A PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS OF CHAOXIANZU ORAL TRADITIONS
IN YANBIAN, CHINA

A Thesis

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By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between oral and oral-connected literature and ethnic identity among the Chaoxianzu ethnic minority in China. The majority of Chaoxianzu in China today are the immigrants of the late 19th century and the early 20th century, and their descendents who have close ties with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, and the People's Republic of China. Chaoxianzu, as neither Joseonin (people of Joseon, mostly referring to North Korea) nor Hankukin (South Korean), have oral traditions that reflect their unique experiences that have exerted great influences in the shaping of their lives.

Folklore studies carried out by Chaoxianzu scholars and collectors in China indicate both the similarities and differences between Chaoxianzu oral traditions and the oral traditions of the Korean peninsula. Themes such as nostalgia, survival, desire to establish a home, and struggles against abusive authority figures are considered as representative characteristics found in Chaoxianzu oral traditions, which include place legends, folk stories, prosimetric narratives, and personal narratives. This thesis concentrates on several examples of personal narratives and the processes of Chaoxianzu individual and group identity.
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PREFACE

China has over 1.9 million ethnic Koreans (hereafter Chaoxianzu). The majority of the Chaoxianzu (literally meaning nationality of Chaoxian) people are the "immigrant corps," who came to what was then known as Manchuria during Japan's colonization of Korea, and their descendents. These pioneers cultivated the extensive woodlands of northern China, developed wet-rice farming, and developed patterns of interactions with other ethnic groups. The history of the Chaoxianzu is relatively short in comparison to most other ethnic minority groups in China, however the richness of their tradition and culture are already well known in China. Many western scholars have explored and studied other minority groups and their cultures on several of China's borders, however the culture and traditions of the Chaoxianzu have not been given the proper scholastic attention they deserve.

The northeastern part of China is rich in history and cultural diversity. Interactions between ethnic groups such as Chaoxianzu, Mongolian, Manchu, small groups such as the Hezhen, and Han Chinese have influenced the development of each group. The similarities in their myths, legends, and linguistic features are evidence of the cultural and social interactions between different groups. The motivation behind this research is to explore the culture and identity of Chaoxianzu people by examination of
their oral traditions, and also to explore the expressive components of that identity as portrayed in their living oral traditions.

The historical and social background briefly discussed in the Chapter 1 provides a general overview of the Chaoxianzu history and their contemporary culture. The understanding of the historical origins and the reasons for immigration is crucial in understanding the attitudes and values reflected in their oral tradition and an understanding of the current scene provides context for the oral materials. Chapter 2 is an introduction to how the study of folklore has been carried out by Chaoxianzu scholars and scholars from both within and outside of China. Chapters 3 and 4 are dedicated to the analysis of collected folklore materials with an introduction to Chaoxianzu traditions of oral performance.

This thesis is a part of my research on Chaoxianzu oral tradition in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in China during 2000-2001. A limiting factor in my fieldwork was the inability to collect as many commentaries from my informants as possible due to various logistical reasons. It is my desire that in the near future I can expand my research on the Chaoxianzu oral traditions and conduct a continuous and thorough study of the subject over several years. I hope that this study shall expand the body of knowledge and deepen the understanding of Chaoxianzu oral traditions.

During the in-country segment of this project I was enrolled as a student at the Central University of Nationalities in Beijing, China. The research was part of my independent studies with the Chinese department. The class and the research were conducted under the auspices of the Central University of Nationalities. Members of the local folklore association in Yanbian coordinated all performances discussed in this
thesis. This research focuses on the performances of folk artists who were giving paid
public presentations as arranged by the university and the local folklore organizations.
These artists had given these presentations publicly before where the audiences were
made up of Germans, Japanese, Koreans, and in competition settings within China.
Some of the background information, surrounding the performances examined in this
thesis was gained in public conversations with the folk artists in the classroom context.

This thesis contains multiple languages due to the nature of the study. Korean
words are romanized in two ways. The main romanization used in this research follows
the Revised Romanization of Korean by the National Academy of the Korean language.
The McCunz-Reischauer system (M-R system) of the Korean romanization is found in
the glossary. The M-R system is not used in the romanization of the "Story of
Chunhyang" since it is my opinion that the Revised Romanization of Korean is more
suitable in representing the phonetic sound of Korean language. Place names, Japanese
terms, and Russian terms in the translation of stories are transcribed according to the
Korean pronunciation, unless these places and terms can be identified in their original
language.
CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHAOXIANZU

A. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an introduction to aspects of the oral traditions of the ethnic Koreans in China known as the Chaoxianzu. By examining select types of oral literature and storytelling, I hope to explore the expressive aspects that help create a sense of ethnic identity among the Chaoxianzu. In this chapter I intend to provide historical and cultural contexts to enhance the exploration of Chaoxianzu oral traditions. In my attempt to describe the aspects of Chaoxianzu culture that I observed first-hand, the word "mixture" seems most appropriate. The historical affiliation to the Korean peninsula, personal connections to North and South Korea, plus cultural and social bonds with both Korea and China compose the complexity of Chaoxianzu identity.

Scholars from different hemispheres have explored the identity, history, and folk literatures of the Chaoxianzu on the last several decades. Professor Jin Dongxun (Gim Donghun in Korean) and Professor Piao Changmo (Bak Changmuk in Korean) are the leading Chaoxianzu scholars in the studies on their own ethnic group's oral literature and
culture. Professor Jin Dongxun has created his own categorization of the Chaoxianzu oral narratives based on both South Korean and A-T motif-index models (Gim 1999). His research also includes detailed analyses of myths, legends, and folk tales of the Chaoxianzu. Professor Piao Changmo (Bak Changmuk in Korean) is one of the prominent collectors of folk literature among the Chaoxianzu. He is also considered as an expert in Chaoxianzu traditional customs. His collection contain numerous stories reflect Chaoxianzu characteristics and the history (Bak 1996). Chaoxianzu scholars Piao Changyu, Huang Youfu, Zheng Panlong and Zheng Xinzhe, just to name a few, have written books and articles on subjects such as history, social changes, new social issues, and identity issues of the Chaoxianzu (Piao 1990, Huang 1996, Zheng 1996, Zheng 1999).

Park Heh-rahn, a native South Korean scholar in America, has examined the relationship between the nation-state narratives of the People's Republic of China and the Chaoxianzu narratives on their history, and the influences of nation-state narratives on the subjectivism of Chaoxianzu (Park 1996). She has also explored problems and issues concerning the emerging Chaoxianzu identity as migrants in South Korea. In some aspects, my present study runs parallel to Park's work in spirit. Park examines the Chaoxianzu immigrant experiences in discursive domains of historiographies, mass media, and nation-state in contrast to Chaoxianzu personal experience narratives. My study touches on Park's work in terms of exploring the identity and Chaoxianzu migration experiences in their personal experience narratives. Scholars such as Mark Bender (Bender 1996, 1998, and 1999), Vibeke Børdahl (Børdahl 1999), and Louisa Schein (Schein 2000) have carried out fieldwork on local oral traditions in a number of areas in
China. Although their researches do not directly include the Chaoxianzu oral traditions, their studies have contributed in my study of the Chaoxianzu oral traditions.

B. THE TERM CHAOXIANZU

An examination of the term Chaoxianzu and Chaoxianzu history can lead to many conflicting views, depending on the perspective. The following discussion primarily concerns the stance of the Chaoxianzu towards their own history and identity. The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief explanation of Chaoxianzu history and culture before introducing the oral traditions of the Chaoxianzu.

The term, Chaoxian (Joseon in Korean), literally means "morning calm" or "morning brightness" (dangbiao richuzhidi, in Chinese), the land where sun comes up in the East (Huang 1996:3). Chaoxian, historically, was the name of the first kingdom the Ancient Chaoxian (Gojoseon) founded by the mythical figure Dangun. Chaoxian (Joseon) was also the Chinese term denoting the last dynasty of Korea (1392-1910). Currently among the Chaoxianzu in China, the term Chaoxian generally refers to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea), specifically referring to it as Bei Chaoxian (Bukjoseon, in Korean). North Korean nationals that I have talked with in the Yanbian area, when asked where they are from, respond that they were from Joseon (Chaoxian)--their reference to North Korea. South Koreans do not define themselves as the people from Joseon (Chaoxian). The term for South Korea used by both South Koreans and Chinese is Hanguk, or Hanguo in Chinese. South Koreans refer to themselves as being Hangukin (Hanguoren in Chinese), the people of Hanguk (Hanguo). In his book Shijie Chaoxian Minzu Zonglan (World’s Ethnic Koreans), Professor Zheng
Panlong of Yanbian University recalls an incident when he addressed a South Korean woman as a Chaoxianren (Joseonin) in Hawaii (1996:6). The forceful correction of Professor Zheng's mistake by the South Korean woman illustrates the "newly" attached implications the term "Chaoxian" carries in modern times. The term Chaoxian carries both historical and political definitions, and one's association or disassociation with the term determines one's affinity to either South Korea or North Korea.

According to Huang(1996:3), the term Joseonjok (Chaoxianzu in Chinese), originally referred to the people of the ancient Korean kingdom of Gojoseon (2333 B.C.-108 B.C.). It became a "historical term" after the fall of the kingdom. However, the term was revived with the founding of Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), once again referring to its people (Huang 1996:3). The modern definition of Chaoxianzu is narrower, specifically referring to the ethnic Koreans living in China as one of the 55 ethnic minority nationalities (shaoshu minzu) recognized by the present Chinese government. The broad definition of Chaoxianzu (Joseonjok) that once referred to the people of Chaoxian is now replaced with the term Chaoxianminzu. In China, the Chaoxianzu are an "immigrant nationality" of Korean origins (Zheng 1999:97). An "immigrant nationality" is a group of people who have immigrated to another country but still share many common elements with their original nationality (Piao 1990:44). Chaoxianzu, living in China, but culturally and historically related to Korea, exhibit a culture that has unique characteristics that does not fit well when categorized as either Chinese or Korean.
C. IMMIGRATION HISTORY

The foundation of Chaoxianzu culture and tradition in China is closely linked to their immigration history. Throughout Chaoxianzu history, there have been four main types of immigrants from Korea to China. Chaoxianzu scholars divide Chaoxianzu immigration history into different periods using the characteristics of the immigrations as the basis. However, it is important to keep in mind that the nature of immigration taken at a certain period defined by these scholars does not mutually exclude other types concurring during that period. In other words, these four types are not inclusive.

"War migration" is the term used to describe the first type of "immigrants" to China (Huang 1996: 17). This first type of immigrant was composed of prisoners from war and battles between China and Korea throughout their long history, or those taken as slaves (Huang 1996:17-19). The second type of immigrants classified by Chinese scholars consisted of Korean peasants who migrated to northeast China in the 19th century for various reasons (Zheng 1999:7). These reasons ranged from factors such as evading heavy government taxation, loss of land, and natural disasters that threatened their livelihood.

The third type of migration was that of many Korean political and scholar elites who fled when Korea was annexed by Japan in the early 20th century. These elites joined the ongoing peasant migration to northeast China. These "exile immigrants," as Huang defines them (1996:16), became a key factor in establishing a Chaoxian identity in China through their attempts to carry out anti-Japanese campaigns as a unified group (Piao 1990:53). At the beginning of the Japan's colonization of Korea in the early 20th century,
many educated elites joined the impoverished farmers' migration to the northeastern China. The elites propagated the concept of nationalism among the Chaoxianzu (Piao 1990:50-54). They organized people to maintain a unified national identity as Korean to resist the Japanese by setting up schools, promoting anti-Japanese education, and stimulating national consciousness (Huang 1996:16, Piao 1990:53). The anti-Japanese struggle became a common goal amongst the Chaoxianzu, bringing awareness of nation and a stronger bond to their own identity. The heightened national consciousness with a commonly recognized enemy also kept the Chaoxianzu and their culture together (Piao 1990:53-54).

The fourth type of immigration took place after the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910. By 1931, northeast China fell under Japanese rule. Japan's plan to develop northeast China as a supply base for its planned expansion into China led to massive "village" immigration from Korea to northeast China. Immigrants in this category were known as the "immigrant corps" or the "cultivating immigrants" (Huang 1996:26-29, Piao 1990:49). As a result of this "block" style of immigration, the population of Chaoxianzu in China reached approximately 2.1 million (Piao 1990:29). A large number of the immigrants during this "controlled immigration" (Huang 1996:29) were composed of Koreans who lost their land or their means to support their families. Many of these people originated from the southern parts of Korea. According to Chaoxianzu storytellers described below, these immigrants were encouraged by the Japanese government to migrate to northeast China where plenty of fertile land and housing were said to be available for anyone who was willing to move. The migration expenses were paid with loans from the Japanese government, which were in turn to be repaid by the
immigrants once they settled in their new homes. The uniqueness of this "village" immigration helped the preservation of the language, tradition, and culture in Chaoxian communities. This fourth type of immigration gave rise to interesting settlement patterns in China, the results of which are still observable today. Presently in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, there are villages unofficially named after the provinces in Korea where the "immigrant corps" came from. In the villages known to the Chaoxianzu as "Gyeongsangdo," "Jollado," and "Hwanghaedo," much of the topological customs and linguistic features of the namesake provinces are still carried out by the villagers.

The Korean settlers in China prior to the 19th century seemed to lack unity as a group and were absorbed into other ethnic groups such as Manchus and Han (Piao 1990:47). In contrast, the late 19th and the early 20th century immigrants settled together and formed Chaoxianzu villages. These Chaoxianzu immigrants were wet-rice farmers, and brought with them the techniques of wet-rice agriculture and the will to overcome the harsh conditions of northeast China. With wet-rice agriculture as the main source of their livelihood, the Chaoxianzu depended and relied upon group cooperation, resulting in the formation of tight communities. The group orientation had a definite influence on the preservation of their culture. As a group, the Chaoxianzu not only depend on each other for labor, but also had the strength to resist being assimilated into other northeastern ethnic groups, including Han Chinese, huge numbers of which have also migrated to the region in the last 200 or so years. They shared history, traditions, and perhaps most importantly a common language. It was easier as a group to define who they were, and where they were from. Transmission of their culture to successive generations were done through the interactions of everyday living. A current example of this close-knit social
structure is the small village called Hamatang, Jilin Province, with a population of approximately 1,800 people. This village serves as a good example of how agriculture-based communities have functioned as a cultural adhesive among the Chaoxianzu. According to my informants, the Chaoxianzu farmers in this village do not allow other ethnic people to live and farm in their village. It is not clear how the villagers prevent other ethnic people from farming in their community, however according to villagers all the rice-farmers in Hamatang are Chaoxianzu. Only a few small home enterprises, such as tofu vendors, are non-Chaoxianzu.  

D. A SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

The opening of China during the 1980s introduced waves of new ideas, outlooks, and lifestyles. What used to be heavily agriculture-dependent Chaoxianzu communities began to shift to market-oriented economies (Zheng 1999:56-59). This shift of economic base initiated social changes that had a large impact on the demography of Chaoxianzu in northeastern China. Farming became less useful in supporting the needs and the desired lifestyles of Chaoxianzu. People began leaving their villages for bigger cities and other countries in order to find more lucrative employment. The situation intensified as South Korea and China formally established diplomatic relationship in the 1990s. The initial family visits by Chaoxianzu from China to South Korea gradually transformed into a flow of work migration, both legal and illegal. One study cites that out of 300,000 Chaoxianzu that had visited South Korea, approximately 100,000 had some type of work experience while in South Korea (Zheng 1999:80).
Two major issues facing Chaoxianzu communities today are gender imbalance and the decline of population. A comparatively large number of Chaoxianzu women are leaving their communities for cities and for other countries. Many of them find employment in service industries (Zheng 1999:168-170). As a result, many young Chaoxianzu men, especially farmers, are unable to find a spouse and start a family (Zheng 1999:83-90). In response to this situation, some Chaoxianzu men in rural areas turn to the North Korean refugee population who reside in the Yanbian area to find spouses.  

