podium. He said, “Do you know that letter written over there?” He suddenly went blank and said it is the letter of round, round yeon instead of the letter yeon in yeon. “My god, you can’t even pass an exam with the given answers!”

“Don’t even think about passing other exams. What a pathetic bastard! Go away!” He was being chased out of there. He couldn’t believe why it happened. The letter yeon in yeon, in such haste to answer, since the kite turns round and round, so since it turns like a kite, instead of yeon in yeon he ended up saying it’s yeon of soraegi yeon.

When he was coming out of the exam place, a man out of breath came over. He must have heard that there was a special exam. He asked “Where are you coming from?” The man answered “I was just in the exam, and when the examiner wrote the letter yeon in yeon he asked me to answer. He was going to help me get a position, but for some reason I said soraegi yeon instead of yeon yeon. So I was
chased away. That’s why I was chased away.” “Hey, friend, then it’s ok. Don’t go but stay here. Wait for me.” Without knowing the reasons, he was waiting for the stranger. The second man entered the exam. The examiner asked “What brought you here?”

The second man answered “I heard of the special exam. So in order to see if I could pass, I came to take it.” The examiner asked, “Then what is that letter written over there?”

The second man answered, “Would you like me to answer in country dialect or the capital dialect?” “What? What is this country dialect and capital dialect you talk of? Answer me in the country dialect.” The second man said, “Yes, in the country dialect it is called soraegi yeon, but in the capital dialect, in yangban words, it is yeon yeon.” When the examiner heard this, he slapped his thigh and said, “So it wasn’t because he didn’t know the letter! It was because he is a country man and the words are different in different dialects! That man couldn’t have gone too far, why, you, you go and call him in.” So the man was called in and both of the men, honestly, were given small positions to live a comfortable life.

After listening to Mr. Jin’s story above, CF discussed another version of the same story that he heard from a man who came from Gyeongsang Province. In the version CF told, the man was coached to say solgyeo yeon (kite, a type of bird), but ended up say ddolbaengyi (coil) yeon. CF commented that, except for the choice of the type of the letter yeon, the content is the same. Mr. Jin agreed. In the version CF explained following Mr. Jin’s story, it was King Sukjong, not the prime minister, who sees the man. Additionally, in this version the man who failed the exam does not contemplate
committing suicide, but goes up the mountain andpretends to be a royal inspector, shouting and commanding nonexistent subordinates when the king came upon him.\(^9\)

At this point in the session, CF comments that this is a good story. CF requests one more story. Mr. Jin continues with the scholar theme. *(See Appendix B, Story 4, page 314 for Korean Hangul transcript)*

**Mr. Jin:** In the old days, there was an aristocratic scholar. One day he was reading casually at home and decided to go for a stroll. So he went to a market area. In the market, a fish vendor was yelling “Hey, hey, come and buy arabesque greenling. These are trout, these are herrings, mackerels, and these are such and such! Take this and scrape the scales with a knife, cut into pieces, add seasoning and red pepper powder. Then sauté them, sizzle, sizzle, then eat, yum, yum, two could be eating and three could die but no one would know!” The fish vendor was making a speech and yelling ‘cheap fish!’ causing all commotions. Up until now, all the learning he had done he wasn’t able to use it outside. This time, he jotted down what the fish vendor said. “Alright, I learned of a recipe!” He was on his way back home to his wife. He bought a sack full of fish and went back home. He went over to his wife and put down the sack of fish he bought. “Look here” after putting down the fish on the stove top, he said, “Today I learned a recipe. If you learn this recipe and follow exactly, you and I could be eating and wouldn’t notice even if three of us die!” So at the beginning he was telling what type of knife to use, how to scale a fish, sauté it in oil, and so on. While he was talking, a dog from outside came, stole the fish, then ran off. The dog just took off with his fish. The husband and wife, what can they do, other than go after the dog. They were going to make a delicious fish dish. They chased the dog with all their might, but were unable to catch it. The husband said “Hey, hey, forget it. The recipe is in my book, the dog doesn’t know how to cook
it so he can’t eat them. Let it go, let it go.” In the old days, there was this kind of scholars.

Mr. Jin’s performance of “foolish scholar stories” in the presence of a modern scholar, CF, may appear ironic and somewhat controversial. However, these stories, when contextualized in the past where only the upper class *yangban* (upper class aristocrat) could become scholars and government officials, resolves the possible tension between the storyteller, an ordinary self-claimed uneducated person, and the educated authority, the folklorist collector. Moreover, popular positive images of modern intellectuals (*zhishi fenzi*) who make contributions to the society of the People’s Republic of China have differed radically from those of the “feudal” literati-bureaucrats of the imperial era, despite eras such as the Cultural Revolution when all intellectuals were vilified (U 2009: 604-631). Another reason telling these stories might not cause tension between CF and Mr. Jin is that both CF and Mr. Jin are of humble backgrounds. CF and Mr. Jin are examples of the “successes” in the proletarian class struggle of China’s post-liberation ideology. According to CF, Hwang Guiyuan, as a descendent of a famous Joseon Dynasty prime minister, did not tell any stories that mocked the *yangban*, the aristocratic scholar class of the Joseon Dynasty.

Mr. Jin immediately begins another story. *(See Appendix B, Story 5, page 315 for Korean Hangul transcript)*

Well, if there was that type of so-called scholar, there was very foolish ones in the old days as well. One foolish old man lived in a mountainous area with his
wife. They raised pigs, and had four piglets that were getting fat and plump. They wanted to sell the four piglets for New Year’s celebration, so the old man placed two piglets in each basket of the shoulder pole carriage and went to the market. After selling for half a day, he was able to sell the two piglets in one basket, but was unable to sell the other two. It was time to return home, so the fool held the pole up, but since one basket was empty and the other one was full, so he fell down. Unable to carry it, what was there to do? Looking around he saw a rock about this big. ‘Good, good!’ He lifted the rock, placed it inside of the empty basket, and tried lifting the pole again. Now the pole was balanced and he did not fall down. So groaning away, he carried it all the way through the mountainous road and went home. His wife seeing him return asked about the remaining two piglets. He told her he sold two, but no one bought the remaining two. His wife said, “By the way, why did you bring a rock all this way?” He said to her, “Well, when I tried to carry the baskets, I kept on falling down. Other than carrying a rock, there was no other way to carry the baskets!”

His wife commented, “My goodness, look here. Even if you are not too smart, there are two pigs in this side of the basket. You could have put one of them in the other basket; instead you carried a heavy useless rock all the way here when we are surrounded by rocks!”

Some people in the past were very foolish (laughs).

Mr. Jin immediately begins a new story. (See Appendix B, Story 6, page 316 for Korean Hangul transcript)

To tell another story, there was a foolish man who read sky choen, earth ji, and read a lot but did not go see the world. There is an old saying that sitting hero cannot win over a standing fool. The next house from this man’s place caught on fire, so people were making commotion to go and put out it out, but he didn’t know how to put out a fire, so he was going through his books to figure out how.
Whatever he studied should remain in his head, but _____ there are all types of books such as books on science and so forth. But he was pressed to find the answer, so he panicked. No matter how much he flipped through the pages of his books, he couldn’t find how to put out a fire. So giving up his search, he went outside to look. Other people were carrying buckets of water, brooms, shovels and all kinds of tools. Only then he realized how it was useless to study. What he searched for was the phrase “water and fire do not mix.” He only then was able to think of the phrase. Because he could not remember water and fire do not mix until he saw others putting out the fire. This is a story that says no matter how much a person studies if he does not experience the outside world, he is just like a frog inside a well.

CF: This is so much to satirize the intellectuals from the past, because many of them only knew knowledge from books, yet were unaware of the reality. The fire story, there was a man sitting at home reading Mencius and Confucius when he realized part of his house was on fire. He had to do something, so he was flipping through the pages of his books for an answer when his servant saw the fire and poured water to extinguish it. The scholar said to the servant, “By Jove! When did you learn that the water and fire do not mix?” (Everyone laughs)

Mr. Jin and CF’s version of the “water and fire do not mix” story led to the following short stories based on word puzzles by Mr. Jin. (See Appendix B, Story 7, page 317 for Korean Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin: In the old days, a cattle herder was herding his cattle through a town and decided to stay the night at an inn. So he went and secured his cattle. The female innkeeper asked the herder how many bulls he brought. He replied, “A total of one thousand horns.” And the female innkeeper, pausing from scooping rice said, “Oh, you must have brought a calf.”
Well, what did she mean by a calf? Calves do not have horns. So, _____ only four is left. Because the calf doesn’t have any horns, when the total number of horns is a thousand, then four for the feet and add two horns will make six per bull. So you divide a thousand by six, then four is left. So it was clear a calf came along. The female keeper knew first what the herder was talking about.

This word puzzle story was followed by another brief story of a word puzzle. All equipment was turned-off at the request of CF at during this time. Returning from the break, CF asked Mr. Jin to sing a funeral procession song:

**CF:** Well, even during the Cultural Revolution there were funeral processions.

**Mr. Jin:** Dong Shin (*a place name*) also does the same.

**CF:** That place near the Mabansan (*a mountain in Yanbian*), there are many people from Myeong Choeng. When I asked them about the funeral procession song, they were really angry and said, “Who would sing when someone is dead?”

(*)laughs*

**CF:** But even though Joseon’s land is small, there are differences between northern and southern parts of Joseon. The southerners….

**Mr. Jin:** Yes, yes.

**CF:** We have seen it. For example, when the procession passes by a home of someone, they would call out the name of the husband who used to treat the
deceased well. “Hey, is so and so home?” This is done by the procession leader, the singer. “When I was alive you were so polite and nice to me, how come you don’t even come out to greet me on my last day to Bungmangsan (burial ground)?” Then that person has no choice, but to come out. *(laughs)*

Well, when the elders pass away really our people would take it as an artistic festival. I mean, when an artist passes away people don’t cry but have a special gathering. There is no definite requirement that one has to be sent off in tears, we could send people off in songs.

**Mr. Jin**: Well, even the mourning song has an order that needs to be followed.

**CF**: Why don’t you sing it once?

**Mr. Jin**: And then... *(picking up from where CF left off)*

Mr. Jin begins singing. *(See Appendix B, Song 3, page 318 for Korean Hangul transcript)*

The road to the other world was said far
Outside of one’s gate is the other world.

\[ O \ h o \ o, \ o \ h o \ o \]
\[ O \ yeong \ cha \ o \ h o \ o \]

If the road to the other world is a road
What is there for me to do ______

\[ O \ h o \ o, \ o \ h o \ o \]
\[ O \ yeong \ cha \ o \ h o \ o \]
Even if you go on the road to the other world
Set your return date before you go,

**Mr. Jin:** It means set the date you are going to come back before leaving.

**CF and Lee:** Yes, yes.

*O ho o, o ho o*
*O yeong cha o ho o*

Rooster picture on the folding screen
When it beat its wings then I will come back

**Mr. Jin:** When the rooster picture on the folding screen beats its wings, it means cannot come back. And then,

The boiled chicken in a small cauldron,

**Mr. Jin:** *Sogung* means a small cauldron... (Mr. Jin stops to explain)
When it sprouts I’ll return
*O ho o, o ho o*
*O yeong cha o ho o*

**Mr. Jin:** Can a dead person come back?

When Sam Gak Mountain turns into plains
I will come back then
*O ho o, o ho o*
*O yeong cha o ho o*
It’s very forlorn, singing this song…. Let say if there were about ten people when the procession began, once start singing, there would be one hundred or more people gathered around.

**CF:** Money is given as well, right?

**Mr. Jin:** Yes.

**CF:** Money is given to the lead singer and afterward the pole bearers and the lead singer would go and drink.

**Mr. Jin:** The next part goes:

\[
\begin{align*}
O\;ho\;o,\;o\;ho\;o \\
O\;yeong\;cha\;o\;ho\;o
\end{align*}
\]

Says cannot go, says cannot go
Without travel money, says cannot go
\[
\begin{align*}
O\;ho\;o,\;o\;ho\;o \\
O\;yeong\;cha\;o\;ho\;o
\end{align*}
\]

_____ chicken is the peak
Peak is too high, I cannot go
\[
\begin{align*}
O\;ho\;o,\;o\;ho\;o \\
O\;yeong\;cha\;o\;ho\;o
\end{align*}
\]

Water is too deep, I cannot go
So you sing this then the family of the deceased would bow down and put down money
CF: So there is a river and some hills….

Mr. Jin’s wife: They just want to earn more money.

(laughs)

CF: Well, the deceased is not living or dead. The dead person is saying he or she cannot go, so is giving money to send her or him off well. And when the deceased is asked if he or she would come back, the deceased says now he or she is unable to come back.

(laughs)

Mr. Jin: The order has to be followed to make sense otherwise….

CF: The singer would add a lot of impromptu elements throughout the procession. The singer might add some stories from the village and so on. Have you been to Dong Shin (a place name)?

Mr. Jin: Yes, I have.

CF: Where are the people in Dong Shin from?

Mr. Jin: There, many of them are from Gyeongsang Province. There are a lot of Yeongju County people. They have an accent, so they say geureomnigyeo, jeoreomingyeo. When a family there has a party, here we would send out invitations, but there no invitations, but all would gather together. And instead of monetary gifts, they would bring rice drinks and noodles. Whether invited or not invited, all would come.

CF: How many households are there?
Mr. Jin: When I visited there were about 70 households.

CF: Were there any Han Chinese?

Mr. Jin: No. They wouldn’t let them move in although we have many here….

CF: Yes, go ahead and have a smoke and talk a bit. There is a guest from Daeryeon to see you, so you can talk with her as well. If you remember a song, then sing a song.

Mr. Jin: Sure.

The lack of skilled storytellers and singers at the event led to multiple breaks where short conversations regarding personal or village matters would be discussed. At one point, when personal matters were discussed, CF asked for all equipment to be turned off. This break was followed by a song on the theme of the famous Han Chinese love story “Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai.”\(^{12}\) I have only included the English translation of the song to keep the integrity of the performance structure and to show the discussion following the song. (See Appendix B, Song 4, page 320 for Korean Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin:

\[\begin{align*}
E \text{ hey yi yi yi} \\
\text{dae ya dae ya chu gyeong dae ya}
\end{align*}\]
Mr. Jin followed the above song with an explanation of the famous love story between Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai. Mr. Jin’s performance of this song raised a keen interest in the Chaoxianzu folklorist because the story originates from Han Chinese culture. CF explained how the story was absorbed into the Chaoxianzu oral tradition. CF asked Mr. Jin if he could sing the song from the beginning, but Mr. Jin stated he didn’t know the entire song. It wasn’t clear whether Mr. Jin actually did not know the song in its entirety, but on a few occasions when CF asked Mr. Jin if he knows certain songs, he replied he did not. This is somewhat embarrassing to Mr Jin, but and is an example of the sort of tension that was occasionally manifested between the veteran folklorist and Mr. Jin.

CF saw himself as a teacher to a student, me, and also a veteran collector of Chaoxianzu folklore. In those roles, he would directly evaluate and analyze Mr. Jin’s performances when he needed to make or stress points about aspects stories and storytelling to his student. For example, at CF’s mention of history and value of folk stories, Mr. Jin began singing a song about Qinshi Huangdi (the first emperor of China,
reign 259 B.C. - 210 B.C.) to show his knowledge of songs with historical content. Mr. Jin began singing and after two verses he commented that the song was based on history to display his knowledge of history and history based songs that CF found valuable.

Mr. Jin’s historical song was followed by a brief break and Mr. Jin began the next phase of his performance by singing “Miryang Arirang”. The song “Arirang” (and its regional variants) is very popular in Korean culture. The song transcends political and national divisions among all ethnic Koreans. Since the 1990s, on the rare occasions when North and South Korean teams have marched together at various international games opening ceremonies, the song “Arirang” has been played. Therefore, Mr. Jin’s performance of “Arirang” is natural. (See Appendix B, Song 5, page 321 for Korean Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin:

_Ariarirang Sseurisseurirang Arariga Nannee_  
Send me over the Arirang Hill

Look at me, look at me, look at me,  
Like seeing a flower in the dead of winter, look at me.  
_Ariarirang Sseurisseurirang Arariga Nannee_  
Send me over the Arirang Hill  
You asked me to come first  
But locked all twelve gates and asked why I am not coming  
_Ariarirang Sseurisseurirang Arariga Nannee_  
Send me over the Arirang Hill

If you dearly love me
Thorn field, one thousand li you’d come barefooted
*Ariarirang Sseurisseurirang Arariga Nanneee*
Send me over the Arirang Hill

You and I are different, who else is different
Silver coins, copper nickels, ten won coins are different
*Ariarirang Sseurisseurirang Arariga Nanneee*
Send me over the Arirang Hill

You rascal bachelor, let go of my wrist
A pebble goes over a chipped water gourd

Mr. Jin adds:

**Mr. Jin**: This song can go on for a long time.

**CF**: Let me ask you a question. “Miryang Arirang” is based on a tragic story, but it’s set on a fast tempo. It was a story about how Miryang Prefecture officer killed his daughter. He stabbed her to death. It’s a horrific story, but sung in a fast tempo with “Look at me, Look at me.” (*everyone laughs*)

The discussion then moved on to CF’s visit to South Korea, and his meeting with a South Korean folklorist who specializes in “Arirang” and the South Korean folklorist’s collection work:

**Mr. Jin**: The song “Arirang” is different in each province. For example, the song I just sang is “Miryang Arirang”, and there also is a “Gangwon Province Arirang”, and so on.
CF: Do you know “Jeongseon Arirang”?

Mr. Jin: I don’t know how the “Jeongseong Arirang” goes, but there are “Jindo Arirang” and many others.

CF: Do you know “Gangwon Province Arirang”?

Mr. Jin: Well the “Gangwon Province Ariryang” is...

Mr. Jin continues the song:

*Ariari sseurisseuri arariyo
Ariari sseurisseuri*, let’s have fun then go.

Why not bear expected beans
How come bore only the caster beans and camellias
*Ariari sseurisseuri arariyo
Ariari sseurisseulseung*, let’s have fun then go.

 Lovely bloomed camellia flowers, how pretty
Like the timid virgin’s passion
*Ariari sseurisseuri arariyo
Ariari sseurisseulseung*, let’s have fun then go.

Mr. Jin ends the song, and comments:

Mr. Jin: This is a long one, too. There are all types of song tunes.
CF: I am sorry for keep asking to you sing this and sing that.

Mr. Jin: No problem.

CF: I am your junior, but (laughs)... I would ask her to sing, but she wouldn’t sing at all. She asks me to sing.

Mr. Jin: If you listen to the general public sing, they sing a lot of songs with lyrics such as “white tree white as snow”, but when we sing old songs, we sing songs with lyrics somewhat refined, so not just anyone can “take” the song. So not too many can have fun with us. Here, listen to my song…

e~~~ he ~e~~~

_____ why would it be so high

Tie a swing, if my lover swings, I would push
If I swing, my lover would push
My love, don’t let go of the ropes
If the ropes fall, our affection will fall...

(Mr. Jin continues on singing, but briefly explains the beginning part
“e~~~he~e~~~”)

E~~~he~e~~~

The hill in front says the letter spring chun
The hill behind says the letter blue choeng
All sorts and kinds of flowers say the letter hwa
Winding, winding _____

Mr. Jin: Songs like this…
**CF:** One needs to know the history a bit to be able to sing songs like these. And the verse you sang before, one has to be educated. Have you learned the Thousand Characters?

**Mr. Jin:** I barely finished primary school. I just ….

Mr. Jin’s ability to sing and tell stories that require a relatively deep understanding of Chinese literary writing and history aroused CF’s curiosity about Mr. Jin’s educational background. Each time he was questioned, however, Mr. Jin replied that he had barely finished primary school. It is generally recognized in China that the Chaoxianzu place high importance on education. Statistics dating back as far as 1982 and 2000 seem to support this widely-held generalization, as the educational attainment rates of Chaoxianzu were above those of other Chinese ethnic groups (Ya, Feng, Qi 2000: 116; Gwon and Bak 2005: 95-98). However, both Mr. Jin and CF lived through the Cultural Revolution, where elites and educated people alike were persecuted. Mr. Jin’s educational background is not clear, and due to the trauma he endured, I did not press him further on it. Through his stories, however, Mr. Jin’s does reveal his views on education. He believes education is important. Yet, he also believes that there are limitations to “book learning,” and a person must learn life wisdom through experiencing the world. His stories of foolish scholars vividly reveal this view. His comments, such as a “sitting general is worse than a standing fool”, coincide with his personal experiences.
CF: I am like the old saying “even a dog could compose a poem if it stays three years at a school”. I heard a lot going around, so although I can’t sing, so I can at least move my shoulders a bit according to the tempo.

Mr. Jin: (referring to CF as teacher) Teacher, you must have listened a lot and know a lot. You could sing the songs if you wanted to.

At this point, I asked Mr. Jin if he knew a story, but he stated that he didn’t know one. CF then began telling a story in order to provide a change of pace from Mr. Jin’s storytelling and singing, and to let Mr. Jin rest. The dual role of the folklorist in this case is clear. First, the folklorist plays the role of a participant-performer in order to provide Mr. Jin with a partner who could “give and take” stories with him. Secondly, by performing certain stories, CF could easily redirect and change the pace and types of stories being performed. The discussion following the story also reveals the tension that existed between a confident, experienced storyteller and a veteran folklorist. As an experienced storyteller, Mr. Jin is aware of the role and purpose of CF, and negotiates between the stories he wants to tell and the stories the folklorist wants to hear. The folklorist, by playing the role of an assistant and adding his own stories, directs the types of stories to be told in the session as the following passages will show. (See Appendix B, Story 8, page 323 for Korean Hangul transcript)

CF: Once upon a time, there was a boy who lived in a remote mountain village. This boy was smart and studied well. One day the school teacher was going somewhere, so he called the boy and said, “Duhyang, today I have to go and take care of some errands. While I am gone, you teach the rest of the class and make
Sure they read and don’t do any mischievous things.” He told Duhyang and left. So after the teacher left, Duhyang was following his teacher’s order.

The secret royal inspector Bak Munsu was passing by and decided that it would be good to go and rest in the school watching the students. So he enters the school and said, “Is anyone here?” Duhyang replied, “My teacher is not here, but I am in charge. Where are you coming from?” Bak said, “I am just passing through and just wanted to rest my tired legs and then go.” Duhyang said, “Then please come in and rest over there.” So the inspector, resting his head on a wooden pillow, watched the students. The boy in charge asked his classmates to play a game and all of them agreed. They decided to play a royal secret inspector game. The boy in charge said, “I am the inspector and if any of you have difficult cases, please bring them forth,” and began his command. “My men,” he said and his classmates answered, “Yes sir”. You know the duty officers have to be commanded. The boy in the inspector role said, “Isn’t there a book called Gomunjinbo in this school?” Gomunjinbo is an ancient book. “Go and arrest the teacher of this school?” But their teacher has left, so his classmates asked how to arrest someone who is not there. The boy inspector said, “Rascals, don’t you know that I know he is not here! If the teacher is not here, then go arrest the book and bring it here!” He placed the book under interrogation and said, “As a school teacher instead of teaching your students to study hard and do something great for your country, everyday you brought that book out and coerce your students by telling them if they read well that they could find a beautiful woman in the book. As a teacher your action is improper.” He said to his classmates, “Put him in jail!” However, his classmates didn’t know what jail the boy was referring to, so asked him. The boy said, “Foolish men, don’t you think I know that we don’t have a jail? You could be creative and decide any place as a jail then the problem is solved! How are you studying in this school?”
The royal inspector watching the students play finds the boy very smart. The boy tells his classmates to bring forth any court cases. One boy enters and “Inspector, I lost a hawk. Please find my hawk.” The hawk is that bird that catches pheasants in the mountain. The boy inspector asks, “Where did you lose it?” The boy who lost the hawk reported, “I went to the mountain and lost it there.” The boy inspector says, “Then go ahead and arrest the mountain. Since the hawk is lost in the mountain, if you punish the mountain and ask it to return the hawk, it will return it.”

The boy was playing the role of inspector quite well. The royal inspector was pretending to sleep while watching the students. Suddenly the boy inspector makes a ruling. “Who is that chap that dares to lie down while the royal inspector is in a court session! Arrest the man and have him kneel down before the court!” Bak Munsu, as a real inspector, he can’t tell the students not to rough handle him, so he played along and begs for forgiveness. But the boy inspector wasn’t going to easily forgive him. The boy said, “Forgiveness? Don’t you see that the royal inspector is in court?” and continue to scold him. But watching Bak Munsu kneeling and begging, the boy inspector finally said, “Although you are dressed shabbily, you don’t seem like a common person. I will forgive you today. Go sit over there.”

(laughs)

Bak Munsu thought he should take the boy _____. Take the boy to the capital. Bak Munsu follows the boy to talk to the boy’s father. Seeing Bak following him, the boy asks for Bak’s reason, and Bak tells him he needs a place to stay overnight. The boy agrees to accommodate Bak and takes Bak to his home. When they arrived at the boy’s home, the boy’s father hasn’t returned from the farm. So the boy is playing the role of host preparing wine and all, just like the old saying, the host offers wine to the guest, and the guest offers food to the host
while kindheartedly eating together. The boy took some wine and offered it to Bak.

When the boy’s father returned home, the boy only then excused himself to go study. The boy was reading out loud and the father felt embarrassed in front of the guest. The father tells the boy to read quietly, but the boy said to his father, “Hosting a guest shouldn’t hinder my study. The guest can do what he desires.” The more Inspector Bak interacted with the boy the stronger inspector Bak wanted to take him to the capital. So the inspector tells the truth to the boy’s father, and asked the father to entrust the boy to him. The father informed him that even as the boy’s father, he cannot make that decision. The boy, although young, decides on his own whether to listen to his father or not. The father tells a story. Once the boy’s mother became ill and the father told the boy to go bring a doctor. The boy was gone all day and came back alone when it was dark. When the father scolded him for not bringing a doctor, the boy rebutted “What is the point of bringing the doctor? I went to the doctor’s home and the doctor who is supposed to cure other people’s illness had a death in the family. He was wearing funeral clothes mourning for his mother. If the doctor can’t even save his own mother, he is not capable of curing someone else’s mother. So I didn’t ask him to come.”

(Mr. Jin’s second stepdaughter and other neighbors came to visit.)

CF: I will tell it simple and short...

So what else happened after that was once the boy’s ill mother asked him to go fetch some mugwort for moxibustion? Someone said moxa would make her feel better. All day long, again, the boy doesn’t return. When it was getting dark, the boy returned home empty handed. When the boy was asked why he went home empty handed, he said, “When I looked at the so-called cure, its all mugwort
moxa, all the leaves were being eaten by bugs. If it cannot even guard itself, how could it cure someone else’s body?” What a smart boy! Inspector Bak felt that he must take the boy to the capital to educate him. So Bak reiterates his wishes to the boy’s father. When the father asked the boy if he would follow the guest to the capital and study, the boy said he is glad to go.

Following inspector Bak, the two of them reached a peak like Yeongeulseo Siwang Mountain. The boy asked the inspector to take a break and wait for him while he goes to a village at the foothill to collect some of his father’s loaned money to cover his own expenses. While the inspector was waiting, a man came running toward the inspector and asked for a hiding place from people who were out to kill him. So the inspector told him to go hide in the woods. In a short while, a group of men came and asked the inspector if he had seen anyone passing by him. When the inspector told him he didn’t know, the men threaten Bak’s life with a sword to his throat, telling Bak ‘how can a man with both working eyes not know whether someone has gone by or not’. Well, the law was far away, and the fist was next. Who would listen if he told them he is a royal inspector? When his own life was threatened, the inspector told the men where the other man was hiding. They killed the man right away with their swords. The boy, coming back up, saw the event that took place. The boy suddenly told the inspector “I have decided not to go with you.” When asked for the reason, the boy replied, “Why should I follow someone who can’t even safe a man’s life? I don’t think there is anything I can learn from following you. Although I am educated in a mountain village, I believe I am better than that.” So the boy didn’t follow inspector Bak.

When the boy grew up, he passed the civil service exam and received the royal inspector medallion from the king. He was assigned to monitor Pyeongan Province, but instead of going to his assigned post, he stayed in the capital. He called for inspector court inside the capital where the king is residing. He arrested all of the king’s ministers and put them in jail. Originally no one can call
for royal inspector’s court in the capital. The king lived there. Right under the nose of the king! Since all the king’s ministers were arrested, the government came to a halt. So the king asked him to explain his action, and he told the king that if one was to get rid of weeds, if weeds get cut off at the mid section, they will grow back. The only way to get rid of the weeds is to remove their roots. He explained that the source of all corruption is located in the capital. The king ordered him to quickly resolve the problem. He placed buckets of ink water and large brushes, and said, “Everyone has a fault, but those who are willing to correct their faults are good people. If you are willing to reform, then write out your promise on the clothes that you will wear for one hundred days.” What could the minister do but to do? So the man first ruled over the capital and then went to his assigned post.

CF: I am sorry for telling such a long story.

Mr. Jin: This type of story has been transmitted widely.

CF: Yes.

CF’s performance of the inspector Bak’s story actually combines two separate stories into one. Yet, rather than informing the audience of CF’s intentional or unintentional mistake, Mr. Jin instead tells his audience (and CF) that stories of the royal inspector Bak has been widely transmitted. This act of deference reveals Mr. Jin’s sensitivity to the perils of live performance and a sense of community with CF, despite the tension in their relationship. Following that comment, Mr. Jin begins his telling of the story. (See Appendix B, Story 9, page 328 for Korean Hangul transcript)
Mr. Jin: In the old days, among the Joseon’s eight province royal inspectors, Bak Munsu was very well known. One day he was passing through a small country village, he saw a man kowtowing to a woman who was tied to a tree. The man was trying to kowtow and the woman was trying not to let the man bow to her. They looked like a couple. ‘How strange’, Bak thought. In the old days, men were above women, so it would have been common to see a woman bowing to a man, but a man bowing to a woman and the woman refusing it was very out of the ordinary. So he decided to look into it. He approached them and asked about what he has seen. The man said, “In my family, we have a ninety year old mother. Since we live a very moderate life, when I come out to work early in the morning, my wife will stay home to take care of the housework and fix meals for my elderly mother before she joins me in the field with my breakfast. Today when she brought me my meal, it was already time for lunch. Being narrow minded and being hungry when she brought my meal, I threw it down.” It turns out that the senile mother thinking her three year old grandson is a chicken boiled him and killed him. The wife, cleaning up after her mother and making her senile mother-in-law a chicken, was late in joining her husband on the field. The husband continued, “Without knowing what has occurred and without asking for a reason, I just threw down the mean. What a fool I am! I can’t even compare with my wife. So I wanted to bow to her, but she refuses to accept my bow, so I tied her down to make her accept my bow.” The royal inspector thought the woman was a virtuous woman. Just like the old saying, ‘a royal subject only serves one king and a virtuous woman only serves one husband’, Bak took a note to build a pillar after the wife.

The royal inspector Bak after making a note of what he saw went on. He was going down a hill when a man was running away from a group of men with axes. Unable to protect the man from the rogues, Bak told the man to hide in the weed field. When Bak’s own life was threatened, Bak reveals where the man was hiding and that leads to the man’s death. His own life spared, Bak becomes
furious and at the same time scared. That night, he takes shelter at a villager’s
home. The woman of the house was milling barley in the yard. She said to her
son, “Boy, go get me a broom. I forgot to bring the broom.” The boy told his
mother to call the dog. He tied the broom to the dog’s back and told his mother
to call the dog. Therefore, the dog delivered the broom.

That night inspector Bak was sharing a room with the boy. Inspector Bak placed
a pile of feces from a nearby dump underneath the boy’s bottom. Then Bak
began to wake him up and began scolding him for soiling in the bed. The boy
denied soiling, and explained that if it was he who really soiled the bed, the tip of
the feces should fall toward where he was laying down. The boy accused Bak of
being a sham. Bak was lost against the wit of the young boy.

Once the royal inspector Bak was staying at another house and like what you
said the father was gravely ill. The mother told her son to go bring a doctor to see
if acupuncture would save her husband. The son, coming home after awhile
without a doctor, when asked why he did not bring a doctor said, “Goodness,
mother. If that doctor could really cure well, would wailing sounds resonate from
his house? How can he cure someone’s illness when he can’t even cure his
own?” The father finally passed away, and the mother told her son to go ask a
feng shui master to come. He returns home alone after being gone for a long time.
The mother yelled at her son for returning home alone. The son replied, “Mother,
ah, when I went to the feng shui master’s home, he was living in a mud home. If
the feng shui master is really good at geomancy, how could he live in a mud
hut?” So the inspector took the boy to the capital and educated him to become a
royal inspector. All these similar stories spread…. 

**CF:** The story of Bak Munsu, the royal inspector Bak I told, is widely spread and
transmitted. Stories of how Bak Munsu, the royal inspector Bak discovered and
raised talented people, is very widely known. In that situation where people were
chasing to kill someone, he should not stay there with his eyes wide open. He should grab a stick and pretended to be blind like the boy…

Mr. Jin: Yes, the boy said so. The boy commented how foolish it was. If he only pretended to be a blind person by grabbing a cane he would have saved the man’s life instead of telling the killers where the man was hiding.