One concern among some Chaoxianzu scholars is the decline of the Chaoxianzu population. In his study of the Chaoxianzu population, Zheng reported that, in 1988, Hailin City (in Heilongjiang) recorded 780 Chaoxianzu births with approximately 200 deaths among the Chaoxianzu. Ten years later in 1998, there were only 57 Chaoxianzu newborns and 151 deaths among the Chaoxianzu (Zheng 1999:114). In the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, between 1996-1997, the Han Chinese population increased from 57.8% to 57.99%, whereas the Chaoxianzu population decreased from 39.33% to 39.18% (Zheng 1999:85). The 0.15 % decline of Chaoxianzu population doesn't appear to be statistically significant on a macro-level, but it is considered a serious problem in many local areas.

The factors that contribute to the decline of the Chaoxianzu population are complex and numerous. However, I feel that there are some factors that are easily identifiable. Although Chinese minorities by law are not subjected to China's one-child policy, many modern Chaoxianzu couples still choose to have only one child. The rise in cost of raising a family seems to be the one of the reasons why many young parents
prefer one child. The Chaoxianzu place a high priority on their children's education. Many Chaoxianzu parents in rural areas, because of the lack of quality schools in their local communities, search for a "better" education for their children. These parents choose to carry a heavy burden of tuition by sending their children away from the local area to attend "better" schools. China employs what is called a "residence system" (hukou in Chinese), which adds to the costs of an education outside of their local communities. Students who attend schools in their legal residence officially do not need to pay high tuition. However, students who attend schools outside of their legal residence have to bear higher tuition as a penalty. Commonly, the entire income of one parent is spent on raising just a single child.

E. MODERN CHAOXIANZU CULTURE AND PEOPLE

Approximately 1.92 million Chaoxianzu live in China today. Most of them live in the three provinces of northeast China (dongbei sansheng in Chinese): Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning. The highest concentration of Chaoxianzu population resides in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Jilin Province. This Autonomous Prefecture was established in 1952.

My train ride into the Yanbian area yielded many interesting observations. Small clusters of similarly styled houses grouped within small villages appeared as the train moved closer to the Yanbian area. The shape of the roofs of these houses reveals the ethnicity of the owners. It was politely pointed out to me that houses with roofs shaped like "upside-down boats" indicate that it is very likely that the owners are Chaoxianzu. Once the train entered the Yanbian area, I found all the street and business signs were
written in both Korean and Chinese. Within the train, Chaoxianzu songs were played to welcome visitors to the Yanbian region. Chaoxian ethnic food, such as spicy red bean paste with vegetables, gimchi, and seasoned dried pollack were on sale in the train. Interestingly, these items are very popular not just among the Chaoxianzu customers but to non-Chaoxianzu as well.

Yanjishi (Yanji City) has population of approximately 370,000. Chaoxianzu make up about 59% of the total population within the city (Zheng 1999:258). Yanjishi is the metropolitan area that is considered the political, cultural, and economic heart of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. This city, like the many other border cities between North Korea and China, exhibits a very interesting mixture of cultures. A strong cultural influence from South Korea is also evident on everyday life. Many Yanjishi residents, of Chaoxianzu ethnicity and from other ethnic groups, follow many of the popular cultural styles from South Korea. Some younger Chaoxianzu have dyed their hair red or light brown, which has been quite popular among the youth of South Korea in recent years. This adoption of popular South Korean cultural influences even extends beyond the Chaoxianzu. A couple of North Korean children (who were in China illegally) that I met in Yanjishi had dyed their hair in an attempt to conceal their North Korean identity. They did this to blend in as a Chaoxianzu, and avoid arrest by the Chinese police. South Korean consumer products, from canned juice to shampoo, are available at reasonable prices in many stores in Yanjishi. There are also some restaurants and businesses built and managed by South Koreans living in Yanjishi. A powerful medium for the transmission of South Korean popular culture can be found in the
abundance of television programs from South Korea, which are available 24 hours a day through cable and satellite connections.

The culture found in Yanjishi is a combination of Chinese and "Korean" that many South Koreans find familiar, yet in some ways foreign. One area that is a source of unfamiliarity comes from the many Korean dialects spoken among the Chaoxianzu within the relatively small Yanbian area. Korean dialects are mutually comprehensible. However, the different vocabularies and intonations within each Korean dialect require a familiarization process to take place in order to fully comprehend what is being said. Moreover, standard Chinese is often mixed with Korean in daily speech. Sometimes literal translation of Chinese speech is integrated into Korean dialects. The Chinese phrase, "meishi" which means "it's okay," or "it doesn't matter" in English, is often used by the Chaoxianzu in its direct translation "ileopda," or "ileopso." This phrase is also used in some of the border towns of North Korea. A number of villages in the dongbei sansheng areas (northeast China) are known for their Korean linguistic features. In Jingjitun, Jilin Province, although only a handful of the first generation immigrants are still alive, the majority of the population speaks the dialect of the South Korean province of Gyeonggi. Some of the outsiders who came to live in the village and have lived there for a while are linguistically assimilated, completely adopting Jingjitun dialect as their own. According to Professor Piao, news-anchors of the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Korean-language television station are trained in the village of Jingjitun in order to adopt the "standard" Korean dialect.

North Korean culture also has a footprint in Yanjishi. North Korean goods, such as dried fish, paintings, stamp books, and other North Korean products are sold in
Yanjishi's West Market (Xishichang), in a section called "Joseon sangpum" (Chaoxian shangpin). Just outside of the "North Korean Goods" section, a music shop blasts South Korean popular music daily. Another foreign element found in Yanjishi is a hotel-restaurant funded and managed by overseas Koreans (some with ties to Japan) who harbor a strong affinity with communist North Korea. Most of the employees at this hotel-restaurant are from North Korea, and they serve North Korean delicacies.

The main market areas of Yanjishi, called the West and East Markets (Xishichang and Dongshichang in Chinese), are located in many ways resemble the "flea-markets" found in America. This area is rich in cultural markers that provide concrete expressions of the synthesis of cultural forces on the emerging Chaoxianzu sense of identity. These markets are composed of multi-building complexes with small allies running between each building. The alleyways are where the unlicensed individual vendors sell their "homemade" goods and trinkets. The goods sold in these markets vary from textiles, Chinese brand batteries, South Korean socks, home made gimchi (spicy Korean cabbage), to electronics. Each building specializes in selling specific goods, and signage in both Chinese and Korean indicate the types of goods sold in each building. The front and back areas of these market complexes are also full of both registered and unlicensed vendors. Most of the outside individual vendors are female. They bring the goods in small boxes or thick, red hard-rubber basins covered with tarpaulin. Many of them are Chaoxianzu women selling homegrown, or homemade products such as salted fish, frozen shell fish, different types of pickled vegetables, traditional Korean-style snacks, and rice wine. Inside of each building of the market, goods are divided into specific
sections. During the winter, all of the exits are covered with heavy layers of padded blankets for insulation as is typical of northern China.

The food court at the West market is one of the more interesting sections. Dishes such as 
gimchi, spicy roots (doraji in Korean, jigen in Chinese), seaweed, salty pickled vegetables, rice cakes, stuffed pig intestines (sundae in Korean), cold noodles, and ready-made side dishes are sold daily. The place becomes very crowded during the "rush hours" when people get off work and come to this section to pick up side dishes before heading home. Most of the food at the food court is traditional Chaoxianzu, or Korean food. Chinese food items are also sold at other parts of the market.

A corner of the market contains a clothing section with a number of vendors selling both retail and custom-ordered traditional Korean clothing (hanbok in Korean). Usually women's hanbok are custom made, and require two to three days to produce. The cost of women's hanbok vary from just over one hundred Chinese yuan (approximately $12 USD) to over six hundred yuan (approximately $72 USD). The most expensive hanbok fabrics are imported from South Korea. While I was in the market, I met an old couple accompanied by their daughter and her husband who came to one of these shops. The old couple was getting a hanbok for the older woman's sixtieth birthday. They looked through picture books on the counter, compared the prices and hanbok materials. Finally, they decided on a pink fabric for the lady and light blue colored fabric for the man. On important birthdays and weddings, many Chaoxianzu wear traditional Korean clothes.

On several occasions I was invited to Chaoxianzu homes. On my first trip to Yanjishi, I was invited to the home of a professor at Yanbian University for dinner. The
food was laid out on a Korean-styled table that sat only twelve inches off the floor. The meal consisted of rice cakes, gimchi, gimbap (rice rolled in seaweed with vegetables and meat), many other Korean-style side dishes, and even some store-bought Chinese dishes. According to the host, most of the dishes were store-bought since they are readily available and convenient. Rice was not served until the end of the meal, which was politely refused by all the guests to show the hosts that the meal was sufficient, and that no rice was needed. During a dinner at different Chaoxianzu home, a mixture of Korean and Chinese cuisine was served, but at this home rice was served at the beginning of the meal, which is customary in Korean dining. At different Chaoxianzu restaurants in Yanjishi, some serve rice at the beginning of the meal and some serve rice with the soup at the end of the meal. The cultural significance in the timing of the serving of rice in a meal is important. Customarily, Korean meals are always served with rice at the beginning of the course if the meal requires rice, whereas Chinese meals that include guests usually serve rice at the end unless asked. The Chaoxianzu appear to practice both Chinese and Korean dining customs.

A major part of the Yanjishi streets are the numerous teahouses and karaoke bars. Professor Piao Changmo who was gracious enough to accompany me in my exploration of the city commented that these teahouses and karaoke bars are the influences of South Korea though they have been popular all over China since the late 1980s. The teahouses are usually equipped with private rooms and booths, and they serve a variety of teas and coffee with roasted sunflower seeds (guazi in Chinese). Roasted sunflower seeds or any other types of guazi are not often eaten in South Korea. I personally overheard
Chaoxianzu who spent time in South Korea comment on the rarity of eating guazi in South Korea.

Not surprisingly, karaoke bars are one of the most popular and often visited forms of entertainment for Chaoxianzu. These bars are equipped with rooms that have disco lights, long sofas, tables, wall microphones, and liquor menus. When I was accompanied by Professor Piao to a very small Chaoxianzu village on the outskirts of Hailinshi (in Heilongjiang), the head of the "elders' club" stated that many younger Chaoxianzu go to the nearby city's karaoke bars at night for entertainment. It isn't uncommon for these young people to spend a couple of hundred Chinese yuan ($20 to $30 USD) at a time in the larger karaoke bars in the city. This is in spite of the fact that the little village has its own karaoke bar. The son of the "elders' club" president owns the village's karaoke bar, which is stocked a list of songs in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and English.

Chaoxianzu houses in the Yanbian area have very distinctive characteristics that are different from other ethnic groups. In Yanjishi, the entrance of each apartment is separated by a wooden door panel, which gives the impression that the rest of the apartment is higher than the entranceway. This characteristic is very similar to that of South Korean homes. Most of the Chaoxianzu families I visited remove their shoes at the entrance before entering the house. High rise apartments in Yanjishi have radiator-heating systems that are common in China, but some Chaoxianzu have specially-designed homes with traditional Korean-style heating systems installed. The main feature of these heating systems is that the floor of the house is heated. I was informed by some of the owners of these specially designed apartments that the construction materials for their homes were imported from South Korea.
Many of the rural Chaoxianzu houses are very different from the city apartments. Most of the rural Chaoxianzu homes are single-floor flats (pingfang, in Chinese). Often these houses are one-story rectangular structures with walls made of rammed earth mixed with hay, but occasionally made of concrete. Each house has a tall fence that is made of small tree branches and thin, flat wooden panels that are tied together. Inside the doors of these houses are small areas where people remove their shoes before stepping up to the floor of the main living area. Household floors are made of poured concrete, which are heated from below by a wood fire. The entranceway directly connects to a large living room and kitchen area. A typical kitchen consists of two to three big pots permanently set in the concrete floor with a water facet. The source for the heated floor is directly underneath these pots, and heating takes place during meal preparation time. When the kitchen is not in use, the area between the pots and the wall is covered with a wooden panel to add more walking area, leaving only a small area of the entrance.

F. CONCLUSION

The Chaoxianzu people, the ethnic Koreans of China, currently live at a crossroads both culturally and socially. Traditional ways of living that enabled them to form close-knit communities are being challenged by the influences of globalization and modernization. The declining of population of Chaoxianzu within their autonomous areas, and as an ethnic group as a whole within China, is beginning to draw the attention of Chaoxianzu scholars. The concerns of how younger Chaoxianzu generations will carry on their traditions and keep their culture alive against the waves of new styles, ideas, and desires are important issues that face the Chaoxianzu community today.
1. The nationalism and national identity discussed in Piao's article and Huang's book refer to the "consciousness" of being a distinct ethnic group and the country.

2. Interview with Mr. Li on February 11, 2001.

3. The names of villages vary depending on the language used. The Chaohelianzu either refer to these villages as, for example, "Gyeonggido maeul," or "Jingjitun." "Jingji" is a Chinese pronunciation of "Gyeonggi" written in Chinese, and "tun" means village in Chinese. These villages also have their official names, but their unofficial names are more readily used among the Chaohelianzu.

4. One of the examples is Piaocun where descendents of earlier Chaohelianzu immigrants still live. According to Chaohelianzu scholars, a large percent of these people have been assimilated with other ethnic groups such as Manchu and Han. Some have recently reclaimed their identity as Chaohelianzu.

5. Situation varies among villages. I consider Hamatang as one of the more traditional villages than the other Chaohelianzu villages I have visited during my fieldwork.

6. A large number of North Koreans illegally live in the Yanbian area. Some North Korean women marry the Chaohelianzu men, but they are still considered as illegal residents in China and are subjected to deportation.


8. My very first encounter with the illegal North Korean refugees took place while I was taking pictures of the main street of the city. Three children approached and asked for money in Korean. Two of them have dyed their hair in order to "fit-in."

9. The three North Korean youths used the phrase "ileopseumnida" during our conversation which led me to think that they might be Chaohelianzu not North Korean. Professor Piao informed me of the language borrowing between the border towns of North Korea and China during our informal class.

10. Professor Piao who formerly worked at the television station informed me of such practice. I also visited Jingjitun in June 2001.
CHAPTER 2

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF FOLK LITERATURE IN CHINA:
THE CASE OF THE CHAOXIANZU

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an introduction to the terms and categorization of Chaoxianzu folk stories and folksongs by Chinese collectors, scholars, and local tradition-bearers. This study of Chaoxianzu oral traditions is based upon a brief examination of three key areas: local Chaoxianzu scholarship, Chinese academic approaches to the study of oral traditions, and scholarly influences from outside of China. An examination of the approaches of native Chaoxianzu not only provides a historical perspective on the group's oral traditions, but also offers insight into the ways in which folk stories and folksongs are viewed and studied by the practitioners and transmitters of such traditions.

The term used by Chaoxianzu scholars to refer to oral literature is Gubimunhak, or Koubeiwexue in Chinese (Gim 1999, Jang, et al. 1971). According to Jang's explanation, the word Gubi can be defined as "the oral-words that have been transmitted for generations" (Jang, et al. 1971:1). Other terms such as Gujeonmunhak, Minsokmunhak also refer to oral literature (Jang, et al. 1971:1). Gubimunhak includes,
but is not limited to, genres such as seolhwa (shuohua in Chinese) and minyo (minyao in Chinese).

Seolhwa is an oral story classification that includes myths, legends, and folktales. The three categories under seolhwa are further divided into smaller sub-genres of oral stories. The scholarly debate on the criteria of these genres and sub-genres is still taking place. Some scholars believe seolhwa should be divided into five or more categories based on different models of motif index (Im 1992: 84-85). Minyo, or folksongs, is also an important oral literary genre. In Jungguk Joseon Minjok Munhak Seonjip (Zhongguo Chaoxian Minzu Wenxue Xuanji in Chinese, Selections of Chinese Ethnic Korean Literature), the categories of the Chaoxianzu folksongs are listed as: songs of labor, narrative songs, new folksongs, livelihood, love, and ceremony (Beijing Daxue, ed. 1993a).