Mr. Jin was aware of the above story and other stories of the royal inspector Bak, and is very aware that the story CF told here is missing a key section of the story. The story, or stories, Mr. Jin told following CF’s story is a combination of short stories following the CF’s story topic and motif, but Mr. Jin leaves out the key element of the story where the boy tells the royal inspector he should have behaved like a blind person to save the other man’s life. It is evident from Mr. Jin’s comments prior to and after his performance that he is well versed in the royal inspector Bak’s stories, but he omits the important storyline in his story to accommodate for CF. Only when CF leads the discussion and mentions the omitted part, does Mr. Jin reveal his awareness. CF then continues to tell a story of the royal inspector Bak. (See Appendix B, Story 10, page 331 for Korean Hangul transcript)

CF: When Bak Munso, the royal inspector Bak was at some other place...

Mr. Jin: Yes

CF: He heard someone was beating his mother in that village.
Mr. Jin: Really? *Heo, heo*...

CF: Bak wondered what kind of beast beats his own mother...

Mr. Jin: Yes.

CF: Bak decided to go and severely teach him a lesson, so asked around about where they lived. One of the neighbors told him which house. The royal inspector finally arrived at the house, but the son wasn’t home, but his mother was. The mother told him her son was hunting in the mountain in front of their home. She offered to call her son. The mother, facing the mountain, called out her son’s name. The son must have been a very devoted son. He heard his mother calling him all the way from the mountain and replied. The mother asked, “My son, where are you now? We have a guest, so please come back now.” The son replied, “I am hunting in such and such area. I will be right down...” and comes down from the mountain carrying a deer. After the son returned home, he prepared the deer meat for the guest and behaved very properly. The royal inspector was thinking, ‘My goodness, the world is turning unkind. How could the people in this village say such bad things about such kind-hearted man? I shall punish those who are spreading this ill rumor!’ Then the son enters the room with a club this thick. He started hitting his mother. The son was heartlessly beating his mother! When the beating ended, the royal inspector was shocked. How could a son who can hear his mother voice deep in the mountain hit his own mother? The son said, “When my father was dying, his last words were: ‘Women must be beaten to stay human, if not they would turn into foxes’ (laughs). That’s why I beat my mother.” It was because living in a mountainous village, the son was not educated and his father taught him improperly. So the inspector decided to move them from a remote mountainous place to a big place like here to let him learn how to respect and honor his mother by watching others’ behavior, and the habit of beating his mother totally disappeared.
Mr. Jin: Of course!

CF: I thought if I could give and take a bit, it might be easier for you to tell stories so although I am not talented I am doing it.

Mr. Jin begins the story. (See Appendix B, Story 11, page 333 for Korean Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin: In the old days there lived a couple with their uneducated but bright ten year old son. They were poor but the family was very happy. The parents time to time worked for a rich neighbor as servants to earn food. One day, the family ran out of food. Therefore, the father went to the rich neighbor’s home to ask. The rich neighbor was a doctor. That day happened to be the doctor’s sixtieth birthday, so there was a grand party. There were many guests exchanging wine cups, pouring each other wine, singing, and what a jubilee! The father who works as a servant felt very awkward to go inside, so he asked other servants if he could see the doctor. The servant went and told his master so-and-so was requesting to see him. The doctor was not happy. He said, “That damn man, what doesn’t he want on a day like this? Tell him to come in.” The doctor called him in and asked why he was there on a day when the doctor and his guests were enjoying wine and having a good time singing and telling stories. So the man said he was there to borrow some food and that his family has not had anything to eat all day. Hearing the man’s reason for his visit, the doctor became furious. “You ill-manner man, you interrupted my party. Until you showed up, we were drinking and telling stories. You cut the storytelling bud, and now you owe me one thousand taels of silver!” Goodness, the poor man went to borrow some rice but now being scolded and charged for a fine, he lost his wits. He came home and went straight to bed feeling very ill. His wife asked him what was wrong, but he wouldn’t answer. He thought he was done for. Where could he get one
thousand taels of silver? His son came in and kept on asking him, so he told what happened at the doctor’s home. How he was accused of cutting off the storytelling bud and now he has to pay one thousand taels of silver as a fine. His young son told his father to not to worry too much and told him to go on with his normal daily chores. Three days have passed since the birthday party. The doctor went over to the poor man’s home to collect the money. He called out three times, but no one answered. So he entered the home and opened the door. The young boy, woken up from a nap, got up and asked what the doctor was doing. The doctor explained that he was there to collect the storytelling bud fee. The boy replied, “You say the storytelling bud fee is one thousand taels of silver? Well, my sleep bud fee is two thousand; you owe me two thousand taels of silver.” The doctor said, “You little rascal, what do you mean ‘sleeping bud fee’?” When the boy said, “You said there is a storytelling bud fee, how can you say there isn’t a sleeping bud fee? You interrupted my sleep and cut off its bud” and demanded two thousand taels. The doctor ran away, cursing.

**CF:** This type of story is very interesting and fun, isn’t it?

**Mr. Jin:** Yes, they are fun.

**CF:** These types of stories show there many bright smart youngsters among Chaoxianzu. How nice!

In the exchange above, the topic of the storytelling changed from the royal inspector Bak to the royal inspector Bak and a bright youth. Now the story moves on to a bright young boy saving his family. Mr. Jin continues with the theme, but tells a story of a man outwitting a rich landowner who uses three trick questions to strip his workers of their yearly pay. Mr. Jin continues with the theme of using one’s wit to save his own life. The
main character in this story, however, is a quail. After Mr. Jin’s story of a quail hunting a fox was finished, CF offered to resume the storytelling to let Mr. Jin rest and also to change the theme of the stories. It is evident that Mr. Jin had been following the thematic hints provided through CF’s performance of stories to learn what types of stories are interesting to and worthy of remembering by the folklorist visiting him.

The stories that Mr. Jin performed, following each of CF’s performances, changed the direction of the themes, proving Mr. Jin’s ability as a storyteller and also his acute awareness of his main audience and their capacity to challenge and evaluate his identity as a storyteller within their community. When asked if Mr. Jin has heard certain type of stories, Mr. Jin rarely acknowledges that he had; but when CF told him a certain story, Mr. Jin followed with a similar thematic story. The following passage is CF’s performance of a story about a man who falls in love at first sight with a woman and disguises himself as a female to acquire his live interest. Following CF’s story, Mr. Jin tells a story that shares a similar motif of falling in love with a woman at first glance and trying to gain her love. But Mr. Jin’s story contains an element of wit that saves a man’s life. He was asked by CF if he read this story in a book, but Mr. Jin stated that the story was told to him. (See Appendix B, Story 12, page 335 for Korean Hangul transcript)

CF: There is a story about Iyeonjeong. In a rural village there were students studying at a traditional village school. It was time for the students to go to the capital and take the civil service exam. The schoolmaster suggested that since no one has been to the capital, and the capital is supposedly full of people like tadpoles in a small pond, it would be best to travel to the capital to see where things are. So the schoolmaster took his students for a fieldtrip to the capital.
Well, the capital was totally different from the rural village! One of the students, it happens to be the smartest one among the students, when it became night with a bright moon, like what you said previously, certain thoughts enter one’s mind, right? The capital had so many things to see. There was a high walled place where people were going and in out, he wondered what kind of people lived in such place. So one night when the moon was bright, he quietly climbed up the wall to see and there was a woman as beautiful as a flower, so bright and white like an egg. After seeing her, he could not focus on his studies. Lying down, he saw her face, closing his eyes he still could only see her face. His schoolmaster thought it strange. Since the student has returned from the capital, his face became haggard and he didn’t do well in his studies. The student’s parents, out of worry, demanded an answer from their son. The son told them that after seeing that beautiful woman, he is unable focus on his studies. The parents asked the master’s help. The parents thought it would be impossible for their son and the beautiful woman in the capital to be a pair. The two families lived a world apart; like heaven and earth. How could a village bumpkin take in a woman like that as a wife? It’s impossible! But what could be done? The schoolmaster decided to take the student back to the capital. The master asked his student to describe what the woman was doing when he saw her. The student said she was playing a Korean zither. The master told the student to learn to play the zither until he can play well. Once the student mastered playing the zither, he disguised as a woman and took his placed near the beautiful woman’s house to play. When the beautiful woman heard someone playing zither, she was impressed and wanted to meet the person. So she asked for her mother’s permission to invite the zither player inside. Well, this family was rich and powerful, so they told him who is disguised as a woman to come in and play for them. Watching this disguised man was like watching an immortal descended from the heavens to play for them. That night the zither player was invited to spend the night in the daughter’s quarters. The two of them spent the night playing and chatting. The next morning, he was asked to stay and the next day again. Even if disguised as a
woman, he couldn’t maintain it for long without revealing the truth. So he told her how he saw her over the wall and how he studied the zither to see her again. The woman told him once he passes the civil service exam, he could take her as his wife. She also told him to not to think about her and concentrate on his studies. He was now happy to study. Who wouldn’t?

On his way home, a man was chasing him all the way to his village. This man, mistakenly thinking the student was a woman, fell in love. The student told him the truth, that he is actually a man, and explained the reason behind his disguise. Well the man returned to the capital and told the parents’ of the beautiful woman that the zither player was actually a man who spent many nights with their daughter. The woman’s parents told their daughter to call the man to the capital and let them meet formally. The daughter, longing for her lover without any suspicion, told her lover to come and meet her parents. As soon as the man entered the streets of the capital, he was put in a big sack and was tossed in the river. Some time has passed, and the civil service exam took place. The first-place examinee’s name was the same as the man who was drowned. The father of the beautiful woman thought it strange. ‘How could a man whom he ordered to be killed still be alive? It must be someone with the same name.’ The man, not knowing he has taken the first place in the civil service exam, was living at a boatman’s home. A boatman saved him when he was tossed in the river. Finally the news of his exam result reached his ears, and he went and received his title. The father of the beautiful woman, upon seeing him, began repenting for his actions. He thought, ‘I as a human carried out an unworldly act. I drowned a man, but if he has died then this country would not have a talented man like this today.’ Therefore the father built a pavilion on the river shore and named it Iyeonjeon.

**CF:** This is a very long story, but I shorten it. Kids like her (*referring to Peace Lee*) like to listen to these types of stories. (*laughs*)
For CF, this storytelling performance is his first “class session” in the field for his amateur student, myself. Although CF and I had visited Tumen and Longjing, this was the very first time we had to live, eat, and work together with a performer. His objectives for the fieldwork were three-fold. The first objective was to train me to interact properly with the storyteller and the local people. Secondly, to test and expose me to the “santong” and methodology for doing Chaoxianzu fieldwork. And thirdly, to allow me to collect various Chaoxianzu folk literature, especially the folk stories based on historical figures. The latter became evident when CF returned the storytelling theme to the stories of the royal inspector Bak and the famous general Choe Yeong.

Taking a hint from CF’s comment and his theme change, Mr. Jin tells a story about a young country man who was given a lot of money by his rich parents to go out and experience the world. Mr. Jin repeats the old saying “A sitting hero is worse than a standing fool.” So the son goes out -- but not knowing how the world works, he returns home without spending half the money his parents gave him. The second time he was sent out he was told to purchase a short-handled hoe (ho mi in Korean). Instead, the son brings home a tiger’s tail, thinking the letter ‘ho’ stood for the tiger ho, and the letter ‘mi’ for the tail. The third time he was sent out, he finally felt comfortable enough to be entertained by courtesans. The next time he leaves home, he falls in love with a woman wearing a modern skirt and with a gold tooth who turns out to be a concubine of the mayor of Seoul. Through the help of his lady innkeeper, he is disguised as a female make-up seller and enters the house of the concubine.
The young man and concubine begin their affair when the mayor is out of town. She even gives him a ring as a token of her affection. Their affair is exposed when he tells his story to a classmate whom he runs into on the street. The mayor invites him over to the concubine’s home, promising not to harm him. At the dinner table he is asked to tell the story again. He tells the story of how he traveled at the request of his parents and falls in love with a beautiful woman while drinking. While taking a drink he clandestinely removes the ring, the gift from the concubine, and ends his story, “...with the help of an old lady innkeeper, I was able to have my desired love affair and was able to fulfill my wish. But when I woke up, it was all but a dream.” Therefore, he was able to save his lover’s reputation. That night they went to their room to sleep, and was able to save his own skin and have a great love affair. Mr. Jin notes that this is what is referred to as “one word is worth thousand taels of silver”.

CF asked Mr. Jin if he had read the above story in a book, but Mr. Jin said he heard someone tell the story. In my lessons with CF, he emphasized the importance of the oral composition and oral transmission in differentiating oral traditions from the written literary traditions. On a few occasions, CF asked Mr. Jin whether a story Mr. Jin had performed was based on a book. This story was followed by CF’s discussion on marriage customs and other stories on fauna, flora, and animals. CF was giving Mr. Jin a break and at the same time he was providing story topic ideas. The discussion was interrupted by Mr. Jin’s wife, when she asked us if we would like some gam ju, a sweet Korean rice drink. This led to another story. (See Appendix B, Story 13, page 338 for Korean Hangul transcript)
Mr. Jin’s wife: Would you like some gam ju?

CF: I don’t even drink on my birthday at home, but when I am outside talking with elders, I get emotionally connected to them (referring to the elders), I can even finish one bottle on my own. Isn’t there a story on wine, right? In the past people took millet and germinated yeast to make wine. Once a leper, you know leprosy, right?

Mr. Jin’s wife: You mean that rotting disease?

CF: Yes, he had leprosy and heard that a human liver can cure leprosy. If not cured, then leprosy could cause your fingers to rot off. It’s very terrible.

Mr. Jin’s wife: Can’t live in the same house.

CF: So the leper thought ‘I want to live like a human being. Let’s try eating a human liver since it could cure it.’ So one day he went up to a mountain and saw a monk coming up. Buddhist monk is very respectable. He was reciting prayer namiabultabul counting on a Buddhist rosary. The monk seemed very respectable looking. The leper decided, whether respectable or not, he killed the monk and ate his liver. The second person who came up the mountain appears a bit different from a normal person. He was singing and swaying a bit. He seemed a bit excited. But the leper killed him and ate his liver, too. The third person coming up was pure crazy. He would suddenly burst into laughter and talk to himself. It did not matter. The leper killed him and ate his liver as well. After eating three people’s livers, the leper was cured. He wanted to bury the three victims properly out of conscience. So he buried them on the mountain, and well, since people died, he needs to hold commemorative rites, right? When he went to their grave site, some unknown plants were growing on the grave. When he returned in the fall, the plants turned yellow. These were wheat. People took the
wheat and yeast to make wine. Wine is very good to drink. If a person takes one glass, he behaves like the monk, very calm and well mannered. Go and see when men drink. No one will bang on the table after just one drink. Overall they all behave just after a drink, like the monk. After two drinks, people become a bit excited. Three or more drinks, people become unreasonable and fight. People who wouldn’t normally fight would get into fights, some would start crying. Some would just laugh. They all become crazy (*laugh*). Wine has this affect on people. After three drinks then people become crazy, two drinks, they are just a bit excited singing and dancing, but one drink would allow them to behave respectably, right? Therefore, I am trying to behave so I am only drinking a little.

After CF’s reply to Mr. Jin’ wife, Mr. Jin and everyone at Mr. Jin’s home started talking about surrounding villages, their population, and the origin of the village and river names. A mention of historical names and sites lead Mr. Jin to perform a story of the famous general Choe Yeong. Mr. Jin’s story was followed by CF who commented that because Mr. Jin’s version is transmitted orally, it is different from the historical record. During this time, a visitor from the village came to see Mr. Jin’s wife. People were sitting in a semi-circle talking and chatting, but the storytelling continued until it was time to take a break. While others were taking a break, Mr. Jin asked about the microphone, and commented on the size of it. I asked him if he knew any “dumb groom” stories. He said there are stories he told in “normal” situations and there are stories to avoid while in the presence of women, so he chose not to tell any. I informed him that I am also interested in studying “dumb groom” stories as well as others, so Mr. Jin began
telling a “dumb groom” story”. (See Appendix B, Story 14, page 340 for Korean
Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin: In the old days, a widower was raising a son by himself. His son was over twenty years old, but hadn’t taken a wife. The widower living alone and being a farmer in the old days, not educated and poor, he did not even dare to think about finding a daughter-in-law. So the son thought if he relied on his father, he won’t be able to get married, and being poor and all, he won’t be able to take a virgin. Fortunately a young widow lived in the next village. In the old days it would have been a disgrace for a widow to remarry. They lived in that period so it was difficult. The son went and talked to his father. “Father I am getting old and it would be very difficult for me to marry a virgin, so I want to marry the widow. Would you be able to help me?” So the father agreed to help his son. The son told his father to chase after him across the widow’s house with a club as if the father was about to kill his own son. The father, grabbing a club yelling at him for being unable to kill his own son. The father, grabbing a club telling the son to get undressed and sit on her stomach, and lift and push down on her command. So the son, pretending to be dumb, followed what the widow told him to do. While two of them were very excited lifting pushing, lifting pushing, lifting pushing, and lifting pushing, a traveling ceramic pot vendor stops by the widow’s home. He called to see if anyone was interested in buying his pots. Then he hears “come in”, so he entered. But then he followed the son’s command. The widow felt sorry and pity for the son, so decides to take him in. So she tells him to get undressed and sit on her stomach, and lift and push down on her command. So the son, pretending to be dumb, followed what the widow told him to do. While two of them were very excited lifting pushing, lifting pushing, lifting pushing, and lifting pushing, a traveling ceramic pot vendor stops by the widow’s home. He called to see if anyone was interested in buying his pots. Then he hears “come in”, so he entered. But then he is told to leave, so he leaves. He is then told to enter and then leave. Going back
and forth he drops all his pots in the widow’s yard. Hearing a commotion, the widow and the son looking out find a yard full of ceramic potshards. What can they do? They ruined the pot vendor’s livelihood, so they paid him for all the broken pots and lived happily. There are also funny old stories as well.

CF was outside taking a break while Mr. Jin was telling this story. When he returned, I informed him of my request for a “dumb groom” story. The appearance of a ceramic pot vendor in the story led to a series of short stories based on a ceramic pot vendor, a widow searching for a son-in-law, and teaching a lesson to a ferocious rich man. Mr. Jin followed these short stories with a story he heard in neighboring Heilongjiang province. After Mr. Jin’s performance, CF asked where Mr. Jin acquired this story. Mr. Jin replied that he heard the story in Heilongjiang when he was exchanging stories with other people, but the story was based on a western novel.

Mr. Jin’s repertoire was composed not only what the Chaoxianzu folklorist defines as Chaoxianzu stories, but also transnational stories that characteristically parallels the history of Manchuria and Chaoxian immigrants in Manchuria. Thus, the western novel-based story he heard from someone in Heilongjiang is part of his repertoire and is very relevant to Mr. Jin’s life.

Briefly summarized, the story tells of an abusive, arrogant king who feels threatened when he hears of someone who is richer, kinder, and loved by people than himself. The king travels to find this person and on his journey witnesses all the good deeds of the rich man. The king finally finds the man he was searching for and learns from him how to be humble and be a kind king. CF followed Mr. Jin’s story with short
stories of Heo Jun (1539~1615) a famous Korean doctor, and a story of taking one’s pulse with a string. Mr. Jin then offered a story of a tiger that repays a woman’s kindness.

The story follows. (See Appendix B, Story 15, page 342 for Korean Hangul transcript)

Mr. Jin:
In the old days, there was a woman who married a man in the next village. She was an only child. Pretty and kind, everyone was praising her. She was a model daughter-in-law. One year, two years, and three years flew by, but she wasn’t able to go back to her parents’ home. She was trying to pay a visit, but her father-in-law wouldn’t eat without his daughter-in-law, so she couldn’t go. One day she received a letter telling her to come home that night due to her mother’s sudden illness. If it was present day, there would be cars and motorcycles, but in the old days, man or woman, all had to walk. The sun was already setting when she set out. She was worried and scared walking alone. Every step her eyes would tear up, every step she sighed. Counting on her legs, she pushes on as quickly as possible in the dark, falling down and getting up again. In the middle of the road, she sees a large tiger with its mouth wide open staring at her. Any average woman would have fainted, but she told the tiger, “I am on my way to see my dying mother. No matter how hungry you are, please let me go see her and you can eat me on my way back. Please do not kill me now.” Hearing her, the tiger, dropping tears, nodded with its mouth open. She thought there must be something else the tiger wants. So she, although scared, approached the tiger and looked inside of its mouth. It must have eaten a woman. The tiger swallowed everything except a long Korean hairpin. She rolled her sleeves, put her arm in tiger’s mouth and removed the hairpin. The tiger, still crying, wagging its tail, sat down to let her sit on him. So she sat on the tiger and like an arrow, the tiger took her to her parents’ home and sat in the yard like a dog. Her mother was fighting for her life. The doctors said only the wild ginseng could cure her. Where could
one get wild ginseng even in the remote area? If it was cultured ginseng it could be possible to get some, but no one has wild ginseng. The daughter still wanted to try to get wild ginseng, so she came outside. The tiger motioned her to ride him; when she sat on him, like an arrow being shut out, took her deep, deep, inside of a mountain. The tiger entered through a boulder and set her down at a place where a small stream of water was trickling down in front of an old tree. The tiger used its front paws to beat on a place. When she looked, there was a wild ginseng. So she carefully dug it out and wrapped it. Riding the tiger again, she was at her mother’s side. After three sips of the wild ginseng concoction, her mother’s condition began to improve and she was able to sit up. Like the old saying ‘sincerity moves heaven’, thanks to the tiger she could cure her mother’s illness. The tiger still repays her kindness every New Year; the tiger would bring a deer and a wild boar at night and place them in her yard. Like sincerity moves heaven, if you harm others when even a beast repays one’s kindness.

Mr. Jin’s wife: It is because she removed the hairpin, so as to repay her kindness….

CF: When she removed the hairpin, the tiger took her on its back and went into the deep inside of the mountain where a small box was there. The tiger patted the box and when she opened it there were silver acupuncture needles. With the silver needles and _____ from the tiger she was able to save her mother. These are all the same story. One is a silver needle, the other one is ginseng. Grandpa, you are very good.

Mr. Jin: Oh, heo heo heo, I am a listening mute…

CF: Some people listening to your story would use acupuncture if they hear acupuncture is affective, although you said ginseng….
**Mr. Jin:** Everyone changes one word, one sentence, when they tell stories. Look at the songs. It has one melody but has multiple lyrics. If someone wanted to retell what I told even though it might be similar….

**CF:** Grandma (*referring to Mr. Jin’s wife*), why don’t you tell a story?

Upon hearing CF’s request for her to tell a *yeonmal* (literally meaning “old story”), Mr. Jin’s wife began talking about her own life and stories of her own life. She was married at the age of seventeen and had nine children. Some of her children, trying to go work in South Korea, borrowed a lot of money from her. She stated that even with so many children, she had never depended on them. Both Mr. Jin and CF then continued to exchange stories. CF brought up the royal inspector Bak stories again, followed by short stories.

The transcribed and translated stories above are part of a storytelling session that occurred at Mr. Jin’s home over the course of two days, each session beginning at 9:00am and finishing at 6:00pm. Between storytelling, both CF and I participated in helping out with small chores. In the storytelling, the dynamic between Mr. Jin as a storyteller and CF as an authority on Chaoxianzu folklore created a tension where both the storyteller and the scholar-collector are acutely aware of the folklorist’s performative evaluation, and the storyteller’s display of performative competence that underlay each story and song (cf. Bauman 1977: 11). In Chaoxianzu storytelling, the storyteller’s role becomes very limited beyond his or her performance arena, whereas a Chaoxianzu folklorist has access to resources and authority on the entire process of the textualization
The storyteller, like Mr. Jin and Mr. Li who sang the “Song of Chunhyang,” was very aware of this fact (Lee 2002: 107-114). Visits from folklorists do not automatically lead to publication of performer’s stories or even their names; however, within that brief moment of performing a story or singing a song, the performer holds the authority (Bauman 1977: 8-14). Mr. Jin is a linguistically-talented person, able to command, or at least to a certain degree speak, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian. As he became old, he began to write down his songs to remember them. His song collection, consisting of a small string-bound notebook, reflects his linguistic talents. Mr. Li, who sang the “Song of Chunhyang,” also kept notes of his songs, based on his writing, is not as well versed as Mr. Jin. Mr. Li has also written songs entitled “Baek Dusan Choen Ji,” the “Heavenly Pool of Baek Du Mountain” (or Changbaishan in Chinese. “Flower Blossom My Village” (Kkotpineun Naemaeul in Korean), and “Yanbian’s Pride” (Yeonbyeonui Jarang in Korean) with his name written on each song as the composer. As is common practice among the local folk singers, both Mr. Jin and Mr. Li only recorded the lyrics.

A Student’s Field Experience

After I experienced the multiple in-field “lessons” from the veteran folklorist CF and becoming more familiar with the storyteller Mr. Jin and the singer Mr. Li, CF began to gradually allow me to assume the role of interviewer. Due to his concern for my safety, however, CF always accompanied me in my visits to Mr. Jin, who lived in a remote area. One day, knowing full well I was born in Gyeonggi Province, CF directed me to travel to a place known as “Jingjitun” (meaning Gyeonggi village), where most of the villagers
spoke Gyeonggi Province dialect. He suggested that I should go see my “hometown people.” Prior to entering the village, a South Korean researcher who had led a group of folklore students to the village informed me that one of the villagers performed the story of “Gureongteong Gureongteong Sinseonbi.” An old woman who babysat me when I was growing up often told this story, but under the slightly different title of “Gureongteong Gureongteong Sinseonbong.” 17 Shinseonbong was the name of the highest peak in the mountains in my village. There were rumors that short, arm-thick snakes lived there and if any of the snakes jumped over a person’s head three times, the person would lose consciousness and get into big trouble. Armed with what I had learned from CF, I arranged to inform the villagers of my possible visit so they could help me with lodging. Upon receiving confirmation from a contact that one of the villagers had been contacted, I visited the village.

It turned out that the contacted villager did not inform the rest of the village, and additionally my visit coincided with their croquet practice for an upcoming competition against the next village. I was able to talk with village elders who were born in South Korea through the help of the head of the village and his mother. After talking with them, I decided to join them in their practice. One of the croquet players was humming while taking her turn:

“Not bearing expected beans
How come bore only the caster beans and camellias

Yellow head, topknot thin like spanned string
When will I raise you to become my husband?”
The singer began to talk about a marriage custom in the past where a grown-up girl is married to a young male husband:

**Peace Lee** (hereafter referred to as **Lee**): Was it to make the wives work?

**Singer**: Of course! That was the purpose. Husband was so young. There is a story about it, you know. A couple was going somewhere and they reached a stream. The wife being tall just jumped over, but the husband being so young and small couldn’t cross. He just paced up and down looking for a narrow place to jump over. So the wife jumped back over and grabbed hold of the husband under his arms and jumped over and threw him down and cursed, “Your father is a churl and my father is also a churl.”

**Another old lady**: If it was me I would have threw him down in the stream.

**Singer**: In the old days that’s how it was. That’s how they lived, you know.

**Lee**: So the song is a lament song, is it? How old are you, grandmother?

**Singer**: Me? I am seventy years old. That was a lament, but for playing,

Enjoy, enjoy, enjoy while young
When old and sick you can’t enjoy
_____ become old
Friends stop coming
Even the water, when drought comes
Even the fish stop playing
OK!

This is how we play.
Would a diseased me get up to play
Would medicine make me get up
_____like solid chastity
My heart ____ would I allow it.

Lee: Grandmother, you weren’t born here, right?

Singer: I came from Joseon when I was twelve.

Lee: Where in Joseon?

Singer: Gyeonggi Province. I lived in Gyeonggi Province a place called
Gapyeong and entered [China] when I was twelve. I am the oldest. I am the
oldest in my family, but my mother passed away when I was two. My mother
died, so my grandmother and my aunt raised me. I entered China when I was
twelve. So I didn’t get any education. I lived a poor life without a mother or a
father.

Lee: You are very smart. The songs....

Singer: I just listen to others play and copy. Even now I wouldn’t be able to tell
you if you bring a letter and threaten my life for me to read it.

Lee: Did you live here all along?

Singer: When we first came, we went to a place called Yangsuja. There was a
big house _____ with a covered roof like a pigpen and the inside divided with
planks for people. One hundred people came and divided each room. We hung
our pots in the yard and cooked. After that the government gave us housing in
Gaepyeongtun. The Japanese lent it to us, so we lived there until we came here.
We were told this place was better off. It was named Gaeyeongtun because we lived in Gapyeong in Korea. Here is called Gyeonggitun since people from Gyeongg Province came here. There are no Chinese living here, not even one. Only the Joseon people live here. That old man over there, _____old man and others have been living here all along.

As we continued to chat, others who were not playing in the game joined in. The talk eventually led to some of the villagers’ telling about experiences in Korea and the current event, the croquet competition. The singer suddenly began singing again.

**Singer (singing):**

_____ young men,
Don’t laugh at my grey hair
Day before yesterday, I was young
But today I became grey haired.
Enjoy, enjoy, enjoy while young
When sick and old, cannot enjoy

**Lee:** Is this a youth song (“Choengchunga”)?

**Singer:** Yes...
I am going, going, I am going.
Leaving you behind, I am going.
Would I never return when I go?
Would I forget you when I never return?

*Eolssigu Jeolssigu Jihawja* is good.
It’s impossible not to enjoy!
The sun is setting in the younger days
____ where are you going?
If you are going to the concubine’s place
Watch me die and then go.

Even if the concubine’s home is a flower field
Lotus’ house is a pond
Flowers and butterflies may last a season
The goldfish in the pond last all year long

It means they are there all the time whether it is summer or winter.
The flowers and butterflies are only for one season, they die.
This is how the song came to be.

Lee: Yes, yes. Comparing herself with the concubine....

Singer: The flowers and butterflies last only one season, but _____. The goldfish in the pond stays in the middle of the pond. A pond, you know, the goldfish stays in the pond all the time. That’s what it is referring to.

Lee: Is this directed at her husband?
Singer: Of course! (laughs)

Swaying, swaying, weeping willow
Blue yarn, red yarn, tie a rope
When I swing my lover will push
When my lover swings I will push
My beloved, my beloved, do not push on the rope
If the rope breaks our affection will die.
The singer and those who were watching the croquet game were now paying more attention to her singing, and began talking about Korean language education in the village. It was apparent from their concerns that the younger generations of Chaoxianzu are less motivated to study Korean; especially among those living outside of the autonomous areas. Our conversation led to other topics, and the singer began singing again with comments.

**Singer:** When it comes to collecting debts, one should collect even from the husband of your sister-in-law.

Many calls of collecting money  
Only I am the one who collects  
*Eolssigu jeolssigu jihwaja* is good.  
It’s impossible not to enjoy!

**Singer:** Isn’t it?  
In the flowing water, _____(hemp) tearing that virgin  
Outside outer leaf, set aside  
Inside inner leaf, give it to me.  
You _____ saw how could you ask for the inner leaf?  
Seeing once is a stranger, seeing twice is an acquaintance  
Regardless of stranger or acquaintance  
Here at this moment  
Let’s pound the barley to our heart’s contend!
You the woman weeding the bean field
Your shirt is getting soaked
What kind of man _____ meet
Each _____ do you tear up
Getting married leaving your widowed mother
Chilgap Mountain _____ peak
The mountain birds’ crying echoes
Burned by my young heart.

Singer: I learned these while playing.

She continued to sing and chat with others, but we had to stop when we were told that our talking and her singing were interrupting the game. I returned to my lodgings provided by the village chief. After lunch, I was visited by an old lady who was practicing croquet in the morning. She was the one who told the story “Gureongteong Gureongteong Sinseonbi.”

Storyteller Mrs. Choe (hereafter Choe): Since I haven’t practiced, now it’s really difficult to do (referring to storytelling).

Lee: Don’t you tell old stories at the senior citizen association meeting?

Choe: No, we don’t. When we have meetings they read newspapers to us, informing us of what is going on in the country, and what is going on in such and such places.
Lee: Reading from here *(referring to a South Korean collection team’s report)* you are _____, right? Could you tell me the “Gureongteong Gureongteong Sinseonbi”?

Choe: It was all good *(referring to previous collection team’s visit)*. The people were all good, but they were too greedy. I guess coming all the way here on the plane and trying to hear as much as possible, I couldn’t refuse it, you know. I will tell you what I can remember since I am using my lunch break *(from the practice)*. If you don’t practice hitting the ball, it’s hard to do as well.