B. CHARACTERISTIC OF CHAOXIANZU FOLKSONGS AND LEGENDS

In this section, I will discuss characteristics of Chaoxianzu legends and folktales recognized by Chaoxianzu scholars as the main thematic traits found in Chaoxianzu oral literature. The translated legends of Chaoxianzu in this section are examples which Professor Piao Changmo, one of the most prominent story collectors among Chaoxianzu, considers as representative of containing Chaoxianzu characteristics. The Northeastern Style, or Dongbukhyeong in Korean, refers to the Chaoxianzu oral tradition style, and is described as being very reflective of the land and the livelihood of its people (Beijing Daxue, ed. 1993a: 9). Many Chaoxianzu legends and folktales are often stories involving the local landscape, history, and the lives of people (Beijing Daxue, ed. 1993a: 9).
good example of landscape folk literature was collected in the city of Longjingshi, Jilin province (Yongjing in Korean). This city is located southwest of Yanjishii in the eastern part of the Yanbian area.¹ Longjing, as its name indicates, has a famous well where, according to Chaoxianzu folk legend, a dragon came out and rose to the sky. The surrounding area of the dragon well is now a park with a small ticket office. Two large, model dragons decorate the front of the well, and a huge stone tablet with inscriptions in both Korean and Chinese describe the importance of the well. The tale goes as follows:

The third son of the Dragon King, the King of the Eastern Sea, falls in love with a human girl. The relationship is revealed to the Dragon King, and the son is summoned back to the Eastern Sea Palace. Before the son leaves, he asks his lover to watch the well water carefully. He tells her that the clarity of the well water will indicate the condition of his well being. Everyday she watched the water. One day, suddenly, the water turned muddy and she interpreted this as a sign that some harm has come to her beloved. Broken hearted, she threw herself into the well; at that exact moment, the Dragon King's son catches her and carries her out of the well into Heaven.²

Another example of landscape-related folk literature is a tale connected to a mountain that stands between Yanjishii and Longjingshi that has a peak shaped like a horse's hoof. It is called Malbalgupsan in Korean, which literally means "the horse hoof mountain." It has a legend that explains how the mountain top peak came to have such shape. This tale explain that:

Once upon a time a landlord well known for his abusiveness and stinginess was searching for a farmhand. Because of his abusive fame, no one was willing to work for him. One day, a well built handsome man shows up to be a farmhand, and not long after, the farmhand was having a relationship with the landlord's daughter. The landlord plotted to kill both of them after discovering what was been occurring, but the daughter discovered her father's intentions. She rode a horse to the farm where the farmhand was working, and warned him of what was about to happen. The two lovers fled on her horse, and were soon chased by a mob of people on horseback. Finally they reach the dead-end of a road leading to a huge pond. With nowhere to run to, they prayed. Suddenly, with a final spur of
the horse, the horse leaped into the air, stepped down on the top of a mountain, and then flew into the heavens. The place where the horse stepped deformed the mountaintop. Since then, the mountain became known as Malbagupsan.  

These are just a couple examples of landscape-related folk stories. The Yanbian area has numerous sites with stories attached to them. Many of these are stories that explain unique formations found in the natural environment. Some of the landscape-related stories are similar, or are the same as those found in South Korea. One such story is the "Myeoneuri bawi" (a story of a daughter-in-law turned to stone). This story, with versions in many cultures worldwide, was first told to me by my mother in South Korea. However, the same story was told to me in Yanbian by Professor Piao Changmo. The interesting stone features that can be found "up in the mountain" referred to in the story are stones which are commonly found in both South Korea and in the Yanbian region. The story's plot, as told in both South Korea and Yanbian, roughly goes as follows:

Once upon a time there was a benevolent daughter-in-law in a rich but cruel family. Against her in-laws' wishes, she gave offerings to a Buddhist monk. Her generosity was returned by the monk with a warning about an impending natural disaster that was to destroy her village. The monk instructed her to go up to a mountain and not to turn back to see the calamity, no matter what she hears. She follows his instruction, but upon hearing her family's voices, she looked back and turned into a stone. This stone can still be seen "up in the mountain" today...

In Zhongguo Shaoshuminzu Wenxue Bijiao Yanjiu (Comparative Studies in Chinese Ethnic Minority Literature), Ma Xueliang and his coeditors divide Chinese minorities into five geographical groups and point out general artistic qualities in each area. According to their rather "essentialist" statement, the myths of minorities from the northeastern part of China tend to have "fierce and intense qualities", whereas the northwestern myths are generally "simplistic" (Ma, et al. 1997:15). Although these
qualities are discussed in reference to myths, in practice, these qualities also apply to other genres of minority oral literature. Professor Gim Donghun (Jin Dongxun in Chinese) views the source "primitive unrefined" of Chaoxianzu seolhwa aesthetics as emanating from the wilderness and inherent danger of untamed nature (Gim 1999:149). The primitive, unrefined, and unrestrained qualities are the stereotypical aesthetic qualities attributed to the northern minority literature by scholars in China. In Zhongguo Shaoshuminzu Wenxueshi (A Literary History of Chinese Ethnic Minorities), Ma describes China's northern ethnic minority poems and songs as "bold and vast" (Ma, et al. 1992: 7). Gim also finds the same characteristics of northern area minority literature in Chaoxianzu seolhwa. Some Chaoxianzu scholars believe that the quality of "primeval beauty" found in Chaoxianzu seolhwa differentiates it from the more "polished" seolhwa found on the Korean Peninsula (Gim 1999:149, Beijing Daxue 1993a:10-11).

Another prominent characteristic of collections of Chaoxianzu seolhwa is the abundance of stories with the motif of the poor commoners' struggle and his triumph over rich and abusive authorities. Often the hero/heroine of the story are portrayed as a commoner with special characteristics, or person from a low social class. On the surface, the predominant "class struggle" motif seems to be the result of political and historical influences in China and the political filters of collections and editors, and to a certain degree this is the case. However, the immigrant history of Chaoxianzu also adds another possible explanation to such motifs. As briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the majority of the Chaoxianzu immigrants were uneducated and poor Koreans who emigrated in search of land and a better life. The stories they told and transmitted certainly reflected their attitudes, values, and worldview. The personal histories and
backgrounds of the Chaoxianzu immigrants influenced the types and motifs of the stories they performed. For example, a well-known Chaoxianzu storyteller interviewed by Professor Piao Changmo many years ago was a descendent of a famous scholar in Korean history. This performer's repertoire consisted of more than five hundred stories, but none of the stories he told had the "class struggle" motif.

Water is also a recurring topic in Chaoxianzu folk stories. Availability and access to water was very crucial in Chaoxianzu immigrant settlements in Northeastern China due to their wet-rice farming practice. Stories of mystical springs, origins of rivers, and the search for water are very common in Chaoxianzu folk literature. The symbol, or guardian, of water is often represented by a dragon in Chaoxianzu, and in the folklore of certain other minority nationalities and the Han Chinese. Due to the importance placed on water, many cities and villages in the Yanbian area have the character "dragon" (long in Chinese, yong in Korean) in their names. According to Professor Gim Donghun (Jin Dongxun in Chinese), the fascination with the dragon expressed in Chaoxianzu folk literature is a sign that the ethnic group worships water.

Many legends on various topics have been collected from Chaoxianzu storytelling and other informants. The most prominent legends are historical legends of ancient kingdoms and legends concerning anti-Japanese struggles (Gim 1990:170-178). Legends about other ethnic groups are also included in the Chaoxianzu legend repertoire. Gim divides Chaoxianzu legends into six categories: legends of Mt. Baekdu (Changbaishan, in Chinese), "water gate" (shuimen) legends, nostalgia, plants, folk customs, and historical legends (1999:144-170). The criteria for categorizing legends are still debated by both Chaoxianzu and South Korean scholars. Some legends have more than one theme in
their plots. For example, one of the Mt. Baekdu legends titled "Cheonjisu," refers to the lake water on top of Mt. Baekdu. This legend has both the Mt. Baekdu and "water gate" themes. The story goes as follows:

Long, long ago the surrounding area of Mt. Baekdu was a perfect place to live. This area had plenty of water and mountains providing beautiful scenery. One day a black dragon appeared and destroyed everything—including the water. The place became an uninhabitable, dry and barren land. A local general, named Baek, was assisted in the search for water by a princess of a nearby kingdom. Together they searched for underground water in the barren land. Their search was unsuccessful, as the black dragon constantly intervened. Everyday, the Princess would journey one-hundred li away to collect mystical water to give to General Baek to assist in his efforts. This water would provide enormous strength to the General if consumed for one-hundred consecutive days. However, before the hundred days were over, the impatient General dug for underground water and became mortally wounded by the dragon's sword of fire. The Princess' tears filled the giant hole dug by the General, and the water miraculously saved him. Realizing his impatient nature, the General resumed his one-hundred days of drinking the mystical water, and practiced martial arts in order to combat the black dragon. After his training was completed, the General found a source of water. The black dragon, preoccupied with his own affairs, realized what was occurring and hurriedly returned to fight the General. During the fight, the black dragon's sword of fire was broken, and fell on the northern side of the lake. Since then the water from the lake flows north. This is why the weather on top of Mt. Baekdu is so unpredictable, as the black dragon is still creating mischief (Beijing Daxue 1993a:3-6).

The story's setting is clearly on Mt. Baekdu, however the story has a theme emphasizing the importance of water. Mt. Baekdu legends are well known to other Chinese scholars. Professor Ma and his colleagues place Mt. Baekdu legends as a part of fengwu (scenery) legends (Ma 1997:207). Evidently, the criteria and categorization used to analyze oral literature do indeed vary among scholars.

Chaoxianzu scholars and collectors of folk literature also debate over which theme takes precedence in their oral traditions. The debated themes are nostalgia for their homes and families in Korea, and the desire of establishing a new home in China.
Folktales such as "Manghyangui eonduk" (hill of nostalgia) (Piao 1996: 17-26) vividly portray how ardently people have yearned for their homeland. "Manghyangui eonduk" is a story of a Korean farmer who went to Manchuria to find a way to save his family from starvation. The story is considered representative of the class of nostalgic stories found in Chaoxianzu oral literature, and expresses the emotional hardships the Chaoxianzu endured when they left their homeland in Korea. The feeling of nostalgia is strongly expressed in "Manghyangui eonduk." The following is a translation of the story found in Professor Piao's collection:  

Accompanied by his only son, a farmer leaves his home and his wife with a promise to come back for her after he establishes himself in Manchuria. Everyday while he works, he dreams of the day when his family doesn't have to worry about not having enough to eat. Time passes and he begins to suffer from homesickness. He is overcome with a desire to see his hometown and his wife. He climbs up the highest peak around him and looks toward the direction of his home. Blinded with homesickness, he sees his hometown and his wife. From then on, he goes up to the peak of the mountain to look at his hometown and his wife whenever he can. After two years of working in Manchuria, just when the father and the son are about to save up enough money to have their own land, the father falls ill and dies. Before he dies, the father tells his son to bury him standing up at that very mountain peak, so that even after death he can still be able to look at his home. Unfortunately, the father is buried upside down. One day, the father shows up in a dream and complains to his son how he cannot see his home. Unable to understand his father, the son plans to take his father's body and give him a rebural in their hometown once he earns enough money. Time passes and one day the father again shows up in his son's dream and tells his son that he is now able to see the Diamond Mountains and his hometown again. Puzzled by his dreams, the son hires a fengshui master and they go to his father's grave to find an explanation. After examining the land and the grave, the fengshui master tells the son that his father has been buried upside down, but because of his father's yearning for home, his corps straightened himself in the coffin.

The Northeastern Style folksong themes are predominantly concerned with labor, songs from daily life, love songs, and new minyo ("new folksongs"). Japga, Danga, and
Pansori styled songs are much less visible in the Chaoxianzu repertoire (Beijing Daxue 1993b:9). Geographically the Yanbian area and the Wudanjiang area (Wudan River) have yielded a concentration of folksongs from the northern part of Korea since majority of the first generation Chaoxianzu settlers originated from that area. The southern Korean-style folksongs have been collected in the Heilongjiang and Songhuajiang areas (Beijing Daxue 1993b:8). The Yalu River banks and Liaoning areas have been heavily influenced by folksongs from the western part of Korea (Beijing Daxue 1993b:8).

Although Chaoxianzu population generally follows the above divisions, today's Chaoxianzu geographical demography is more complicated. Within a small area, a mixture of villages exhibiting different characteristics can be observed.

Folksongs without a social and cultural role lose substance, and disappear from the cultural repertoire (Kang 1996:19-24, Jang 1971:76). The scholarly categorization of folksongs in China is based on the function of each song. This functional categorization is also practiced in Korea. In general, folksongs in South Korea are divided into either three or four groups: songs of labor, ceremonial songs, songs of amusement, and a debated, controversial fourth category of political songs (Kang 1996).

Chaoxianzu scholars categorize their folksongs into six groups: labor, songs of daily life, love, ceremonial, new minyo, and narrative songs (Beijing Daxue 1993b). A version of "Mosimneun sori" (Song of Planting Rice) is listed under this class instead of being listed under the labor song, an indication that the criteria for categorization is both functional and content-oriented.

The labor song category contains songs such as "Nongbuga" (Farmer's song), "Monaegi norae" (Planting rice song), "Homisori" (Song of the weeding hoe), and
"Natsori" (Song of the sickle) (Beijing Daxue 1993b:547-604). The songs of labor have various texts relating to work and the tools of labor. Labor songs are not only songs describing the process of working and farming, but numerous song lyrics also contain the wishes and worries of Chaoxianzu farmers and workers.

The songs based on daily life include the famous Chaoxianzu and Korean folksongs titled "Doraji" and "Yangsando." This category also has a number of songs reflecting women and their tradition-bound lives. Songs titled "Sijipsari" (life with in-laws), "Myeoneuri sinse" (life of a daughter-in-law), and "Jeolmeun gwabuui seoreoum" (The sorrow of a young widow), all express concern for issues women traditionally faced in their lives. The responsibilities of being a daughter-in-law, working on the land, taking care of the house chores, and living with her in-laws are artistically expressed in the lyrics with occasional humorous and witty remarks. Interestingly, this category also includes songs regarding rats and lice. The following is a translation of a song titled "Lice." The existence of such song not only indicates the creativity and wittiness of Chaoxianzu people, but it also reveals their practical view of life.

Having six legs,
Did you even go to the farmland?
Having a wide back,
Did you ever carry a load of firewood?
Having a full belly,
Did you fill it with your own sweat?
Having a pointy mouth,
Did you tell the truth?
Having a set of eyes,
Did you ever watch out for us?
Having a good disposition, being a louse
The only place you can go is bukmang (place of the deads)
You wretched creature, die!

(Beijing Daxue 1993b:611)
Within the love song category, songs such as "Arirang," "Bakyeon pokpo" (Bakyoen waterfall), and "Yibyeolga" (parting song) are very representative of the genre. There are many different versions of "Arirang," a well-known folksong found in many versions in South Korea. The Zhongguo Chaoxian Minzu Wenhua Xuanji (Selections of Chinese Ethnic Korean Literature) (1993) lists "Arirang," "Jeongseon arirang," "Gangwondo arirang," "Milyang arirang," "Jindo arirang," "Goksan arirang," "Gyeongsangdo arirang," "Cheongju arirang," "Gin arirang," and "Sae arirang" (new arirang) as different versions of "Arirang" sung in Chaoxianzu communities in China.

Ceremonial songs tend to have heavy shamanistic influences. Many songs in this category are no longer sung among the Chaoxianzu. The ceremonial song lyrics make frequent references to the spirits of shaman and to shaman rituals. One example is "Mudeom dalgo," which can be translated as "Grave Tamping."

Looking at this grave site
Ehei dalgoya (refrain)
Gakhyang jeobang (names of four stars) align
Ehei dalgoya
In the East is Cheongryong daeje 10
Ehei dalgoya
Isn't it Yuiwa myohyang 11
Ehei dalgoya
In the South is Jujak daeje 12
Ehei dalgoya
Isn't it Ojwa jahyang 13
Ehei dalgoya
In the West is Bakho daeje 14
Ehei dalgoya
Isn't it Myojwa yuhang 15
Ehei dalgoya
In the North is Hyeonmu daeje 16
Ehei dalgoya
Isn't it Jajwa ohyang 17
Ehei dalgoya
Examining this grave
Ehei dalgoya
It is one of the splendid mountains under sky
Ehei dalgoya
Selecting Munpil Peak
Ehei dalgoya
Munjang jaesae will take place 18
Ehei dalgoya
Became Sulhaebang 19
Ehei dalgoya
High officialdom will come
Ehei dalgoya
Within three years of using this grave site
Ehei dalgoya
You will become powerful, rich, and famous
Ehei dalgoya

(Beijing Daxue 1993b:798)

In the context of the above song, the word Ehei is a function word similar to "Hey!" in English. The word dalg in the title of the song is an ancient word for dalgu, a ramming tool used for tamping graves. Chaoxianzu performers that I encountered in China generally deny having any shaman songs in their repertoire, since shamanism is viewed as superstition. When asked about existence of Chaoxianzu shamans, my informants stated that there were currently no Chaoxianzu shamans. Many of the ceremonial songs, such as the one above, are disappearing from the repertoires of Chaoxianzu performers due to the lack of their usage.

The next category of minyo is narrative songs that range from the "Song of Simcheong" to "Song of War." Unfortunately, some of the songs in this category have not been textualized in their entirety due to their length, leaving only parts in the written record. The collector's task of recording long narrative songs, such as the "Story of Chunhyang," is complicated by the fact that, because of the song's length, performers will
often perform only parts of these songs. The narrative songs such as "Song of Simcheong" and "Story of Chunhyang" are also found in Pansori (Pihl 1994) repertoire in the Yanbian area.

"New folksong" is a category that separates new folksongs from the "traditional" style songs. This category contains various thematic songs that have distinctive Chaoxianzu characteristics. Songs such as "Bukgando gapsida" (Let's go to Bukgando) and "Manghyang ui norae" (Song of Nostalgia) belong to this category (Beijing Daxue 1993b:872-915).

"Bukgando gapsida" (Let's go to Bukgando) is very often sung by older generation Chaoxianzu at gatherings. It is a short song with a simple tune, but expresses the complex feelings of anti-Japanese sentiment related immigration.

Father, Mother
Let's go to Bukgando
Hear that over there is a good place to live
Hear that Farming is nice there
Preferably in the land where there is no Japanese
Go to that land
Without any worries, according to the season
Let's farm!

(Beijing Daxue 1993b:874)

In Zhu and Li, ed. 1985:121-137, folksongs are divided into six groups according to their thematic content. The six categories are songs of labor, customs, love, life, current politics, and children songs. In Kang 1996:11, folksongs are viewed to subsist in their functional dynamics.
C. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHAOXIANZU
   FOLK LITERATURE STUDIES

The collection and "textualization" (Honko 2000:3-52, Bender 2001:1-4) of
Chaoxianzu seolhwa began in late 19th century. By 1914, Chaoxianzu oral stories were
already textualized and published in Russian, Chinese, and Korean (Gim 1999:15). The
Russian and the Chinese publications of Chaoxianzu oral stories were part of Russian and
Chinese explorations around Mt. Baekdu (Changbaishan in Chinese) area (Gim 1999:16-
18). The collection of Chaoxianzu oral stories published in Korean was a textbook used
for Chaoxianzu elementary education (Gim 1999:19). From the 1920s to 1940s, anti-
Japanese sentiment in northeast China prompted the rise of anti-Japanese Chaoxianzu
folksongs and folktales (Gim 1999: 20, Beijing Daxue, ed. 1993a: 4). According to
Chaoxianzu scholars, under Japanese policy the collection and analysis of Chaoxianzu
oral literature became difficult to undertake by Chaoxianzu scholars (Beijing Daxue, ed.
1993a:5). In the 1930s, only a few folk stories were published through some of the
Chaoxianzu journals and newspapers in northeast China (Gim 1999:21). Between the
establishment of People's Republic of China in 1949 and the dawn of the Cultural
Revolution in 1966, the study of Chaoxianzu oral literature experienced rapid growth. A
series of active folktale collection and increased recognition of Chaoxianzu folk-artists
took place. Unfortunately, during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), most of the
collected and published works of Chaoxianzu were destroyed, and the ethnic
performances were banned since such practices were viewed as "counter-revolutionary
acts" (Gim 1999: 21-26). One of the performers I was introduced to by the local folk
literature association members stated that dance movements such as "turning the head"
was labeled as "resisting the revolution," and were banned. Once the Cultural Revolution ended, active scholarly collection of Chaoxianzu folk literature once again took place. Yanbian Minjian Wenyi Yanjiuhui (Yanbian Folk Literary Art Research Association) sponsored storytelling competitions to attract skilled storytellers, and at the same time initiated a collection project of Chaoxianzu folk literature. Many folklorists were sent out to collect stories and discover folk artists (Gim 1999:27). Numerous publications were produced from the collection of stories and songs (list of publications in Gim 1999:30-33), and based on printed materials of folktales, Chaoxianzu scholars formed the general structure and characteristics of their seolhwa. Chaoxianzu and Korean oral traditions share a great amount of similarities since the first generation of immigrants brought stories and songs with them to China, along with their culture and traditions. However, closer examination reveals differences between the Korean and Chaoxianzu oral traditions.

D. **CHAOXIANZU FOLK LITERATURE STUDIES IN CHINA**

Based on my understanding of scholarly approaches to Chaoxianzu folk literature studies developed or utilized in China, I have categorized Chaoxianzu folk literature scholarship into three modes. The first mode follows the method of Chinese version of the Finnish historic-geographic approach, combined with socialist theory in the study of folk literature. The quest for the geographical and ethnic origin of a folk story and the emphasis of the way in which folk stories and songs reflect the people's struggle is an important focus of research among Chaoxianzu scholars.
The second mode is the building a motif index model, using the Arne-Thompson motif index as a base. The type and motif categorization also has been one of the areas of folk literature research in South Korea, and the models of indexes found through such research become a very important source of reference in the Chaoxianzu folk literature scholarship. The index models are still the center of ongoing debates within both Chaoxianzu and Korean scholarship. Based on a comparison study between one type of Korean index model with a Chaoxianzu motif index reveals that more than ten percent of the total folktale motifs are found only among the Chaoxianzu (Gim 1999:310). This estimate is based on non-standardized motif index categorization, therefore the result will vary depending on the motif index models being used in the study. The key point of such approach, nonetheless, shows the unique qualities and characteristics of folktales of the Chaoxianzu. Among the Chaoxianzu scholars it is generally believed that about twenty-percent of Chaoxianzu oral tradition is believed to have distinctive Chaoxianzu characteristics and eighty-percent share similarities with that of the Korean peninsula.

The third mode of native approaches to Chaoxianzu folk literature research is the use of comparative methods, comparing the folk literature of Chaoxianzu with folk literature of other Chinese ethnic groups such as the Manchu, Mongolian, and Han nationalities. Scholars compare textualized folk stories such as legends and myths of selected groups, then analyze the elements of their shared motifs and plots. This method is related to the first mode, the historic-geographical approach.
E. CHAOXIANZU PERFORMERS AND THEIR VIEW

The approaches and categorizations introduced and discussed so far in this chapter were created by Chinese and South Korean scholars of folk literature. However, the Chaoxianzu performers that I have had contact with in the course of my research have their own categorizations of their repertoire. The general term used for folk stories in general among Chaoxianzu performers and their audience is "yenmal," which can be loosely translated as "old stories," or "old words." Yenmal is similar to seolhwa (oral narratives, shuohua in Chinese), the category of the scholars. It embraces all type of oral stories in its usage. The performers, however, place short "funny stories" (xiaohua in Chinese) in a different category. Usueun sokdam (funny proverbs) or usueun yiyagi (funny stories) are the terms used by the performers for what they consider to be humorous material. The Chaoxianzu performers that I have interviewed are familiar with the "official" terms such as legends, myths, and folktales, however, they seldom refer to their stories using these terms.

The categorization of folksongs is a point of view where the attitudes of the performers and that of scholars conflict. As examined above, Chaoxianzu scholars place folksongs into different classifications based on the social function of each song. Performers, however, approach the folksong categorization according to traditional aesthetic criterion. Chaoxianzu folksongs, according to the performers I have interviewed, follow a number of set tunes or melodies. In order for one to become a "singer," one must first know the set of tunes by heart before expanding his or her repertoire. One performer, Mr. Li, explained how he classified Chaoxianzu folksongs. 24 He divided folksongs into ten categories based on tunes of songs rather than their
functions. His ten categories are "Cheongchunga," "Yangsando," "Doraji," "Noraegarak," "Jangbutaryeong," "Niliri," "Arirang," "Bakyeongpokpo," "Japga eorang taryeong," and Pansori. Each category, except for Pansori, is a song that the performer believes to carry the most representative folksong melody. In his view, not all folksongs have their own tunes like the modern popular songs. Tunes are shared and borrowed among different set of folksongs. Once a performer learns the folksong tunes, then it is up to the performer to "create" the lyrics to fit into the tunes. So, the "genres" are divided emically by a variety of predominant tunes. Some of the Chaoxianzu performers began writing down folksongs in their repertoire at the request of their friends, and also to remember as they age the songs they used to know. However, these writings only contain the lyrics, not the tunes of the songs. The tunes, according to them, are already known well among their friends. It is the skill of a performer to remember and render the lyrics artistically.

Most of the Chaoxianzu performers are seldom concerned with categorization of folk stories or folksongs. In the eyes of performers the most important aspect of the tradition is the skill involved in performing folksong or a folk story. Oral stories are defined as "lies" (geojitmal or geojitbureong in Korean) by Chaoxianzu storytellers, yet people enjoy listening to them and performers like telling them. A good folk tale is a story that contains lies or exaggerations, although everyone involved in the performance knows the context as "lies," however the lies still work out "logically" within the story context. In other words, the stories must have a certain level of credibility within them in accord with Axel Olniks' observation on the "logic of the sage."
F. **CHAOXIANZU FOLK LITERATURE COMMUNITY**

In Chaoxianzu communities there exist three separate groups of people involved in the study of folk literature. First there are performers who as tradition bearers carry a large repertoire of folksongs and folktales. Most of the performers are Korea-born first generation immigrants. They are well known only within their local communities. Events such as the Chaoxianzu Storytelling Competition assist collectors and scholars in discovering the hidden folk artists. Most of the well-known Chaoxianzu performers today are in their late seventies and early eighties.

Chaoxianzu scholars and collectors of folk literature categorize these performers into three types: literary, artistic, and "maternal-style" performers (Gim 1999:365-371). The literary performers are people with a certain degree of educational background. These performers are familiar with Chaoxian literature and history, and often draw their story subjects from well-known historical events and people. The artistic performers are those who lack education, some being illiterate, but exhibit special talent in their singing and storytelling skills. Many of the artistic performers carry prosimetric style narrative songs in their repertoire. The third category of Chaoxianzu performers is based on gender. The "maternal-style" performers are described as women performers whose stories and songs lack "personal creativeness," but whose stories tend to exhibit "more oral qualities due to the lack of education and social interaction." 25 The performances of first two types of performers are described by Chaoxianzu scholars and collectors as "dynamic" whereas the women's performances are "conservative." 26

The second group of the Chaoxianzu folk literature community is the collectors who go out into the field and record stories and songs from the performers. The goal of
Chaoxianzu collectors is to gather the many stories and songs for preservation through publications. Often, the collectors of Chaoxianzu folk literature are members of the local folk literature association. These people are not folklorists in the Western academic sense. They do, however, have relatively high educational background and have their own careers. They do not actively conduct analysis of Chaoxianzu folk literature. Their goal is preservation.

In China, the third group—literary folklorists, carries out the theoretical study of Chaoxianzu oral traditions. However, scholars of Chaoxianzu oral literature generally do not participate in fieldwork for two reasons. These scholars are usually professors of Chaoxianzu literature and culture, and carry teaching responsibilities that prevent them from freely participating in fieldwork. The lack of funding also poses as an impediment for conducting fieldwork. Therefore, most Chaoxianzu scholars utilize the collector's published materials as primary source material for their research.

The three groups discussed above form a very delicate structure in what Lauri Honko terms as the "folklore process" (Honko 2000:3-54). In that process, from actual performance, to textualization, and ultimately to the analysis of the recorded or reported performance (Fine:1984), stories and songs are exposed to three levels of political and subjectivism.

When a performer sings a song or tells a story, his or her performance becomes a tool in which the performer projects a set of values such as identity, worldview, and attitudes (Dégh 1995:41-43). The performance process, the process involving steps such as selection and performance sequence of stories and songs, appears to be formed both randomly and instantaneously by the performer, however it is carefully rendered to
express the performer's ideals and values (Degh 1995: 39-43). Performance is an opportunity for storytellers and folksingers to artistically express their thoughts and opinions. One of the popular issues addressed in Chaoxianzu storytelling is a lesson on morality aimed towards the young. In addition to their entertainment purpose, stories and songs are also rendered to transmit and express the encoded messages of performers such as respecting elders, and honoring parents. In this sense, a performer's selections of stories ideally reflect the performer's intentions or "agenda."

Chaoxianzu folklore collectors are often part of the audience while they are "collecting" performances and they also function as editors in the folklore process. An ideal performer, from the point of view of a Chaoxianzu collector, is a person with a large "reportable repertoire." The criteria used by the collectors to define whether a story or song is "reportable" is based upon the amount of "Chaoxianzu characteristics" contained within a given song or story. The standard for which the content of a story is evaluated appears to be very subjective. An example of this subjectivity can be found in the "Story of the Red Cross," discussed in Chapter Four. The quantity of stories or songs in a performer's repertoire is also an important factor in a collector's decision to pursue the recording of a performance. According to Chaoxianzu collectors, performer with over one hundred songs or stories is considered as a "mingan gusulja" (minjian koushuzhe in Chinese), loosely translated as a "folk performer." The primary goal of a collector is to record as many "reportable" stories as possible for publication, and therefore repertoire size is crucial in choosing informants.

Chaoxianzu folklore collectors are the ones who discover the "hidden" folklore performers in the Chaoxianzu communities. The relationship between Chaoxianzu
performers and the folklore collectors is multidimensional--intimate yet contentious. The intimacy between the two groups arises from their close interaction and mutual respect as some of the collectors and performers are a part of the same community, or became familiar during performances. Performers view the collectors as educated scholars who give scholarly recognition to stories and songs that are often conceptualized as marginal due to the lack of performance opportunity today. Performers are usually older in age, and the collectors consider them as tradition bearers. Chaoxianzu collectors also function as a bridge between the outsiders, or foreign scholars, and the performers. Scholars from South Korea, Germany, and Japan have already carried out interviews with many Chaoxianzu performers in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture through local folk literature collectors. Thus, such local collectors play a pivotal role in negotiating the existence of Chaoxianzu oral literature in the imaginations of academia both in China and abroad.

The source of the conflict between the collectors and the performers arises from the two groups' differences in their motivation and views on performance. Collectors are editors who have the authority to evaluate the repertoire of a performer by including or excluding certain stories or songs in their publication. Chaoxianzu performers are aware of the role collector carry out in publication of oral literature, and try to manipulate the publication process by performing specific types of stories and songs. The assertion of a performer's ideas may conflict with the collectors' own agenda and standards. A collector may not agree with a performer's judgement on the importance of a song or a story.

The standard for what is collectable is closely related to political, social, and market factors. The political factor is self-explanatory. Different political periods have
created contexts for the preference of folk literature on certain themes. The political preference became the guideline for the collectors, causing other thematic stories or songs to neglected or wholly ignored. One example is the Chaoxianzu collections of folk literature published during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) which amount to little more than political praise poems of Chairman Mao and the Cultural Revolution.