After a brief chat, she began telling her stories. *(See Appendix B, Story 16, page 344 for Korean Hangul transcript)*

Choe: In the old days, there lived a couple and when the wife was three months pregnant, the husband died. Losing a husband and no other means of support and pregnant, the widow started to work for her rich neighbor. She would cook and do laundry, in the past it was _____, but now it’s called bomo *(baomu in Chinese)*, but in the past it was known as namsari. She did cooking, laundry and took care of the house chores at her rich neighbor’s home to support herself. Her stomach became bigger and bigger. Her stomach became big and when she gave birth she ended up giving a birth to a python. Goodness, she gave a birth to a python! She thought to herself, ‘What is there for me to do? It came out of me, I can’t just throw it away, what can I do?’ When she tried to throw it away, that thing called her “Mommy, mommy”. In the old days I heard that even pythons could talk *(laughs)*. So when it started calling her its mom, she felt not so scared and couldn’t abandon it. A year or two passed, she didn’t tell anyone about her python child, but continued to work at the neighbor’s home. Her rich neighbor had three daughters. They invited a teacher to educate all three daughters. One day, after a year or two had passed by, the python was growing big, being fed well from the food his mother was bringing from the neighbor. Once she just
brought him plain rice. And the python said to his mom, “Mom, bring me some side dishes. If you don’t give me any kimchi I can’t shed my skin.” He wanted something with flavor to shed his skin to become a handsome man. Listening to her son, the mother fed him kimchi and rice. After eating kimchi and rice, he told her, “Mom, I want to get married.” The mother said, “Don’t be unreasonable! Who would marry you? Anyone would die from the shock.” He told her there is a person who is willing to marry him and it was one of the rich neighbor’s daughters. The python asked his mother to go and ask which daughter would be willing. The mother told him she would probably be beaten to death and she didn’t know how to ask, but the python insisted.

She worked very diligently and honestly. She cleaned and did laundry well and has been at the rich neighbor’s home for many years. So the rich neighbor trusted the mother. Once the mother went to ask, but couldn’t open her mouth. The rich neighbor asked her to talk, but she just couldn’t bring it out. Her python son asked why she was not asking. She told him that words don’t seem to come out of her mouth. He told her, “Please talk to them. Isn’t it better for you to ask instead of me going to myself? They would be shocked if I go.” For two days the mother tried to ask, but both times she couldn’t bring it up. On the third day her python son said, “Mother, I don’t have much time” and begged her to ask the neighbor. She finally went to see her master. Kneeling down and putting her head on the floor she said, “Master (referring to the rich neighbor), please kill me____. The master, surprised by her actions, asked “What is wrong? What is going on? Dear woman, what is wrong?” She said she should be killed for what she was about to say. Whether he kills her or lets her live, she just begged him to listen to her. She begged while crying.

The master told her she is like his own family, taking care of his household for so long, and encouraged her to speak what she has to say. So she explained that she was three months pregnant when her husband died, and she ended up giving birth
to a python that she has been raising. She told it all. She said now her son, somehow finding out about his three daughters, insists on getting married to one of them. It could be that the master was an educated man, he told her not to worry; all he needs to do is ask his daughters. If they don’t want to marry, then it’s done; if one of them wants to marry, then let them get married. So he called the oldest daughter and asked, “My daughter, would you be willing to marry her son?” The oldest replied, “How could I marry a servant’s son?” Her father told her the son is a python. She was so scared she ran out. The second daughter came and was asked the same. The second daughter reacted the same way as the oldest. Calling the third daughter in, her father explained that the next door lady was three months pregnant when her husband died and when she had the baby it was a python. He asked her if she was willing to marry him. Even before the father could finish, the third daughter agreed to it and addressed the python’s mother as her mother-in-law. The third daughter told her, “Mother, please do not worry. I will go.” So, being so grateful, the mother cried. She would have been grateful to be called a maid, but the third daughter called her mother. The third daughter said, “Mother, don’t cry. Everything is okay. Whether I marry a python, you gave birth to it so I should address you as mother. I will marry him, so don’t worry.” So the mother returned to her home with the news. When she prepared food, the python wouldn’t eat, so the mother told him what happened. He listened while flicking his tongue. She told him how the oldest and second daughter ran out from being shocked, but the third daughter, the prettiest of all three, agreed to marry him. He told her he knew, and next day he asked his mother to set the wedding date. The mother thought that the date should be set by the bride’s home, but her python son told her if they want to set the date far in the future, he would do the opposite. The mother said, “You should just be grateful. How can you set the date? How are you going?” Her python son said, “Don’t worry about me attending the wedding.” “Their relatives who might come to the wedding will faint from the shock.” “Its okay, let them.” So the next day she told her master what her son said, and asked what to do. The master told
her to ask her son to set the date. When she told her son that now it is up to him
to set the date, he told her to go and ask the third daughter, the python said to ask
the girl. It is hard to find an opportunity to talk to the daughters while they are
studying. So carrying in their meal, she asked the third daughter. “My lady, my
son has asked me to ask your father for the wedding date, but your father has told
my son to set the date. Now my son is asking you to set it.” The third daughter
said, “As a man _____.” When the mother told her python son, he said he knew
that would be her answer. He told his mother the wedding will be in three days
since he is running out of time, and when his mom asked about his rushing, he
told her that he would not remain as a python forever. So in three days, the
wedding took place. Even if a python, a groom has to march in. The rich
neighbor hired people to make wedding clothes for both the bride and groom,
even if the groom was a python. They wanted to put down white carpet for the
python to slither in, but the python requested hay. Like this. In Joseon one ja, six
chi is one ja. Here our measure is ten chi is one ja. The python said that since he
had never set a foot on the ground, he doesn’t want to step on the dirt. So
according to his request, hay was put down for him to slither to his wedding. He
was a very large python. He lifted half of his body and bowed. So terrible a scene
no one could stand to watch. The people who were assisting the bride closed
their eyes when the groom and bride exchanged their bows. But the bride, in the
old days they put a cloth over the bride while bowing, looking up her and the
python saw each other. The python flicked its tongue, that red tongue of his. The
bride wasn’t scared; she smiled as if she understood him. The mother, watching
her son exchanging the second bow, thought that he didn’t even flick his tongue
when he ate, how he could flick his tongue out that long. It was very scary. Now
it was time for their first night together. It was so scary, and no one would go and
watch. The bride, as if nothing is out of the ordinary, was not even scared.

Lee: She was audacious.
Choe: Exactly. She wasn’t scared. At night, wondering if the python is sleeping with the girl, the mother put a hole through the paper on the window and looked in. In the past there weren’t any glass windows, there were all mulberry bark paper windows. The bride and groom were sitting separately. The mother watched them for a while then went to bed. The next morning, when did they do something, the groom was transformed into a very handsome man. He turned into a man. He shed his skin after getting married. He told his bride, “Please keep safe my shed skin. If this gets burned and if I smell the burning smell of it, no matter where I am, I won’t be able to come back here.” He told her to hide it well. His mother still worked for his current in-laws, but since the wedding, she wasn’t treated as a servant. The bride’s family also built a big house for their daughter and son-in-law.

All the girls now regretted not getting married to the python, including the two older sisters. The sisters started searching for the python’s shed skin, but how could they find it when their younger sister was hiding it under her skirt? They searched when the third daughter was not at home. One day the third daughter was brushing her long hair. All women had long hair in the old days. While brushing her long hair she accidently loosened her skirt string, and her sisters saw the python skin. The oldest daughter ran and grabbed the skin. The third daughter begged, “Sister, please. Bring it back, bring it back.” The oldest daughter ran to where cow feed was being boiled and shoved it into the fire. The groom smelled his shed skin burn. He said to his bride, “How did you let this happened? When you agreed to marry me, I thought I couldn’t repay you ever, but now you have burned the skin. I am at a loss. I won’t be able to return to you.” The third daughter waited for days, but there was no sign of her husband. She went to see her parents and told them that “...since my sisters destroyed the skin when he told me to safe keep it, I will go and search for him.” Her father severely scolded his two daughters, and prepared for his third daughter bags of rice and bean powder for her journey. The third daughter disguised herself as a
man and set out. In the old days a woman couldn’t go out because they got
kidnapped. In the old days there were so many bandits in the remote mountains,
and unmarried men. So being afraid of getting kidnapped, she put on a man’s
clothes and hat. The sun was about to set when she saw a wild boar oinking
looking for food. Unable to find food, the boar dug a root out to eat. She
went next to him and asked, “Boar sir, Boar sir, have you seen my Gureong
Greong Seo seonbi?” In the old days, my mother would sing “Gu reo eong, gu
reo eong. Boar sir, boar sir, have you seen my Gureong Gureong Seoseonbi?”
The boar didn’t answer. She asked again. Only when she asked three times, the
boar finally said, “I am starving to death. I don’t have any time to talk!” She
started digging for the roots until her fingers bled. Digging and digging, using
rocks to dig, she dug out a pile of the roots and offered it to the boar. “Boar sir,
please have these.” He ate the roots and took a drink. She thought he would tell
her where to find her husband, but instead he told her to just go straight ahead.

She followed that road and went straight ahead. The sun was about to set again
when she reached a village and rice paddies. It must have been autumn, the pears
were ripe and they turned gold.

A small girl about ten years of age was keeping the birds off by singing. “Heo
heol birds, birds, _____ birds, if you eat them, I eat them, all be eaten, then when
my brother gets married, _____ what to do?” So she quickly approached her,
“Miss, could you sing that song one more time?” The little girl said, “My brother
told me to just sing once. I can’t.” The little girl refused to sing the bird-chasing
song. The third sister told her it was a very pleasant song and she would like to
hear it one more time; but the little girl said she won’t sing it until the next day. It
was getting dark and the third daughter was keeping a close eye on the little girl
to see where she would go, but suddenly the little girl disappeared. The next day,
out of nowhere the little girl reappeared again. The little girl was surprised to see
the third daughter again. “My goodness, you haven’t left yet?” “Where could I
go? I was going to follow you but I didn’t know where you went” the third
dughter answered. The little girl said, “You can’t come with me. How can you
follow me?” She disappeared again and reappeared next day, but wouldn’t
tell the third daughter where she went. The third daughter waited all day long and the
little girl would sing that song at exactly the same hour. “Heo heol birds,
birds....” The third daughter thought ‘there must be something. It is possible
perhaps that brother of hers is my husband.’ So the third daughter asked the little
girl to take her with her, but she said her brother told her not to bring anyone. So
the third daughter grabbed the little girl’s skirt. The little girl, although she is a
baby, since the third daughter was dressed as a man, was upset that a man
grabbed her skirt. The third daughter let go of the skirt, but the little girl again
disappeared. Next day she appeared. The third daughter begged her to take her.
The little girl said that not only my brother told me not to bring anyone, but that
men and women at the age of seven shouldn’t sit together; as a ten year-old girl,
how could she go with a man? In the old days, at the age seven, men and women
had to be separated. The third daughter has been there for days. After the little
girl left, the third daughter went to a spring. After eating her bean powder, she
decided to draw herself into the spring water. She thought, after searching all
over it wasn’t clear where her husband was. Out of disappointment and
hopelessness, she felt that the only thing left for her to do was end her life. So
she jumped in. Going through the water for a while, the third daughter found
herself behind the little girl. It turned out that the little girl was coming and going
through the spring. At the end she reached a place with tiled roofs houses, and
saw that little girl enter a house, but couldn’t see where she went in. Unable to
enter the house and not having anything to eat, the third daughter sat there and
spent the night. The next day, “Oh my, how did this man follow me? Why did he
follow me?” The third daughter made up a lie and told the little girl she was
invited by her brother. So the little girl took the third daughter inside and took
her to see her brother. The brother saw his wife had come to find him!
Lee: It was Seoseonbi?

Choe: Yes, it was. He hugged her and cried for a long time. He told her he knew she was looking for him. He was going to find her until her sisters burned his skin. Both of them were hugging and crying, two men. Carrying his wife he went to see his mother. The older sisters died covering themselves with their skirts on top of the rotting hay and became mushrooms. The couple with their parents lived happily.

Also known as “Gureodeongdeong Sinseonbi,” and “Gureongdeong Sinseonbi,” the basic plot of the story is about a man born as a snake who marries a third daughter and transforms into a handsome man. He leaves home to take the civil service exam, but before he leaves, tells his wife to safeguard his snakeskin. In various versions when his snakeskin is burned the burning of the skin is carried out differently, but in all cases results in the disappearance of Shinseonbi. His wife goes on a journey to search for him and on the way she overcomes various difficulties and tasks. In some versions, when the third daughter finally finds the snake husband, he is already remarried and the conflict between the two wives is resolved through a competition. The third daughter and the new wife are given a set of tasks to complete and the winner, which is the third daughter, reclaims the husband.

In Mrs. Choe’s version, the competition and conflict between the two wives are omitted, however the punishment of the two wicked sisters and their travel to an underwater world (possibly representing the underworld of the dead) in one of the versions are included. Mrs. Choe performed another story that involved wicked pythons
and a centipede that later transforms into a woman with the help of an unsuccessful scholar. To describe the story briefly, an unsuccessful scholar with a child and wife decides to support his starving family by becoming a coolie, and in his search for work ends up traveling far away. On his search for work journey, he meets his dead grandfather playing chess with other old men; but he is chased away by one of the old men. He travels further and ends up spending the night at a very luxurious house. The owner of the house, being a woman, stays with him in the same room. Although exhausted from his journey, he stays awake while sitting up. She offers him some very strong tobacco and tells him to spit on her face, but he spits outside instead and somehow causes the head of a python to fall down. It turns out his dead grandfather that he saw on his journey was actually a python that was in competition with the woman, who is a centipede that has eaten ninety-nine people in order to transform herself into a human. If the scholar had spat on the centipede’s face, it would have died and the scholar would have become the one hundredth victim of the python. However, since the scholar didn’t spit on her, the python died and the centipede is transformed into a woman. She reveals her desire to serve the scholar, but he is hesitant and wonders about his own family and his wife. The possibility of the first wife being against her husband having a second wife is resolved through revealing that, during the seven years of the husband’s absence, the centipede had financially supported the family. Their return to the human world was greeted and welcomed by the first wife. The scholar continues with his study and finally takes on an official position and they live happily ever after. Mrs. Choe added that a person must overcome economic hardship in one’s study to achieve one’s goal.
Mrs. Choe was only able to perform a few stories and talked about her background. She was raised by a widowed mother, and perhaps this is the reason behind her omission of the love conflict behind having two wives. She learned her stories from her mother and began telling what she learned from her mother to her friends at an early age. According to Mrs. Choe, she would tell what she could remember and would consult her mother to figure out what she has forgotten. Mrs. Choe said that the storytelling practice has gradually disappeared since the introduction of television. She also mentioned a religious factor during our interview. She said that these old stories have become lies in the eyes of religion, and a religious person should not tell lies. Mrs. Choe and Mr. Jin both told stories with polygamous marriage motifs. However, unlike the lament song sung by the singer who was playing croquet and telling her husband to see her die before visiting his concubine, the main male characters in their stories are described as worthy of having multiple wives, and thus possible wife-concubine conflicts are resolved.

Performers Positions in the “Giving and Taking” Process

In Chaoxianzu oral literature performance, especially in the performance of folksongs, the interaction of “giving and talking” between participants is a required key element in which the performers challenge each other’s competence, exchange and share ideas, and also enhance the performance arena of “pan” and “heung”. Today, in the case of Chaoxianzu, it is becoming more difficult to observe a performance in which multiple performers participate. One venue that allows such participation is the storytelling competition. However, in such venues the performer-to-performer interactions are
limited, since each performer is given a number and asked to tell a story or sing a song. The performers whose songs and or stories are included in this study all commented on the replacement of storytelling and singing performances by television and other forms of entertainment. Although storytelling and folksong singing performances may have been marginalized by today’s multi-media based entertainment, they continue to occur in the middle of croquet games, birthday parties, and folklore collection projects.

In the oral tradition of Chaoxianzu since the post-Cultural Revolution period, the drive to collect and preserve folk literature and art has been one of the most important continuous means of providing opportunities for performances. The efforts to collect Chaoxianzu oral literature have been made not only by Chaoxianzu folklorists, but also by foreign scholars and institutions, as in the Jingjitun case where Korean scholars and their students visited the village and interviewed villagers. It is important to keep in mind that within the context of folklorist-performer interaction the folklorist sometimes assumes the role of assistant to the performer. Such a relationship, as in the case of CF and Mr. Jin, often entails tensions in which the authority of both performer and scholar are mutually challenged. As an experienced folklorist who accepts his role in order to facilitate the storytelling performance, the folklorist becomes vulnerable, as all participating audience members can observe his knowledge of Chaoxianzu oral literature and history. The performer, in his or her position of being assisted in performance by a professional folklorist, has to prove his or her command of various types of stories and songs to meet the expectations of the folklorist, who holds evaluative authority from a dimension outside that of the local community. He or she must allow expose his or herself to the expectations of the local audience as a competent representative of the
community. The practice of excluding performers from all but a “content supplier” role in the collection and publication of Chaoxianzu oral literature could lead to a vertical power structure in which the performers may feel alienated from the process. In the cases of the few performers with large repertoires of stories and songs, like Hwang Guyeon, their brief biography is included in published works; but for most storytellers and singers, only their names, and sometimes only the collectors’ names appear in print. Mr. Li, a folksong singer, was very aware of the process of textualization and attempted to publish the folksongs he performed on his own. He wrote a manuscript and submitted it to the Yanbian Wenyi Bianjibu (Yanbian Literature and Arts Editorial Office), but his manuscript was not accepted. The following is one of the folksongs found in his written collection called “Dunggaedungdung Dunggae Song”. The Korean text below has not been modified or edited from Mr. Li’s version, and the title of the song is also written by Mr. Li. The text attests to the aspirations of some performers to take a more active and complete role in the process of collection, textualization, and preservation.

어화높개 높개야  동개나 높들동개야
이동개가 누동개قاد고  리씨댁 보배 dựng임새
금자동아 옥자동아  철부천금 보배동아
금얼준렬 너울살가  언얼준들 너얼사리
금옥갓치 기업동이  불먼날가지 면켜질가
천상선여 비치었나  도화일절 피엇는가
어화높개 높개야  동개나동 높동개야
무모에게 호자동이  형제구리 우애동이
(Translation)

Eohwadunggae dunggaeya dunggaena dungdungdunggaeya
Whose dunggae is this dunggae? It’s the Li family’s treasure.
Golden darling, jade darling, my priceless treasure darling
Gold can’t buy you, silver can’t buy you
My golden jade darling gently cherished
Heavenly fairy has come, or painted flowers have bloomed?

Eohwadunggae dunggaeya dunggaena dungdungdunggaeya
Pious to the parents, loving to the siblings
Friendly to the neighbors, loyal to the country

Eohwadunggae dunggaeya dunggaena dungdungdunggaeya

On the bottom of the page, Mr. Li remarked this is a song sung by parents carrying a baby on his or her back.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis of one extended example of Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection methods, it is clear that the multiple roles the Chaoxianzu folklorist plays in the process of preserving folk literature has great influence on selection of stories and songs to be included in the Chaoxianzu oral tradition collection works. The ultimate goal of the projects to collect Chaoxianzu oral literature collection was to collect and preserve oral traditions that hold uniquely Chaoxianzu ethnic characteristics that include them as
Koreans. The logical question is to ask is what criteria are applied in evaluating a Chaoxianzu storyteller, such as Mr. Jin. What features make a story a Chaoxianzu story? Mr. Jin performed not only the stories that are commonly found in Korea, but also performed stories he heard from a fellow ethnic Koreans while working at a prison camp in Russia, as well as Han Chinese stories. However, only the “authentic” Korean stories drew the interest of the folklorist CF, who also determined that the Han Chinese story was also “worthy” of study. Mr. Jin’s most important story, the “Red Cross Story,” was labeled as a non-Chaoxianzu story by CF, and has not been included in any Chaoxianzu folk story collections. If a story, such as Mr. Jin’s, is performed by a Chaoxianzu storyteller but is not considered a Chaoxianzu story, then what are the criteria in defining a Chaoxianzu story? What roles do performance language, the content of story or song, geography and the ethnicity of the performer play in ethnicizing a story or song as belonging to the Chaoxianzu ethnic group?

The post Cultural Revolution period, with China’s rapid economic reforms, ushered in many changes for the Chaoxianzu scholars and writers. In the early 1980’s, Chaoxianzu historians began to voice their own history through their own perspectives, and Chaoxianzu writers revisited the immigrant history of Chaoxian people in Manchuria, publishing immigration novels that support the Chaoxianzu perspective of history in the Yanbian region. Literary scholars also began to re-examine the criteria of defining Manchuria Chaoxian people’s literature which formed the basis of today’s Chaoxianzu literature. The practice of limiting the literature of Manchurian Chaoxian people and early Chaoxianzu literature to the works by Korean ethnic writers residing in Manchuria that were written in Korean about subjects concerning the lives of Chaoxian
people or Chaoxianzu could no longer be continued. During this re-examination period Chaoxianzu scholars began to study the “pro-Japanese” fiction of Chaoxian writers in Manchuria. These works were previously criticized and excluded from the history of Chaoxianzu literature. Thus, the literary history and the immigrant history of the Chaoxianzu continue to be re-historicized and re-voiced in official and popular print media.

The questions on the definition of Chaoxianzu as an ethnic group and the criteria for Chaoxianzu literature, as various anthologies compiled by Chaoxianzu scholars indicate, have been visited and revisited under different socio-historical and political contexts. In order to understand Mr. Jin’s repeated performances of the “Red Cross Story” and the reasons behind CF’s evaluation of the story as being a “non-Chaoxianzu story”, in Chapter Five I present examples of non-Chaoxianzu stories that were adopted into the Chaoxianzu oral traditions, examine the early written literary traditions of the Manchuria Chaoxian people, and touch upon Chaoxianzu “xiao shuo” (the Chinese word for “fiction”).
Notes Chapter Four

1. Harrison (2007: vii-viii) discusses the extinction of languages and traditional lore happening at an increasing rate in a globalizing world. Many of his observations are based on small ethnic groups in North Asia, not far from the Chaoxianzu, whose language and culture may share a similar fate. Ideas about “preservation” have been part of collecting efforts in China for decades, stressed even more in the “intangible culture” collecting projects of the early 2000’s (“A Literature Review on the Protection and Utilization of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage” http://en.cnki.com.cn/Article_en/CJFDTOTAL-GLGZ200806026.htm accessed September 10, 2011).

2. A kang-style floor is a raised floor made of brick, cement, or clay that is heated during the cold season. This style of floor is very common in northern China.

3. See Appendix B for the Korean Hangul transcript of Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story”.

4. This performance took place on the kang in the living room / kitchen of Mr. Jin’s house, while food preparation and other activities were taking place. This interfered with the recording quality.

5. The two most frequently used words in Mr. Jin’s storytelling were geuraeseo meaning “so” or “therefore”, and jeongmalhanyeon, meaning “in truth” or “really”. I tried to capture his style of speech in the English translations. For Korean Romanization, I followed the Revised Romanization of Korean which is the official South Korean Romanization system.

6. This song is included in Chapter One, but also included in this chapter to show the dialogue exchange between Mr. Jin and CF following the song performance.

7. Except for the songs that are well known such as Arirang and its regional variations, Mr. Jin didn’t name or gave title to his stories and songs. Mr. Jin’s performance in Japanese and Russians are not included here due to my lack of command in Japanese and Russian languages to further engage in the analysis of the songs.

8. This is a play on words. Solgae is a kite, a type of bird. The word yeon in Korean is also a kite, as in a child’s toy kite.

9. King Sukjong (1661-1720) was the 19th king of the Joseon Dynasty.

10. Referring to the phrase suhwa sanggeuk (水火相剋).

11. Throughout Mr. Jin’s performances, CF at times asked me to turn the recorder off.

12. The translation of this song was discussed in Chapter Two.
13. Mr. Jin kept small notebooks of his songs, and this song is included in Mr. Jin’s collection. Mr. Jin explained that as he became older, he couldn’t remember all his songs and stories, so he began writing the song lyrics.

14. Bak Munsu (1691-1756) served the Joseon Court in various positions, and is most famously known for his service as a royal inspector.

15. Mr. Jin used the term *hobulaemi* (₴الة닣) a dialect of North Korea, referring to widows. Although Mr. Jin is originally from the Southern part of Korean peninsula, he has acquired a northern Korean dialect vocabulary.

16. The marriage between Mr. Jin and his wife was a second marriage for both.

17. This story is also known as (titled as) the “Snake Husband”, “Gureng deongdeong Sinseonbi”, “Gureong Gureong Sinseonbi” (Kim 2002: 101-123). According to Kim, this story is usually transmitted by women over 50 years of age (2002: 118). I believe that the title “Gureongteong Gureongteong Sinseonbong” was used only between me and the old lady who told the story to me when I was a child.

18. The snake marriage stories are very prevalent in East Asia. Mark Bender has translated *Seventh Sister and the Serpent* from the Yi people of Southwest China (1982), and Ai-chen Yang has written “A Study on Chinese Tales about Romance and Marriage between Humans and Snake-demons Taking on Human Form” (M.A. thesis, 2009).

19. The word “lies” is used in some areas of Northeast China as a synonym for stories. See “A Ginseng Tale from Northeast China,” a story described as a lie and that also features an evil python (Flitsch 2011:16-19, in Mair and Bender 2011).

20. Chan Park defines *p’an* (or pan) as “both mental and physical space for wholehearted participation. The term p’an “compounded with a nominal, adjective, or verb, delineates a frame, mold, or situation.” (Park 2003: 1). The word *heung* literally means joy and entertaining.

21. *Dunggae* is a comforting, appeasing sound made by adults while holding or carrying a baby.

22. According to CF, when Mr. Jin was asked to perform, he would always begin his storytelling performance by telling the “Red Cross Story”.

23. Ethnicization “refers to the formation of social boundaries aiming to protect the integrity of (presumed) ethnic-cultural heritages” (Milikowski 2000: 443).

The Literary Context and Ethnic Identity

In discussing diaspora literature, a question arises as to how “the competing demands, pressures, and influences of the two different traditions” of the “host” nation and the ethnic/ancestral “homeland” are resolved in creating a unique literary tradition that embraces the bicultural and bilingual reality of diaspora (Kim 2002: 261). The nature of diaspora literature, with its inherent transnational ties of the producer, subject matter, and in some cases the linguistic expressive medium, makes it very difficult to define its boundaries (Ling 1991: 191-197, Jigme 2008: 285-286). This question is integral in discussing Chaoxianzu literature as diaspora literature. The debate on defining Chaoxianzu literature, unlike Chaoxianzu oral literature, began as a discussion on defining the Manchuria Chaoxian peoples’ literature in the 1920s, as Chaoxian people in Manchuria transformed from sojourners to settlers. This is not to say that there was an absence of literary tradition of Chaoxian sojourners and settlers in Manchuria (and other parts of China) prior to 1920s. Famous Korean and Chaoxianzu writers such as Sin Chaeho (Shin Chae Ho), Gim Changgeol (Kim Ch'ang-gol), Bak Yongjun (Pak Yong-jun), Gang Gyeongae (Kang Kyŏng-ae), Yeom Sangseop (Yom Sang-sop), Gim Gwangju (Kim Kwang-ju), and Ju Yoseop (Joo Yo Sub) were actively writing and publishing their novels (xiaoshuo) in China and Korea. These novels were in the new
form of fiction writing that was introduced via Western models beginning in the late 19th century in Japan, and by the end of the century in China and eventually Korea. In Chinese the word “xiaoshuo,” a traditional name for narrative fiction was adapted to describe these modern works. In Korea the term for “xiaoshuo” is “sosol,” referring to both traditional and modern fiction writing. In the early twentieth century the term “sin sosol,” or “new fiction” was introduced. The works of these writers are in the new mode of writing. When speaking of ethnic Korean literature hereafter I will be mainly be referring to the new style fiction, though will also reference “xiaoshuo” in more traditional styles (Hwang 1997, Chon 1986: 8-14).  

The scholarly views on defining Chaoxianzu literature have shifted from an earlier Korean ethnic-culture exclusionist view calling for a strictly Korean language medium, Korean ancestry of the writer, and Korean or Chaoxianzu-related subject matter, to a broader view that includes works written in Chinese and translated into Korean (Jeong et.al 2006: 19-23, Zhang 2005: 1). For example, Ri Geunjeon (Lee Kun-jun) whose famous immigration novel “Gonanui Sidae” is cited in different anthologies of Chaoxianzu literary tradition, writes in Chinese.  

This chapter examines the historical formation (and the evolution of the criteria used to define) Manchuria Chaoxian peoples’ literature as it became the basis for the Chaoxianzu literary tradition. The contested characteristics of Chaoxianzu in their historical and geopolitical narratives are also commonly found in defining early Chaoxianzu literature. The ethnic category “Chaoxianzu” did not exist prior to the founding of People’s Republic of China and a number of the early Chaoxian writers in Manchuria are included in both Korean and Chaoxianzu literary traditions today. In
other words, is it possible to categorize a writer as both a Korean and a Chaoxianzu writer? Some Chaoxianzu scholars use the term “pre and post-immigration literature” marked with “pre-liberation” characteristics to refer to the early Manchuria Chaoxian people’s literary works (Zhang 2004: 3, Wu 2007: 2-186). It should be noted that the debate among Chaoxianzu scholars in defining the boundaries of the Chaoxianzu written literary tradition, criteria such as a writer’s length of stay in Manchuria and the location of publication, were considered in addition to the content of the works.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze written works that were categorized as non-Chaoxianzu and discuss the constructed Chaoxianzu ethnicity as represented in their novels and short stories in order to understand the delineation of Chaoxianzu oral traditions.

**Folklore and the Early Immigrant “xiao shuo”**

Mr. Jin’s “The Red Cross Story” and the reaction to it by the Chaoxianzu folklorists (CF and the local folklorist), led me to question and examine the criteria being used in selecting and recording “Chaoxianzu” folklore and literature. “The Red Cross” story Mr. Jin performed at the Chaoxianzu storytelling event, and also during my visit, was categorized by CF (and other local folklorists) as a non-Chaoxianzu due to the story setting in Italy and America, and Mary and Gary as the main characters, non-Korean story; yet his own personal narrative parallels that of the story, and the story itself was transmitted from one ethnic Korean to another ethnic Korean at a prison work camp in the Soviet Union (Lee 2002).
Russia or the former Soviet Union was not an inaccessible place to many early Chaoxianzu. The student who gave me the litmus test of a hypothetical soccer game, for example, stated that his great grandparents moved from the Korean peninsula to Manchuria, and then to Russia. They finally came back to Heilongjiang where they eventually settled down. The family who sold “authentic” Chaoxianzu dishes and cold noodles in the streets of Beijing also travelled to Russia to trade. The multiple border-crossing experienced by Chaoxianzu, whether voluntary or involuntary, and their interactions with various ethnic groups have influenced their folklore traditions; especially from the close interactions with the Manchu and the Han Chinese. The stories featuring Manchu and Han Chinese characteristics, however, are included in the various Chaoxianzu folklore collection books as part of the Chaoxianzu tradition. Mr. Jin, on one of my visits, sang a song of the famous Han Chinese butterfly lovers “Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai” story (Idema 2010). The following is a translation of the performance’s recording transcript:

에 해 아이 아이
E hey yi yi yi

대야 대야 추경대야
dae ya dae ya chu gyeong dae ya

배가 배가 양산배야
bae ga bae ga yang san bae ya

한서당에 글을 배우며
at same schoolhouse books study
Studying at the same schoolhouse

남자 여자를 이리 둘라
male female this not know
Unaware of each being a man and a woman

너는 죽어 납귀나 되고요
you die a tree become
After you die, you become a tree

나는 죽어서 워이되어
I die an arrowroot become
After I die, I become an arrowroot vine

지칭칭칭 감아보자
Jichingchingching wrap around
Round, round, and round, wrap around

이생부부 못된것을
this life time couple unable to become
Unsuccessful union in this life

후생부부나 되어보자
next life time couple become
Let’s tie it in the next life

After singing this portion, Mr. Jin’s meta-narration of the song began, telling the story behind the tragic love affair between Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai for audience members who may not be familiar with the story. Within the meta-narration, Mr. Jin also included a short story on how Zhu Yingtai, dressed as man, used her wits and avoided revealing her gender. Mr. Jin continued:

摁이라는것은 낭구에 이렇게 감아올라가는것
so called arrowroot is on a tree like this wrap up and climb up
The so-called arrowroots wrap around trees to climb up

나는 죽어서 납귀대고 너는 죽어서 워이되어 ____ 감아보자 ⁵
I after die become a tree, you after die become an arrowroot ____ wrap around
After we die, I become a tree, and you become an arrowroot ____ wrap around each other
at the same schoolhouse books ten years studied _____ found out
They studied together for ten years

Yang Sanbae because dressed as a man not know
Yang Sanbae (Liang Shanbo) didn’t know because she (Zhu Yingtai) was disguised as a man

But [s]he appeared to be a woman dressed as man. So in order to find out,

Once, he suggested a competition on who could urinate the farthest.

So all the male students went out and started shooting. What can a woman do here?

She quickly used her wits and used a straw to urinate.

Under the moonlight, she appears to urinate like man, so she avoided being discovered.

They got along without knowing and at the end he found out, so songs like this...