Based on my observation, interviews, and class discussions with Chaoxianzu scholars and collectors, there appears to be two levels politics involved in publishing certain categories of folk stories and folksongs, especially in multiethnic countries like China. On a broad level, the collection and publication of folk literature is tied with the central political ideology that propagates itself through the familiar and local discourse among ethnic people. On a more localized level, the publication of folk literature collections by an ethnic group exerts and establishes the group's identity and values among the many nationalities. Social and market factors are closely linked in establishing the criterion for publication of folk literature. Collectors prefer stories and songs considered as "important," "popular," and "marketable" by the readers, and these stories or songs are given the priority for publication.

On the other side of the equation, conflicts between the scholars and the collectors of folk literature appear less conspicuous. Chaoxianzu collectors and scholars are familiar with each other's work, and both groups recognize the accomplishments each other in the field of folk literature. Both groups have a common interest, the study of Chaoxianzu folk literature and folk customs. They are considered as "experts" in the study of Chaoxianzu folk tradition. The conflict arises from the difference in how they approach folk literature. Scholars are a "theory-oriented" group who usually "lack" the
first hand experience in actual folk literature fieldwork, whereas the collectors are considered by the scholars as a group who lack the theoretical background in analyzing recorded works.

From actual performance to scholarly analysis, orally performed stories or songs of the Chaoxianzu are subjected to levels of manipulation by the performer, the collector, and the scholar. The end result is the publication of textualized versions of Chaoxianzu oral traditions. The issues of the methodology of textualization have not been a subject of debate between Chaoxianzu collectors and scholars though the subject of proper collecting and editing has been discussed by a number of folklorists including the eminent Zhong Jingwen (Zhong 1999). Most of the published oral traditions in Chaoxianzu communities are written in the standard language and grammar of Chaoxianzu, which was modeled after North Korean standard. The reason for such standardization is to prevent any misunderstanding due to differences in dialect within the Chaoxianzu communities. Such editing also provides a form of censorship to block any obscene or vulgar stories or songs from reaching Chaoxianzu children.

G. CONCLUSION

A great number of collections have been published on Chaoxianzu oral traditions (publications such as Jeong Gilwun 1962, Bak Changmuk 1982, Yi Yongdeuk 1984 to name a few), and undoubtedly, these works have formed the basis for various academic pursuits such as comparative studies of ethnic folk literature. The various categorizations introduced in this chapter are just an example on how oral traditions are studied within China and within the Chaoxianzu ethnic group. Chaoxianzu scholarship on oral
traditions is a complex web of theories and scholarships from both inside and outside of China. Due to the constant influx of scholarly influences, Chaoxianzu folk literature academic scenery is in transition. A prime example of the influence of new approaches from outside of the local Chaoxianzu academy is that of "performance theory." Until very recently, performance theory was not a part of the local Chaoxianzu scholarship, but has now piqued the interest of some Chaoxianzu folk literature scholars. Regardless of scholarly approaches pursued by the Chaoxianzu scholars, the important aspect in the collection, compilation, and study of Chaoxianzu folk literature by Chaoxianzu scholars is their recognition and construction of their communities' own characteristics in its oral traditions.
1. Longjingshi is considered as the foundation of the Chaoxianzu culture. As a part of my study, I was given a tour of some of the historically important sites.

2. This story was told by Professor Piao Changmo, a member of the Yanbian Chaoxianzu Minsu Xuehui, who guided me on my visit to Longjingshi.

3. This is another story told by Professor Piao Changmo excursion. According to him, these stories are from his perspective very crucial in understanding Chaoxianzu folklore.

4. The five geographical groups are Northeast, Northwest, Southwest, Huanan, and Central East.

5. This is based on my informal classes with Professor Piao Changmo and Professor Jin Dongxun.

6. It was pointed out to me that near the Longjingshi, there are over 13 places that have the "long," the dragon, as a part of their names.


8. Professor Piao Changmo, Bak Changmuk in Korean, is a second generation Chaoxianzu. He has spent more than 30 years in studying Chaoxianzu folk literature. His collections include "Balhaejokui Guejonseolhwa," "Sarangsan," "Pagyeongno," and "Bawudolgwa Hyeonbuin." He is considered by both Chaoxianzu and South Korean scholars who have conducted fieldwork in the Yanbian area as an "expert" in Chaoxianzu folk customs and folk literature. The stories in his collections are tradition in both style and their content, adhering to the "characteristics" of Chaoxianzu folk literature.

9. According to the Joseonmal sajeon (Korean Dictionary) published by the Yanbian Renmin Chubanshe (1992), Japga are songs that do not adhere to formal rules or principles. Danga are Korean traditional songs that are sung in Pansori style. Pansori can be explained as a rhythmic and highly stylized form of prosimetric storytelling.

10. Name of the spirit in charge of the east.

11. Looking from west to east.

12. Name of the spirit in charge of the south.

13. Referring to the direction facing north from south.


15. Facing east from west.

17. Facing north from south.

18. The term means officialdoms and riches.

19. Refers to the northwest direction.

20. Bukgando refers to the northeastern part of China, specifically the Heilongjiang, Jinlin, and Liaoning Provinces.

21. Korea has a long history of collection and compilation of oral narratives dating back the late 7th and the early 8th centuries (Grayson 2001:13). The base of the scholarly study of Korean narrative tales, however, is found in Goryeo (Koryo) period (918-1392) when the compilation of Samguk yusa took place (Grayson 2001:14). The study of Korean folk literature in the late 19th and the early 20th involved Western missionaries, both European and North Americans, Japanese, and Koreans. The prominent figure of folk studies in East Asia was Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) who published nearly 100 books and over 1,000 articles in his career (Dorson 1963:4-5). He was influenced by the Finnish historical-geographical method (Dorson 1963:13). This method is one of the scholarly approaches used by Chaoxianzu in folk literature research.

22. Grayson states that during the 1920s and the early 1930s, the study of Korean folk literature by Japanese (the Government-General of Joseon) in Korea intensified, and more materials were collected and published (Grayson 2001:16). The description of the Chaoxianzu folk literary activities during the same period only focuses on collection and compilation of folk literature carried out by Chaoxianzu.

23. Journal dated February 11, 2002. Interview with Mr. Li of Antu County of the Jilin Province.


26. See above endnote.

27. Examples of the local associations are Chaoxianzu Minsu Xuehui, Jilinsheng Minsu Xuehui, and Yanbian Minjian Wenyijia Xiehui to list a few.

28. Based on a discussion with Professor Piao after observing Mr. Li's performance in February 2001. According to Professor Piao, Mr. Li, not satisfied with the selected
"publications" by collectors of his songs and stories, he tried to publish his own collection.


30. Based on Chaoxianzu collectors' discussion on Mr. Li's repertoire size. See Gim 1999:348-364 for detailed categorization of performers.

31. Based on my interview with Professor Jin Dongxun (Gim Donghun). Not recorded.

32. It is not clear whether this practice is based on an official rule. All the collections of Chaoxianzu folk literatures, however, follow the standard Chaoxianzu language modeled after North Korea, and lack vulgar stories.
CHAPTER 3

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES:
STORIES OF CHAOXIANZU IDENTITY AND HISTORY

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses personal experience narrative performances of Chaoxianzu storytellers. In her dissertation fieldwork research in the Yanbian area between 1990 to 1993, Heo-Rahn Park (1996) collected a number of personal experience narratives (mostly narratives of migration both internal and external) of the Chaoxianzu. Park's work focuses on the construction of identity and nationality of Korean migrants in the context of PRC state narrative on Chaoxianzu history in comparison with the narratives of Chaoxianzu. She also discusses the emerging identity of Chaoxianzu migrants in South Korea. The narratives of Chaoxianzu translated in Park's dissertation share some of the key thematic points such as migration, desperation, adaptation and survival with the narratives of Mr. Jin and a part of Mr. Li discussed in this chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the identity, or characteristics, of Chaoxianzu expressed in the personal experience narratives. Additionally, this chapter is a base in examining "Chaoxianzu-ness" in other genres of folk literature discussed in following chapter.
In my search for Chaoxianzu storytellers, I became acquainted with seven performers in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. They are not professional performers who depend on their performances for a living; they are more like next door neighbors who knew good stories and told them well. They will deny of being "performers," claiming that they are just uneducated farmers and housewives. These Chaoxianzu men and women appear to be just people who know various songs and stories. However, when their "story pouch" (viyagi jaru in Korean), and "song bags" (norae gabang in Korean)¹ open up and as the excitement (heung in Korean, xing in Chinese) increases, they adopt the role of performers.

Most of these performers are the first generation immigrants who came to China as a part of the "immigrant corps" under the Japanese rule. Their history in China is relatively short compared with other ethnic groups, but these first generation immigrants are the basis on which the Chaoxianzu culture and tradition are sustained. They also carry the responsibility of transmitting their tradition to the next generation Chaoxianzu. The three of the seven storytellers have participated in a Chaoxianzu storytelling competition sponsored by the local folklore association. I paid multiple visits to two of them; Mr. Li of Antu County of the Jilin Province, and Mr. Jin of Wangqing County of the Jilin Province. Both of them are farmers. Mr. Li is retired, but Mr. Jin still works on land. Mr. Li and Mr. Jin claim that they did not receive any form of formal education. ² Mr. Li is semiliterate in Korean, being only able to write what he calls "the old ways." ³ He is able to read Korean and he spends much of his time reading various storybooks in Korean. His fluency in Chinese is unclear. He seems to be able to interact with some of his non-Chaoxianzu neighbors and able to write some Chinese characters. According to
Mr. Li, both him and his wife's Chinese have improved since they moved out of the old residence where most of the villagers were Chaoxianzu.

Mr. Jin, on the other hand, is multilingual. He is able to communicate in Russian, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean. He has received an elementary school education before he was drafted into the Japanese military. He is not originally from the village in which he currently resides. His present village was founded by a body of 1,000 immigrant corps in 1935. Of the original 1,000 first generation immigrants, about 17 of them were still living there when I visited. Mr. Jin is well known in his community for his storytelling and singing skills.

Early morning of January 28 of 2001, accompanied by Professor Piao Changmo, a member of the Yanbian Chaoxian Minsuxuehui (Yanbian Chaoxian Folklore Association), I left Yanjishi and headed for a place called Wangqingshi, located about 86 kilometers northeast from Yanjishi. We were joined by another person, a guide and also a member of the Yanbian Chaoxian Minsuxuehui, at Wangqingshi and headed for Mr. Jin's home. After riding on a town minibus for two hours, we arrived in the village where Mr. Jin lives. Professor Piao had a letter sent to Mr. Jin informing him of our arrival days before since he doesn't have a telephone, but the letter didn't arrive in time.

The village consists of approximately 400 households. These houses are built in rows resembling military barracks with small dirt alleyways running between the rows. After getting off the bus, we walked over to the village elders' club (Laorenhui in Chinese) to locate Mr. Jin. Many village old men were inside playing cards and Chinese chess games, but Mr. Jin wasn't among them. One of the old men volunteered to take us to Mr. Jin's house, which was located just down the street from the Laorenhui building.
When we entered his home, he was on his knees on the raised cement floor writing. He was very surprised and also glad to see Mr. Piao and the guide. We asked what he was writing so arduously. He replied that he was writing all the lyrics of the songs in his repertoire at the request of his fellow members at the village Laoenhui in order to preserve the songs after Mr. Jin passes away. After a brief introduction, since all three of them have had prior relations, we explained to Mr. Jin the reason for our "sudden" visit.

After everyone became situated, storytelling performance began. The performance did not begin with telling of stories but with normal conversation among people, as "personal experience narratives are the stories from conversation and imply a particular point of view" (Epstein 1993:18, Linden 193:139). Mr. Jin and his audience talked about the weather, his health, the house, some village events, and other topics. Mr. Jin began by talking about his birthplace, reason for immigrating, and where he first settled in China.

Personal experience narratives are a form of folklore (Epstein 1993:17, Lloyd and Mullen 1990:xxiv). Mullen states that "personal experience narrative are traditional in terms of their content and structure: people tend to make stories out of incidents that the culture defines as significant (1992:4). Mr. Jin's personal experience narrative focused on his experiences as a Japanese soldier and the four years he spent in Russia as a prisoner of war during WW II period. Stories such as Mr. Jin's "provide a way by which to explore local identity and the past upon which that identity is built" (Webber 1991: xix). Personal experience narratives are told for many reasons. One of the outstanding reasons, as Stahl states, is that "through personal experience stories teller articulate and test the values that identify ourselves" (1983:274). Mr. Jin's recount of his past was the
longest story among his repertoire. The detailed account and the elaborated development of Mr. Jin's personal narrative show the "active self-fashioning process of remembering and editing" (Epstein 1993:1, Linden 1993:139). Mr. Jin, by using anecdotes from his past that reflected the life of many Chaoxianzu in China during Japan's war against both Chinese and Russian forces in the early 20th Century, he told his audience who he, as a Chaoxianzu, was.

In his narrative, Mr. Jin is sharing his worldview, the values he cherishes, and most of all, the identity of himself as a Chaoxianzu person. Mullen sees folk tradition as "a resource through which a person can work out then project to others a certain changing self-image" (Mullen 1992:3). Character building is an important aspect of personal experience narratives as the image of narrator and how the narrator wants others to view him or herself determines "what themes occur in the stories, how the story is structured, and the way it is performed" (Mullen 1992:277). Unlike other genres of folk literature, personal experience narratives provide a discourse where the teller and the character in the story are the same person bounded in a temporal continuum. The past experience of Mr. Jin becomes a part of his identity as one of the immigrant generation Chaoxianzu.

Mr. Jin's narrative is consisted of numerous short episodes (Labov 1972). Throughout his story, the performer was actively processing the "tellability." The definition of "tellability," according to Amy Shuman is "a social criterion; an experience may be storyable in its remarkableness but not tellable in a particular situation to a particular audience" (Epstein 1993:27, Shuman 1986:2). The teller is making a rapid conscious selection among his "topics," and presenting them in a coherent chronological order to his audience. The manner in which the personal narratives are presented is
dependent on the authority of the teller. In this case, the story followed a chronological and first person point of view, frequently switching between "I" and "we."

B. PERSONAL EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES IN PERFORMANCE

The following is a portion of an interview made with Mr. Jin in January 2001 at his home in Hamatang village. Professor Piao Changmo and Mr. Jin Yi (a member of the Yanbian folklore association) led the interview in which I participated. The translation is based on my transcription of Mr. Jin's storytelling performance.

In order to facilitate a systematic and detailed examination of Mr. Jin's lengthy personal experience narrative, I have divided the story into twelve episodes, preceded or followed by a brief analysis. The criterion for each episode is guided by change of topics in the story and by William Labov’s (1972:362-375) episodic strategy—orientation, complication, climax, and coda. The episodic division used in this chapter is only for analysis purpose and does not reflect the style of the actual performance. Mr. Jin's rendition of the story is as follows:

Piao: Why don't we first listen to grandfather's (referring to Mr. Jin) life story. Where in Joseon (Chaoxian in Chinese) are you from, why did you come here (meaning China), where have you been to in China, how much education, and so on.

Mr. Jin: I originally live 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. My father unable to support his six sons with his day to day labor alone, decided to immigrate to China. We came to a place called Najago. That was, e, really, March or April of 37 (referring to 1937).
Piao: 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.

**Episode One**

Mr. Jin's story begins with his immigration to China and rapidly develops into an account of receiving a physical exam for the draft. Most of his childhood is not mentioned. The complication of action (Labov 1972:363) of his personal life begins with the passing of the military physical exam.

So, over there (referring to his hometown in China), really, at age fifteen, first graduated from elementary school! After I graduated, became a draft age. Eh, turned draft age. So came to receive a physical examination. So, received military physical exam, in Japanese, gogaku, e, passed the exam, physically. So, passed the exam, e, really, where did I receive training? A placed called Makseok in Gilim. So, received a three-month period training at a place called Makseok. It was June of 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 (Manzouli in Chinese) and then is the border with Soviet Union.

The passing of the physical exam is the turning point of his life as he repeats the event numerously. Repetition, one of Bauman's keys to performance (Bauman 1986:15-24) has dual functions in this paragraph. Repetition, in addition to emphasize the important events, it becomes the mechanics in which the story lines develop. Each line is built on the previous line by repeating the already stated facts with an addition of new story element. For example, in the above paragraph describing what happened after he
graduated, Mr. Jin says "So, came to receive a physical examination." Next line, Mr. Jin repeating the previously stated fact, says "So, received military physical exam, in Japanese...." A great portion of his personal experience narrative follows this structure.

His deliberation of the term gokaku links the storytelling event happening in Mr. Jin's home and the narrated event that is (re)-occurring in the minds of the teller and audience. The storyteller makes a choice of linguistic pathways available to him in his community. Muriel Saveille-Troike in her book *The Ethnography of Communication* (1982, rpt.1986), discusses the language choice within the communicative repertoire of a community. According to Saveille-Troike, many factors such as topic, setting, and participants determine the language choice in multilingual communicative contexts (1982: 52-54). She terms "code-switching" to describe the phenomenon of changing language within a single speech event (1982: 61). The employment of code-switching signifies the critical point of the story. Mr. Jin's shifts between Korean, Japanese, Russian, and Chinese not only "arouse and sustain audience attention" (Bender 1999:183) throughout his performance, but they were understood by most of his Chaoxianzu audience who share history and tradition with the storyteller. When combined, code words, language shifts, and other shifts between the "means of performance" (Bauman 1977) create a bond between the teller, his audience, and the narrated event within a shared tradition and identity. "Traditional referentiality," or "metonymic referentiality" (Foley 1995) shared among Mr. Jin and his Chaoxianzu audience is where the words of storyteller become empowered with definitions outside of their literal meanings. For example, the word gokaku to people who lived under Japanese rules brings back not just the memory of the Japanese military experience, but also the emotions, attitudes, and

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their own personal experience from that period. The audience and the storyteller were identifying each other as members of a group through the shared tradition and history. Most of his language shifts into "foreign languages" are immediately re-narrated in Korean, as he is aware of the cultural and generation gap between some of his audience.

Different types of code-switching or language register shifts are common in the daily lives of the Chaoxianzu. Chaoxianzu language shift occurs mainly between Korean and Chinese for younger generations, but for older Chaoxianzu, their speech economy may also include Russian and Japanese depending on their personal history. Mr. Jin's timely employment of register shifts among four different languages not only reveal his skill as a storyteller, but also behaves as the evidence of credibility on his narrative.

The narration continues from passing of the physical exam to a 3-month military training. The climax of the "first episode" is Mr. Jin's first battle experience. He humorously recalls the disastrous retreat of the Japanese army after being attacked by the Soviet tanks and warplanes.

I went there as a gunner since I was in good health. Total of 48 people went. After about two months, the war began. On August 9, military planes of 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 from 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 their position. We were retreating to Daehangnyeong (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 these firepower 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.

Mr. Jin's first battle experience turns out to be an overreaction of the inexperienced soldiers. However, he tells his audience in the beginning of narration that it was his very first battle. Credibility of the story is an important factor in personal experience narratives, especially stories such as Mr. Jin's whose life was greatly changed by the historical events. The discrepancy between the actual facts of an event and one's perception of the event is introduced and resolved through use of two temporal perspectives-- the point of views of Mr. Jin as a young man serving in the Japanese military and the point of view of Mr. Jin telling stories of his past. Mullen states that personal experience narratives are told in the way that "the past is viewed from the perspective of the present" (1992:3). Although Mr. Jin's story is told from the perspective of the present, within his story he introduces his perspective from the past when he was a young man in the Japanese military. The audience of Mr. Jin is being manipulated between two different temporal perspectives as the storyteller chose to render his story in such manner. He continues with his story of the military retreat.

Everyone else was sent to Daehangryeong from Hailar before us. We had a few cars (unclear), therefore we rode on 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 last one of two days. Cars were destroyed in bombing. We had to walk. Since everything was destroyed, we couldn't carry much. (unclear) enemy thanks 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 wrong way, they would hit here and make the gun fall down, then you would be beaten again and again. It was that strict during training. Once 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 about ten li like life and death. 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 pick up helmets that were thrown away by the Japanese military who passed through before us, put boots on, and thought of rifles came so 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 rearms, so in a week, walking at night since we couldn't walk much during the day, reached Daehangryeong.

Daehangryeong although had lot of Japanese cedars, but that place had lots of pine trees. That place also had big mountains. There were 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 nineteen years serving in military. So I am very well aware of Joseon people's personalities and characteristics as if I am one of you. Japan in its history has never lost in war. We are only temporarily retreating due to the military strategic reasons, but our military is attacking from Vladivostock, therefore do not be scared. Japan is the land of the spirit kamisama, it is impossible for us to lose! Do not be scared and fight!" He ordered us like that.

As the story develops, Mr. Jin is asserting more register shifts to increase the "reality" in his narrative. The references of place names and the use of Japanese words are familiar to his audience and increase the "credibility" of the narrative. The register shifts between characters in his story are made quickly which increases the non-fictional quality of the story in addition to exhibiting the storyteller's skill. The employment of rhetorical questions also adds another performance quality, which enhances the curiosity
and anxiety in his audience. Questions such as "can you imagine how rushed we felt?" and "do you know how many soldiers were there in Daehangryeong?" are used rather instead of statements such as "we were really anxious, or there were so many soldiers" to draw in audience to the story.

**Episode Two**

The second episode begins with his survival of his first battle. He walks back and rejoins his Japanese military base at Daehangryeong, a mountain hill.

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

So, sun was rising so I rested for a while. Finally that time, meal during that time, so-called nigirimeshi in Japanese, a rice ball, e, one nigirimeshi was given. So (I) ate it. So that nigirimeshi, wrapped in, in Japanese nori, seaweed. It was given one per person. An apricot called anse, that apricot, in Japanese is hiroma, it looked like the Japanese flag was wrapped. White outside and red inside...(laugh). It resembled the flag (Japanese flag). No side dishes, only that. (more 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 came. 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 tree forest where no one can be seen to rest a bit." So, during the battle, we went in to the woods and lay 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.

In this section, Mr. Jin chooses to introduce the names of his two best friends. These names do not become important to Mr. Jin's story until the later part of the story.

The storyteller is gradually building up story plots by inserting "storyablility" (Shuman
1986:2) elements throughout his story. Small elements such as specific names and quoting other people become key factors in building up the teller's story structure and the climatic lines. In the episodes one and two, the image of young Mr. Jin is portrayed as innocent, even naïve. He is described as "running scared" and "napping in the middle of a battle." The main purpose of the two episodes is to build the bases on which the characterization of Mr. Jin as a person can take place, as he becomes older and more experienced.

Episode Three

The third episode of the story is highlighted with numerous code-switching. In this section, the anxiety of audience increases due to the possibility of Mr. Jin's near death experience. His audience is well aware of Mr. Jin's survival through the war due to the "self-same identity of the teller and the story's main character" (Stahl 1989:15). Mr. Jin's story gains its "storyability" in the eyes of his audience because the audience is hidden from the detailed facts leading to the conclusion-- Mr. Jin's return home.

We went down to this valley (unclear). Our military unit was there. They were setting up and making supper. 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 a line with a bottle of beer (pijiu). "This is saigono sake, the last drink." So gave a shot of saigono sake and then gave each person on sino 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, e, 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 that 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....

The main character in the narrative is constantly faced with the fear of losing his life. He is caught between the "enemy" as he calls the Russians, and the Japanese military that is asking him to give up his life for Yamatotamashi. Mr. Jin explains the term Yamatotamashi as the spirit of Japan. He moves his story to the end of the third episode-- his survival even after drinking three last cup of wine.

This way we were moving up the mountain. Whoever was carrying artillery shells would continue to carry them, whoever carried bullets carried bullets. Since we were in Mongolia, there were many camels, we were just passed Hailar in Inner Mongolia. Camels walk well in 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 front, and in the back were officers with pistols guarding us from running away. If there was any one who fell behind, or sliding to a side, they would shoot that person right there. So no matter what, biting down on your tong 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, sounds of tanks, bung bung warang warang, and automobile engine sound came. I thought we were to die then.

The Japanese had shovels this big, worked really well. Tree roots under certain size got chopped easily with that. That made digging very easy. We dug holes and hid inside. We did that to live. (unclear) The counteroffensive trenches were built in the way that they were under the ground. So when the enemy, without knowing they were there, would go over them. Once the enemy has passed, then 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.

Escape is a repeated desire in Mr. Jin's narrative. He thinks about running away many times, but is unable to carry out until an incident that denies him of any other way to survive. From the previous images of being innocent and naïve, the main character in the narrative is becoming stronger as he struggles to survive. Gradually, the narrator is
introducing to his audience the events and contexts in which that shaped and formed the identity of his main character.

**Episode Four**

The fourth episode begins with his attempt to run away from his military post. The main character sees an opportunity to escape and takes his chance since his survival seems bleak. Compared with the previous episodes, the main character is slowly struggling to take control over his own fate. Survival is one of the main themes in Mr. Jin's narrative, and the episodes three and four clearly show the intense conditions in which the main character experienced and survived.

One day, some military men were fixing a car and set up a small fire. They were making lot of noise. They made us line up in front of the fire and gave us that saigono sake and two shensaiddai. One for throwing and one for short distance. I thought 'yei ssi, dam it, no matter what I am going to die. I should at least make a run for my life.' And then I placed the tank bomb near a fire next to a jeep and pretended to go to bathroom. About twenty meters away, people who were working on that jeep not knowing I placed the tank bomb 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 for. I kept on going. I reached a foot of this mountain, there was a small stream running. It was pass the 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 were 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 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 these talks, 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....

That 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, well since it was 15th of August, any melons and watermelons we can 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 they could hold 200,000 military men. In that (referring to Daehangryeong) backward tiny rural place couldn't hold that many people. So, we were told to grab whatever we can carry from the 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 lǐ from there (unclear). Walking 10, 20, 30 lǐ (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 was some scenery.

So far, Mr. Jin's story is rendered in a descriptive fashion, explaining the passing of the military physical exam, his first battle experience, and surviving the war.

Beginning with the episode five, the focus of Mr. Jin's narrative includes racism, hunger, cultural conflict, and the struggle for survival. Hunger becomes the main story theme in this section. One's survival is now linked to finding and locating food. Food custom is an important part of defining one's culture and identity. This fact becomes very clear in this episode when a Japanese officer makes a remark on Mr. Jin's statement.
After placing us there, first two to three days, they fed us this Russian bread. (unclear) 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 horse made the Joseon people to cut this barangyi 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 serve 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 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. Three of us, we thought 'it might be safer to stay in, we could get killed so easily out there.' So we were inside. Do you know what a Japanese officer said? Looking down on the Joseon people, since we were looking everywhere for food, "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 rice or millet. So, we said we don't care we would eat cooked millet until we could feel full. The Japanese military didn't give millet in their military rations. They would mix barley but never millet, or sorghum, only rice. Since we said we would even eat millet, he said "hantojino kusei ha shigataganai," translated 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.

In the above paragraphs, Mr. Jin reveals to his audience the characteristic of himself as a young man who were trapped in a situation once again where he cannot have a control over his own fate. He thinks about running away again but he is afraid of what could happen to him if he does. The main character in the story becomes more intimate with the audience as the narrator introduces him in a more vulnerable state. The vulnerability, as Stahl states, comes from the teller's willingness to be judged on testing
the practical, moral, social, and esthetical values of his own (Stahl 1983:274). Unlike performance of folktales and folksongs, the personal experience narratives involve two levels of evaluation of the performer--the evaluation of storytelling skills and the evaluation of the performer as a person in a community with a certain set of social values.

Racism becomes an issue in this section as the main character's response on eating millet causes such reaction on the Japanese officer. Except for Mr. Jin's way of narrating the Japanese as "Il bon nom" in Korean, roughly meaning "the wretched Japanese," his story doesn't show any strong animosity against the Japanese up to this episode. In his fieldwork study with commercial fishermen on Lake Erie, Mullen finds both the group and individual perspectives on the fishermen's identity as an important source in understanding the complex web of forming and maintaining the occupational identity. He suggests that the "occupational identity comes both from within and from conflict with others" (Mullen 1990:125).

Mr. Jin's narrative, although does not concern of occupational identity, exhibits the in-group and out-group dynamics. The identity of the Joseon (Chaoxian) people are defined by the "direct conflict with other group," the Japanese men. The statement hantojino kusei ha shigataganai indicates the "negative stereotype" that the Japanese men had of the Joseon (Chaoxian) men. Mr. Jin doesn't defend his culture against the offensive remark of the Japanese military officer, which left his audience in a wonder and dissatisfied state. The dissatisfaction of his audience is answered in the later passage when the situation overturns and the Joseon (Chaoxian) people become in charge of the prisoner of war work camp.
Episode Five

In this episode, Mr. Jin and the Japanese prisoner of war are transferred to Siberia. In the passage, it becomes clear why the narrator previously recalled the names of his two friends, Kakoyama and Karaomi. These two men, since mentioned in the earlier episode in the story have not yet played a significant role in Mr. Jin's life until the following section. The code-switching from Korean to Russian displays Mr. Jin's performance skills. It is a part of the narrator's rhetorical strategies that "holds the attention of younger listeners so that lessons can be communicated and self-esteem can be enhanced" (Mullen 1992:274).

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. The train instead of getting out of there, we 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. (unclear) 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 "lucheluka" (romanized as rchka) and what else, "milala" (m'ilo in romanization). milala means soap, lucheluka 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 (referred to it as "rice cake") made out of potato. Siberia had lot of potatoes. A bar of soap would get you that bread, a fountain pen would get you a loaf of bread, we continued our lives this way. But that can only last so long, after exchanging all, we started giving (unclear). They were on one to one exchange bases. 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!
Three of us, Kakoyama and us, we were hungry and thirsty. We went into (unclear) things were piled up there. They turned out to be dry, peeled fish. Three of us ate them up as much as we could. We were so thirsty we drank water until our stomach became distended. We spent the night outside. The others were fine except I started having a diarrhea. I went to 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, bleeding too. The Japanese were really scared of dysentery. They isolated me from others. Others were sharing blankets, but I was alone.

The narration continues as Mr. Jin talks about the conditions in which all the civilized human values are lost. Humanity becomes luxury, and only way to survive is through an animalistic instinct. In this bleak condition, his friends risk receiving punishment in order to save Mr. Jin. Friendship is what Mr. Jin sees as one of the most important achievements in a person's life. Here, Mr. Jin is sharing a value he has learned from his experience with his audience.

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 bharaengi (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.

Episode Six

Mr. Jin's personal experience narrative continues. He is ill and placed in a situation where he has to decide his own fate.
This way for a week (unclear).... An order came down to send in sick people to a dorm (inside of a building) first. My commander Nomura said, "the Soviet people are ordering for 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 then. Take this precious medicine and don't go in." Listening and thinking, 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 being transferred. My two friends supporting my arms, jik jik, dragged me to the hospital and placed me there. "Doktoreu" (doktor in romanization of Russian), doctor pulled out my tong 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. (laugh from the audience) 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 that many people who just came into the hospital like me, some must have died already. My eyes caught few corps being moved out on gurneys. I thought 'I am going to be just like that!' I looked up at the moon and suddenly thoughts on my hometown, my parents, and my siblings came about. Without realizing... my pillow was soaked. I had lot of tears back then.

The climax of this episode itself is an emotional part for the narrator as he recalls the emotional moment, however the main character's emotional devastation causes his audience to laugh. The reason for the "deviation" between the story and the interpretation of the story arises from the fact that the story is a personal experience narrative where the teller and the story character are one entity. The emotional state of the past is viewed through the perspective of the present as a misconceived overreaction.