CF, who was in charge of the performance, found the song interesting and commented on it. The following is a translated excerpt from the recording of the performance:
Chaoxianzu Folklorist (hereafter referred as CF): Well, grandfather, let’s do it this way. That Chu Youngdae and Yang Sanbaek, Chu Youngdae, this is a Han Chinese story. This Han Chinese story spread widely among the Chaoxianzu and transformed differently from the Han Chinese version. So in the Chaoxianzu story books they changed the names of the main characters. Instead of using Yang Sanbaek and Chu Youndae, they change them into Kim Youngtaek and some other names in Korean (Choson). So in oral literature if one finds a story worth telling, then even if the story belongs to the Han Chinese, we absorb the story as if the story belongs to our own ethnic group, change the names, and make it into our own. By the way, do you know the song from the beginning?

Mr. Jin: No, I don’t know.

Another example, actually “performed” by the folklorist on one of our meetings, is a story of a spinning ceramic pot titled “Ong Seong Ra Ja” (Ong Song Ra Cha). The following is a translation of the recording transcript of “CF’s” re-telling of the story “Ong Seong Ra Ja” (Ong Song Ra Cha), as he heard it from one of his storytellers. CF did not perform this story at Mr. Jin’s home, but told the story during one of our sessions at his own home on February 6, 2001:

CF: Well, it’s called “Ong Seong Ra Ja”, “Ong Seong Ra Ja.”

Peace Lee (hereafter referred as Lee): Oh, this is one of the stories I wanted to hear.

CF: So, it’s called “Ong Seong Ra Ja.” The letter “Ong” meaning ceramic pot “Ong,” and then the letter referring to sound “Seong,” Ra Ja is a rock. Chinese
call rocks “raja.” Nowadays it’s a buried ground, but when I went to “Ong Seong Ra Ja,” a river was flowing in front and a river _____ between Yonghwa, now it’s called Ilyong Mountain. The mountain to the east of it is called “Rock Mountain.” A mountain like this, ta-ak (onomatopoeia), sprout a small _____, therefore a Chaoxian couple settled down there and began farming. While living there, the farming was good, but one day a rich man came with a few men. He said to the couple, “Who are you living here?” So the couple replied, “Well, we came here and cultivated the land to live.” The rich man asked, “Do you know who this land belongs to? This land belongs to me, me!” The rich man demanded that the Chaoxian couple surrender all their crops and food to the rightful owner of the land since they farmed the land without the owner’s permission. So, realizing it’s useless to get into a fight with the rich man and his men, the couple explained to him that since it was not harvest season, no new crops and all, they only had saved crops to use for seeds. No farmer can give up the seedling crops. But the rich man refused to be reasoned with. He insisted on taking everything since the land belonged to him and forbade them to farm there anymore. He told his gang to take the ceramic pots filled with seedlings. Dragging and carrying the pot, people would become exhausted, right?

Lee: Yes

CF: So they stopped and had a rest near a strange looking rock, and set the pot down under the rock as well. As soon as they set the pot down, it started to spin.

Lee: The pot began spinning?

CF: Right, the pot was spinning violently; and while spinning it was making a strange noise, wing, wing, sound. Everyone was scared then, right?

Lee: Of course.
So they wanted to get away from it, but they couldn’t. The pot was spinning in front of them and they couldn’t go over the spinning pot. They were blocked in. They all died there. Even after these men died, the pot kept on spinning, spraying the seeds far away even reaching the rich man’s land. So the crops grew on the rich man’s land and people thought that they should build a temple under the rock. So every year they would go there to pray for a good harvest. I heard originally there was a temple, but when I went there, I didn’t see one. So, it’s called “Ong Seong Ra Ja” because the people in the old days thought that would be a good name. The story itself is very simple.

The story of “Ong Seong Ra Ja,” when compared with “Red Cross Story” and the Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai song, has an undeniably strong Chaoxianzu features. It’s a story about a divine spirit that punishes a rich man who tried to exploit a poor, hardworking Chaoxian migrant couple who settled in a foreign land. There are the elements of proletarian struggle, immigration, and ethnic conflict, not to mention the Chaoxian couple itself. However, some Chaoxianzu scholars claim that the story originally belonged to the Manchu ethnic group. The first time I encountered any reference to this story was in a book written by Professor Jin Dong Xun of Yanbian University that explained the term “Ong Seong Ra Ja” as a Manchu word for “place with many rocks” (Jin 1999: 199-200). Jin claims that Chaoxianzu borrowed the Manchu place name and meaning, and transformed it into a Chaoxianzu story (Ibid). The folklorist who performed the story, however, offers a different reading of the story. He believes that the story’s plot refers to the Chaoxianzu struggle against the “Jeom San ho” (衏芄ぃ) system under the Qing court, where Chinese could claim any cultivated land by drawing
a demarcation line on it. He argues that if the story is a Manchu story, then the Manchu-
to-Manchu interethnic conflict described in the story appears very contradictory to the
historical facts, and believes that Chaoxian migrants adopted the Manchu term to prove
their long residency in the area in order to legitimize their rights to the land. Regardless
of its origin, “Ong Seong Ra Ja” and other stories such as “Hae Ran River” and “Ka Ya
Ha” have non-Chaoxianzu elements, but have been incorporated into Chaoxianzu oral
tradition repertoires, collected and published as a part of Chaoxianzu oral traditions.

The “worthiness” of a story raised by the Chaoxianzu folklorist after Mr. Jin’s
singing of the song about the butterfly lovers (Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai) is an
important point in the textualization of folklore. Unlike the “Ong Seong Ra Ja” and “Hae
Ran River” stories, the “Red Cross Story” stands alone without any contextual link to the
personal narrative of Mr. Jin and loses its “worthiness.” Once the story is situated within
his personal narrative and Chaoxianzu history, the story about “Mary” and “Gary” in
Italy and America unmask’s “foreignness” and develops into a Chaoxianzu story-- a
story about a Chaoxianzu man who immigrates to a foreign land, is drafted into the
Japanese military, captured, and then taken to a work camp in Russia where he falls in
love with a Russian woman (Lee 2002: 80).

Chaoxianzu literary scholars such as Wu Xiangshun, Zhang Chunzhi, and Gim
Jangseon to name a few have been asking and debating the same question many diaspora
writers and scholars ask about their work and their identity: what does it mean to be an
ethnically-defined writer, and what criteria should be used for an ethnic literary work.
Mr. Jin’s displaced personal narrative, the story of “Mary and Gary,” and the exclusion
of this story, led me to study and investigate the criteria of Chaoxianzu written literature
in order to find any evidence of parallel works. The written literary tradition of the Chaoxianzu has been, in comparison to the oral tradition, well documented with multiple sources on its historical development, literary works, and critical analysis. For the purpose of this dissertation, the initial goal of examining the pre-liberation works was to find early works that experimented with incorporating “foreign” elements, such as those found in Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story.”

**Manchuria Chaoxian People and Chaoxianzu Literatures**

Under Japanese colonial rule in Korea, many Korean writers joined the migration of Koreans to China, thus relocating their locus of activity to Manchuria and other parts of China. Paralleling multiplicity and contestation of their citizenship, narratives, locality, and history, Chaoxian peoples’ literature during the Japanese colonial period were also referred to with various titles and terms depending on the researcher’s national affiliation. In South Korea, the Korean literary tradition in Manchuria during the colonial time is referred to as “Gando Sojourn Literature,” “Manchu Joseon (Choson) People’s Literature,” and “Living in Manchu Korean Literature.” “China’s Chaoxianzu Literature,” “China’s Chaoxian Nationality Literature,” “China’s Chaoxian People’s Literature,” “Chaoxian Language Literature in Manchuria,” and “The Modern Chaoxian Writers’ China Experience Literature,” are the terms used by Chaoxianzu scholars in China (Zhang 2004: 1). At the initial development stage of what would later become the Chaoxianzu literary tradition in China, there was very little difference between the literary works found on the Korean peninsula and in Manchuria among the Chaoxian
(Joseon or Choson) writers, and as such many writers who were active in China, especially in today’s Yanbian, are claimed as both Chaoxianzu and Korean writers.

The formation of a Chaoxianzu written literary tradition can be divided into immigration, settlement, and independence stages whether based on thematic categories or immigration (until 1945), political reform (1945-1978), and diversification periods (1979-1999), or socio-political factors (Wu 2007). During the immigration period, various prominent Korean writers either visited or stayed in the Jiandao (Yanbian) area and wrote about such topics as the life of migrant Chaoxian people and non-Chaoxian related issues. Zhongguo Chaoxianminzu Wenxue Xuanji [Selected Works of China’s Ethnic Korean Nationality Literature] Part 1: Pre-liberation Literary Works, published by the Chaoxian Culture Research Center at Beijing University (1995: 1-15) lists the representative Chaoxianzu writers who were active during the pre-liberation period in China as (but not limited to): Sin Chaeho (Shin Chae Ho), Gim Changgeol (Kim Ch'ang-gol), Bak Yeongjun (Pak Yong-jun), Gang Gyeongae (Kang Kyŏng-ae), Yeom Sangseop (Yom Sang-sop), Gim Gwangju (Kim Kwang-ju), and Ju Yoseop (Joo Yo Sub). The compilers and editors of the selected works state the rationale behind their reasons for including certain works and writers were stated in Part II of the pre-liberation literary works published in 1997:

...in the past many writers from Joseon (Choson) migrated to China, and they shared their destiny with the Chaoxian people [in China]. Drawing from China as the background, they wrote fiction reflecting aesthetic ideals and the people’s lives. Among these writers, there are many who stayed for a prolonged period of time and those who ended their lives in China.... These writers through their
creative works contributed immensely to the development and prosperity of the China’s Korean fictional literature. Therefore, it is only logical to include these writers in the anthology (*Zhongguo Chaoxianminzu Wenxue Xuanji* 1997 Part II: 1).

It must be noted that the term “Chaoxianzu” is not used here. Whether the compliers and editors of the anthology intentionally used “Chaoxianminzu” rather than Chaoxianzu to include writers such as Gang Gyeongae (Kang Kyŏng-ae), whose “qualification” (as a pioneer Chaoxianzu writer), has been challenged and therefore excluded from the “The Literary Anthology of China’s Korean Nationality” cited below, to mean the Korean ethnic people, is not clearly stated.

The title *Zhongguo Chaoxianzu Wenxueshi* [The Literary Anthology of China’s Korean Nationality], which specifically refers to “Chaoxianzu” and not “Chaoxianminzu,” excludes writers such as Gim Gwangju (Kim Kwang-ju) and Gang Gyeongae (Kang Kyŏng-ae) from the group of pre-liberation Chaoxianzu writers. The rationale behind this exclusion is that Gim Gwangju and Gang Gyeongae utilized mostly Korean peninsula publication mediums to publish their works (Zhang 2005: 3). In Gang Gyeongae’s case, it was not only that she published her works mostly through newspapers and journals in Korea, but her sojourn period in Manchuria was relatively short and she is also well-known as a Chaoxian (Choson) or Korean writer (Ibid). However, Gang’s legacy in the Jiandao area is still present: a memorial stele dedicated to her still exists in Longjing, the former cultural cradle of Chaoxian people in Manchuria.
Although these two collections disagree on certain writers, they agree upon one writer, Sin Chaeho (Shin Chae-ho), as a prominent figure in both Chaoxianminzu and Chaoxinzu literary traditions. Sin’s poems and fictional writings are considered as pioneering works in the Chaoxianzu literary tradition (Quan Zhe 2006: 149). Sin’s works, for example, “The Dreaming Sky” and “The Fierce Strife between two Dragons,” not only reflect the political turmoil in their homeland, but are also saturated with a sense of urgency for the independence and self-reliance of the Korean ethnic-nation (Chaoxianminzu). Zhang Chunzhi criticizes the inclusion of Shin’s works in the anthology of Chaoxianzu literatures because they predominantly focus on anti-Japanese themes and fail to reflect the experiences and the lives of the migrant Chaoxian people in China. But most others approved of the selection, anthologization and canonization of these pioneering literary works and recognized that they mark the beginning of the modern Manchu Chaoxian people’s literature, because of the strong anti-imperialism and anti-Japanese sentiments expressed (Wu 2007, Quan 2007, Quan 2006, Zhang 2005). By no means is Zhang arguing to exclude all writers who have returned to the Korean peninsula, or whose works were not affiliated with the lives of Chaoxian people in Manchuria; instead, he is calling for a reexamination of the abstract undefined categorical boundaries used in these early works. Zhang’s argument and his critique of the early anthologies and compilations of the literary tradition of the Chaoxian people in Manchuria and Chaoxianzu lead the discussion back to the question of what it means to be Chaoxianzu (Korean-Chinese) in the historical, cultural, and social sense; and how this People’s Republic of China-constructed ethnic category of people, their history, and culture should be related to the core issue-- the two Koreas.
In re-examination the colonial period Chaoxian people and Chaoxianzu immigration literatures, it is clear that the dualistic identity of “descendents of Tangun” and the constantly shifting political identity from citizens of Qing China, Japan, and then Manchukuo until 1945, would not allow for an easy categorization of what should constitute the Chaoxianzu identity (Ibid). The question of what is Chaoxian people’s literature in Manchuria (prior to the designation of the ethnic category Chaoxianzu) was a deep concern for the writers in Manchuria during the 1940s. On January 12, 1940, the *Manchuria Joseon Daily* (*Manson Ilbo*, 滿鮮日報) quite possibly the sole source of publication for Chaoxian writers in Manchuria, published a “...new proposal on the establishment of Manchuria Chaoxian literature” (Zhang 2004: 30-37, Zhang 2005: 12-20). The introduction to the proposal states:

...there are over 1,000,000 Chaoxian people and as we have our own language and writing, how can we not have a literature? If we are to construct a Chaoxian Literature (literary tradition) in Manchuria, based on what direction, perspectives, conventional means and methods to start and develop it. Regarding this issue, through gathering the opinions and suggestions from those who are in Manchuria and also consulting with the writers, we hope to examine the direction of our literary circle.” (Zhang 2005:12)

As part of the first discussions on defining the direction of Chaoxian literature in Manchuria, a number of writers participated and offered their views on “The Characteristics of Manchuria’ Chaoxian People’s Literature.” The participating writers’ views ranged from recognition of Manchuria Chaoxian literature as an independent
literary tradition having the inherent characteristics of the Chaoxian literary from the Korean peninsula but limited to those who live in Manchuria, to an immigrant literature that had yet to establish itself as an independent literary tradition of its own, yet having the potential to transform into its own literary tradition with Manchurian characteristics in the near future (Ibid 2005: 13-14). Some writers interpreted the call for the establishment of a Manchuria Chaoxian people’s literary tradition through the ethnic politics of that time, and offered a view more in-line with the creation of multi-ethnic nation under Manchukuo (Zhang 2004: 32). Regardless of the different views of various writers, the one thing these writers agreed upon was that the Manchuria Chaoxian literary tradition already had, or will have, independent characteristics that are different from the Korean peninsula literary tradition.

In the 1940s, led by the newspaper *Manchuria Joseon Daily* and participating writers, the Manchuria Chaoxianminzu literary tradition had been recognized as having its own identity. The next step was then to define its own characteristics to differentiate it from the literary traditions in Korean peninsula. The two early anthologies show, even as late as the 1990s, the lack of any systemized criteria on defining the boundaries of Chaoxianzu literature prior to 1945. According to Oh Yang Ho (1988), there were approximately 30 modern Joseon (Chaoxian) writers who either lived in or visited China during the colonial period (Oh 1988, Zhang 2004: 3). The discussion of the nature of Chaoxianzu literature, similar to debates about Chaoxianzu identity and history, is also an ongoing debate that reflects political and social environments. The literary works written in Korean with strong anti-colonial sentiments against Japan and the proletarian class ideology, whether struggling against Chinese
feudal landlords or Japanese imperialism, are recognized as Chaoxianminzu or Chaoxianzu literatures. In the past, sociopolitical conditions in China after 1949, the linguistic medium, the content of the work, and even the writer’s residency, all played a crucial role at times in defining Chaoxianzu literature. Within the restricted criteria of designating works written in Korean that supported the proletarian socialist agendas, more concerned with the in-line political ideology reflected in the works than the language used, some writers and their works have been purged or erased for having strong pro-imperialist or pro-Manchukuo tendencies, and the writers who have written any work that show any “cooperation” with Japanese and Manchukuo policies during the colonial period have been criticized or “qualified” with “excusable” explanations to speculate upon the writers’ intentions behind the politically problematic works. For example, Jin Chun Rong Zhi (今付榮治 Imamura Eiji in Japanese) is considered representative of the Chaoxian writers in Manchuria and, whose works were in Japanese, and expressed pro-colonial sentiments and pro-national policy tendencies (Gim 2009: 29).

The most notable and important aspect of Imamura Eiji is not his pro-Japanese politics and works, but the ambiguous nature of his life and background, and the lack of any traces of him as a person or his works in the various Chaoxianzu literary anthologies and collections. Imamura Eiji is believed to have born into a “Jang” family (and possibly had the Korean name, Jang Hwan Gi), and became a member of Wenxue Didai (“literary zone”), a Japanese writers’ association created in Xinjing (today’s Changchun City, Jilin Province). He entered the Manchu literary scene with his debut work “Nightmare,” which was published in Xinjing Daily News (Xinjing Riri Xinwen) from August 2 - 13,
1935 (Gim 2009: 33). “Nightmare” is not only written in Japanese (unlike the many canonized works of the Manchu Chaoxian writers and Chaoxianzu writers), it is a story of the naïveté of true love and sexual play, and doesn’t reflect the real lives and struggles of Chaoxian people in Manchuria. Much of his early works focus on love and psychological contradictions, but in the late 1930s, Imamura’s works, such as “A Companion” (Donghangja in Korean), began to reflect the social injustice and the realities of assimilated Chaoxian people under Japanese colonial rule. Notwithstanding the shift of focus in Imamura’s works, it is only recently that Chaoxianzu scholars began to include the works written in Japanese and containing pro-colonial sentiments. This broadening of the scope of the colonial Manchu Chaoxian literary study is a step forward from the previous politically-motivated approach; however, it must be noted that these pro-colonial and pro-Japanese imperialism works are categorized as “Manchu” or literature as a part of literary traditions of “Chaoxian people in Manchuria,” and have not yet been included as a part of the Chaoxianzu literary traditions. Even under the category of Manchu literature or Weimanguo literature (lit. “false Manchu State,” a puppet state of Manchu), Kim finds it necessary to offer a rationalized explanation that Imamura, as an ethnic Chaoxian person, didn’t know how to write in Korean or didn’t know well enough, and thus had to use Japanese as the only means by which to realize his creative literary passion (Kim 2009: 32).

There are other prominent writers who have written novels that were criticized by later Chaoxianzu scholars as potentially indicating the writers’ sympathetic and collaborative attitudes of the policies of “Wuzu Xiehe (五族协和)” (literally referring to the cooperation between five ethnic groups) and “Wangdao Letu (王道乐土)” (literally
referring to the principles of royalty and paradise, which meant following the royal rules to build a paradise) promoted by the Japanese. One of the two collections of the fictional works of Chaoxian writers from the pre-liberation period, and the first collection work in Manchuria Chaoxian people’s and Chaoxianzu literatures “Ssakteuneun Daeji” (쓰트는 대지 literally “blossoming mother earth”), included Bak Yeongjun’s “Millimui Nyeoin” (밀림의 너인 literally translated as “a woman of the jungle”), which depicted the story of a young female anti-Japanese fighter who was captured and then entrusted to the custody of a Manchukuo official to be “acclimated and re-socialized” (Pyo 2004: 407-409). The relationship between the Manchukuo official and the young female fighter is portrayed as father-daughter or caregiver-patient, in which only through the Manchukuo official’s endless efforts does the young woman begin to let go of her wild violent characteristics and return to “civil society” (Ibid).

Bak’s story is considered one of the representative works of Chaoxian writers expressing author’s collaboration or support of the Manchukuo policies during the early 1940s. Bak and other writers’ works reflecting the national policies of that period are viewed as exhibiting signs of the dual identity of a Chaoxian person living under the territory of Manchukuo. The explanation behind Bak’s pro-Manchukuo, thus pro-Japanese colonial power, provided by the Chaoxianzu scholars such as Zhang Chunzhi, is censorship, which became increasingly strict toward the end of the 1930s in Manchuria (Zhang 2005).

The Manchu literary tradition, a category that appears to be more tolerant of including historically marginalized and “erased” writers because the Manchu language
itself has become a relic, also included Chaoxian or Chaoxianzu writers who experimented with their new environment. For example, Ju Yoseop’s “Rickshaw Man,” published in 1925, depicts the grueling life of a Chinese rickshaw driver named “A Jing” (A Jjing, in Korean) who lives in Shanghai and dies after pulling his rickshaw for eight years (which was close to the average life expectancy of nine years for those engaged in this occupation) (Wu 2007; Beijing Daxue Chaoxian Wenhua Yanjiusuo, 1995). This fictional tale does not depict the lives of Chaoxian people, although three Gaoguli (Koguryo in Korean) make a brief cameo in the story; instead it portrays the poverty and the disparity between the rich and poor. The story also depicts the 1920s international scene under British occupation in Shanghai; for example, an American sailor, a British policeman and a gentleman talk of life after death and Adam and Eve, who are the reason for present day’s pain and suffering (Beijing Daxue Chaoxian Wenhua Yanjiusuo 1995a: 341-356).

Bak Gyeoju (Pak Kye-ju), whose works have been included in The Collected Literatures of Chaoxian People in China: Pre-Liberation Fiction (Zhongguo Chaoxianminzu Wenhua Xuanji: Jiefangqian Xiaoshuo Wenxuepian), also experimented with themes that are not empirically related to the migrant lives of Chaoxian people. In his cited work “Death Row Inmate,” Bak depicts the anguishing last night of a Jurchen man named Wang Deok, who was to be publicly executed for being a bandit in the 1920s under the warlord Zhang Zuolin’s regime in Northeast China. Bak, through his main character, portrays a man’s earnest desire to cling to life, and the unjust ethnic and class-based social practices of that time. “Death Row Inmate” is also an important work because of its incorporation of Chinese language-- the sound of Chinese pronunciation.
was written in Korean Hangul syllables. For example the main character Wang Deok, buried deep in contradicting thoughts before his execution, tells himself that it’s better to forget and not to think about it (“忘记他 好了，不用想它”/ “wang ji ta hao le, bu yong xiang ta” in Pinyin romanization), “황지타 호라 부융상타” (잊자, 생각지 말자) (Beijing Daxue Chaoxian Wenhua Yanjiusuo 1995b: 436). Chinese is represented by Korean syllables and a Korean translation was also given. What’s more interesting is that only simple dialogues in Chinese were written in Korean for their sound values, and the language switches to Korean for more complex thoughts and dialogues (Ibid: 435-457). Bak’s personal intention of employing “Chinese” is not explained; however, Bak being a second generation Chaoxian immigrant born in Longjing Yanbian stands out in his ability and desire to experiment and express the dual linguistic Chaoxian migrant people’s socio-cultural environment.

Both Ju and Bak didn’t choose a Chaoxian person or persons as the characters in the above discussed short novels; rather, they depict the lives of other ethnic people in China, a Han Chinese and a Jurchen. If the categorical criteria of defining Chaoxian people’s literary tradition in Manchuria and China prior to 1945 were to be strictly limited to only the works by the Chaoxian ethnic writers and about the lives of the Chaoxian people in Manchuria and China, then the above novels of Ju and Pak do not meet the requirement. However, in terms of the social injustices suffered by persons of liminality based on social class or ethnicity, the lives of the two main characters, A Jjing and Wang Deuk, undoubtedly parallel the difficult marginalized lives of the majority of the Chaoxian migrants. Of importance in the collection where these two stories were
republished is that these two novels are considered “selected novels of the Chaoxian People from the pre-liberation era” and not of “Chaoxianzu” literatures (Pyo 2004). The distinction between the literary realm of Manchuria Chaoxian people and their writers and today’s Chaoxianzu is based on chronology that is correlated with the formation of Chaoxianzu as an ethnic entity in China: the literary traditions of pre-liberation Chaoxian people and post-liberation era Chaoxianzu literatures (Quan and Zhe et al. 1989, Pyo 2004). The pre-liberation literary tradition is also categorized into the early migration period sojourn literatures and later migration period immigration literatures (Wu 2007: 26-181). The literatures under the dissemination category are written from the perspective of Chaoxian persons and their experiences in China. The prominent writers Ju Yoseop (Ju Yeosup), Gang Gyeongae (Kang Kyŏnghae), Sin Chaeho (Shin Chae-ho), and Choe Seohae all fall under the classification of sojourn fictional literary tradition writers representing the Manchuria literatures of Chaoxian people. The immigrant writers immigrated with the purpose of settling down in China even if they returned to the Korean peninsula after 1945. Writers such as Bak Gyeoju (Pak Kyu-ju), Hyeon Gyeongjun (Hyun Kyung-jun), An Sugil (An Su-kil), and Gim Changgeol (Kim Ch’ang-gol) are considered immigrant writers who were part of the immigrant culture and society, and whose works reflected of the lives of immigrant Chaoxian people in China (Ibid). The distinction between exile and immigrant writers’ works is difficult and varies depending on the types of criteria used for evaluation. One characteristic that is different between the works from the two categories, according to Zhang, is that the immigration literatures tend to exhibit stronger ties to Jiandao and express a deeper desire to settle in China (Zhang 2005: 179-183). In other words, the
immigrant writers began to embrace Manchuria as their home and began to reflect their
dual identity as Chaoxian people and as a repressed minority group in their work, as seen
in Bak’s “Death Row Inmate.”

The defining moment of division between Chaoxian people’s literature and
Chaoxianzu came with Japan’s surrender in 1945. A majority of writers who were active
in China joined the repatriation migration back to the Korean peninsula. From the long
list of prominent and active writers in Jiandao and other parts of China, only Gim
Changgeol (Kim Ch’ang-gol) and a small number of less well-known writers remained
in China (Ibid:9-10). The exodus of the Chaoxian writers from China created a vacuum
that was eventually filled by the communist-line writers and new young writers who
entered the scene after 1949 (Ibid). The post-1949 period was marked with works that
functioned as the supporting role and propaganda material for the party and its policies.
After the Cultural Revolution, Chaoxianzu scholars and writers began revisiting the
question of the Chaoxianzu identity and Chaoxianzu history as a part of the People’s
Republic of China, and began to voice their role as an equal member of anti-Japanese
resistance, and the communist revolution that had stood side-by-side with the party

Beginning in 1980, the Chaoxianzu literary scene was marked with a number of
historical novels that revisited the Chaoxianzu immigration experience from the late
Qing Dynasty to the Korean War. Among these historical novels, Ri Geunjeon (Lee
Kun-jon)’s Gonan ui Sidae (Trial Era), published in 1982, retold the story of Chaoxian
migrant experience from the late Qing to 1945; Gim Hakcheol’s (Kim Hak-chol)
Gyeokjeongui Sidae (Passionate Era), published in 1986, depicts the Chaoxian peoples’
fight against the Japanese within China. These works are considered representative of
the historical novels of the post-Cultural Revolution period (Wu 2000: 359-384).
Although published in 1999, Choe Hongil’s *Nunmul Jeeujeum Dumangang* (Tearful
Tumen River) offers a more humanistic and personalized insight into the Chaoxianzu
immigration experience by narrating the story of a family.

From the 1990s, after the diplomatic relationship between South Korea and
China had been normalized, Chaoxianzu writers began to include the theme of “return
migration” to South Korea into their novels, autobiographies, and essays. Xu Lianshun
(Heo Ryoensun in Korean)’s *Ba Ram Ggot* (Wind Flower), Ri Hyeseon’s ethnography-
based work *Korean Dream*, Jin Wenxue and Jin Yingxue’s work *Koreans Become
Bastards*, Zhang Chunzhi’s (Jang Chu-sik in Korean) “Jin jja Ga jja Ga jja Jin jja”
(Genuine Fake, Fake Genuine), Gim Jinseon’s “Korean Bride’s Tears” and various other
articles and short novels are typical (Wu 2007: 355-395). The 1980s historical novels
and “return migration” themed works reflect the Chaoxianzu’s search for the roots of
their nationality as Koreans and as Chaoxianzu, in both China and Korea. The linguistic
adaptation and publication background of this search for roots novels and essays parallel
the pre-liberation Chaoxian people’s literatures. For example, Ri Geunjeon does not
write in Korean at all, only in Chinese. His *Gonanui Nyeondae* was originally written in
Chinese and later translated into Korean. Jin Wenxue and Jin Yingxue’s *Koreans
Become Bastards* was first written in Korean and published in South Korea, later
published in Japan; Jin Nanxian’s “Working Overseas” (国外打工记 Guowai Dagongji)
was written in Korean and then translated into Chinese (Wu, Jin and Jin 1999, Jin 2002:
Ri Hyeseon’s ethnography-based work *Korean Dream* was published in China (2000), with a slightly modified version published in Korea under the same title in 2003.

It is clear that Chaoxianzu literature cannot be contained within the rigid “by the Chaoxianzu writer,” “of the Chaoxianzu lives,” “in Korean,” or “created through the Chaoxianzu literary world” criteria frameworks. The multi-dimensional identity of Chaoxianzu, especially now that many Chaoxianzu have had multi-national experiences, should be acknowledged as the multiple layers of Korean-ness found in the Korean diaspora that embraces Chaoxianzu-ness as part of Korean history and identity. As Ri Hyeseon asks, referring to the conflicts and controversies between Chaoxianzu and Koreans, in her interview with Chaoxianzu scholars in the 2003 version of “Korean Dream”: “Since both sides [Chaoxianzu and Koreans] have changed, what can be done now?” In David Chung’s documentary *Koryo Saram: The Unreliable People* (2007), some of his elder Korean-Kazakhstan informants expressed their concerns about South Koreans changing their culture, and telling them that their “Korean” ways are incorrect. The influences from rapidly changing domestic and overseas cultural and socio-economical conditions, especially from the Korean communities, are transforming the Chaoxianzu and their communities. Chaoxianzu once again have begun to search for their own historical and cultural niche within Korean history and the Korean diaspora through re-examining their own identity as Chaoxianzu.

**Mr. Jin’s Stories in Literary Context**

In her study of Asian American literatures, Elaine Kim states that Asian immigrant experience is rarely expressed as autobiographical writing, as this form is not a part of
Asian culture, especially in the case of the early immigrants to America (Kim 1982: 23-24). Similarly in China, collection projects before and after the Cultural Revolution to gather as many Chaoxianzu oral traditions rarely collected the personal narratives of the informants. In most cases only the name of the informant, age, or the county / city of their residence were recorded. Mr. Jin’s performance of his personal narrative was unique, and quite different from the other storytellers I visited in Yanbian and other locations in Jilin province. Unlike most other Chaoxianzu storytellers who told their personal narratives through a “question and answer” format, only a general question about his background initiated the personal narrative storytelling performance. It appeared that Mr. Jin’s personal narrative has become one of the many stories in his repertoire. Mr. Jin’s personal narrative had a progression that focused mainly on his experience as a conscripted soldier in the Japanese military and as a prisoner of war in the former Soviet Union, which then led to his “Red Cross Story” (Lee 2002: 58-82).

If one can overcome the initial incongruity of the characters’ Western names and Western settings, Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story,” in terms of having “worthiness” when compared to Ju and Pak’s experimental fiction, and the “Chaoxianzu-adopted” (Han Chinese) oral story “Zhu Yingtai and Liang Shanbo” and (Manchu) story “Ong Seong Ra Ja,” equally represents a Chaoxianzu story. Jin’s story embodies not only the exodus experience and the yearning of the early Chaoxianzu immigrants for their families back home, but is also a part of Chaoxianzu and Korean history that gives voice to the displaced lives of those Chaoxianzu who were conscripted into the Japanese military.

The “Red Cross Story” transmitted to Mr. Jin from a Korean-Japanese in a Russian prison camp is an extension of his own personal narrative. It is an
autobiographical novel that reincarnates Mr. Jin as the main character, Gary, who travels to a foreign land and falls in love with a foreign woman named Mary. This is a personal story, but one that shields the private and intimate behind a façade of “fiction.” Being denied access or prohibited from a sphere “where the things that can be experienced only in privacy or intimacy to assume a kind of reality,” at storytelling events Mr. Jin tells his personal narrative through the tragic love story of Gary and Mary (Ryang 2008: xliii, Arendt 1958). In the “Red Cross Story,” Gary sacrifices his life to save the lives of Mary, his father, and others. Mr. Jin, instead of pursuing his dream and love when he hears the news of his son’s birth, turns around at the border between China and Russia and returns to his home in China to care for his family. It was the Chaoxianzu folklorist “CF’s” remark: “...he [Mr. Jin] always tells this story first...” that identifies this particular story as much more than just another story in Mr. Jin’s repertoire.