This passage shows Mr. Jin's opinion on the value of a person. Mr. Jin was 78 years old when this performance was carried out. He was still carrying out the daily chores of a farmer even though it was not necessary. He believes he should be working as long as he is able to do so. He equates his reason to live with his ability to work. The self-reliance, both physically and mentally, is one of the most cherished values Mr. Jin
holds. When this quality is threatened, he rebels against his commander's order. His rebellion, although voiceless, shows the strengthening of his character as a person. He faced death many times previously and each time he struggled to save his life. This time he chooses to face his fate.

Mr. Jin's sudden thoughts on his home and his family play a key role in connecting with his Chaoxianzu audience. Nostalgia is one of the key themes rendered in the Chaoxianzu folktales and folksongs. Up until this episode, most of Mr. Jin's narration was descriptive, lacking the emotional status of the main character. Gradually, the narrator is introducing his personal thoughts and emotions to his audience. As the story develops, the relationship between the narrator and the audience becomes intimate. Mr. Jin survives through dysentery and he is discharged from the hospital.

(After a while) I thought "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 or three days have 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 off my top and pants off and placed them on the bath 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.

Episode Seven

Beginning with the next episode, the focus of Mr. Jin's story takes his audience to different issues such as cultural conflict, complex social interactions with not only Russians, but with "Russian madams." The subject of sexuality is one of the more dangerous topics for a storyteller to render, especially to a mixed gender audience. Stories with sexual nuance, according to Chaoxianzu folklore collectors, can easily
damage the reputation of the storyteller in his or her community. Mr. Jin decides to talk about his social and sexual interactions to his audience through many different channels. The following episode begins with his work assignments at a meat-canning factory and at a paper-mill.

After 15 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 ceiling turning this way. You place a lamb or a cow on the hook from the rail. Usually lambs stopped crying. Everyone (Russians) working there was female. Each of the workers was assigned to a specific duty. One who drained blood from the necks of these animals 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...(laugh). 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 people go on a train. On that train among the ill soldiers, an old high ranking Japanese military officer was there. Heading East after 6 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 taken to a paper-mill. What did they make us do? Cut off any rotten parts of logs, (unclear), and then placed logs on saw machine, it sliced logs. Each time a log was cut, you pour water on the saw....

Within 5 days working there, the weather turned cold. It already became winter. The food they were giving us was neither porridge nor rice. It was just thick gruel. They were giving 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 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 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 was coming 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.

Mr. Jin's character is becoming more daring. His fear of death lessens as the story continues. He is becoming more adaptive to his environment as his daring actions show.

The young Mr. Jin in this episode meets a Russian "madam", as he calls most of the Russian women in his story.

Episode Eight

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 have passed still no sign of this Joseon person. "Yei," 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.

As a prisoner of war in Russia, Mr. Jin's world begins to change from his position under the Japanese military. He is given privilege to enter the boiler room when others are not allowed. He interacts with the local people and begins his adaptation process by learning to speak Russian. The narrator is now concentrating on the building blocks of characteristics of the main character in his narrative; separating him from others through the special treatment he has received from the Russian people.

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 a 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 Vladivostock when he was 19. When we meet 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.

The Chaoxian immigrant that Mr. Jin refers to as "Abai" in the story becomes the link between the young Mr. Jin and his new environment.

(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 near by place passed by, they would call out, "hey, Kkareseukki!"

The "conclusion" of the incident involving the Japanese officer who asked Mr. Jin whether he would eat three meals of millet described in the episode four takes place.

From the audience's response, the temporal gap between the development and the conclusion of an incident behaved as a special effect in Mr. Jin's story. The narrator may render the story in such way that the conclusion immediately follows the development of an event, however the immediate link would not be as effective. The narration since the development of the incident taught the audience that a person's future and fate is unknown, therefore a person should not be abusive of one's current, but momentary
authority and privilege. The reaction from Mr. Jin's audience indicated the success of such narrative structure. With the change of time and politics, ethnic identity that has been given grief to the Joseon (Chaoxian) people in the Japanese military becomes the marker of the privileged people.

Episode Nine

Sometimes madams would drop by to play. They kept on coming to play. Wa, I came to this land, in Joseon customs, bragging about a woman reflects smallness, if I get involved with 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 is 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, water was only given just enough for the 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.

The separation of the Joseon (Chaoxian) people from the rest of the Japanese military indicates the outsiders' awareness of the different ethnic and national identity between the Joseon (Chaoxian) people and the Japanese men. Mr. Jin implies that perhaps the change of the status was due to his connection to Russian madams and the old carpenter.

In the beginning of the episode, Mr. Jin briefly mentions propositions from some of the Russian women. He dismisses any interaction between him and the Russian women in two ways. First, he refers to his own cultural customs in developing a sexual relationship with the opposite sex. He talks about how bragging about one's women is
viewed as a taboo in his culture. Secondly, he finds the lack of his knowledge on the local language and culture as a reason for his passive response to the Russian women.

On the surface, his dismal relationships with foreign women appear innocent with no other hidden agenda, however, as he continues his story, Mr. Jin's motivation behind the mentioning of such an incident becomes clear. Mr. Jin is testing the possible "tellibility" of such topic on his audience. He is aware of his own cultural view on the topic, but he finds his social interactions with the Russian women as an important, perhaps entertaining and exciting, part of his life. He changes the subject to the status of the Joseon (Chaoxian) people.

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 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 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 pretended. "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)!

The situation has overturned and the Joseon (Chaoxian) people are made in charge of the Japanese prisoners of war. Mr. Jin's narration on how the Japanese had to be on his good side if they wanted to survive, although told in a joking way, makes a
strong political statement on how the situation has changed. The chain of authority is clearly shown in the story. The characteristics or the qualities of the Joseon (Chaoxian) people are also discussed in this section of the story. Interestingly, these characteristics are defined as the difference between the Joseon (Chaoxian) people and the Japanese soldiers. The four qualities, generous, strong bodied, hard working, and handsome, of the young Joseon (Chaoxian) men attract the eyes of Russian women who are in charge of the workers. Mr. Jin changes from first person point of view "I" to "we," or "Joseon people" on topics such as characteristics of himself and his fellow Joseon (Chaoxian) men in order to distance himself.

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 Vladivostock we were to work 3 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 harms to others. We are all in the same situation...." We didn't harm any Japanese. We felt sorry for them.

Compassion is also one of the qualities of the young Joseon (Chaoxian) men have. Instead of abusing their newly gained authority for revenge, Mr. Jin describes the Joseon (Chaoxian) people as being sympathetic toward the Japanese men. Mr. Jin repeats the Russian madams' approach to the Joseon (Chaoxian) men twice already in his narration. The first contact was dismissed on the bases of cultural and language barriers. This time a political reason becomes an excuse for refusing a relationship.

Episode Ten

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 a little bit of cigarettes and one sip of wine. They put their hands out, but how long and how many cigarettes would last for them? Once in a while feeling bad for them, I would give them a cigarette, one guy
would take it away, 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 rank 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 iegurai iegurai (igrai in romanization of Russian) with us?" But according to our Joseon customs, having such a relationship with a female acquaintance would be considered as a disgrace, shameful act. Therefore, every time they wanted to play, we would come up with an excuse.

Once more, the cultural and customary differences are brought out in order to avoid having relations with the Russian women. Mr. Jin repeatedly mentions the Russian madams' pursuit of the Joseon (Chaoxian) men, however different reasons are brought out to neutralize the possible criticism from his audience. The way Mr. Jin approaches such story saves his reputation as a member of his community as a respectable man by allowing him to show his awareness of the "proper" cultural actions in such situation. Additionally, his initial refusal to engage in relations with the Russian women show his strength in avoiding a socially "disgraceful act." He continues his story of the Russian madams.

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." Once the captain, riding a horse, came to inspect the camp. The madams reported to him what I said. The captain jumped off his horse and took this madam and me. Then he made us hold each other, and said it's okay in Russian.

Mr. Jin's narration focus shifts from avoiding social taboo to legitimizing the actions of the young Mr. Jin and the other Joseon (Chaoxian) men with the Russian
madams beginning with this paragraph. First, Mr. Jin tells his audience that a Russian authority figure has given the permission to the Joseon (Chaoxian) people to fraternize with the Russian women. Authority figures still exert influences on the lives of villagers in small communities like where Mr. Jin resides, and in the eyes of his local audience, the Russian captain's approval signals partial legitimacy on the Joseon (Chaoxian) men's interaction with the Russian women.

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 madams 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 border.

In the above narration, Mr. Jin is providing to his audience the social context on his behavior with the Russian women. He must explain to his audience that in addition to the local authority's approval, why his behavior with the Russian women should not be "evaluated" as disgraceful. He is in a foreign land without a relative. The social hierarchy that existed in his own hometown has been taken away from him. He is adapting to his new environment and the new social customs. As his narration continues, Mr. Jin tells the story from the perspectives of the Russian women.

(And) there were many Russian women. If they had pursuers then they thought of themselves as having values. 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.

The purpose of this paragraph is to introduce the different social customs and cultural practices to his audience to neutralize the degree of social taboo in the perspective of the Chaoxianzu audience. By telling his audience how the Russian women equated having relations to their value, Mr. Jin is telling it was proper to behave as he and other Joseon (Chaoxian) men did within the situation since the local people and their customs allowed such behaviors.

**Episode Eleven**

Mr. Jin recounts other incidents involving other Russian woman. Some parts of his narration are not clear as he decides not to render in details, perhaps due the tellability risk. In the following segment, Mr. Jin is propositioned by a Russian girl "to live" with her. He takes up her offer, but he doesn't elaborate on the end result. He feels very special in Russia as he is given special privileges. In his narration, Mr. Jin's strong nostalgia for Russia is explained.

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 sawing machines. One of the women who was there was a girl named Anna. She said, "I am from Moscow to work here for 3 months. 3 years have passed but I don't see a sign of my return home. I now 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 rubels. One person can live off of 400 rubels. 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-some reasons for 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 cared of and I felt like I belong there.

**Episode Twelve**

In 1948, the months of November and December we were told that Joseon people are going home. All of us were gathered. Out of 160,000 men there were 166 Joseon people; among them I found Kayaomi and Kakoyama. I was so happy to see them alive. We exchanged our home addresses just in case some of us don'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 spread them. 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.

In this final episode of his long narrative, Mr. Jin teaches his audience the moral obligation of a person in paying back one's debt. Mr. Jin was unable to finish his personal narrative on my first visit. After listening to his personal narrative for over an
hour, Mr. Piao politely ask him to tell a "story." Unfortunately, personal narratives are seen as marginal in Chaoxianzu folk studies. Many Chaoxianzu folklore books do not have much information on the storytellers' lives.

C. CONCLUSION

Personal experience narratives of Chaoxianzu discussed above are very often complicated by the intertwining historical events that shaped and changed the lives of the immigrant Chaoxianzu. These are "stories of history" (Webber 1991: 32) that older generation Chaoxianzu tell. The narrative events of such stories present a set of values and attitudes held by the tellers and the communities they come from. Mr. Li's and Mr. Jin's narratives did not have "heroes," both men portrayed themselves simply as people whose lives have been changed by history. Their personal narratives reflect the experiences of the male immigrant generations of Chaoxianzu, experiences that formed the base of Chaoxianzu identity--such as the forced immigration that led thousands of Koreans to Manchuria; the development of wet-rice farming in the Manchurian woodlands; and being drafted into the Japanese military. Both men's intimate narratives provide a window into the personal history of the Chaoxianzu.

Mr. Jin and Mr. Li's personal narrative stories exhibit a remarkable strength of memory. The specific accounts of dates, weather, people, and the detailed description of events display his "authorship" of the story. The some of the detailed facts in his story may or may not be true since "all personal narrative involves a degree of manipulation of the truth of the experience" (Stahl 1989:18). The competency and detailed elaboration of
the narration and reconfirmation of the "facts" in his stories through the shared tradition and history by his Chaoxianzu audience denies any doubt the credibility of his narrative.

The ground rules of performance (Bauman 1977:7-14) in his culture restrained him from elaborating on the events that took place in Russia. In a social context, where both genders are present, stories involving sexual subject matters are considered improper, or even scandalous. Stories based on sexual puns are known as ssangsori (vulgar sounds) and storytellers rarely tap into ssangsori repertoire in front of a mixed gender audience. Storytellers, at least the competent ones, tend to change the taboo part of the stories to fit the setting and the audience without jeopardizing the plot. Mr. Jin once told a story which I had heard before with a modification to alter the taboo part. When asked if he was aware of other versions of the same story, he nodded with a laugh. He admitted that his version was a modified version and he pointed at his female audience for the reason behind his alteration. Audience gender is one part of the social and auto-censorship. Another type of constraint is the age group of the audience. Older people, both men and women, occasionally exchange jokes and songs with sexual innuendo to tease one another, however they do not carry out the same type of performance if younger generations are present.

The main themes of the immigrant male Chaoxianzu personal experience narratives explored in this chapter are characterization (identity), separation (nostalgia), cultural conflict, adaptation, and basic survival. These themes are important in understanding the history and identity of the Chaoxianzu. Such themes are also found in folk literature of Chaoxianzu, and are recognized by Chaoxianzu scholars and folk literature collectors as Chaoxianzu folk literary characteristics.
1. The terms "story pouch" and "song bag" are used by members of the local folklore association when asking the performers to tell stories in their repertoire. In this sense, these terms refer to one's repertoire. It is interesting how they conceptualize the storytelling process as "opening a bag."

2. The educational background of Mr. Jin appears to be a mystery to some of his fellow villagers due to Mr. Jin's ability to speak multiple languages. Mr. Jin also has a teaching experience after he returned from Russia.

3. Mr. Li remarked that the way he writes is how people used write in old days. Examining some of his transcription of songs given to me reveal that although his spelling is grammatically wrong, his writing however follows the sound values very closely. Interestingly, Mr. Li complained of how his transcriptions do not properly reflect the exact sounds of his singing.

4. His fluency in Japanese and Russian are not clear since no one in his audience was fluent in either language. However, he appeared to freely switch between languages during his performance.

5. This information was given to me by one of the villagers. It was recorded on my journal on Jan. 28, 2002.

6. At times when some sensitive issues involving the village matters were discussed, recording was stopped.

7. William Labov sees narratives as structured into episodes, beginning with an orientation, continues with a complication of action, builds into a climax, and then ending with a coda.

8. Mr. Li, just a few years younger than Mr. Jin, fell short of the Japanese military draft age, and was allowed to remain with his family. His personal narrative contains the description of when he first arrived in Manchuria with his family.

I was fourteen years old in 1938. We didn't come individually. Under the Japanese imperialist era, they (referring to Japanese) said Manchuria has vast farmland, anyone can eat well and live well there. Whoever is willing to go should get together. We were poor and had no land. So, that time my family consisted of my father, my mother, two younger siblings, and me total five members together crossed over to China in 1938. So crossed over and landed during a night, at that time "Myeongwoolgukangheung," it was a rural village, really a rural area.... At that time that village didn't have a place for us to settle down, we all trusted them when they told us that land and houses are already available in China, but when
we came, it was a primeval forest...had only twenty to thirty thatched roof
houses. So we were transferred to a placed called "Jangheung" about forty li from
here (his current residence), older people crying carried children, found
themselves in a situation where they can neither go forward nor turn back. So,
without a way out, we decided to go to that place...
CHAPTER 4

CHAOXIANZU PERFORMANCE: STORY, PERFORMERS, AND PERFORMANCE

A. INTRODUCTION

Folklore, Sabra Webber states, "like other aesthetic forms, is rhetorical, dynamic, and adaptive. It is potentially a force for both stability and change, repression and liberation." She continues, "it is a phenomenon that is manipulated by its performer and subject to negotiation by its audience within communally determined bounds." These folklore bounds, Webber explains, can be knocked "askew," when there is "frequent and intense" contact between people of different cultures (Webber 1991:xx).