Conclusion

The question of who the Chaoxianzu are is by no means a new question in today’s Yanbian. Historically, the question on the identity of the early Chaoxian immigrants in Manchuria has been visited through discussion of whether the Manchuria Chaoxian people’s literature should be considered as a separate entity from the Korean Peninsula literatures. Positioned within a multiethnic China and nationally placed under the “Chaoxianzu” ethnic category, the Chaoxianzu, the Korean-Chinese’s “Korean-ness” was not challenged until South Korea became accessible to them beginning in late 1980s. The official recognition of Chaoxianzu as an “ethnicity” and the establishment of the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Autonomous Prefecture allowed the Chaoxianzu to perceive
themselves as “privileged,” in which their display of ethnic language and culture symbolized the Chaoxianzu nationality’s political rights and their “possession” of the core identity that is equated with “...free access to a self-managed and durable economic development granted by the authorities” (Olivier 2001). Therefore, preservation and maintenance of the Korean ethnic culture of Chaoxianzu as a Chinese nationality that distinguished them from other Chinese nationalities became crucial for the Chaoxianzu; not only in the survival of their ethnicity, but also in the ethnic group’s political and economic status within China’s nationality discourse. In a Chinese context, the Chaoxianzu are introduced as the ethnic Koreans of China; but in a South Korean context, they become Chaoxianzu, and are Chinese.

In 1998, the South Korean National Assembly passed the “Overseas Koreans Act” that legally defined overseas Koreans as “persons who have emigrated abroad after the birth of the Republic of Korea, i.e. 1948, and have relinquished their Korean nationality, and their lineal descendants”; this Act excluded all Chaoxianzu (Seol and Skrentny 2009). Although the “Overseas Koreans Act” did not explicitly bestow South Korean citizenship to overseas Koreans who fell within the legal definition, it allowed overseas Koreans to enjoy similar rights as South Korean citizens, while the Chaoxianzu most of which whose ancestors had been displaced during Japan’s colonial occupation, were not included (Seol and Skrentny 2009:157). The South Korean National Assembly’s decision to exclude the Chaoxianzu in the “Overseas Korean” category was not isolated from international political influence. China, wary of losing its citizens’ loyalty, opposed the inclusion of Chaoxianzu in the dongpo (blood-kin compatriots) category (Seol and Skrentny 2009:157). The “Overseas Korean Act” caused controversy
and protests from both Chaoxianzu and South Koreans, resulting in a revision of the law in 2004. However, revisions in the Act did not prohibit Chaoxianzu from obtaining the redefined “F-4” visa that is given only to skilled workers (Seol and Skrentny 2009:158). Considering that a majority of illegal Chaoxianzu migrant workers serve in the “3D industries” (dirty, disgusting, and dangerous occupations), obtaining the redefined skilled worker’s “F-4” visa didn’t improve the situation for the Chaoxianzu. In the sphere of global economics and politics, the South Korean government has shifted its internal nationalism to that of “segyehwa,” or globalized nationalism, what Anderson terms “long-distance nationalism,” and switching the government rhetoric of inclusion from gyopo (Koreans residing in foreign countries) to dongpo (blood-kin compatriots) (Park 1996). However, as both Seol and Park argue, the Chaoxianzu migrant workers’ experiences reveal the multifaceted, paradoxical, and contradictory nature of state and nation in South Korea (Park 1996, Seol 2009). On one hand, the term dongpo provides membership, or at least the possibility of membership, to all ethnic Koreans around the world; but in reality and legally, ethnicity does not lead to equal rights and rights of South Korean residency to all ethnic Koreans (Ibid). Within the context of South Korea’s economic and political goals, the Korean diaspora is divided into a hierarchical pecking-order (Ibid).

The Chaoxianzu comprise approximately 40% of South Korea’s foreign workforce (Park 1996). Today many, if not most, Chaoxianzu emphatically stress their Chinese citizenship, and state that their fatherland is China; especially in their interactions with South Koreans who claim their own “Korean authenticity” (Gwon 2007: 45). The Korean ethnic identity of Chaoxianzu that was preserved through the Qing
court’s assimilation policies, survived colonial Japan’s cultural oppression in Manchuria, and later carefully reconstructed during the post-1949 period as a Chinese ethnic minority through projects such as oral tradition collections, is not recognized or validated by their own “cultural core,” the South Koreans. After the failure and resulting famines of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961), Chaoxianzu disillusionment led to a short period of return migration to North Korea to seek out a better life in their ancestral home through “...imagined coherence of the civilization of Mother Korea and the imagined continuity which linked Chaoxianzu subculture with the dominant culture of the Korean peninsula” (Olivier 2001: C13, Anderson 1991). However, this expectation of coherence and imagined continuity was short lived. In 1962, the Chaoxianzu who returned to North Korea, realizing that they were “...better used to the Chinese way of life than to North Korea,” returned to China after renouncing their North Korean citizenship (Olivier 2001: C13).

“Chaoxianzu” is a Chinese ethnic category that was created with the founding of the People’s Republic of China. However, the people who are categorized into this Chinese-constructed ethnicity have direct or indirect ties with both Koreas, as ethnic Korean people. The Chaoxianzu have actively participated in securing their rights and political position within the Chinese multinational state’s discourse as Korean Chinese, also taking part in manipulating the nation-state created ethnic identity to use the “...fact of being different in order to secure access to economic, political, and social resources” (Olivier 2001: 12).

In constructing Chaoxianzu identity that emphasized a unique “Korean-ness” that separated them from other Chinese nationalities, and also fit within the Chinese nation-
state’s narratives and ideology, the Chaoxianzu have excluded stories like Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story,” which does not neatly fit within the framework. Ironically, Chaoxianzu’s preserved ethnic Korean identity that “privileges” them in a Chinese context is marginalizing them as culturally non-Korean within South Korea. The need for a re-evaluating, or repositioning of Chaoxianzu identity became clear to many Chaoxianzu scholars within and outside China, and this process has already begun as indicated by the rise of “return to South Korea” migration experience essays, social commentaries, and novels. I believe Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story” provides a solid foundation for re-examination and repositioning of Chaoxianzu ethnic identity as historically displaced Koreans. It is not only an autobiographical oral narrative, but it also is a living testimony of the unique historical experience of many Manchuria Chaoxian people under Japanese colonialism that has changed Korean history and the Korean people. In other words, it is both a Chaoxianzu story and a Korean story that embodies its colonial history on an individual level, as Chaoxianzu are both Chaoxianzu and Korean.

The return migration of Chaoxianzu and other displaced Koreans, in turn, are also challenging the South Korean understanding of Korean identity. The concept of a unified dan-il minjok, one race or ethnicity, based on the mythical bear-woman ancestor, is being transformed by an increasing number of interracial marriages and the return of historically-displaced ethnic Koreans. According to a Korean National Statistical Office report in 2005, 13.6% of total marriages in South Korea were international or interracial marriages (Kim 2008). With an increase in the number of international and interracial marriages and increased immigration, the jus sanguinis based definition of
Korean ethnicity is being transformed in South Korea. In sum, how will *segye*hw*a*,
globalized nationalism, transform the concept of Korean ethnicity within South Korea
and China? How will constantly-transforming ethnicity negotiate its stipulated
economic and political rights in the geopolitical arena? Although only one component
of the interpretive tools needed to answer these and other questions, the role of personal
oral narratives, as demonstrated in this dissertation, provides unique insights from an
unofficial dimension that differs from formal literary and political discourse.
Notes: Chapter Five

1. In her discussion of Asian Americans literature, Amy Ling asks “...if Asian Americans write or paint about subjects other than their identity and our common cause - justice and equality- (Diana Chang and Kazuo Ishiguro, for example, people some of their novels with Caucasian characters alone) can they still be called Asian American writers or painters? In other words, how do we define an “Asian American” work - by the racial ancestry of its producer or by its subject matter?” (Ling 1991: 196).

2. Note on Romanization of names: in romanizing Korean writers’ names, instead of using the Revised Romanization System, I have provided the previously used Romanization of certain authors’ names in other publications in parenthesis.

3. “Xiao Shuo” (小說) is a Chinese term that became to refer to fiction or novels by the turn of the 20th century. Traditionally, “xiao shuo” was a distinctively different genre from the Western notion of fiction or novels (Wong 2000: 400-409). The Korean word, a transliteration using the same characters, is “soseol.”


5. An underline (_____) represents unclear or inaudible speech.

6. On January 13, 1940, Hwang Geon wrote an article that stated “...so-called Manchuria Chaoxian people’s literature is a Chaoxian people’s literature that can only be created by people with Chaoxian ancestry living in Manchuria. In other words, it should be a unique literary tradition that possesses and reflects the history and its distinctive characteristics of Manchukuo. In order to realize such tradition, [one or we] must fully understand and absorb the Chaoxian literary traditions. It is only through such efforts that we can expect successful results.” (Zhang 2005: 13, Manseon Ilbo January 13, 1940).

7. Due to the lack of evidential material to confirm Imamura Eiji’s life, other than his published works, “Nightmare” is believed to be one of his earliest works (Gim 2009: 30-31).
8. The five ethnic groups in Manchuria recognized by the Japanese imperial power differed from the five ethnic groups defined by Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) in Han, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Hui Muslims. In Wuzu Xiehe” (Harmony or cooperation of five ethnic groups) included Japanese, Koreans, Manchu (Chinese), Mongols, and Russians in Manchuria.

9. Yi Seon Kim, in her article “The Reality of Female International Marriage Migration and Challenges for the Government of the Republic of Korea” cites the number of immigrants in 2005 as approximately 5,180,000. This represented a 77.2 % increase since 1995 (2007: 80).
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APPENDIX A

Transcript of Mr. Jin’s “Red Cross Story” in Korean Hangul
그건 그 좀하고요. 엽알 점 시작합시다. 저 가서도 했지만...

전에 옛날에 이 태 리 아라는 나라에 한계 부두가 있었는데, 그 부두길에 늘상 그 육 절에 중이가, 아마 서양에 이타리에 전 땅이 많았던 모양입니다. 중이 그 부두길임에 늘상 저녁이면 동냥하러 왔다갔다 여러 날 링겼는데. 갔다 돌아올때, 해가 석양에 기부러서 이를때며는 엄일곱살 먹은 아이 우는 소리가 처량하고 가련하게 늘 상 들리더란 말씀니다. 그래, 이삼일 여간에는, 흘, 그 소릴 듣구 가한테 한번 찾아가 봤으면 싶은 이런 간절한 마음을 두루게 하면서 내 일이 바빠서 그냥 지나갔는데, 나할만에 하두나 가련하고 하두나 슬퍼서 발 وخاصة 옻길 수가 없어서 가한테로 찾아갔던 말이입니다.

“애야, 애야, 너 뭐 때문에 하루도 아니고 몇 맷일 매일 일 때때 나가 우느냐?” 그래도 물으니까, 아이가 하는말이 “그런게 아닙니다. 내 지금 일곱살인데, 우리 아버지가 난 배안에다가 두고서 온 빌리 갔다면서 터나가셨는데 다른 집 사람들은 온 벌어가지고 돌아오는 아버지도 있고 어머니도 있고, 형님도 있고 누나 동생들은 짜를 끌어 안아 가지고 찾아 가자고 오고, 또 여행 갔다 돌아오는 기쁜 심정으로서 춤을 돌풀 거리고 추구 이렇게 돌아오는데, 내 하나 만은 뭐 때문에 배안에 난 유복자인데 아주까지 철니이 되두록 아버지가 돌아오지 못 합니다. 혹이나하고 오늘 냐 하고 기다리구 갈 때는 눈물밖에 남은게 없습니다. 그리구 우리 어머니가 본다며는 너무 아버지를 그리워서 일구월슴에 (일구원심) 사모하다 나니까 정신이상에 걸려서 이 이태리 교환에 산 밑에 오막살이 망군을 파고 꽃이문을 달고서 혼자서 힐스터리 그 싸고자에 대해서 방 구석에서 맛 헛히히 웃으면서 이렇게 살아가пущен. 그래 돌아갈때면 동냥해서 내 밥을 해다 이래서 겨우 운명해 나가는 이런 신세입니다.”
“오, 그러나? 그러면 내한테 돈 일원줄가, 요절로서 오늘은 살 수 있으니. 나는 내
맘대로 아니니까, 우리 절 망애가서 토론하고,” 지금 말함 토론하고, “이론해서
다시 내일 한 번 보자. 니 그렇게 기다리라.”

그래고 절 망 돌아서 그 사유역사를 쟁-육 얘기하니까 그러며는 절 망에, 그
정말 라오반이 그 아이를 테리고 와 봐라. 이어서 그러자 해 놓다가, 이튿날 또
역시 동냥 해 가지고 집에 돌아 갈 때가 되가지고서 돌아 오는 데, 또 그 아이
움음소리 너무나 가련해. 적 가니까 곧도 못 들고 __운다. 남들이 누나나
언니나 아버지나 어머니나 형제 자매들 만나서 손 쥬고 나폴나풀 춤 취면 가는거
보면 가련하기 그렇지 않어서, 참악 (움음), 이렇게 놓아 가지고서 중이가 가를
테리고서 절 망으로 갔다 말이요. 그래 절 망에 가서 절 망에서 그 라오반이 보고서
아이르 보이 인물 관상률 보니 이만 저만한 아이고, 앞으로 상에정도 쓸 훌륭한
아이겠다. 가를 떠나 우리 공부를 가리키자 (가르치자). 그렇다면 그 늘은
어머니를 거기까 혼자 두고 있을 수 없으니, 다 모시고 오너라. 이렇게 해 돼서
중이 가보니까 아이 하는말과 한가지. 오막살이 망굴을 파 놓고 잠으로 얻은
깃이문을 달고 방 구들에는 북 배기를 패고 혼자 __막 그 정신 이상이 걸려, 웃었다 웃음에. 올다가 막 층을 추가다가, 별란 것을 다 한단 말여, 예. 그래 모시고 절
망으로 갔다말여. 그래 간 뒤부터는 어머니는 좋은 공기를 마시면 꽃 밭을
구경하며 산천경기를 다-이 구경 시키면서 안 일을 하는분을 배치해 놓고 또 야는
공부를 심년간 또 하고도 꼭 야를 인제로 만들더라. 독 선생을 두고서 공부를
가르쳤다말야. 근데 사람이라면 총명이라면게 끝이 없다 이말입니다. 중국에
산파가 열 한살에 대학생이 되지 않았습니까? 이와 한 가지로 야가 총명하기 끝이
없어서 하나 가리키면 둘을 알고, 둘을 가리키면 너무를 알고, 녀자를 가르키면
여섯자 아는 이런 총명한 골이라, 심년이 체 안되서 선생이 더 가르쳐 줄 글이 없고
말천이 없더라 이 말입니다.

그래 심년이 못 찰는데, 야 하는 말이, “우리 약속은 심년 동안 공부하고 내가
어떻게 하겠다고 했지만 심년이 안즉 기안이 못 찾지마는 내가 대한의
유복자라서 아버지 얼굴도 한 번 못 보고 우리 어머니 일구일심에 구복건장이 타서 히스테리가 된 어머니 앞에 이 아버지를 모셔다 드리겠습니다” 이리까, 되니까, 어린 나이에 절당에 있는 사람들 너무 어안이 병병해서 (웃음) 보낼 수 없드라.

그러나 아이 결심이가 하두나 군고 하두나 명심이 셀기 때문에 보내리로 결정해 토론 했단 말입니다. 그래서 절당에 있는 분들이 지금 무슨 사랑으로 가는 거처럼 한푼 두푼 음 돈을 다 모으고 어머니 병은 십년 동안 좋은 공기 좋은 경치 마음을 안 셋끄니까 (미인이니까) 자연히 병이 떠나가지. 그러나 그 어린 자식을 정처없이 만리 타국에 떠나 보낸다는 것은 어머니 맘 놓고 보낼 수가 없는 이런 환경에 도달했다 이 말씀 입니다.

그러나 저러나 아이 결심이 크니까 어쨌든 아이가 하는 말이 우리 아버지가 금전에 포온이 되어서 떠났으니 만큼 그때 자본주의 국가라도도 금이 또 완마히 수요하는 미국에 갔으리가는 거 추춰해 가지고 내가 먼저 미국으로 정처없이 만리 타국을 떠나제겠다고 이렇게 말한단 말요. “그, 그래, 그 말도 비슷하다 그러면 그렇게 해라.”

그럼때, 그 중이, 라오반이가, 열심자 두어개를 “내 이게 형제 시간에 한 절당에서 했는데, 동생도 한 분 외국에 가서 절당에서 돈도 벌고, 한 번 출세도 하고 있다는 이런 이도로서 (외도로서) 이 열심자 하나씩 갈라 가지고 갈는데 혹시 사람이라는게 모른다는 일이다. 예, 이길 필요할 세에는 한 번 씁먹어 봠라.”

그래서 그걸 지니고서 배를 탑습니다. 배 위에 떠먹 올라 앉았는데, 배가 안쪽 떠나갈 고동 소리도 아이 올리고 아래 아 고개를 푹울 숨이고 물 밑을 내다 보면서 지금 한탄에 수심에 걸러서 물만 보고 눈물만 주~욱 뜻있었는데, 배가 떠나는 고동 소리가 응~~하고 올리에 빗머리를 스르륵 돌군다 아닙니까? 그래 그 스간이 한 오 번 (분) 갔는데, 어쩐지 그 높은 배 위에서 자기 _____ 위에 옷환방울 (침 한방울)을 놀 덜떨군단. 그래 마지 못해서 올려보니 어든 새 아간데 얼굴은각아는 밥 같고,
입술은 앵두 입술이요, 코는 남작코요, 반달 눈썹이요, 정말하니, 물 찬제비 같고
못 복나비같은 천하일색의 미인 처녀네 출을 (침을) 자기 곁에 갈다 튀니까
도다나간 뼈에 두 주먹을 보러 쥐고 올로 달아 올라갔단 말야. _____ 인가, 웠
____ 높은데 일등실에 들어 가니까, 보통 사람은 거기 못 들어 오게 하는데, 예가
무조건 도다나긴 김에 들어가 “니, 어째 내 있는데 출을 빼받아? 너 이름이 뭐이나?”
“나는 메리라고 한다.” “너 맘 살아냐.” “열 여섯 살이다. 그래, 너 이름은 뭐이나?”
“나는 개리라고 한다.” 영, “너는 맘 살아냐?” “나도 열 여섯 살이다.” 그래 동갑이
만났단 말입니다. “그래 나 도대체 뭐 때문에 눈을 다려다 보고 였느냐?”
“그런게 아니라....” 이만저만하고 이만저만하고 사조지정 (자조지정) 대든 사실을
주욱 얘기하니까, 이 새 아가, 개 저 메리라고 하는게, “울지 말아라. 하늘이
무너져도 쫓아 날 꺾 있다고. 되는 때가 있느니라.” 하품하며, “우리 아버지는 미국의
외부대신이야. 그래서 이태리에 구경 왔던 길에 불일 왔던 길에 돌아가는데, 니가
여기 않아 간단히는 안심 시럽고 또 따라서 미국같이 낯고 넓은 지방에 가선 니가
이곳 저곳을 걸어 망기며 찾기보다 신문에다 낼다며는 무엇보다도 빠르고
좋은 일이 아니라. 그러게 내하고 동기하면 가자.”

아, 참 좋은이를 만났단 말야. 그래서 그 배 안에서 정말 뭐놀면서 야도 외국에도
배왔고, 십년동안에. 인체는 서로 말도 주고 받고 하나가 아주 멀어질 수 없는 친한
친구, 이런 길로 변해서 한 이심 동안해서 미국 부두에 갔다 데나가는, 별씨 소식이
가서 미국 사람들이 자동차도 있고 비행기도 있지만은 귀한 손님을 모실때는
쌍두마차로 불러대는 거지. 그런가, 지금도 그렇지만, 그래 쌍두마차에 없이고,
야를 떠리고서 외부대신의 집에 먹먹 들어가니가, 자야, 마당에는 화원이요, 끼
-dropdown continues-
그래서 셀럽이 너무 제미가지 먹고 입고 뛰어다 노니가, 제 아버지 찾으러 온 목적으로 잇버리고 셀럽만 다 보내다 나이가, 야가 깊짝 놓러서 안 되겠다. 신문에 내도 소식이 없고, 내사나이 남자로서 신문에서 못 찾는다해서 내 아버지 못 찾고 말았는가. 나는 찾고 말겠다.' 그러니가 메리도 할 수 없이 허락하고 갈라지가 아수운 것도 갈라져서 여비하고 먹을 거 하고 다 준비해서 그 게리를 내 보냈단 말야. 그래서 먹을 거 지구, 드도 버러마 영고 (녕고), 산을 넘고 물을 건너, 들판을 지내서 하루 가구 이를 가구, 정처없이 떠나. 이와같이 가고 가고 가다가 어느날 저기에 해가 지서 어둑살이 빛오고 면데서 사람이 안 빛을 요구 무릎해서 면 곳에서 말이 한 걸이 달아오는 소리가 바바바바 나면, 그 뒤에 말로 수격(추격) 하는 말 소리가 서 너필 달리는 소리가 나더라 이래. 그래, 야(가) 깊뽀 놓라는 바위 엽에 숨어서 가만이 보니까, 한 사람이 말을 타고 내따 달린데, 그 뒤에 한 놈이 총질을 하니까 총이 꼭에 맞아서 사람이 구불어 떨어지고 많은 총에 놓려서 그냥 막 달아 나더라. 그래서 야(가) 급히 달아나가서 그 사람을 안고 굴에 들어가고, 말은 돌가서 새버리나가, 그 돌가 오던 마진들이 거기와 빙뱅 찾는지 하더니 말이 앞으로 달아스니까 앞으로 달아나니까 앞으로 달아있다 달아있다 달아. 그래서 이 게리는 그 사람을 업고서 봉대를 대서 매고서 밤길을 걸어 오 육심리나 산골안을 가니까, 열 두가 거의 됐는데도 어떤 절당이에, 열 두 대문을 막아 걸고 그 안에 불빛이 빼닫 거리는 집이 있어 문을 두드렸단 말야. 그래, 안만 두드리도 밤중이 오란 다음에 사람이 오니까, 안이 열어져. 애문나 애절을 복살하니까, 너무나 오래 오래 사정하니까, 마지 못 해 그 안에서 사람이 나와서 맞아 들었던 말야. 그래 맞여 들여 놓고 보니까, 다룬게 맞은게 아니고 땅에 맞았으니까, 이 사람이 죽을 치료하면 되는구나. 그래, 아무튼 죽을 치료하고 미움을 다려서 대접하고 하니까, 납 밖을 잃세시 정신이 회복되어 재 변생하게 됐다 이환이야. 그래 제 변생할때도 대체 어 обязатель 사실이나 이래니까, 이 게리가 하는 말이. "내, 내 태생 유복함데, 이만 저만해서 우리 아버지 나이는 얼마나 됐고, 이름은 무엇이고, 우리 엄마 나이는 얼마나 이름은 무엇이고, 내가 저녕 마당 나가서 부두에 나가 옵었는데, 한 일주일만에 아무것에서 나를 불쌍하다고 테려 와서 십 년 공부.
가르키고 우리 엄마를 병 고치주고 그래, 내 이 십 년 공부도 못 마치고서 그 절당의 그 분에 내 열 심자를 하나 주는 걸 기념품으로 가지고 내 옆에 미국의 외무대신에 말 하고 동기해서 와서 신문에 내고 찾아 다니는, 종 _____ 소식이 때문에 내 벌로 찾아 말겠다는 결심으로 오늘 쓰 오다 나니가, 말에서 굴러 떨어지는 사람을 곧게 봐서 가서 내가 오 욕심리를 여러 시지만 내 몸으로 엽고 왔습니다."

이렇게 오기 보니가 가만한 자초를 정신이 회복되니가, 자기 아들이 틀림 없다는 게지, 나가 유복자다, 연령을 따진다. 아버지 이를 맞아, 어머니 이를 맞아, 연령 맞아. 틀림없단 말아! “나가 그 이름이 가리란 말이나? 내가 너 아버지다!” 이렇게 됐어. 그래고 보니가, 이 아버지 소원이 돈 벌어 오니라고 그 밥에 급방이 많에서 급방에서 십 년동안을 금을 채서 한 푼 남비 안 해가지구 저축해서 그 돈을 찾아가지구 집에 가느라가는데, 어느덧 아마 마적들이 알구서 ____어떻게 떠났는데. 이아, 오와, 둥동 내 사랑아~ 구름에 날개와 가량있에 ____ 왔나. 총을 추구 돌아가고. 그 환경은 말할 수 없는 광경이요. 이렇게 돼서 그 열심자 내 눈겨 보니가 자기 형님이 줄 열심자란 말야. “그리까, 우리 형님이 널 키왔고 널 살 바꿨고, 나가 만리 타국 미국까지 찾아 온 이른 귀하구 귀한 은인이 어땠나. 우리 인제 십 년이 됐소가, 한 번 돌아가서 형님도 찾고 우리 둘이 벌어 논 이만한 돈이면 아무데 가서도 남 부럽지 않게 살 테니까, 고향으로 돌아가자.” 이렇게 떡 쳐든 말야.

그래서 그 이튿 날, 돈을 보따리에 이렇게 가지고서 떠나서 외무대신에 집에 찾아왔던 말야. 거기에 찾아서 하루 이틀 자는 나라간에 세 아버지를 찾아왔지. 절당에 그 _____ 인도 찾아왔지. 술한 돈을 가져 왔지. 이제 어머니 앞에 아버지를 갖다 모실 생각에 기쁘고 기뻐서 얼마나 기뻤는지 나폴나를 춤을 추며 그 메리하고 뒤 노는 그 환경을 보니가 외무대신을 비롯한 세 분들이 천하배일이다. 저렇게도 우연히 만난 사람끼리 저렇게도 인정이 깊어지고 사랑이깃들었는데 어떻게 갈라 놓을 것이며 외국사람이라 해서 손님으로 만들겠는데가 하니까, 천하
하늘이 내려다 보고 시켜주는 배.mult을 우리 배를 맺는것이 어찌한가. 다 도이했던 말야. 그런데 우리 잔치에는 굽하지 아니니가, 개리가 아버지 모시고 또 그 절당에 그 분을 모시고 어머니 앞에 갖다 모시, 어머니 상봉 시키고, 어머니 하고 다시 외서 잔치를 일구는 것이 어편가. 만장일치로 동이 될서 개리하고 아버지하고 배를 타고서 부용하고 떠났던 말야. 한 이 섬일 때서 그 날 오후에 해 절공에 그 부두에 도달 하며는, 제 옆 큰 그 부두가 되고, 어머니 아버지도, 정말, 어머니도 오고 절의 절당에 플들도 와서 맞아 해 갈 이런 환경인데, 배가 비상 소식 고등한 냉따 푼단 말야. 내 따 텀드니, 안에 사람들이 무슨 일인지 영문을 물러서 왔다갔다 하고, 뭐, 아니 무슨 인상태가 났던 말이다. 그래 조금 있더니 소식이 나오는것이 이 배가 압석에 부딪쳐서 공기 났는데 어떠한 영문이지 모르게 불새로 그 공기에 물이 안 들어왔기 때문에 이 배안에 탄 사람들이 생명을 건지게 됐습니다. 이래서 배가 떠납니다. 배가 떠납니다. 배가 부두에 부딪치는데, 개리 아버지와 중이 개리를 찾아서 안한 무브고 숨한 사람이 왔다갔다 하는데, 아무리 찾아도 개리는 배우지 (보이지) 안 트란 말이요.

그래, 조금 부두에 갖다대서 몇 분 되지 않아서 죽은 개리를 매워서 부두에 모래 발에서 척 내려 놓고, “여러분들 내 말을 듣으십시오. 이 배가 오다가 압석에 부딪쳐서 물이 막 속는데, 개리가 이 물에 때 들어서 자기 몸으로 이 배 꿈멍을 (구멍을) 막았기 때문에 물이 더 안 들어 왔기 때문에 여기 탄 수 천명의 생명을 개리가 구했습니다.” 이르니가, 배 안에 탄던 사람들이 다 온고 (올음), 네, 수도회를 했던 말입니다. 그래서 이 소식이 어느새, 정말하면, 미국의 외무대신에까지 전해져서, 메리가 비행길 타고 와 가지고서 그 메리가 비행기에 내리자 자자 개리를 끌어안고 막 옷고 옷고 응드리만은, 거리에서 약을 먹고서 자기도 자살해 죽고 말았습니다. 그래서 그때서 이 열심자들을 홍심자로 정해서 이사 정말하면 병원 포적으로 만든 열심자 유래가 이렇게 나왔다 하는 것입니다.
APPENDIX B

Stories and Song Transcripts in Korean Hangul
Story 1

Mr. Jin: 전에 어떤 아이가 한 서니 살펴보아 아버지 어머니가 소금장사지 이 마을 저
마을 남기면서 소금도 팔고 뭐 반겨지 거칠지. 뭐 빌어도 먹고 이래저래 온 조선
천하를 다 돌아대기때 이렇게 살았는데, 그래 다 아가 일곱 살 먹던 해에 가만
따라다니면서 생각, 한평생 아버지 따라 닳겨서는 그저 그 소금장사고 밥 빌어
먹고 배울 게 그것밖에 없고 생활이 그것밖에 없다, 요런 껌이 트드라 이 말이요..
그래서 자가가 예라 아버지고 뭐이고 내버리고 나는 내갈 데로 내 걸음아 나
살려라하고 산을 넘고 그저 영 물을 건너 벌판을 지나면서 강난곡절을 다 겪으며
어 빌어먹으면서 한 고개를 가다 나니 참 아담진 마을에 한 개 서당이 있는데, 그
서당에서 글 읽는 소리가 사랑스럽게 들려온단 말이요. 그래 서당 문앞에 떠어
들어서서 야아, 나도 부모나 좀 잘 살았으면 자 아이들 같이 좀 공부나 했으면
얼마나 좋게나. 그래서 그 서당집에 기냥 서서 보다가 그 집에 마당도 숲어주고
냥그도 꽤주고 심바람도 해주고 제절로 자정해서 하는 일이 아주 기특하기 짝이
없고, 아이가 귀엽더란 말입니다. 그래서 서당주인이, 아, 그러던 우리 집에서
시키는 심바람이나 하구 마당이나 숲구, 그래 우리 집에 있겠느냐? 예에,
고맙습니다 하구 그 집에 있었던 말야.

서당에 삼 년에서 무슨 두 문장을 갖는다고, 거기서 배우지 않고도 그냥 지할 일
다 하면서 그저 지나가는 길에 또 한 번씩 듣다 보면서 배와도 그 안에서 잃는
농들보다 아가 공부 더 잘한다. 이랬게 되니까, 서당에 스승님이, 녔 심바람도
그만두고 내 집에 내 자식처럼 서당에 앉아서 글을 읽어요. 그래 글을 읽는데 정말
하던 한 자 배와주면 두 자 알고, 두 자 배와주면 네 자를 아는 이런 천재야. 공부
잘하니까 서당스승님이 자를 빠라 웃, 일도 하며 심바람도 하며 이래도 공부를
이만저만 이만 잘하는데 너 이놈들 공부만 한다는 게 이계 뭐인가! 이러면서 것이다
놓고는 회초리를 종아리 펴리는 .... 자꾸 얻어맞게 된단말야. 그러니까 자들이
가만 생각해보니까, 자 오기 전에 우리 그렇게 얻어맞지 않고 이러 저러한 문제가
없었는데, 아 그렇구나! 저哝의 새끼가 오니까 아 숱한 때 맞고, 자한테 비해 가니고 옥도 막고, 상당히 밀단 말아. 그래 밀위도 그 뒤 어털 방법이 없지, 선생님이 꽤야 하나가. 또 가들이 밀어하던 옥을 하던 탄하지 얻하고 싸움도 안하고 그저 기특하게 지내고 고파게 지내고 인정스러게 지내고 하나가 어질 방법이 없어서 다 같이 공부하고 이제는 서울에 과거 보고 떠나게 되는 이런 때가 됐단 말야.

그래 다른 집 아이들은 그때 공부 한다는 건 다 부잣집 아들이고 ___ 하기 살아야 공부하지, 빈곤한 가정에 아들과 ___ 공부 못합니다. 이래 그들은 서울 과거보러 갈다고 슬한 여비에 땡냐귀 타고서 경대문을 또또 울라당 달라당 가는데, 옛날이래도 빼빼한 집에는 서당 집 마당이라고 그렸습니다. 개 칠 동댕이도 없고 돈도 없고 나무도 없고, 곤란한 계 서당집 입니다. 그래서 있는 거 없는 거 다 뽜아 가지고 야를 쥐서 다른 사람 땡냐귀 타고 가도 야는 걸어갔지요. 그래 걸어서 가는데 오늘 새끼 따라서가는 계 하도 밀위서 때로는 벌 지랄 다 해보지.

또 한 수 없어서 뒤에 맘 뒤에 따라가다, 저녘새끼 태려가면 우리는 낚 쓰래지고 과거는 저 %+가 할 터데, 저놈 새끼를 먹히면 뒤내버릴까. 아, 오늘 저녁은 자는데 제로서 새끼를 열다섯 받 까라. 못 까면은 너무 새끼 안 테려간다. 아, 이게 어디 제로서 새끼를 어떻게 가는가. 무언에 제. 그래, 가만히 생각해 보니까, 쥔인 집에 보니까 옛을 고아 먹고서야 사발에 남은 게 있던 말야. 아마 꼭. 고놈을 제를 무쳐가면서야 살살 살살 삽삽 삽삽을 뜨니까 새끼가 되던 말야. 그래 제 새길 왔다. 아 요놈의 곤을 보니까 비상기도없지. 또 어느게 또 떨난 방법도 없단말야. 아마 뒤내 버리자고 하라는 일은 다하지.

그래 할 수 없어서 서울까지 갔던 말야. 아들은 지금 말하면 아파트라 할까 호텔라 할까, 좋은 집에 들어가지고 낼 과거 보자가 준비하고 눈구서 뭐 무슨 하는데, 야야 잘 곳도없구, 어느 역전에서 그저 밖에서 자면서 맨기때 내가 과거 보러 왔는데 못도 하나 없습니다. 그 뭐를 하나 빌리면 내 혹시나 은혜 갈을때 있으면 갈겠습니까. 오니, 하나 가져가라. 그래 여러 뭐도 없고, 먹도 없고, 좋이도 없고 이래 가지고 아침에 이른 준비해 가지고 가니, 이미 아마 그 현장에 사람들이 꺇들어박혀서 뭐 빛고 들어갈 방법이 없어. 그래서, 어데 가서 꺼멍칠을 막해 가지구 옹에, 이이 이이 좀 처나라, 처나라같. 아 과거 보러 가는 눈이 한참도지 반 적삼에 깨끗한 명지라지 저고리에 해 입고간게, 아 김경 문히면은 그 어 저희듯. 누가 진 안 피해겼. 다 피해자. 그래 맨 앞줄에 가 땋 섰어. 그래 시험문제 나온 것에 설 실 설 쏘셔서 맨 앞에 갔다 바치니까, 형석이 들고 보더니, 무름 밑에 청. 그 솔한 사람들이 시험지 놓으면 그저 책상에 창창무지 뭐였는데, 형석이 그 문제만 말로 내놓고 보더니, 그 이름날 시험 보는데 암행어사로 적 합격이 왔어.

이게 합격이 된 다음에 매칠 지난 다음에 야가 무슨 삽삽. 세상 내가 아버지 어머니 소급장사 뒤를 따라 당기고 이제는 늘었기 때문에 천상 그지 노릇받에 할게 없는데, 그래도 내가 이 만찰 됐으면 누구 누구의 아들이고 한테 부모 한번 못 찾아보구 내 명의만 높아 뭐하나. 내가 조선 팔도에서 석 달 열흘동안에 잔치를

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한번 벌어졌다. 내 소원. 그래 잔치 한번 하겠다니가, 그 뒤, 정승이 허락했던말야. 그래 잔치 ____.

그래 해 젖거리며마당에 이제 잔치를 겪어 치올 무렵에 오 장치 지꾸로 만든 해준 오장치 그걸 오장치 걸러보고서 아야 어머니는 다리를 자축 자축 겪는데 아버지 뒤에 따라오는 게 작품작품 ____ 오는 게, 아버지 어머니 틀림없단 말이어, 높은데 앉아 보니까, 그래 하인들 시켜서 야, 어떨라. 예, 저 마감에 들어온 저 거지를 저어 앞에 냉동에 빈집이 있는데 반 데 모셔둘라. 예. 그리니까 한 상 잘 반구, 그 빈집에 띄역 앉아있는데, 무슨 영문 가략인지 알지 뜨한말야. 다른 사람들도 다 한 상 얻어먹으면 다 제 곳에 가는데, 그것들만은 빈집에 갔다 열고 있단말야.

그래서 밤에, 이쯤 가만 생각하니까, 한번은 만나봐야 되겠는데 자기 처를 어떻게 데려갈 수가 없는 거, 어떻게 _____ 때 놓고 가기도 곤란하고, 어떻게 할 것인가. 그래서 할 수 없이 아주 조저념부터 자기가 잡을 쿨쿨 자는 체 하니까, 자기부인도 엽에서 쿨쿨 자는 체 한단 말야. 아차 엽 때라 하고서 잡들었는데 하고 살모시 일어나서 옷을 걱정하고서 처를 가만 보니까 잡에 쪽 들었기레 발탁 문을 차고 그 오막살이집에 달려갔단 말야. 담아가니까 자기 처가 벌로 이상하거든. 이 아때 거지 안 하던 버릇을 우르르 자가 입고서 문을 차고 혼자 내달린데 여게는 틀림 말 못한 사연이 있었다. 내 한번 이들이 따라보자 하고 배우지 않는 정도라면 살살 가니까, 문을 떼고 막 들어가더니, 아버지 어머니하고 끌어안고 옷고 뒤 옛날 사설을 마다 하더니, 아버지 얼른아 얻어온 고기 조각이요 묵 조테기요 무슨 사탕 조테기요 두부 조테기요 뭐 내비면 그동안에 나 얼마나 배고났나, 먹어라, 뭐 어체라하고 뒤 올며 불면 신야단이란 말야. 그런데 창문은 옛날엔 뒤에도 창문이 하나 있지, _____ 여러문. 고질아 떼고서 들려보다니가 그런 상황이야. 그런데 내가 인지 이렇게 정상이 됐는데 감사가 됐는데 나는 잘 사이가 이런 거 안 먹소 하긴 못하고 옛날의 그 맘 그 맹사로 맞았게 먹는체하며 받아가지고는 뒤우로
창문 바깥으로 자꾸 내버려, 그래 자기 부인은 내거 무슨영문도 모르구 어멋든 나오는 건 치마 앞에다 다 쓰여. 그라고 인절 옛고 어머니 아버지한테 부탁하는데, 내가 어머니 아버지를 어떻게 잘 모시고 편안하기로 만들어 놓 테이가, 까닭 소문내지 말고 가만히 계시오. 이만하고 토나자 할 때 자기부인이 줄어쓴 고기 조미리의 가자구 ___ 따라왔다.

와서 화 tü불을 돈다 놓고 기름을 넣고 양념을 넣고 다가 다가 붓어 놓고 소주 한잔 막 반자 놓고 남자 들어온 다음에 오늘 ___ 에는 어데 갔다 오시느냐고 이렇게 ____ . 아, 내 조금 불일이 있어 바람도 세우고 어때 나갔다 그것말. 수고 많았습니다. 내 못은 술 한병 받으시지요. 그래, 술을 한잔 따르고 한잔 조옥 들이키구 막 안주를 먹고는 야야 먹었따 할 때 그 부인이 올리다가 귀통을 타악 이놈의 새끼, 천하 양반의 집에 쌓놈이 우리 집안을 망치자고 나가도 사다고 나를 이렇게 만들었는데, 내가 이렇게 되면 어떻게 되겠소. 내가 골을 들고 맹길수가 없어. 하찮은 거지자식이 이게 무슨 것인가. 이렇게 되니까, 제발 손은만 살려주시오. 잘못했습니다. 절을한단 말야. 그래 여자가 올다가아 그래도 이래 틀져 레 빈 내 남편인데 하늘과 망인데 내가 당신의 귀통을 천 것은 잘못이____. 분분이 나느김에 한것을 어떻게 하겠소. 그렇게 하소 우리 여기서 어려움 저러 rencont해서 갈라갈 다나 이혼을 한다나 어러져서해서 이 소문이 나간다며는 우리 부모까지도 낳을 들고 맹길 수 없는 환경인데 우리들이 어쩌나 골을 잘 쓰구 연구를 잘 해가주고 이 문제를 풀어나감다. 하야, 고맙습니다. 그래머니 이 시아버지 시어머니 없다 현 같만 사실 아이고 독신이라 한 건만 사실인데, 이분을 어떠한 여관에다 갔다 모셔놓고 아무 날 아무 시에 이 정성의 [정승] 아버지 아버니 사들도님이 온다는 편지 사연을 띄어 가지고 모셔 들여 오기 하자.

그래서 그렇게 연구를 했는데, 그오간에 안적 이렇게 된 거 모르니까 가만히 종을 시켜서 그 보초 서는 거 둔어서 시아버지 시어머니를 뒤 ___ 안에 가져놓고 자기는 ___ 그리고 우리가 채만 있으면 하늘 천 따 지 검을 ��� 누루 황 가르켜서
그거 다 배와 준 다음에는 내질을 또 가르키고 통속 습관을 가르키고 다야 가르키고, 말하는 것도 얕반의 말을 하고 문자도 쓸 줄 알고 이렇게 만들어 놓고 가만히 내다 여관에 놓고 아무 날 이렇게 떠왔단 말야. 그러니까, 야아, 이 이 외동아들이고 아주 이런 사돈 남이 없다는 이게 무슨 이런 소문이냐. 이 소문이고 하자 하메는 쌍두마차를 내몰아서 태워 가지고 왕그당 망그당하고 정성 집에 떠먹 들어오더니 뒷 그날 인산태가 나고 생야단이죠, 그 안에서. 그런데 들어오며 인사하는 거 봐도 얕반은 힘히 갈고, 말습하는 봐도 유식하구, 야아 사돈이 잘 봤다고 소문이 왜자지. 그래서, 자아, 이를 봐 하고는 사돈에 잔치를 한 번 내려보자. 혜 그____ 만만진수 산해진미를 다아 채려 놓고서 뒤투한 그 덜 대신 이런 분들을 다아 모셔다 놓고 술을 대접하고서 하는데, 술을 받아 먹어소 그렇게 주고받는 말을 봐도 그렇고 유식한 사람이고 얕반의 가문이고 이런 환경이다 아님니까. 물론 이것은 이와같이 되니가 기분 좋은 뒤투에는 옛날이나 지금이나 한마디 놀자 오락하자 이런 문제가 또 벌어졌는데, 모두 돌아가면서 하는 마암 노래가 유식하고 들을 만하고 흥이 나고 다 좋았는데 웬 마감에 이 사돈이 앞에 뛴 들어왔는데, 아뿔싸, 메느리가 이럴 때 노는 방법만은 못 가르켜줬단 말야.

그래 불____하락은 할 노래가 없단 말야. 그렇다고 뒤투 아리랑을 부르겠는데가, 각설일 부르겠는가. 이거 어득하나. 그래서 내가 들에 뭉길때 보니가 그 벽사공들이 에이요 에라차야 당겨만 주요. 에이요라차야 하는 이런 게 골속에 띄오더란 말입니다. 그래서 할 수 없이 이 노래를 에이요라차야 당겨만 주요 하고 이렇게 부르니까, 옛날에는 쌍놈이 벼룩이요, 소금장사요, 백정이요 이게 쌍놈에 든다. 패 패 패 패다 달아났어. 그러니까 이 정승이 다 나빠져____ 이제는 낮을 못든다. 그리니까 집안은 이제 망했어. 그래 이 처가 남자들 이저는 어버지 어머니 모시고 정처없이 떠나가 여자 가만히 죽느냐 사느냐 도대체 하드히 문여저도 속아없길 있다고, 옛날이나 지금이나 간에.

어쨌든 죽는다 해서 명의를 얻는 게 아니라 살아서 그래서 명의를 얻어야겠다.
이른 맛이 들더라구. 그래서 머리를 떼추고 덥시고서 남복을 하구서 그 다음에는 정처없이 떠나는 게야. 산을넘고 들을 지나서, 정처없이 애 하우는 타귀 봉 이요 봉이 높은것도 넘어 총수는 만 자택이요, 물이 깊은 것도 걷고, 침방속에 잠을 못 자도 걸어가고, 싶 불감 리에 밤을 못 먹어도 걸어가고 가구 가구 가다가 어떤 산골짜이에 가니가, 이 정말 하며는 산태미같이 자알 생긴 곳에 대우관만한 기와집들이 한마을 꽤 들어섰는데, 뒤, 꽁반이며 연못이며 참 ___ 기한 곳이 나선단 말야. 그래서 문패를 이렇게 올려다 보니까, 이 집에 와서 장기를 두는데 나가 장기 지면 우리 집에 좀질하고 내가 장기저며는 이 살럼 좀을 너한테 다 떨긴다. 광고가 이렇게 붙었어. 그래야 옛날에는 광고를 방위라고 해. 방위. 그래 방위를 보고서 Producto, 죽여와 죽겠네. 사람이 급도에 돌인 사람은 못 해보는 일이 없지. 종결해야 좋으니가 한번 나가본다. 그래 장기판에 턱 나갔는데, 맨수 안 뜨니까, 이작자가 좋이 있는 게 수천 명이란 말야. 그래니까 장기를 얼마나 잘 두는 사람, 에. 이런테도 몇 수 안 떨보고 내가 졌습니다. 안즉 긴이 안 나도 안단 말야.
내 임때 거진 이 술한 종을 내한테 장기 뜨고 중이 다 됨에는 당신한테 점 이런 봉변을 당하는 판이요. 나 이불 한 채만 맘고 갑니다. 그다음에 이 여갈 내농고 종들 불러 내농고 이만저만한소 이 판과 한가지로 내 장기를 이기면 종으로 두고 진다며는 내가 살림을 다 준단께 장부 일련은 중천금이라. 말 한마디 했으면 한대로 해야 돼지 이분께 인계하오니 그리 아오, 떠나.
그 소박에 자기 남편하구 (웃음) 시아버지 시어머니 먼저 와서 장기에 종속 안에 들었드라고. 자야, 이렇게 되고. 그래서 그 자리에서 자기가 말하고 이 사람은 내 시아버지 시어머니라는 거 종들한테 아르켜주고 자가가 천 그 연못에 졸배를 타고서 줄을 맴기때 에이 아저씨야 당겨만 주소 이리구 엎에다 기생하나 저서 장주를 투딩등등드른, 남은 고기로 회를 치구 불화 초보다 술을 벗어, 반년 매일매일 ___ 동탄당 동탄노니가 천하 선손들이 아무리 좋다 한들, 그 환경보다 더 좋을수 있겠는데. 그래서 이 여자가 편지를 사연을 주욱 써서 아버지한테다 친정아버지한테다 보냈다 말야. 친정아버지 그 편지보고도 신입치 못해서

그래 어제 그저게 죽었는데 내한대도 기별이 왔어. 나도 갔더니만은 아 실 뚝 한 봉지 해가지고 아 거늘가지한데 싶어 먼저 보냈더니만 좋다고 질서망 걸시당 뛰는 바람에 떨은 따 떨어지고 _____ 붓은 것이 거기 붙었습니다. 술이, 그래 술을 주는것이 개미한데 떠먹 싶었는데 아이 복두 배때를 꽉 쥔라니서 아주 술을 신고 오다 소 발자국 물에 빗져가지고 죽는다 그러길래 건져놓고서 그 뱃ệu를 풀어보니가 배때 너무 졸라 개미허리 잡혀하자. 그릴 때 개미가 허리가 잡혀갔어, 뭐. 그런데 그술을 쏘은 거 청어라는 놈이 혼자 욕심꾸러기 다 퍼먹어서 눈갈이 죄 빛게서 뒤통고 좋다고 이래. 아 그거 옆에서 보니가 가제미란 놈이 하도 웅어 하하하라고 웃다니가가 _____ 돌아가서 귀 돌아가 가제미 눈갈이 돌아가서 그때부터(옷을). 아 갈치는 놈이 그 옆에 있다 그 통에 너무 검이 나서 후다다 달아나다가 이 배 작은 담구령으로 빗져나가다가 꼬리가 끊어질 정도로 가서 그때 이렇게 된 것입니다.
Song 1

Mr. Jin: 노래 (작사)
빛 나는 조선 빛나는 조선
아름다운 강산이라 엽싸 종구나
육천 만년 오래오래 살아자리고
자자손손 널리 널리 퍼져자리라 해이
빛 나는 조선 빛나는 조선
아름다운 강산이라 엽싸 종구나
딩동 맹동 _____ 소리 기계를 만들고
d 돌아가는 기계 소리 기름을 넋네 해이

빛 나는 조선 빛나는 조선
아름다운 강산이라 엽싸 종구나

CF: 이거 할아버지 직접 만든겁니까? 아니 조선 떠난지 육십 년 다 되는데 아직도
무슨 빛나는 조선입니까? 빛 나는 중국 해야지.

Mr. Jin: 조선사람이지요.
Song 2

**Mr. Jin:**
한적 노시 반적삼에
분통같은 저것 보소
남이 보면야 ____
손톱만큼 보고나 가소
얼씨구나 좋다 절씨구야
아니 돼지는 못하리라

불쌍하고 가련하다
춘향 모친이 불쌍하다
먹을 것을야 양옆에 꺼구
옥문으로 드나든다
옥중에 있는 춘향이야

옥중에서 죽을망정
____ 나는 살소
나 살려라, 나 살려라
서울에 이 도령 날 살려라
稂다당당당당, 쌍다당당당
Story 2

Mr. Jin: 이거는 내가 오래된 옛말도 아닙니다. 저 조선 경상남도 마산에 사는 사네모도 요시오라는 아이가 소학교를 일본 아들 소학교 졸업을 하고 그때 걱정을 찾자니 거에 가서 찾아볼 수도 없고 그래 마지못해 가만히 일본으로 건너 갔습니다. 그래 건너가서 걱정 찾을 때 없구 그저 그냥 일본집에 놓기때 앞에 나왔다고 갔다 하면서 돌아댕기는데 그도 상점주인님 집인데 ______ 그 비집게 토을 [통을] 가지고에 이래 주문주물 만지니가 도둑인가 해서 와서 ______ 치면서 야를 그만 고래길 굴렸지요. 내 그런 게 아니라 내 지금 도둑질 하자는 게 아니구 ______ 더 이상 학교 대니지 [못하고] 돈도 없구 그래 내가 혼자 가만히 부모도 모르게 일본에 건너왔는데 정처없는 곳이라 물 살고 땅 선곳이라 어디 갈때 없어서 이 비집게 통에 앉아서 뭐 심심하니까 손으로 내 주뮬러주뮬러 했을 뿐이지 이거 도둑질해 가자는 이런 말 없다. 이런 거 말하니까, 그러나, 그럼 나 우리 집에 심바람하고 우리 집에 있겠느냐? 아 그런 정말로 한다. 내 지금 때 식육도 먹을 게 없어서 망막한데 이런 신세에 아 그 정말 ______.

그렇게 됐가지고 그 집에 심바람꾼으로 있게되니 천에는 마당도 쓰구 일본아들 오가라는 거, 마루, 이것도 닭구, 변소간도 쓰구, 이런 느낄한일만 시킨단 말요. 그래 하루 이틀 지내는데 근데 지나니까 마당에다 일 전짜리 오 전짜리 또 이루 한걸 뚱문두물 뜨가 냇았단 말야. 그래 그거 줄어다가 ______ 아니라 줄어다 주인한테 가지다쥐. 그래 이주인 그거 따보느라고 어떤 텐 변소간에 한 일 원짜리도 갖다 변소간에 들어가다 ______ 해서 뜯어놓면 또 그것도 줄어다 바쳐. 이래저래하니까 그 아이가 그 행실이가 상당히 사람이란 말야. 솔직히. 그리구 아이 무슨 면상을 보나 어ديل 뜰어봐도요 아이가 장래성이 있는 아다 이래가지고 이젠 심바람 말고, 오 어느 한 사람을 알아서니 장 살해봐라. 그래 장사를 시켜보니가 아이가 사교스럽고 같____ 해서 장사를 잘하니까 ______ 잘돼나간단 말야.
그래 잔에 나가니까 이 상점주인이 그 집의 필적이 보니까 아 소학교 나왔다는 필적이라 뒤 대학교 나왔다고 할 정도로 필적이 곧단말야. 그래서 그 상점에 있다. 그래 한 살 냐 지나는 동에도 정말 정확하게 열심히 잔해주니가 주인이 자식 잔에 아이를 영 곧아하고 끝내게 여긴단 말야. 그래 삼 냐 만에 한번 그 동경대학에 달리는 자기딸이 졸업하고 돌아온 게 있었던 말야. 그래 그 말하던게 가가와 있느냐는 걸 알고 그 필적도 보구 그동에 그딸이가 잘 들어보니가 가가 이건지만한 아이가 아니란 말야. 그래서 이 얘기 저녁이면 숫자만하고 돈 집. 그때 집 맘 이렇게 놀았는데, 그다음에도 저녁마다 찾아들어서 열 시까지 늦은 게 열한 시 이렇게 오래 눈다 나가고. 그래 마감에는 실도를 얘기하는데 나는 너 사랑하고 있었다. 너 어떨까. 아, 나같은 이른 정말 하찮은 사람이 이 집에 와서 심바롭꾼으로 있는데 아 이 귀중한 아 귀 정말하면 에, 기래 내가 장가를 든다는 맞잡은 그런 소리 하지 말라고 집. 어쩌나 나 나 동의만 하며는 너하고 살구 싶다.

그렇게 몇 달 지내다 나니까 집 맞아가지고, 그하고 약혼하게 됐단 말야. 그래 약혼해논니까 그 소문이 야 아 졸업하기 전에 그 학교 맹길 때 일본 아하고 약혼한 적이 있었단 말야. 근데 그자가 불황 자란 말야. 그런데 이 소문이 그 아 귀에 들어가니까 이게 말르자고 [말리자고] 감비든단 말야. 그래서 할 수 없어 들어서 남복을 하고서 떠났단 말야. 떠나 만 데 가서 아들 너를 잃어버리고 집 세월을 보낸 다음에 사라진 다음에 돌아와 다시 살았으니 떠나자. 그래가지고 호까이도 [홋카이도]에 거기 떡 가서 가가지고 그 직장알 해서 삼 년동안 벌어가지고 좀 사라진 다음에 돌아가면 될 것이다. 그래 갈라졌는데 남자 들어가서 또 상점에 집 받은 게 있으니까, 일전한 품도 쓰지 않고 월급을 막 저축해.

그래 저축해가지고서 삼 년 만에 어드께서 만나자하는 다리에 다리에 와서 기달리는데, 여자가 안만 기다려도 오자앞아하이 한참 있는데 이 여자 역시
호까이도에 가서 어느 상점에 들어가서 점원으로 들어갔단 말야. 근데 여란테 남복을 했으니까 남잠가 했겠지. 그래서 예 그 집에서 정말_____ 일도 잘하고 하니까 그집에 아들 산아 이렇게 바 정말 돈도 많이 주고하고 전부 또 해. 근데 그집에서 또 고운 빌이 하나 있었는데, 이 빌이가 이건 남잠 줄 알고 이 사람한테 호례를 했거든, 호례. 정말 하며는 반했단 말야. 반해서 저녁마다 와서 자꾸 적접거리고 찾아내가 그새. 아구 나는 _____ 그만두라구 말려두 죽기 살기루. 나는 너하구 살아지 난 만 사람은 세상 어떤 사람이인데 나막에 하는게 없다. 너하구 꽃 살겠다. 이렇게 되니까 사실지초를 얘기했던 말야. 그런가 아니라 나도 여란테 집에 무모하고 상점 했는데 조선서 긴녀온 _____ 사람이 크게 내 마음에 들어서 약혼을 했으니 전_____에 대학교 대닐 때 한동하고 약혼했는데 그놈이 이 소릴 알고 난 뭉하자구 난 죽이자구 하기때문에 피신해서 여기와서 임시 가가 난 양어 뿡렇게까지 여기와서 _____ . 그러니까 여자라서 좋다는 거지. 나가 좋아하는 남자라면하는 나한테도 맞을려이까, 내 후처고 나 본처로 하고 따라가겠다. (웃음).

그래 이래다 나이가 그때 놓고 올라고 애쓰다 나이가 제시간에 못와가지고 나이가 한 시간 이상 기다리게. 그래 오는데 둘이 걸어온단 말야. 그래가지구 그 뭐 이지 만나자는 곳에 들어가지구 언제 거기서 실도적 얘기해. 이 사람이 어떤 사람이냐. 이래저래 하다 이래저래 나이가 어렸던 죽기살기로 내와 떨어질라 안 하고 나 좋아하는기면 나도 좋아한다. 그래 저래하니까 이래서 떼놓지 못하고 왔다 하이까, 그남자 _____ 할 수 없지 그러며는. 같이 가자. 잘살아보자.

그래서 본집에 오니까, 이 불황자라는 놈이 애비를 막 돌가서 내버리구 제산에 다 해서 빼고, 허허, 그다음엔 그 아버지 어머니를 정말 하면 동경 시내에서도 한구석으로 내돌고, 그 상점을 제가 맡아가지구 그때 그 홍으로 저 무슨 그때 그 가락치 하나 사준 홍으로써 제산 다 빼앗구, 재력있으니까, _____ 뒤 제판 다
이기구 했던 모양이다. 오막살이가 떡 산단 말야. 그래 그다음에는 어떻게 했는가
하이까, 그거 찍점이지 말아. 니 인생이 그래가지구 가서 뭐 찾을 거 다 찾구 아주 빼도 다스 아주 빼으면 나한테 또 ____ 일이 없지. 뭐 그래니까 바로 고사람 옆에 아파트 하나 잘 갖구마 상점을 에 하며는, 물건을 이 두여자가 어떻게 ____ 누뀌나 지나가면 그냥가는 게 없지요. 다 눈것을 하면 들어가 보구 한번.

이런 곧은 사람들이 거기 들어가 가지고 물건을 팔기시작하는데 돌이 ____ 얼마나 좋은지 ____ 에, 아 삼 년 안찍에 그 옆에서 제 아버지를 제산을 맞아 빼가지구 장사질 하던가 삼 년 만에 다 맡가져 버렸어. 아작으로 다 몰려가지구 이 사람이 갑부가 됐지. 그래가지고서 일본사람 처 둘을 두고 첩하고 둘을 두고 잘살았다.
Story 3

Mr. Jin: _____ 시원에 서울에 과거 보러 정말 여러 번 떠났는데 한 번도 합격을 못했어요. 기습할 일이죠. 그래 마감에 여날 차례 링기가 하눠서 이번반은 이 과거를 못 보면 정말 살 면목이 없는 이런 형편이요. 자기 처가 이때 거징 그 뒤를 둘따나고 별 남짓을 다했는데 마감에는 머리가지 까발려 달궈도 팔아버렸어. 이래가지구 뒤_____해서 여기서 해서 주며 이길로 이번에 성공을 못하면은 우리 살길이 없다.

이러서 서울로 올라가는 판이야. 올려가다가 그 반두리에 가서 그 다리에 았어서 가만히 앉아서 생각을 ‘자아, 내가 십년공부하며 과학 본다구 열 번 이상 서울에 링기며 안간이 술한 고생 시켜가면서 그 돈을 다 써버리고 빌어먹을. 이번엔 머리꺼져 각각가지구 준 돈 이것도 합격못되 내가 돌아오면 _____ 이 어떡하다.’ 이렇게 _____을 하면서 중얼거리고 다리에 앉아서 신을 뺐어놓고 이래는 과정에서 서울에 정성이 바람 쓰올려 구경 그 다리에 떠먹 나오다 보니까 하 빼말 환경이 부딪친단 말야. 이놈이 어쨌든 지금 물에 빼져 죽자는 그런 작정인데, 그게 저 무슨 이유로 저렇게 되는가. 가서 좀 알아나 보자. 그래 결에 가 와여 “에, 이 사람아 무슨 영문으로 새파란 청춘에 이 지금 온갖 사실을 다하며 이 다리 위에서 목숨을 끌자고 그래고 있느냐? 그 막한 사정을 내 뒤 알아봤든 빼말 필요 없겠지만, 내한테 좀 얘기나 빼쳐놓고 죽든지 말든지 하게나.” “알 필요도 없습니다.” “아니, 좀 얘기해보라고.” 그래 자초지경 얘기하는 것이, 농촌에서 과란한 가정에 십년공부를 해가지고 여기 십 년 이상 열 번 이상 당기면서 과거를 봤는데, 번번이 점수가 모자라서 합격 못했으니, 이번에 우리 안간이가 머리 깔아 가지구서 팔아서 이 해준 이걸 가주고 내가 이번에도 합격 못 하면 살 면목이 어렇습니까? 차라리 이물이다 몸을 던지고서 찐 생각이 드는 것입니다. 아주 막해서 내혼자 _____ 가는네요. “아 그것이. 그럼 하물며 죽을 필요 없네. 자네 _____ 고생 많이 했구만. 그래 내일 특별 과거로 서울에서 과거를 볼 터이가 내일 와서 그래
연연 자를 아마 써 놓을 터이가 그 자를 보고 그게 연연 자임입니다. 저게 무슨 자나 하여든 니 대담을 너니 [연연] 쌍라고 이 말씀해주면 먹을 도리가 있겠gies 내 만들어 줄터이가 죽지말아.” 그 민을 빚아 못된단말야. 아니 내 이래봐와도 너 하나 건지줄만 하이가 죽 잇지 말고 내일 시험장으로 오라.

그래도 헤야 싶어서 뭐 그래도 죽기보다는 한번에 찾아가서 이렇게 됐든 저렇게 됐든 가 알아나 보자. 그래서 시험장에 떠어 들어가 하나 막 밖에 안탄 말야. 시험이 다 끝나고 돌아갔는데 이거 특별과제로 하나 배우는데 먹 들어가서 보이까 어제 거저 내한테 말해주던 그 사람이 동상에 떠어 올라앉아 나는 저 씩농은 자가 무슨 자냐? 이 빼씩 생각한가 모이라 했는가 연간자를 봉봉_____연자라는 케야. 이렇게_____.” 천하 이놈! 아니 이렇게 가르켜준 시험에도 합격 못 되니까 니 말리 무슨 시험에 합격될 엿두도 나지 못해. 천하 빌어먹을 놓! 예이, 임마 가거라!” 거기에[서] 나오는 판야.


자라하고 서울말로 양반의 말로 말하자면 연연 잡니다.” 그래니까 시험관이
무릎을 꿇치며 이제 시골 놈이 돼서 연연 자를 가지고 소래기연 자로 말이
말라[달라서] 그렇구나. 그자를 몰래 그런 것이 아니다. “그놈도 이제 멀리 안 갔건
나가 봉이될이라.” 그래가지구 그 사람 불러들이 가지구 둘이다 한껏 정말 고래
정말하면 관자로 내세워서 밥술이나 얻어 먹겠끔 만들어 주드랍니다. 동무
덕분에 과거를 빼서 잘산다는 이러한 옛말입니다.
Story 4

Mr. Jin: 옛날에 선비가 하나 집에서 글을 읽으리 배우다가 한 번 바람을 쳐우고 싶다. 그래 시장에 떠먹 갔던 말야. 지금 장마당에 가니까 어물장사가 예어 물장사가 야야 예이면수를 사시오. 이거는 송어고 이거느 청어고 고등어고 이거는 이런데 이길 정말 하면 벼늘을 찌 찌 빼거가지고 칼로 토막을 톡톡
처가지구 저가다 양념장을 넣어서 고추가루를 섞어가지구 재질제글 봉아가지구먹으면은 둘이 먹다가 세 사람이 죽어도 모른다고 막 연설 부리면서 판이 나구싸구려라 하구 야단이거든. 그러니 임때 거징 글배위가지구 나가 씨먹지 못하던나가가지구 그놈을 다 적었던 말이다. 옛따, 오늘 요리법을 배왔는데 이거 언제 아내한테 가지구 오는 판이여. 그래 그 고기를 깎듯 사가지구서는 집에 빼
들어가서 안같이 있는데 가 와가지구선 고기 쪼 내려 놓고, 이보, 부뜨막에 내려
농고서에 내 오늘 요리법을 배왔는데 당신이 이거 배와가지구서 고대로 하며는우리 둘이 먹다 사이죽어도 모른더는데 그렇게하오.

그러서 처음에는 무손 칼로 재가지고 토막을 치구 무손 비늘을 빼기구 뒤
기름에다 붕으구 뒤 어체구 어체구 한참 얘기하는데 이 밖에 있던 개가 와가지구
그 고기를 물구 찌 달아짰던 말야 (옷음). 달아나니까 그래 둘이 놓고 아니 이번에어떡하셨소. 이렇게 맞았기에 만들어 먹자든가 아 개가 물고서 달아나니까 둘이서
개를 냉다 놓구다가 안같이 죽이 살기 따라가니가, 이봐 이봐 넘겨. 내비그. 아 저개새끼 요리법은 내 책에 다 적어왔는데 지 요리법을 알아야 먹지 가만 나눠, 나눠.
이런 선비도 옛날에 있었습니다.
Story 5

Mr. Jin: 이런 선비가 있는가하면 옛날 사람은 또 모저리도 있구.... 한 머저리가 산골에서 돌이지 지금 영감노천이 사는테, 돼지 새끼가 네마리 토동 잘 자라. 이걸 팔아가야 정말 성을 주장 calle도 있는데, 그래서 영감이 투란자에다 한 쪽에 두마리를 냅서 벌써 미구 장에 올라갔단 말야. 한국 ___ 팔고 나니가 한 쪽 광자에 두 마리는 팔렸는데 한 쪽 광자에 돼지 두마리가 팔리지 못했던 말야.

그런데 머저리, 집에 인재는 가야 되겠는데, 링 메디가 이 찌긴 빼고 이 찌긴 닭가 있던 말야. 그래나니 먹이를 품어지지, 물바르고 갈 수도 없고, 어찌하냐. 빙빙 돌아치다 나니 그 앞에 돌기하나 아만한게 뵈인단말야. 됐다! 됐다! 그거를 들여다가 이적 광자에 너. 그래서 메보니가 잭에 비드롬하게 넘어 안간단 말야. 그래 징징 미고서 산길 ___길 집에 먹 돌아가 돼지를 어떻게 다 안팔고. 두 마린 팔았는데 두마리는 사는 놈이 없어 못 팔고 왔소. 그런데 당신 돌은 왜 저렇게 가지고 왔소, 이번대. 아니 그 메자니가 자꾸 변저지는데 아, 그거 돌이 아니구 어떻게 하나. 야아, 뿔소이요. 당신이 안만 골이 트지 못했다 해도 이적 두 마린테 한 마리만 갖다 온겨보면 가볍게 올겨 아, 그거 두 마리 때문에 아 이 둘 산골에 돌이 가득한 그 돌이 들고 왔다고. 이렇게 머저리고, 옛날 사람이 이렇게 머저리, 허허.
Story 6

Mr. Jin: 또 한 가지 말하면, 머저리 뭐가 있나____. 글을 읽었는데 하늘 친 뒤 지, 멋질 듯 읽었는데, 앉아서 글만 읽고 나가 맵기지 못하면, 희한 영웅이 선 머저리를 못 당한다는 옛말이 이런 게 있다. 이 작가가 손에 붙이 냈다구, 와아 하구 지금 붓 끄려 가느나고 사람들이 야단인데 자기는 이 붓을 어떻게 끄는지 몰라서 책을 두지니까 뭐 이전에 공부하는 게 골안에 있어야지, 책에는 꽁시이꼬도 혼리와라, 궁화 구체적인 책에 없고 책해야 밥게 다 있지. 과학도 있구, 뭐 두 다 있는데, 책을 두지니까 ____ 급해서, 급해서 책을 두지니, 안만봐도도 몰라. 그냥 할 수 없어서 책을 찾다 못해 나가보니 모두 물을 이고 나이고 빗자루를 들구 가구 삼을 들구 가구, 무슨 여러가지 이런 걸 들구 가니께, 하야 이때 공부한게 헛것이구나, 수화상극인데. 그때 생각이나 물하고 불하고 상극이란 맛야. 물로 붓을 끄다는 수화상극이란 글자가 골안에 떠오르지 않어서 나이 붓다 끄고 남들이 하는 거 보고 다 그때서 얻었으니까, 사람이 들어앉아 안만 공부 해도 박람이 없으니만은 우물에 개구리 한가지다 이런 얘기야.
Story 7

Mr. Jin: 그래 맛게도 ______ 이제 그 말대로 소 장사가 소를 가득 몰고 가다
인간은 여관에 들어 낳아 저돌었기 때문에 자고 가겠는데 소를 갔다 멋 놓고, 정말
하면, 그집에 투숙하게 됐는데, 그 여관집 아즈마니가 소를 떼마리 몰고 왔습니다니가?
[물어보니까] 족각이 친입습니다. 이렇게 말합니다. 그래가 밥주객으로 밥을 터다
말고 예에, 송아지 한마리 왔습니다, 그래. 그게 송아지는 뭐인가 하니까 뾰이 안
났거든 _____ 사가 납습니다, 이 사라는 거는 송아지가 뾰이 없기 때문에 족각이
첫. 족각이 천. 원래 다리 나이에도 불까지 하면 여섯, 그래 용으로 나누고 나머지
사가 _____. 그래 송아지 따라왔다는거, 아즈마이 먼저 알더란 말입니다.

이 조선말에도 여러가지 어련데 정말 하면서 저어 각기 _____ 하나 심음마
부족이요, 변기 안에는 구마에로다. 에, 한사람이 맛 한마리씩 타며는 열다섯마리
모자리고, 맛 한마리에 두사람씩 타며는 맛이 아홉마리 _____[남]는다.
Song 3

Mr. Jin:
저승길이 멀다드니
제문 밖이 저승이도 [다]
어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어

저승길이 길이라면
낸들어이 절널쑨가
어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어

저승길에 가드라도
울만한 날자나 정하고 가서, 온다는 날짜 정하고 가라,
예, 예

어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어

병원에 그린닫이
날개치면 돌아모아, 평풍에 그린 닫이 날개치면, 못 온단 말이지. 고다음에

소궁에, 조금마한 가마란 말이야, 삽은 닫이
싹나면 돌아오지
어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어
삼갑산이 평지되면
그때 가서 다시 돌아오지
어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어

처량합니다, 이거 부르면....

어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어

못 간단다 못 간단다
노비없어 못 간단다
어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어

하우는 담이 봉이라
봉이 높아 못 가겠소
어허어 어허어
어령차 어허어

춘서는 만사태가니
물이 깊어 못 가겠어
이래면 상주들이 엇데 돈을 여기다 넣더라구
**Song 4**

**Mr. Jin:**
애애애애애
대야 대야 추경대야
배가 배가 양산배야

한서당에 글을 배우며
남자 여자를 이리 몰라
너는 죽어 납귀나 되고요
나는 죽어서 침이 되어
지청청청 감아보자
이생 부부 못 된것을
후생부부나 되라 보자

침이라는것은 낭구에 이렇게 감아 올라가는 것
나는 죽어서 납귀 되고 너는 죽어서 침이 되서 공감아보자
한서당에 글을 십년배왔는데 술하에 알아서
양산배가 남자여자분 남복을 했기에 몰라서
요고 여 여자는 같은데 남복을 해서 알라고서

한번은 소변을 남자처럼 오줌 쪽 이래 뷔귀 많아 나가는가 경주하자 이래는.
근데, 남자들은 다 가고 오줌통 씹 나가는데, 이 여자가 어찌겠느냐?
바빠서 피를 쏟 세르빼기 이 사무빼긴 제르빼기 그러 대고서 씹는데,
그 담배에 모습 보니가 오줌 쪽이 나가는 것 같으니, 고령하게 면했습니 다. 그 여자
모르고 지내다, 마감에 알고서 노래가 이런노래에...
Mr. Jin:
아리 아리랑 쓰리 쓰리랑 아라리가 냇네 예에
아리랑 고개로 날 낼겨주소 오오

남좀 보소, 남좀 보소, 남좀 보소 오오
동지선달에 꽃본듯이 날좀 보소 오오
아리 아리랑 쓰리 쓰리랑 아라리가 냇네예에
아리랑 고개로 날 낼겨주소 오오

오라고 하기는 제 먼저 하고서 어여
열두 대문 달아걸고서 나 언제 안 오냐 아아
아리 아리랑 쓰리 쓰리랑 아라리가 냇네 예에
아리랑 고개로 날 낼겨주소 오오

당신이 날 안고 사랑하나 다면
가시밭이 천리남[길?]도 면발로 오지 이이
아리 아리랑 쓰리 쓰리랑 아라리가 냇네예에
아리랑 고개로 날 낼겨주소 오오

나가 달라 내가 달라 그 누가 달라아
은하 동전 구리 백동 십 원짜리가 달라 아아
아리 아리랑 쓰리 쓰리랑 아라리가 냇네 예에
아리랑 고개로 날 낼겨주소 오오

여놈의 총각아 내 손목을 냄라 아아
이빠진 묻환박에 돌 넘어간다
아리 아리랑 쓰리 쓰리랑 아라리가 냉네 에애
아리랑 고개로 날 남겨주소 오오

Mr. Jin (speaking): 이거 내 힘을 빌었습니다

Mr. Jin (continues to sing):
아리아리 쓰리쓰리 아라리요
아리아리 쓰리쓰리 놀다가세

열라는 콩팥은 아니 열고
아주까리 동백만 열었느나
아리아리 쓰리쓰리 아라리요
아리아리 쓰리쓰리 놀다가세

 срок 전 동백꽃 곱기도하고
수집은 처녀의 정열도 같네
아리아리 쓰리쓰리 아라리요
아리아리 쓰리쓰리 놀다가세
CF: 이 ______ 이런 산골에 아이가 하나 있었는데 공부도 아주 잘하고 하루는 서당혼장이 멀리 놀러 가면서, 애, 두항아, 내가 오늘 용무가 있어서 외출 좀 해야 되겠다. 나 없는 시간에 내가 선생질하면서 아이들 글도 읽게하고 나쁜 장난 하지 말고 이렇게 놀아라. 그렇게 부탁하고 갔거든. 간 다음에 이놈이 아이들을
이리놓고 한참 있는데, 박문수 저 저 그러니까 박문수 박 여사가 거길 지나가다보니까 아이들이 그 놀아도 아이들의 참 재미있을것 같아서 아무 데 가서 설 바에 요서당안에 들어가서 천천히 누워서 아이들을 좀 녹원도 쏘고 아이들 노는 것도 보고 이렇게 하자고 먹 들어갔다.


그래가지구 이 여사 놀이 하기전에 여사가 명령내린단 말야. “애들아” 하니까, 뒤
니가 일개 서당훈장으로서 아이들에게 공부 잘해서 나라를 어떻게 잘 있게 되겠냐고 하더라도 이런 교육은 안 하고 멀 그 책을 내놓고 글 잘 읽으면 책 속에 아름다운 여인이 있습니다. 여자가 있습니다. 이렇게 날마다 이렇게 하니까, 나가 훈장으로 잘못한 게 아니야. 저음을 옥게 과둬놓고 었다. 어디 봐 감옥 얘기가 따로 있는가 없지. 그러니까 아이들이 참 그러니까, 이 모질들이, 내가 없는 감옥을 어서 만들겠다. 뒤 개다 독 저 농고 이게 아니 감옥입니다 하면 필길 이런 걸 무슨 걸 서당공부 어떻게 하나.


근데 한참은 그러구 자는것처럼 두루 냉 눈을 약간 뜨고보니까, 아 이 염사가 호령한단 말야. “저 원 놈이 저렇게 와서 의사출두 불러가지고 지금 어 동원에서 정사를 처리하는는데 갈짓짜로 누워서 서로장 머리 없이 저렇게 누워있는 놈이 어땠냐! 아 이놈 당장 묻어서 여기다 묻어 앉히라!” 아무리 염사라도 아이들한테 내가 염사다 때리지 말라 이런 말이야 못하죠. 그러니까 이게 계발 잘못했는데, 한 번만 용서해달라 이르니까, “한번 용서가 뭐야. 내가 그래 내 눈앞에는 염사행사 하는 것두 없느냐!” 아, 막 내리 옥하기든. 그러니까 아주 잘못했다구 굽어 빵고 하니까, “니 하는 행실을 보니까, 일개 손님이래두 평범한 손님은 아닌 것 같으다. 현 갑에 뒤 부서진 갓에 현 옷을 입고 다니도 될 좀 하는 게다. 그래 오늘 용서까지만 저기나 안야 있어.” (웃음) 박문수가 가만히 생각하니까 요놈을 한번
테러다가 돼 _____했으면 좋을 것 같애, 그래서 서울 테러가자고 그래, 테러가자고 그리는데, 그 집 찾아가서 아버지한테 헤닥 맞아야 테러가죠. 아버지한테 갑니다. 덜덜덜덜 거리며. 덜 돌아봐도 "손님, 왜 저 따라와요?" 그러니까, "내 길 가던 사람인데 날도 저들과였고 한 데 뒤 쪽 자고 갈 집이 없을까 해서 내 널 따라간다." "아, 손님이면 응당 모셔야죠. 저의 집에 갑시다."

_____ 집에 들어가, 집에 들어가니까, 아버지가 아직 일발에서 오지 않았어요.
“아버지가 없어서 제가 손님을 잡대합니다.” 술상 맛 놓고 주루객반이라고 아 아 손은 뒤 저 혹은 손님 먼저 들고 혹은 주인이니까 주인이 먼저 들게 해서 술 쪽 마시고는 잔 하나 드시 오고. 아 쪼그만 게 _____ 하는거 보니 상당히 좋단 말야. 그래 좀 늦으니까 아버지가 오거든.


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자기 어머니도 살리지 못하는데 남의어머니 _____ 살리겠어요. 그래 아예 안 테리고 놀다 왔어요.

그래 그 간편하게 말하겠습니다. 그래 그렇게 또 무슨가 있나면, 한 번은 아 이거 어머니 그렇게 않는가 긁쭉을 가져와라. 뜨일 뜨면 끀는다고 아 이 진종일 또 어두울 때까지 안 오거든에. 들어왔는데 긁쭉도 안 가져오고 그냥 왔거든에. 왜 너 혼자 그렇게 왔느냐 하니까, “아 그 자란 긁쭉이라는 게 남의 빚을 맨다는게 긁BuildContext cannot be determined from the image contents.

하, 그저 아주 특특하게도. 아, 요거 꼭 테리가야겠다. 그래 아버지하고 얘기


이늘의 저 여자가 거기 돼 있어하는데 어떤 사람이 앞에서 오는데 주먹을 불끈

취고 죽기 내기로 달려오지요. 그러구 의사보구 아 여기 어디 술을 뭐 없는가, 뒤에 사람 쫓아와서 널 잡자고 하는데 어떡하노. 저기 저 술에 나무숲 속에 들어가서 술이라고 그렇게 알려겠거든요. 그러니까 거기 술었지요. 조금 있더라도 꽤나오는 놈들 와서 여기 사람 지나가는걸 못봤나. 아 모름다. 임마 눈 번득도 모른다는 게 뭐야. 당장 칼을 모가지에 때가지 급이 다 막 들어대며 죽이겠다. 아 주먹은

갖고 있고 벌은 면데 그까짓 뒤 어서방구 거기서 큰소리 처야 여간해서 누가

곧이들겠어요. 자가가 막 죽게 테니까 할 수 없어서 어사가 조기 있씀니다. 조기 들어가 술었고. 아 그 눈물 깊, 적었거든요. 그런데 올라오다 그 아가 좀 됐겠지.
그래서 "따라 안가겠습니까." 왜? "아 그런 사람 하나 구하지 못해서 조기 숨겼다고 알려주는 명청일 따라가서 내가 될 배우겠습니까? 안가납니다."

그래서 이 따라가지 않고 아버지한테로 갔습니다. "아 아 너 뭐 서울 가서 뭐 공부 잘 시켜준다는 그런 여사가 널 태려갔는데 어째 안 따라갔나? "아 그까짓 것 따라가 배울게 없습니다. 내 산골에서 네 손 공부해도 그보다 낫습니다. 이 놈 안가고 거기 있다가 서울에 가서 과거를 떠 쯤어서 여사마빠를 떠먹 않았지요, 임금한테. 어디 받았는가 하니까, 평안도 관성지방 그 적에 나가서 여사를 할라고 그랬는데, 이놈 가라는 관은 아니 하고 서울안에서 임금이 있는 서울에서 의사출도를 불러 가지고 좌우간 무슨 판서요 무슨 이런 대신들 또 불들어서 아 감옥에다 다 갔어야. 원래 그 서울에선 여사 못 부르지요. 임금이 있는 그 밑에서 어떻게. 아, 임금이 떠 생각해보니까 이 놈이 보통 인간이 아닌데 뭐 장승이요. 판서요 하는 것들 다 뭐 감옥에 집어여서 나라가 돌아야 어떻게 하죠. 그래 도대체 어떤 문제냐? 그러니까 이제 모든 풀을 뽑자면 중간을 끊으면 또 올라오니까 뿌리부터 뽑아야 되길래 내가 이 서울에서 여사출도 불렀습니다. 그래 불러가지고 이제 그럼 빨리 처리하라. 다 처리하는데 그냥 양푼에다 먹물 을 꿀꺽 풀어놓고 빗을 금치한결 떠 해가자구 도포를 다 이렇게 해서 내웠습니다. 사람은 누구나 다 오 오류가 있다. 잘못을 그 실수가 있다 아무닙니까? 그러나 고치면 좋은 사람이다. 그럼 고치겠다는 사람 여기 나와서 그걸 너 도포자락에다 글을 써라. 그리고 그걸 입고 백날 동안 이 조정에 나와 맹기라는 거라. 할 수 가없지요. 그래가지고 이 사람이 먼저 서울 나라를 다스리고 밀에 내려가 여사를 했데요. 그 저 너무 긴 애기를 해서 미안합니다.
Story 9

Mr. Jin: 옛날에 이 조선 볼도치구 악행어사로서는 박문수가 많이 알려졌는 어사였습니다. 그래 할 날은 시골에 ____ 뭉기면 시절하는 데 날을 어느 산골을 내려 오다가가 밤기리에 어떤 아즈마니를 낭귀에다 부끄러 매놓고 그 여자가 거처 대고 정말 하면 절을 저 남자가 자기 아즈마이 같은데 절을 한다 이 말입니다. 아 그거 괴상한 일이다. 옛날에 남존여전, 애에 여자가 남자한테 절 하는건 모르지만, 여자가 저 남자가 여자한테 절 할라했는데 그 절을 안 받겠다구 자꾸 돌아앉구, 바루 얻히가지구 절을 하구 자꾸 이래. 번데서 가만 보아서 왜 꼭 여취란 가락이 있는데 한번나왔던 금에 알아보자.

그래 가서 그 근방 가서 “여보시오, 내 지나가든 길손인데 제 가서 않아서 쉬다니까 건네자 보니까 하도 이상한 환경이 해서 사유 좀 알자고 이리 왔습니다. 도대체 어떻게 된 문제라같인데 여자를 묻어놓고 남자가 절할라 합니까? “예에, 다른 이유가 아이라, 우리 집에 구십 객이되는 는 모친이 계십니다. 그래 살림이 구차하니까, 내가 죽는 아침에 임 나오면은 우리 처는 그집에 가사를 돌보고 밥을 해결하고 아침밥을 이고 옵니다. 그래 아침밥이 오는데 연해 때는 막막 제 끼 아침밥을 했는데, 오늘만은 군히나 아침밥이 점심밥이 되도로 늦어서 가지오는 베타는 고프고 내 이ียม은 소건에 못이야서 밥 한 곳을 들려내 처 AppleWebKit." 그래 아즈마니 하는 말이 자초지경 여차여차해서 여머니가 오망아 ____ 가지구 세 살짜리 손자를 닭을 새끼라고 가마 삽아서 봤습니다. 그래서 그거 다 처리하구 닭을 잡아 삽아서 대접하구 그 다음에 밥을 해결지구 오너라니 내 이래 늦어왔습니다. 이른데 이런 소구를 모르고 내 돼야나다구 밥상을 내치구 함지를 내쳤으니 내가 처 바다도 [처 보다도] 얼마나 못났습니까. 그래서 하도 기득한 처리 절을 하겠다이 아이 받을라 하니까 내 붓어 먹 놈고도 절을 할라 합니다. 아, 그림니까. 참 열너로다.
옛말에도 있지만, 충신은 뭐 봐 유군이요, 열사는 불사 이부라는 이런말이, 그래 이 열너문을 내주겠다고 책에다가 저 가지고는 한 고개를 내 놓으는데 앞에 한 놈이 막 달아 들어꼬는데 그뒤에 도끼를 시퍼런결 쥐고 죽이겠다구 막 내려오는 데 아 그으 암행자라 앞에 지나가는데 도끼 들고 막 달라고는데 그놈을 면출 방법이 없단말요. 그래서 방법이 없어서 저는 막 풀밭으로 들어가라 했는데 풀밭으로 들어간 거 야 요기봤는데 없어갔다. 니 말하라. 도끼로 죽이겠다 합니까 아 조기로 들어갔다가 고기가서 _____ 도끼로 다 죽여버렸습니다.

근데 암행자라서 아 고 내려오며 생각하니 분하기도 하고 접두 나구하구 그래 오다가 날이 저물어서 들어가서 이 집에 하룻밤을 지나가던 길손인데 누워가요. 예에, 그러십시오. 그래 잘라구 구들에 떠어 누었는데 아즈마야 방아를 보리방화를 족공 죽는데 그 죽는데 아야 아무개야, 아무개야, 예에, 어 그 빗자루 좀 가져와라. 빗자루를 안 가져와서 이거 점어 늘지 못했다. 그래니까 얼마 엄마 개를 부르, 아 이놈아 빗자루를 가져오라는네 개를 왜 부르라 하냐? 아 글쎄 개를 부르. 이놈이 빗자루를 개 잔동에 때 놓고 개 부르라고. 개 불러와서 빗자루를 가져왔단 말야. 아놈의 새끼 고 약은척하나.


스므, 그래 한번은 또 어느집에 들어가니까 이제 말따라야에 아버지가 병환에

또 인체 그래다 나니까, 아버지가 세상을 떠서 죽었는데, 그래 인체는 풍수를 데려다가 좀 상의를 간단히 하잡자고, 애, 아무께야, 예에, 저 고 아웃 고개 고결 가면 풍수가 있는거 가 모셔오너라. 예에 하구 간단 말야. 가더니만 한층이 되니 풍수오는가하여 지 혼자 달왕달왕 돌아온다. 야, 이놈의세끼, 풍수 모셔오라느니 또 나 혼자 갔다오는가하고 소릴 지르니까, 아이구 어머니도, 야, 풍수 집에보니 망 음막을치고 막살인데 기가 차. 그렇게 잘하면 자기 집_____ 못하고 집이 그렇게 허름하게 있겠습니까? 난을 빼주면 얼마나 빼주겠습니까? 지노릇도 못하는데 이래 들라구요. 그래서 요놈을 테리구 서울 올라가서 공부시켜가지구 옛날 암행어사____. 그래니까 이 빗뜨르한 이 얘기라는게 자꾸 변져....
Story 10

CF: 그래니까 박문수 박 여사가 또 한 고향에 가니까

Mr. Jin: 네

CF: 아들이 어머니를 그날 떠란대요.

Mr. Jin: 예, 헐허

CF: 아 어떤 호루자석일래 어머니를 그렇게 떠리는가.

Mr. Jin: 예에


야아, 세상에 인심이 이렇구나. 저렇게 말하는 사람 놓고 이렇게 못 한다 저렇게 못 한다 하이기 세상인심이 남을 헛椿는 이런 인심을 이제 잘 처리할게 아니라 그런 헛소문을 난길 처리해야겠다. 이렇게 생각하고 집에 들 있는데, 저녁 그러니까 ______ 자기전인데, 아 몽식이 이만한 걸 가지고 들어왔어요. 어머니를 치요.
장장내려 사정 안 부치거든. 아 그래, 과연 이상하다. 박문수 박어사가 한참 끝난 다음에 물었어요. 내가 그렇게 저 멀리 속으로도 어머니 소릴 듣고 돌아오고 그 아버지 없이 어머니 하늘처럼 믿고 그러는데, 내가 어찌 어머니를 때리느냐? 저의 아버지가 사망될 적에 유언하시기를 여자는 때려야 사람이 되지 때리지 않으면 여유로 변한다고 (웃음). 그런 말해서 제가 때립니다.

그러니까 이건 산골에서 본 것도 없고, 든 것도 없고 아버지가 잘못 가르쳐준 거라. 아이가 사실 상당한 어머니를 노를 잡아가지고 요 삶 요 삶 절 요기 맞습니까. 하고 권하는데 곧 씨다 그렇거든. 그러니까 아버지가 잘못가르кт고 보고 들은게 없으니까, 아를 자리를 옮겨둬야겠다. 그래서 저 산골에 있나, 여 ______같은 농촌에 와서 사람들이 대체 어머니를 어떻게 존경하고 이거 배우니까 그 뷔릇이 똑 멀어지더라.
Story 11

Mr. Jin: 옛날에 정말 하며는 영감 노친 오손도손 재미났게 살고 또 고집에 아들이 하나 어렸 설 기황한게 곤란하다 나니가 공부는 못해지만 그 어머니 아버지가 그 부잣집에 가서 멈추기도 하고 또 그 집 일을 자주 해 주구 양식도 얻어먹구 이런 일로 살아왔는데, 할 날은 너무 양식이 멀어져서 아버지가 지금 그 의사네
집에서는 의사네 집인데 생신을 세느라고 술한 놈의 주객들을 물아놓고 술을 부어 어찌라 뭐 노랫가락이 나서서 회화나라하고 출을 추고 이래 놀을 때 이 머슴이 그 집에 찾아가서 가보아 이런 환경인데 아차 안이 들어가기도 그르쿠 들어가기도 그런데 할 수 없어서 취주를 불러가 지구서 부른니까 종들이 나와보구서 아무 까가 왔습니다. 아 이 빌어먹을 놈이 군하에 오늘 같은날 내 집에 될 찾아 먹을려 왔는냐? 그놈 불러들여라. 불러들여 너 오늘 어깨 뭐냐? 좋고 좋은 우리 한참 술먹고 염말하고 이래 지금 이라는 판인데 하는데 니가 와가지고 말할게 있느냐? 그런 게 아니라 오늘 아침에 _____ 굴었는데 쌀이래도 좀 요날구 꾸자고 왔습니다. 예이, 호루자식. 오늘 이 이 이렇게 잘 늑구 한참 얘기하구 지금 내 순님들 모셔놓고 얘기하는데 니가 염말 _____ 돌아가서 염말 값을 천 난 정해가지구 오너라. 안가지고오면 줄 며 _____ 아니면 터러죽이고 만다든지 이 졸을 내와____. 이런 홍통을 한단말야. 아 쌀꾸러겼다 이런 홍통을 받고 나니까 기가 딸 찌단 말야. 스, 그래 집에 와서 밥도 못 얻어먹어다가 꽃그 갖는단 말야. 그래 아즈마니가 물어봐도 대답 안 하고 골만 ____ 이젠 내가 죽었다. 돈 천 난을 어테 가서 염어오나. 난 다봤구나 이러구 있는데 아들이 들어와 자꾸 묻는단 말야. 그래 여차여차 오늘 내가 갔더니 이런일에서 내가 염말 꼭지를 뜨 멀어져서 그 염말 꼭지 뜨운 값을 천 난 별금 하라 하니 천 난이고 백 난 한 난도 없는 놈이 이 기찬일이 어디있나. 아이구 아버지도 아 고만한 일이 무슨 이래 근심하고. 근심하지 말고 나가 일도 하시고 노시오. 이래하지.
그래 아무 날까지 그 값은 가져오라 했는데 안 가져오거든 그래서 이 주인님이 그 환갑을 다 지내고 사흘후에 거기 그 값을 받을려 그 집에 갚단말야. 아무개이나
하니가 아무 대답도 없구 ____ 또 아무개 있나. 또 없단 말야. 그다음에는 세 번
만에 물려도 대답없으니가 이 사람이 문을 두게 떨고 들여다보니까 야가 야
앞드렸다 빨먹 일어나 "예, 왜 그러십니까?" "그래 이만저만해서 이해서 내 옛말
콕지를 뜻어나서 그 발급으로써 내 천 낱 받으러 왔는데 아무날까지 가져오래도
지금까지 종종 소식이 없으니까 내 니 아빌 찾아왔다." "예에, 옛말 꽁지 값이 천
날이렇니까? 내 꽁지값은 양천입니다. 양천 내시오." "아 이놈 잡 꽁지
값이라니?" "아니 옛말에도 꽁지 있는데 잡 꽁지에는 왜 꽁지가 없습니까?"
잡자는 꽁질 똑 매았으니까 양천날 내라 하니까 예이 망한놈 ____ 하고 달아 bada.
(웃음)
Story 12

CF: 이영정 (연정) 얘기 그려놨가 한 시골에 서당방 아이들이 공부하는데 이젠 아이들이 서울에가서 그 과거 붙 Printf. 그녀가 서당방향방이 야 너 서울에 가서 서울이 어느 취직에 빚었는지 모르고 서울에 가면 사람이 뭐 많고
을씨처럼 오금보글한데 아테가서 어떻게 ___. 면적 서울에 가서 한번 구경하자. 아이들 태리고 이해 조북 구경했거든. 아니 뭐 정말 시골하구 따판이죠.,
서울이.
그럼 구경하던 한 놈 그 아이가 공부 제일 잘하는 아이가 저녁이 떼억 되니까
달빛이 아주 밝구 아께 노인님 얘기하는 거 들어 달이 밤을 무슨 생각이 자꾸 나지
없습니까? 그래서 이계 서울에 오보니까 낭을 짜고 뛰들러 처놓고 내 개 종경 달고
알람절랍하고 뭐 사람 드나드는 것도 시골에서 보지 않던게 많단 말입니다. 대체
이런 안에 어떤 사람들이 살고 있나. 하루밤에 달 밝은 밤에 달장을 가만히 사라
살살 개서 올라가 보니까 안에 몇 같은 여자가 있어요. 계란처럼 한란턴 뭐 그 달이
솜았다 하지만 달도 빛이었고 그런 고운 여자 ___. 아 이것 뭐 보고 같이
돌아온담에 공부가 많 zobowią. 공불 윤 잘하던 놈이. 아 누워도 그 여자 얼굴이 환하고,
뭐 눈을 감아도 환하고. 자꾸 공부전쟁이 야 이거 이상하다.

그래서 서울에 갔다고나 공부는 하나도 못하고 얼굴은 자꾸 수행해가고 도대체 이게
무슨 문제냐. 그래서 그 집에서 부모들 자꾸 따지고 물으니까 그날 저녁 그
여자분께 너무 눈에 섬섭하고 이래서 지가 아마 그 여자 생각하다 보니 공부도
안돼고 몸도 이렇게 수척해지고 있습니다. 아무래도 편으니까 부모가 혼장
 찾아갔거든. 아 이거 좀 어떻게 ____ 혼장 면 찾아가서 우리 아이가 여상해서
공불 못하고 이래 있는데 그 여자 쪼 이래는데 하늘과 밤인데 이시골놈 가서 그
여자 여편께 삶을 수 있는가요? 절대 없지요. 그래 이 이 머먹하면 할 수 않나.
서울에 가야지요. 서울에 혼자 가서 뭐 어떻게 하는가. 내가 태리고 가겠다고. 그래
선생이 고 학생 데리고 가요. 근데 가기 전에 아이 하게 물어 보겨든. 나가
겨기서 볼 때 그 여자가 뭐 하던가. 그 후원 안에서 바같은 못 나가니가 가야금을 치는데 아주 잘 치드라고. 응 됐다. 그림 가야금을 한때 그 어여먹고 내 몇 달이구 가야금을 잘 치구 연습하라. 그래 가야금을 잘 연습해 가지구 거기 가서 집하고 아주 가까운 거리에서 서울 거리 여기짐이라면 저쪽 좀 않아서 그래 앉아서 여복을 해가지고 가야금 깔잎 치니가 그 여자 아무리 닦장이 있어도 소련 들어가니까. 이 여자가 나두 가야금을 깔끔하게 치는데 저 여자 가야금 제리께 잘한다. 한번 테려다 듣자 보자. 그래 어머니한테 말해서 한번 들으시다.

그래니가 그 뭐 큰 세력 있고 돈 있는 집이니까 여기 들어와 치라구. 그래 들어와 땅 거 보니가 정말 하늘에서 신선이 내려와서 올리는 소리라. 그래 그력지력 해서 그날 저녁에 여자 후원 방에 들어가서 그 여자와 같이 밤에 가야금도 치고 어찌하하 이래 같이 애기하며 밤을 세웠지요. 그래니가 이튿날 또 못 가게하고 자꾸 이려거든요. 서루 남여 간이니까 아무리 여복을 해도 그래 이 남자가 실토성을 했지요. 내 거울에 여기 와서 옆차 옆차해서 이래 보니까 너를 어떻게 봤는데 하두 ____ 내 집에 가서 공부 아니에서 가야금을 연습해서 너를 만날라구 들어왔다. 그래니가 여자가 하는 말이 그럼 좋다. 니 앞으로 과거에 응시해서 급제하며는 내가 기다려 내 남편 삶을 테니가 이젠 일절 내 생각하지말구 이젠 공부하라. 어 논 좋아서 아닌하겠습니까?

그래가지구 집으로 쪽 돌아오는데 어떤 남자가 하나 ____ 그냥 쫓아오거든요. 그냥 쫓아오는걸 보니까 자기네 마을까지 들어온단 말야. 이거 어째 이리나. 그 여자가 가야금은 그 남자가 그게 남장질도 모르고 그 여진가해서 그 여길 사랑해서 그 반했지요. 그 여자한테. 그래 그 여길 그냥 쫓아오거든요. 보니까 이 이 남자가 실토생여 여차여차해서 여복을 차리고 설젠 난 남자다. 이 이래 훌륭거든. 그 어놈 돌아와서 서울에 와서 그집에 와서 대쳤지요. 그 온게 여자가 아니라 남장때 그 녀네 여자있는 방에가서 하룻밤 아니고 여러날 묵으며 자주 만났는데 그런 줄 알라.
그런 그 집에서 그 여 الثال 시켜서 그로 니 서울에 한번 오라해라. 우리 한번 보자.
그럼 부모들 그 없에 치자 그러는건데 여 الثال 보고 싶으니까 서울에 오라고
부모들이 오라 한다. 그래 그 뭐든 간 모르고서 서울 덤덤돌덩 서울거리에
들어서니가 보쌈 _____ 타 이래 쌓워가지고 자루 같은데 쌓워가지고 그저
사정없이 강가 가지고 뛰지요. 그래 강가에 가니 안에다 후룩 처넣지요. 자기는
다 알아나지요. 그런데 여기리 꼭나구 서울서 과거를 보는데 얼마 시간이
멱지나가지고 과절보는데 과거에 터 장원금제한 사람이 그 일러주던 그 사람의
이름이 거기 딸 있단 말야. 아 이 참 이상하다. 이 사람은 필시 그 내가 명령을 해서
강 저 강애다 단지 죽었는데 저 사람 어떻게 저 살아 있다. 이 세상에 동성동명도
다 있을라니 말사람이겠지. 그리고 있었죠.

근데 이사람이 과거에 급제하려고 하겠다 것도 모르고 실험을 치르고 어디 가 있는가
하면 그 그 떠내려가는거 벵사공 살려놓거 그 벵사공 집에 와있었죠, 강가에. 그래
그 한참 소식을 기다리고 있는데 자기가 과거에 급제했다. 그래서 과거에 그 가서
타가지고 오는데 그 아버지가 생각하니까 내 이 세상에 인간으로 나서서 전하 못
할 것을했다. 산 사람을 자루에 놓어서 강가에 처녀처리게 했으니까. 그렇게
죽었더라도 나라에 저렇게 의젓한 장원금제한 이런 폐가 저사람 나왔겠느냐.
그래가지구 그 아버지가 강가에다 그 사람 살던 거기다 정자를 지었습니다. 그
정자 이름이 이연정입니다. 그 아주 이 대단히 길니다. 제가 축소해가지구
 얘기했는데, 여러분한 얘기 요런 얘기 좀 듣죠. (웃음)
Story 13

Mr. Jin’s Wife (할머니): 감주 잡숫겠습니까?

CF: 아니 저는 집에서는 생일에도 술 안 먹습니다. 근데 너무 저감정적으로 잘 통하기 때문에 나가서 술 먹으면 정신없이 먹으면 한병짜리 혼자 다 먹습니다. 그래서 그 술 얘기가 있지 않습니까? 그 기 밀가지고 옛날엔 누룩 잡아가지고 술 했거든요. 그러니까 어떤 놈이, 문둥병 아시지요? 애, 문둥...

Mr. Jin’s Wife (할머니): 막 헛는 거.

CF: 그런병이 걸렸는데 나가 애길들으니까 사람을 잡아서 그간을 먹으면서 그런문둥병이 멀어진다고. 안 그러면 이 손가락이 막 물러나가지 형편없지요.

Mr. Jin’s Wife (할머니): 한집에 못 두지.

CF: 또 _____ 나두 인간질해야 되겠는데 좀 잡아 먹어봐야겠다. 멀어진다면가. 그때 할 날 먹 _____ 에 올라가 있으니까 중이 올라옵니다. 중이. 점잖지요. 그렇엄주를 하나 돌 많 엥그렇게 쉬면서 나머지분들올라오는에 점잖거든. 이젠 결심 내렸으니까 점잖고 뭐고 젤러서 가서 먹었습니다. 두 번째 놈 올라오는데 혼들혼들 거리며 약간 노래도 하고에 그 보통사람과 조금 다르게 그 정신상태가 어때 좀 홍분된 이런. 또 하나 잡아먹었습니다.

근데 세 번째 올라오는 놈을 보니까 아예 정신환자라. 뭐 하하 옳다도 _____ 하고, 또 뭐 혼자이래 너털거리기도하고 이런 놈이 올라온다. 아, 관계없다. 저 먹으라 했으니까 죽어 먹어야지. 그냥 잡아먹었습니다. 먹으니까 문둥병이 멀어지거든요. 이 세 사람 명을 헛쳐서 문둥병이 멀어졌는데 이 세 사람 죽은 시체라도 잘 안장해둬야지, 요런 양심은 남을 잡아먹어도 있었던 모양입니다. 그래 그놈
산에다 잘안장해놓고 이 사라 죽었으니까 제사라도 좀 지내야죠. 그래 그 이 제사 지내려가니까 산보지않던 줄이 나왔거든요. 도대체 땅지 모르겠거든요.
가을에 가보니까 늘리게 익어서 거 있는데 이 말 하면 기밀이죠. 그걸 개다가 이제 누룩을 잡아가지고 그래가지구 술했네요.

술 하나가 아 그 마시니까 좋겨도. 한잔 척 마시니까 중처럼 점잖지요. 남자들
술판에 가보시오. 한잔 마시고 뭐 두드러 세끼는놈 한 놈도 없습니다. 대체적으로
다 점잖지요. 중놈 한가지거두. 나머지불타불 하는것처럼 허튼소리 하나도 없고
정신을 집중해 먹는데, 한 두어 잔 들어가면 그다음에 홍분상태 되가지고 어 어 영
어 이렇게. 그다음에 석 잔 이상이 들어가면 셋째시계가 되는점니다응. 너
이놈 너 어제 뛰트게 쌓 아이 하던 것도 싸움도 하고 또 어떤 사람은 술 먹고 응지
않습니까. 어떤 사람은 그저 멘남 자꾸 옹습니다. 그래다 정신병자 되지요 (웃음).
그러니까 술이 이렇게나 물건이어서 제 혼자 석 잔 이상 먹으면 그런 벌써
정신환자 히스테리가 되는 게고 두 잔 먹으면 조금 너덜거려 홍분해서 노래도
하고 춤도 추대고 한 잔 먹으면 점잖지 않습니까. 그래서 저는 지금 될수록
점잖을까어서 조금씩 먹고 있습니다.
Story 14

Mr. Jin: 그전에 옛날에 돕아비가 아들을 하나 키.ExecuteScalar: 그 아들이 이십 살이 넘도록 장가를 가지 못했던 말야. 그때에 아비도 호토리 생활해서 옛날 농사꾼이 무신 곁이 없구 돈이 없으니 아들을 서방 보낼 이런 몸두가 나지 않더라 이 말이야. 그래서 아들이 생각하다 못해서 아버지 턱분으로서 서방갈래다 내가 못 간다고. 또 돈도 없는 내 신세로서 경망 하며는 처녀장가 가기도 그렇겠구. 그래 그 이웃에서 제 마음에 청춘과부가 하나 난 게 있던 말야. 그런데 옛날에는 그런 과부에 무슨 영 암만 혀들지 않니, 제가는 망신이라구 제간_____

이런 세월이기 때문에 상당히 곤란한 그래서 아버지한테 제가 말했지. “아버지 그 왜 내 아무리 그래도 나이두 있구 처녀 장가 가긴 다 틀렸는데 그 정말 하며는 아무 과부집에 소박가아겠는데 아버지 내 시키는데로 하겠습니까?” “오냐, 나 어떤 적가 있으면 시키는데로 하마.” “그럼 아버지가 ______ 몽멍일 들고서 내 그 집 문 앞으로 뚫개 갈 테이가 막 때려 죽이는 듯이 막 방금 죽일 듯이 몽멍이 들고 따라오.” 그래 억숙하구 아버지 몽멍이 들고 그 집으로 달아나는 아들을 이놈의 자식 다 큰놈이 서방 갈 줄도 모르고 이런놈이 세상에 어디 있는가. 오늘 때려 죽이구 말겠다. 그러면 소라 빼지를 치며 _____ 몽멍이질을 하니까 그 집 아즈마니 까깝 돌러서 문을 탁 열어보니 그런 맘이에요.

그럼 그 집으로 충각이 때들어간단 말야. 그 당장 사람 맞아 죽을 환경이니까 응급 절에도 그 정말 충각을 이불속에 묻어준단 말야. 그래 묻어주고서 하는 말이 그래 어떻게되 그런가. 금세 서방갈 줄을 모른다구서 아버지가 날 오늘 때려 죽이자고 몽멍일 들고 이라 따라왔다. 좀 살껄 달라구. 응, 그런가. 그러니까 뭐 옛날에도 호불매가 혼자 쉬니까 그 젊은 사람들을 때가 되며는 다 그 양기라는게 통할 때가 있던 말야. 이런자리에 이런 충각이 들어왔으니까 볼쌍하기도하구 가려 hacikay 기름 좀 삶아가는 방식으므로다 결정하구 그림 내 시키는대로 해라. 예.
그러면 옷을 벗고 내 배 위에 앉아서 내한테 ＿＿ 드로 하며는 이리 내리치＿＿
두오 하면 들꾸, 드러＿＿하면서 들였다 눌러라 들었다 눌러라 이랜 판이지.
가리개 주더라. 아, 총각은 또 모르는채하면서. 그릴 때 한참 홍이나니까에 들로
날로 들로 날로 들로 날로 들로 날로 들로 날로 하면서 이래는 판이고 한참
좋아날때 옹기장사가 옹기 팔러 그 집 문앞에 들러 옹기 사시오 그러는 초에
들어라 했다 나가라 하고 들어라 했다 나가라 하고 그래니까 아 이거 들어왔다
나갔다 들어왔다 나갔다 옹기 집을 막 엎어 벌려봤어, 앞마당에. 그래 다 끝난
다음에 나와보니 그런 환경이야. 한 줄도 없이 옹기 한 집 가지구 살아나가던 게 다
마사 먹었으니까 방법이 없어서 옹기 값을 물어주고 들이 잘 살德拉. 옛말두 옷간
이런 말이었어.
Mr. Jin: 옛날에 이웃마을에서 한마을 시집은 외할머니 무남독녀 외할머니 하나 시집에 왔는데, 인목도 긴고 이른 사람이 정말하면 그 아달장을 거기 소문 높게 ____ , 이런 정말하면 모범 며느리로써, 이렇게 소문 나도록 며느리로 잘하는 판이다. 그래 이래 한 해 두 해 지내는데 삼 년이 훌쩍지났어. 세월 그래 그래도 정말 봄 같은 친정집이라고 친정집이라고 ____ 한번 가보지 못했어.

그래 한번 갔다고도 마음먹고 있는 처지고 이런테 그 세아버지가 매느리없이는 밥도 잘 먹고 이래니까 도마지 잘 수도 없구. 그런데 불세로 정말 하며는 어머니가 아주 뛰어 어머니가 ____ 중환병에 걸려서 목숨이 오락가락한다. 그러니까 오늘 밤중에라도 오너라하는 통지를 부쳐왔어. 그래 지금 같으면 자동차라도 타고 가든가 오도바이나 뛰 그랬건만 어쨌든 옛날 사람은 ____ 여자인 남자인 걸어야 하나짜 그래 그 세월이기 때문에 ____ 해가 너무너무한데 그 ____ 여러 녀같은 지금 걸어감. 그래 걸어서 정말 하며는 혼자서 집도 나고에 또 어머니가 병원에 있으니까 걸음마다 눈물이고 생각마다 한숨이고 이래 지금 걸음아 날 살려라 하구 지금 밤길을 혼자서 더듬으면서 엽여지구 자빠트리고 ____ 걸어야가는 도중에 ____ 중도에서 대호가 앞에 버태기고 입을 막 벌리고 노리고 있던 말야. 그래 왜만한 여자 같으면 기집을 하겠는데 야아 내가 어머니 병원에 이만지면해 가는데 나 아무리配备프더라도 내가 어머니 병을 가 보고 돌아올 때 잠아먹어야. 제발 지금 가는길에 날 잡아먹지 마라. 이래니까 범이 눈물 뜨끔 떨구면서 고개 끄 торрент 입만 막 벌리고 [있어요. 이거 가만히 생각하니까 필경 이게 무선 곡조가 있겠다. 그래 임 있는데 가서 ____ 헷배다 내는 거 걸이 나지만 뛰 디다보니까 여자를 생결로 잡아 먹다니니까 다른건 다 썰어 놔는데 그 목청에 비너가 목에 뜨 걸러서 이거 빼내자가 ____ 에라 할을 걸어들구 목안에 들여 너 ____ , 그래니까 보니까 눈물이 돈 뜨루 떨구구, 꼬리 톡톡 치구, 엽데서 여기 올라왔으나. 그래서 그때 탁 걸어버리고서 ____ 생 하구 부모님 있는 거기 갔다 탁
내려놓고서 마당에 개처럼 앉았다. 들어가니까 어머니가 병원에 입증에서 지금 오락가락하고 시간을 다투는 이런 ____. 

그런데 이사들도 불러다 농구 뜬 뒤 치료를하구 여기에는 그래도 산삼을 맛여야 이 사람이 ____ 글씨 산삼이 산삼이 암만 산골이두 어데마 있어. 인삼 같으면 얻기 하겠지만 산삼이 없지. 그래 여러 말구 내가 산산을 구해올께 나오니까 또 벌이 자기 올라타라구 타니가 쓰살같이 산골로 산골로 막 들어가는데 ____ 산골 도랑물이 줄줄줄 줄 흐르는 요런 바위 사이로 들어가서 큰 고목 낭구 있는 그 앞에 가서 채 내려주더만, 게다가 농고서 자기가 두발로 ____ 때리는데 보니까 산삼이 거기 있단 말이지. 그래 그범이 ____ 고절 고이 잘 파가지구 종이에다 싸가지구 또 벌었는데 타니가 그저 쓰살같이 달려 집에 갔다 노니가 그 산삼을 데려서 어머니 위해 세숫값 떠맥여니가 벌이 호전되서 어머님이 일어나 앉았던 말야.

이렇게 지성이면 감천이라구 벌의 덕분에 정말 하면 벌을 고쳤으니까 많이 기뻐서 희희낙락, 그날 저녁에 ____ . 그래 시점집에서 ____ 잘하는데, 이 벌이 은혜 갓느라고 설날이면은 꾸품 노라 노루 한 마리, 맺어지 한 마리 막막 물어다 나서 밤에 마당 갓다와. 이렇게 벌도 은혜 갓다는 이 말이야. 그래 지성이면 감천이고 남한테 해롭게하면 짐도 이렇게 은혜 

Mr. Jin’s Wife (할머니): 그거 빼내줘, 그 비녀 급히거 그거 빼내줘 은혜 갓느라...(웃음) 

CF: 빼내주니가 호랑이가 그녀성을 엿고 아주 생 산중으로 들어가거든요. 들어가니까 무슨 이런 자그마한 함이 있는데 그걸 자꾸 받로 떠들 지니가 열어보니까 그안에 은침이 있어요. 은침, 은침이 있고 또 호랑이가 자기 그 ____ 한때 챙가지고 호랑이 그걸 가지구 어머니 치료하니까. 다 한가지 얘기죠. 하난 은침을 놓고 하난 인삼을 엿어다 이게 다 같은 얘기죠. 할아버지 잘하십시오.
Story 16

Ms. Choe: 옛날에 한 가정이 이렇게 부부를 맺어서 둘이 이렇게 사는데, 첫 아를 빼는데 첫아가 빨리 석 달 만에 아버지가 죽었어요. 죽어가지고 어떻게 살수가 없으니까 어린애를 가져가지고 배에 놓고서 옆집이가 장장 부자죠. 그래 그 부잣집에 가서 밥도 해주고 빨래도 하고 그전에는 ____. 지금은 보모라고하던가, 그전에는 남살이라고 했지.

그 집에 가지 밥도 해주고 빨래도해주고 그 집 세간살이 그렇게 해주다 보니까, 집집질질 배가 부르고 그 집에서 밥 얻어 먹고있는데 _____. 배가 점점 불러서 애기를 낳는데, 낳다 보니 구멍이를 낳지요. 그래서 애를 낳고보니 구멍인데, 여 이거 내부지도 못하고 내가 낳 거니, 야 이거 어먹하나 삼어요가지고, 이거 갖다 내발력려고 하니 _____ 하니, 엄마, 엄마 그래 말을 해지. 엄마, 엄마, 옛날에는 구멍이라고 말하고 다 말했는데요. (웃음) 그래, 엄마, 엄마 말하니 아이고 이거 내 발지도 못하고 무섭지는 않더러요. 그래서 _____ 한 해 지나 두 해 지나, 이제 애기가 낳고 낳던 말도 않고 그냥 가서 일해주고 그런데, 그 집에 딸이 삼 형제가 있어요. 그 딸이 ___. 선생님을 테려다가 딸애들을 가르키고 있는데 ____. 그래서 거 밥해주고 있는데, 하루는 한 해 지나 두 해 지나, 아이 구멍이가 잘 크요. 갈 주면 먹고, 밥. 그 집에서 밥해 먹고, 밥은 ______ 샀 갈다주니 뭐. 이젠 밥을 먹고 잘 크더니, 한번은 면발을 갔다 쳤대요. 한번은 그래대요. 엄마, 잔지 반찬 김치 갈다 채야, 나는 뭐 이렇게 허물도 못 벌게 김치도 안 주냐. 그래 그래요. 점점한 좀 먹겠다고. 허물을 벗어가지 사내가 되어 괴게 큰다고 ____.

그래 그 소릴 듣고서 야유 가서 인제 김치하고 밥을 갔다 주니까 먹고 나서, 김치에다가 밥을 먹고나서, 엄마 나 장가들고 싶어. 그래서, 야, 볼소럴 다한다. 너현테 누가 이런 놈래 빠져서 죽고 말겠다. 누가 너현테 시집온다네. 은 사람 있다고. 은 사람 있으니까, 그 부잣집에 _____ 말 하나님가 꼭 나한테 올겨니까, 어떤
둘어든지 올려니가 가서 말을 해보라. 야, 배맞아 죽겠다. 야 어멍계 하나 ____ 꺀 들겼다고 말해라, 나가 가는 것보다 ____ . 잔 착실하게 일도 잘해주지, 청소도 깨끗하게 하고 빨래도 깨끗하게 하고, 그냥 그 집에서 그냥 그냥 여러 해를 늘도록 산란말야, 엄마가. 그러니가 그 집에서 그 엄마를 믿고 ____. 


만달을 뿌렸대요. 예 하고오니까, 너, 이아줌마네아들이었는데 너 글로 시집갈래?
그래니까, 아이고 종집에 어떻게 시집을 가. 구铹이란다 그러니까, 놀래서, 아이고 아버지 그런 말씀하지마세요. 타 뛰어나가더래. 그래가지고 또 둘째 말을 불럿대요. 둘째 말을 불러서 그런말을 하니가 맨 그만 그렇게 놀라더래요. 셋째 말을 불러서 아무개야 오너라. 오니까, 저 이웃집에 여 아주머니 집에 구铹이가 있는데 아주머니가 낯았단다. 저 섭 달 만에 아버이가 죽고, 낳다 보니 구铹이를 낯았는데, 배자마자 아버지가 죽고. 그런데 그 집에 시집을 가겠니 _____. 아버지 말 들려도 않고 가겠다고, 세째딸이. 그러면서 대변 그 자리에서 아버니라고 부르더래, 그 말이. 어머니, 안심하세요. 걱정말으세요, 내가 갈 테니. 그래서 너무너무 고마와서 끌어안고 울렸다. 머느리가 아버니라고 안 그리고 중이라고 그래도 팬찰것는데, 대변에 어머니라고 하니까 너무 고마와서 끌어안고 영영 우니까, 어머니 이证监시 마세요. 아무렇게 됐던지 일없이나 채는 어머니라고 부를 수 있고, 내가 구铹이한테 시집을 간들 어머니한테 낳 아들 아니오. 그러니까 내가 갈 거니까 걱정마____. 아, 그런가, 그러면 그리고, 이제 허락을 놓고 와서, 어머니 저녁에 오니까, 밥을 가지고. 나 밥 안 먹겠다고. 와 그러니? 이제 장가를 새사 말을 하지. 내내 헛더락만 내밀다. 장가들 때가 되니까 말을 하니까. 큰 말도 무시워서 놀래 자빠지고, 뛰나가고, 작은말도 그런테, 셋째딸이, 막내딸이, 남아 있다고. 그렇게 예쁘게도 생기고 _____. 셋째 딸 선도 안보지 않느냐, 선도 보지 않는다고 안그랬다. 그런데 그 딸이, 제일예쁘게 생겼는데 너한테 은다고 한다. 내 그릴 줄 알았어요. 그릴 줄 알고있고 그러니까.

그러니까, 그래요? 그러면서, 처녀한테 물어보고 하더래, 처녀한테, 구령이가. 그래서 처녀한테 가서, 아이 그, 방에서 공부하고 있는 처녀를 만나보기도 했는데, 밥상을 들고가서 말해야 된단 말야. 밥상을, 삶 형제가 이렇게 앉아서 밥을 먹는데, 딸 서 이 안아서 먹는데, 밥상을 들고가서, 아이, 아가씨, 섹체 아가씨, 혼사를 치르는거, 또 아버지는, 센님은 우리 아들보고 물어 보라고 하고 우리 아들은 아가씨보고 물어보래요. 그러니까 아무 ___ 대장부 남잔데 어느 날 _____. 그렇게 대담을하더래 여자가.

그러서 집에와서 그러니까, 그럴 줄 알았다고. 내일____ 사흘 만에 디려가겠다. 얼른 가겠다 그러면서, 어머니, 내가 기한이 빨라요. 무슨 기한이 빨르냐? 아니 구령이로만 있겠어요? 어머니보고 ____그러냐 그랬는데, 이제는 정말 사흘 있다가___. 그래두 구령이래두 입장은 한번해겠죠. 그 집에서는 사람을 사가지고 바느질해서 너무 빨리 잠아서 잡치날. 그러구 음식을 차리구, 그날부터 사흘이니까, 그날부터 장관하고. 바느질 착들들을 들려다가 신부 옷 신랑 옷도 잘하고, 구령이래도 옷을 해야지. 그래 잔칫날이 ___. 그 집에서 떼지 않다요.
주욱 이렇게 왼 천을 깔아줘. 구령이가 기어올 레니 왼 천을 깔아줘야지,
문 앞에까지 왼 천을 깔아주고.. 난 필요없이. 빼짓을 노라고, 빼짓. 빼짓을 요령게 조심 한자...여섯 치가 한자요, 우리자는 열 치가 한자고. 한자 이렇게해서, 빼짓으로 뺏 안 받아가겠다고. 저는 입대까지 빼 안받고 방에 있었으니까. 빼 안받고가겠다고. 그렇게 해달라고 ____ 그렇게 해주더래, 그렇게____. 구령이는 누가 됐고 갈 사람도 없잖아아. 그래가지고, 빼짓으로____. 구령이가 얼마나 큰데, 그렇게____.

그래가지고는 절반은 서 가지고 끝덕끄덕 절을 하더래요. 그러냐까니 징글맞게 그러니 구경꾼들 구경도 못하지. 오래사람들이 눈을 감구서 절을 시키더래요. 근데 석시는 여가다 천을 오еньк에 그렇게해서 절을 시켰는데, 처다보니 눈이 마주쳤대요, 구명이하고. 근데, 구령이가 헛멍이를 넉 นอกจาก, 빼짓이를
널름널름하러래. 그래도 색시는 싸앗 웃더라요. 말 알아듣는 것처럼. 이 ______ 착 웃더라요. 그래, 두 번 절할 적에, 엄마는 그것만 보지. 엄마나, 그래 밥 먹을 때는 햇대기도 안 나오던 게 어떻게 저렇게 걸게 나오냐, 엄마 생각에. 이 집이 나서 그러고는 이제 다 하고서는 방에 들어가는데 ______. 엄대래. 자, 그런데 무서와서 누가 구경해. 그렇게 하고 가만있는데 밥을 갖다 씨도 안먹고, 먹을 갖다 씨도 안먹고, 그냥 그래도 있다내가 색시는 아무책도 안 하고 있고, 무서워하지도 않고. (간이 크네요) 그러게 맞아, 무서워 하지도 않고, 지 남편이 될라고 그랬는데. 밥에 구멍이가 처녀하고 자나 불려서 창호가가 전혀 창호지여, 유리가 없어. 옛날에 이렇게 창살 만들고 창호지 밝았는데. 요령에 침 발라가지고 돌아봤지. 그냥 색시는 색시대로 한 평풍 위에 있고 신랑은 이대로 않았고.

보다보다 얇은계가 짜는데, 어느 틈에 저기 행는제 아침에 보니까, 아침에보니까, 당아당 신랑이 얼마나 잘생긴 선비가, 남자로 변했지. 그래가지고 허물을 벗어버리고 색시를 맞고, 이거는 내가 아궁이로 들어가던가 어디 가서 타면 이것이 이 남새가 나 코로 들어오면 나는 못 오니까, 여기 못 오니까, 어디든 감추라고 명을 하고 ______. 이렇게 당신을 만나가지고 내 허물을 벗겨봤는데, 그리고 이렇게 내가 사람이, 이렇게 사람이 되도록한게 ______. 우리 엄마는 친정에 자주 오지말고, _____ 우리 어머니 밥 잘 먹어_____ 않는가 (웃음). 그러면서 있으라고 하더라. 어머니는 계속 그집에있지.

근데 그 다음부터는, 잔치한 다음부터는, 이제 사돈님이라고 그러고, 이제 사돈님이라고 그러고, 이제 잔은 가서해주고 _____ 새로 들이고, 이제 안 서키고, 사운을 시킬 수 있어? 그래 안 서키고, 이제 밥잡았고 그 집에있는데______.
저희집은 또 못 가지. 어머니가 여기 가 게시니까, 친정에. 실지는 집에가 있으라고 했는데, 근데 집도 또 해걸해겠어요. _____. 그런데 _____ 잘사니까, 집을 크게 잘썼지. 거기가 있다 보니까 메느리만 씩다 보고 있다보니깐, 메느리가 집도 안가고, 인저 아침에 보니까, 얼마나 이쁜 총각인지, 처녀들이 _____. 내가 갈걸,
내가 갈갈. 서로 저의 남편이 아니니까 그래 못 갔지.

그리고는, 이놈의 딸 애들이 어쩌던지 구멍이허물을 ____ 알았지. 내가 찾아 ____ 큰 것도 그러고, 작은 것도 그러고. 이, 이, 치마 숙에 냉으니 세상 그 방에 가 뒤져도 막 사이의하고 둘이 자나끼 둘이 자나끼 못 들어오지. 그런데 인지 어쩌다가 나가면 처녀가 나가면 가서 뒤지고. 없지 뭐. 없으니까 못 뒤지. 하루는 머리를 빼고, 머리가 너무 기니까, 옛날엔 머리가 갈끔하. 기르니까 ____ 치마끈 속으로 흘르니까 치마끈 속이 풀어져가지고 구멍이 허물이 약간 보였다고, 머리 빼는데. 그러니까 화짝 빼어와서, 큰 것이 들어와서 치마끈을 홀다다 잡아채고 구멍이 허물을 끌어____. 아이구 안해, 언니. 이라 가져와, 가져와. 그러니까 막 뛰어가서 저쪽 소물 끌어는데, 소물 끌어는데, 솔에가 평 처คลิ이 넘어뵈. 타지, 아궁에. 타니까 신랑 코에 들어와. 그래 신랑이 알아가지고, 아유, 어떻게 건사해가지고 이렇게 내가 못 읽나는거 태우면____. 나이 나한테 오겠다는 심경, 그 심경을 못 알아준다고 그러고하고 간단 맞아. 나이 흥익한 구멍이한테 오겠다고, 당신이 오겠다고 나보고 말했는데, 왜 그거심경만봐도 내가 당신은혜를 다 못 갔는데 이걸 태우면 안된다는데걸 알면 이거 태웠으니, 내가 어쩔라고, 내가 못나가지.

오늘 기달려도 안 오고, 내일 기달려도 안 오니까, 어머니한테 말하고 이런 말을 어머니는 모르시지만 그래도 섹시라고 말을했는데, 이걸 언니들이 태웠으니 내가 어떻게 안 찾아가쳤다. 내가 찾아간다고. ____ 그레니까 라는 하루는 아버지가 빼리 가지고, 언니가 그렇게 태웠다는 말하고, 빨어먹을 너 ____ 달아났다고. 그렇게했나고. 말들보고 욕하고 그러고 셋째 말보고는, 그래 찾아가라고. 먹을 거 싸주며 쉬지 않은 쌀가루, ____ 미숫가루 해가지고 싸주며 ____.

그렇고, 그럴 지고. 이 여자가 이제 남자 바지지로리를 해 입고, 치마지고리 여자라면 못 나가니까, 옛날에 여자는 잡아서 밧고 사니가. 옛날에는 산골가면 산골 도둑놈도 많지. 장가도 못 드는놈 가득했다고. 그래니까 잡아서 살까봐
남자옷을 입고 머리에다 만 갓도쓰고 그렇게 하고 나갔다. 가다가다 산속에 들어갔는데 잘 때가 있나. 해가 ___ 질라고 하는데, 멋째지, 삼째가 굴зу 그러니 먹을 것이 없으니까 그 발둑을 조옥 해منذ서 ___ 뿌리가 있어요. 그런 짚뿌리를 캐서 먹드래. 가서 옆에 가서, 돼지님 우리 구령 구령 서 선비가 가는 거 됬소? 옛날 우리어머니가 하는말은 “구려엉, 구려엉” 노래로 “돼지님, 돼지님, 우리 구령 구령 서 선비가 가는 거 됬소?” 안말도 않고. 또한 번 했지. 세 번하니까, 내가 배가 고파죽겠는데, 맛할세가 어디 있다. 그래더래. 그래서 그냥 자기 앞에서 손에 피가 다 나도록 막 그걸 캐서 ___ 땅을 파고, 물병이 같으길 주어서 막 쩌르고 ___ 이 만큼 해놓고, 돼지님, 이거 잡수세요. 그래니까, 그럭 먹고서 가서 물이 마시고 나서 그걸 ___ 많이나 대줄 줄 알았는데, 요길로 죽 가면 된다고 이렇게 대주지.

하루종일 앉아서 그 노래 기다리고 있었다. 그러니가 그 시간에 맡 그 노래를 하러갔. 또, 허 бил 새아 새아.... 또 해야, 아아~이거 워가 있기는 있으나본대, 내 생각에는 그 오빠가 우리 남편 아닌가. 그래서지고서는 또 거기 따라갈라, 나 좀 테러가면 안되나. 안되오. 우리오빠가 누구도 됐고 오지 말랬어요. 아이, 그래? 그래면 어떻게 가____. 치마를 따 붉잡고 남자가 어떻게 여자치마를 잡느냐고.

예긴에도, 예긴에도. (남장을하고 있으니까). 남장을 하고 있으니까. 좋, 그러면 치마는 못 잡고, 내가 걸에, 아닌 언제 갔는지 각에 이렇게 보고 있는데도, 그래서 또 갔지. 또 _____, 또 언제 왔는지 그 자리에 왜 가지고서니, 아이고, 이거 참 _____나 좀 테러가면 안되나. 아 이거 어디로 가시지 왜 안가시고 _____ 있어요?

나를 왜 이렇게 애먹이죠? 가세요. 나는 사람들 못 봤는데 사람 하나 보니까 반가워서 왜 나를 안 테러가라고. 벌써질 다 하세요. 여자 돈 가지고 칠 세 부동산인데, 옛날이 이 칠세부동산이란 말이있지? 옛날에 여자 일 꿉 살만 돼면 남자 _____ 부동산라는데, 응. 일곱살부터 가리라하는데, 열살인데 내가 남자를 어떻게 테리고가나. 그러고는 우리 오빠가 여자고 남자고 테리고 오지 말라고, 이래거도. 이거 큰일났구나. 고 시간에 또 그 노래 한 마디 해.

이거 이틀 사흘을 들었지. 그 처녀가 간 다음에, 거기가서 물 먹는 샘이라고 크지도 않고, 독요 샘이. 크지도 않은 샘이 하나 있는데. 먹거, 미숫가루를 먹고 그 다음에는 미숫가루를 거기다 벗어놓고, 내가 여기 빠져 죽겠다. 내가 잃게 찾아 당겨도 이렇게 되는 마당에 여기 빠져 죽는 수밖에 없다. 처녀 간 다음에 아무리 빠도 어디로 갔는지 않으니까, 거기다 집을 _____ 미숫가루도 내놓고 쌀가루도 내놓고, 물로 그저 풍덩 들어갔어요. 들어가니까 한참 들어가다가 보니까, 아, 처녀 뒤를 따르게 됐어, 물속으로. 거기서 나온길 물랐지. 됐다, 됐다. _____, 또 칠세부동산이란 애길 듣고서는 지속으로만 여자라고, 양, 인저 누가 잡음할까 남자옷을 입었지. 가 가주 서서는, 따라 가니깐, 안에 집들고 얼마나 몇 체가 되고 잘사는 기와집이 많고 그런데, 그 처녀는 집으로 들어가는거 왔는데 어디로 갔는지 않더래요. 그 집 안으로 들어갔겠지만. 자기는 그 집 문 앞에 가서 _____.

이 처녀는 그그래 어디로 갔나 어디로 갔나. 그리고는 동상 간져본다고 ____ 가루위에 쌓은 뷔질 가루 위에 올라가서 치마 쓰고서는 죽었데요. 동상 남편을 못 죽이가지고. 오면 살으라고 오랫동안 죽었다고. 큰 사람 죽은자리가서 뷔질 위에다가 이렇게 치마를 쓰고 죽어가지고 뷔질 쌓은데서 새까맣게 눌러싸고 나온 버섯이 그 언니 죽은 버섯이랭. 그런 말하더래요. 동생은 이제 _____ 대리고 나와서, 언니들이 죽었으니 나오지. 나와 가지고선 장인장모 어머니 아버지 모시고 언니들은 다 죽고 잘살았데요.