Utilizing Webber's characterization of folklore, the following is an examination of the "Red Cross Story." Mr. Jin, whose performance of personal experience narrative was discussed in Chapter 3, told this story. Bauman views participants' identities and roles, expressive means employed in performance, social interactional ground rules, and the sequence of actions that make up the scenario of the event as four prominent situational factors that influence and decide the structure of a performance event (Bauman 1986:4). The performance event, especially "the sequence of actions making up the scenario," in which this particular narration occurred is important in understanding the story as embracing Chaoxianzu values.

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B. THE "RED-CROSS" STORY: "CHAOXIANZU-NESS"

The performance of the "Red-cross Story" immediately followed Mr. Jin's personal experience narrative. This story challenged the definition of "Chaoxianzu-ness" given by one of the Chaoxianzu collectors who was at Mr. Jin's performance. The story, although performed by a Chaoxianzu storyteller, was considered as being "foreign" in nature to a particular Chaoxianzu collector.

In Chapters 2 and 3, through the examination of the Chaoxianzu scholars and storytellers' approaches to folk literature and personal experience narrative performance, a general guideline of defining the "Chaoxianzu" attitudes and values reflected in their folk stories and folksongs were discussed. Based on representative themes such as nostalgia, desires of establishing a home, separation, survival, cultural conflict, and adaptation identified as being common in the "Chaoxianzu" folklore, the following is an analysis of the "Red-cross" story and its legitimacy as to whether it can be considered as a part of Chaoxianzu oral traditions.

The story begins with the performer's explicit statement, a key to performance, that he is about to tell a story (Bauman 1977:15). The following translation is structured as to provide clarity regarding the plot scheme and to illustrate the shifts (Bender 1999) between story characters. The following is the translation of the "Red-cross" story:

**Storyteller (Mr. Jin):** That's enough for that (referring to his personal experience narrative performance), let's start storytelling. I have told this when I went there (referring to a Chaoxianzu storytelling competition)…
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 few days going back and forth. Each time his way back to the temple when the sun is 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."

Analysis

The "Re-cross" story begins with a typical "once upon a time" construction that is very common in folktales. The story exhibits "non-Chaoxianzu" values, as it is set in a foreign country, however the plot becomes complicated through the introduction of the elements culturally familiar to the Chaoxianzu, such as the Buddhist monk and temples.

Narrator: So the monk returned to the temple and informed others of the child's story. The overseer of the temple, laoban ² 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 \(^3\) became a college student at age eleven. Very similar in this child's case, this child 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 is, 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 demands the most gold, says

**Child:** I 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 pendent) 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."

Analysis

There are two key elements in the story that are similar to Mr. Jin's personal experience narrative. The child in the story is young, and his age is emphasized to the audience through the child's response to the monk's question. In his personal experience narrative performance, Mr. Jin was drafted into the Japanese military at a young age. The separation of a family in the story is parallel to Mr. Jin's separation from his family in his youth. Another interesting similarity is both the child and Mr. Jin rely on themselves for basic survival at a relatively young age. However, both of them receive help from unexpected sources--Russian madams for Mr. Jin, and Mary for Gary. The metamorphosis of the character through a journey, both symbolically and literally, is also shared theme in both stories. A code-switching (Saville-Troike 1982:68), similar to Mr. Jin's personal experience narrative, occurs within the story. Instead of using a Korean term referring to the "head of the temple," Mr. Jin uses a generic Chinese term laoban meaning "boss" to refer to the owner of the temple.

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 hasn'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 cut 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 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

**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 (title the teller used, similar to today's ambassador). 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
on 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 air planes, 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.

**Analysis**

The role of "foreign" women in shaping the lives of both Gary and Mr. Jin is significant. The women in both stories are not only just a source of relief, but they also
become the object of the main characters' affection. Another similarity shared is the status of both Gary and Mr. Jin as the "foreigner" in the story. The "social distance" difference between the women and main characters, Russian madams in charge of Mr. Jin, a prisoner of war, and Mary a daughter of the Foreign Minister helping a "foreigner," in both stories also emphasize the strong ties between two stories. Mr. Jin appears to be reminiscing about his time in Russia through his narration. He resolves the linguistic and cultural barriers between the two main characters, Mary and Gary, through education. This is very similar to Mr. Jin's experience in learning Russian language as a part of his adaptation to new culture in his personal experience narrative performance.

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. Became frightened, Gary hid next to a big rock and kept his eyes open. A man was riding on the first horse, 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 shut 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 has 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 is absolutely sure that Gary is 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-- dancing and turning--

Words could not describe the scene. So, the man at the temple looking at the cross on Gary's neck, 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 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 materialize the match made by the 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 herself. Since then, the cross became the "Red Cross", the sign of the hospital. This is how the "Red Cross" came about. 

Analysis

Filial piety is one of the repeated and emphasized "moral lessons" embedded in Chaoxianzu oral traditions. The majority of Mr. Jin's repertoire contains stories with the emphasis on revering the elders. Woman's virtue is also a "lesson" implicitly taught in this story as Mary's suicide shows. The journey of Gary's father to America to earn more money to provide a better life for his family is equivalent to the journeys that many Chaoxianzu forefathers and the first generation Chaoxianzu made, the story "Manghyangui eonduk" in Chapter 2 being a good example. The nostalgia and longing for family are what most Chaoxianzu directly or indirectly have felt. The only "foreign" qualities in the "Red-cross Story" are the names of the characters and the place in which the story occurs.

By his own account, Mr. Jin acquired the Red Cross story during his time spent in the former Soviet Union as a prisoner of war. This story was told by a Japanese soldier--an ethnic Korean born and raised in Japan--at night as a form of entertainment for the other prisoners. When asked if any parts were changed, Mr. Jin stated that he has made some linguistic changes from translation adopting the story to fit into his own culture,
since the story was told to him in Japanese, and that he had added his own "artistic features." Toelken states that "while the actual performer has chief control over the dynamics and the stylistic devices mentioned above (volume, action, and so on), the structure and wording of the proverb are the conservative features and are really the extended performance styles of the culture itself" (Toelken 1996:134). In order for the "Red Cross Story" to gain meaning in Chaoxianzu culture, the changes made by Mr. Jin, in other words, were "guided" under the rules of his own tradition, since tradition is "a compendium of those pre-existing culture-specific materials, assumptions, and options that bear upon the performer more heavily than do his or her own personal tastes and talents" (Toelken 1996:37).

Mr. Jin's personal experience narrative and the "Red Cross Story" share a very intimate relation. Mr. Jin, although he joked and remained calm during his personal narrative performance, became emotional toward the end of telling the "Red Cross story." This story, I was informed later, is always the first story Mr. Jin tells.

Many first-generation Chaoxianzu share similar experiences with Mr. Jin and Gary. They were placed in a foreign country and were subjected to cultural and social exchanges. Their adaptation to the new environment was crucial to in their survival. The cultural sharing between Chaoxianzu and their surroundings became a part of the Chaoxianzu tradition. As the Chaoxianzu tradition and culture evolved, the Chaoxianzu identity embraced the multiplicity of history, culture, and tradition (Mullen 1992:2, Glassie 1995:395-412, Toelken 1996: 31-43).

The "Red-cross story" exhibits the attitudes and values of the Chaoxianzu. To Mr. Jin, a Chaoxianzu tradition bearer, it provides a link from his past to present, in
Russia listening to his fellow soldier telling the story to him sitting in his home retelling of the story to his own audience. The "Red-cross story" is an important part of Mr. Jin's life. The story symbolizes and reconfirms his identity as a person who has experienced multiple cultures and traditions. Some Chaoxianzu scholars told me that I should go to South Korea to conduct my fieldwork research on the Chaoxianzu oral traditions since the two oral traditions are basically the same. This statement holds true to an extent, however the focus of my research is not only to study the folklore that has already been given the status of being the "Chaoxianzu" folklore, but also to examine any "variation" that reflects the history, values, identity, and emotions of the Chaoxianzu people.

 Tradition and culture are not static (Mullen 1992:2, Glassie 1995:395-412), and the oral tradition which functions as a mirror to the two processes also experience metamorphoses of its own. An examination of whether a story or a song "belongs" to a repertoire of an ethnic group should include studies of the relationship between the performers and their stories, their reason for performing such stories, and the interpretation of a story on both the audience and the teller. Without an in-dept study of both Chaoxianzu cultural and social context of their folk literature, categorizing the "Red Cross Story" as containing non-Chaoxianzu oral tradition quality appears too limited in defining the criteria of "Chaoxianzu-ness."

Mr. Jin learned many of his stories from the people he came into contact with while working in various places. In Chaoxianzu communities the transfer of folk literature from one performer to next performer is carried out by actual performances. Often the performer is not aware of who in the audience will become the "next" performer of the story.
C. TRANSMITTING AND RECEIVING

Two main traditional channels of transmitting and receiving Chaokianzu oral traditions were the outer-directed society channel, and the home-centered channel. The two transmission channels are gender specific; the outer-directed channel was male dominant in contrast to the home-centered channel that mainly involved women and children. The two channels are orientated by different sets of social boundaries that guided the type of stories that were transmitted. The masculine social network tended to be relatively free of restraints, broadening the repertoire of tellers to include vulgar stories and songs. The feminine network had more didactical purpose; many of the stories transmitted in this network have moral and etiquette agendas.8 The two channels utilize places of labor as the physical locus for transmission. In this setting, stories are told for entertainment, educational, and fantasy values. According to Professor Piao Changmo, ssangsori performances at work places that were distant from laborers' homes sometimes functioned as an outlet for certain unresolved sexual desires.9 Other sources such as school also provided a physical locus for folklore transmission.

Many of the storytellers in Chaokianzu communities received their stories indirectly from the storytellers who told stories to them in the past. In other words, these men and women, unlike Pansori storytellers, were not formally trained in the artistic skills of telling stories. They were just a part of an audience listening to someone else tell stories or sing a song.10 Im Jaehae (1999:1-48) views a performer as an embodiment of the producer, the transmitter, and the second level producer (former audience). He argues that the audience of performance has two functions: the producing (later as a second level
producer) and utilizing of oral tradition. In the Chaoxianzu web of oral transmission, the audience is a second level producer, and a transmitter, in addition to being the audience.

Both Mr. Jin and Mr. Li are skilled performers with large repertoires. Mr. Jin tells folk stories and sings folksongs, whereas Mr. Li performs short humorous stories and sings folksongs. Neither of them was professionally trained for their performance skills, but both share an interest in folksongs and stories. Mr. Jin has extensive travel experience (as described in his personal experience narrative) and has acquired his stories from various places. He is literate, and from time to time, relies on writing to memorize and integrate "new" stories into his repertoire. Mr. Li, on the other hand, has learned his songs from his father and other elders of his village. He was given the opportunity to perform in his village as a tradition bearer only after the village elders were unable to carry on the tradition. Both men deny receiving any institutionalized form of practice or training, but claim to rely on their excellent memories. Later Mr. Li stated that as a child he used to sing along when the village elders were performing and imitated the playing of percussion instruments by beating a flat rock with a stick, since only the skilled village performers had the sole authority to handle the percussion instruments. According to Mr. Jin and Mr. Li, imitation and mimicry were the only forms of practice, and performance was executed through the art of remembering. Mr. Li and Mr. Jin remarked that if in a proper setting with confident performance partners, they could sing and tell stories all night long without stopping.

An audience in a Chaoxianzu storytelling performance is also an active participant who upon request must be able to return the favor of performing a story or singing a song regardless of his or her ability to perform. In most of the performances I
observed, if the storytelling group consists of a number of people, then the "microphone" is passed around among participants while the main teller takes a rest.

The most expressive performer among the Chaoxianzu performers I interviewed was Mr. Li. When I visited him in February 2001, accompanied by the local members of the Yanbian folklore association, he expressed strong views on Chaoxianzu folksongs and how they should be treated and performed. In his concern for the future of Chaoxianzu folksongs, he stated,

"...there are many types of songs. Today's songs can be defined by their lyrics and the names of these new songs are from their lyrics. Our old folksongs are not the same.... Han Chinese practice yang'ge (rice sprout songs) for thousands of years but, why does our Chaoxianzu tend to disregard our own customary dance...and now what kind of dance is this, Western?..." 12

He lamented on how the embodiment of traditional dance, lyric, and tunes is disrupted with "foreign" or "new" elements that do not carry, in his view, any meanings that can be considered as "ours." Using the song "Arirang" as an example, he remarks,

"...really, singing the "Arirang" song wearing a skirt (referring to Western style skirts) .... This, that dance movement is not the "Arirang" dance...our ancestors composed songs according to occasions and seasons, (these songs) weren't just made without any thoughts...really, wouldn't it be more tasteful if (things) were implemented properly? Singing "Arirang" wearing a skirt, dancing neither the modern style, nor the old style, jumping up and down...."

He also commented on how the Chaoxianzu storytelling performance competition that he participated in a few years ago failed to provide a proper setting for inducing excitement, or heung in Korean. According to Mr. Li, the interactions among performers and the interaction between performers and audience are very vital in maturation of the performance atmosphere.
Performers are very aware of their audiences' reactions to performances. Mr. Li initially performed short versions of folksongs due to the lack of other performers who can exchange verses with him in the lengthy antiphonal song style. Afterwards, upon his wife's suggestion, Mr. Li began singing "Chunyangjeon" ("Story of Chunhyang"). The "Story of Chunhyang" is well known among ethnic Koreans. In the middle of his performance because of the audience's familiarity with the story, some of his audience began drifting their attention away from the performance and decided to go for a walk. Mr. Li stopped the story and took a break. When he resumed the story, he remarked that since the story itself is too long and too familiar, he would only perform "the skeleton part of the story." He told a short version of "Chunhyangjeon" in a narrative folksong style. Therefore, much of the heung that usually exist at the core of the interaction between tellers and audience was disrupted.

D. PERFORMANCE ARENA

The following discussion is on the "performance arena" of Chaoxianzu stories and songs. Foley defines performance arena as "a spatial metaphor that designates the locus where the event of performance takes place, where words are invested with their special power (Foley 1995:47).

Based on my observations, there are two main physical types of Chaoxianzu performance arena (Foley 1995:47-49), or loci: the physical locus for performance at an individual level and the physical locus for a group, or village level performance. The traditional physical locus of Chaoxianzu performance did not involve specialized stages. Most of the storytelling at the individual level occurred at intimate places in daily life.

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People's homes and the places of labor were the main site of performance. Traditionally in Chaoxianzu communities, storytelling occurred in the evening after all the daytime chores were done. People would gather at someone's home, which were often the tellers' home, after dinner to hear stories. During a long session of storytelling, the host often provided refreshments. Professor Piao remembers going to someone's house to listen to stories and eating a type of corn porridge for a snack as a young child. Sometimes people would stay the night at the host's home.

Performances at the village level take place on special occasions to celebrate as a group. Occasions such as Chinese New Year celebration, Moon Festival, and special birthdays of villagers were times for group celebration. The physical locus of public performance do not deviate far from the individual performance site itself, but the scale of performance arena is much greater. For example, as a part of New Year's celebration, a local farmer's band performs "Seongjupuri" (Song of House God) in order to chase all the ill-spirited ghosts from the house of each villager. This ritual act begins with a visit to the oldest tree in the village, requesting for its blessing on the success of the coming exorcisms with an offering. Afterward, the band moves on to other public areas, such as a village well, to make similar offerings. Once finished making the offerings, the band then initiates an exorcism in every home. Everyone in the village takes a part in such performance, which in turn promotes and enhances the group cooperation and the bond between villagers.

Today, the physical locus of performance has extended to karaoke bars, community clubhouses, croquette game fields, important group celebrations, storytelling competitions, and staged performances for scholars and visitors. Most of the
performances I observed in the Yanbian area took place at someone’s home. The
physical locus of performance appears to resemble the traditional style in many aspects.
The stage still remains at someone's home; performance may take place at the storyteller's
home or the home of the sponsor-- sometimes storytellers are brought to the homes of a
"sponsor," the person who functions as a bridge between a group of visitors and the
performer. While the performer tells his stories or sings songs, the normal daily activities
such as cooking, caring for animals, cleaning, and interaction with neighbors are carried
out as usual.

E. KEYS TO PERFORMANCE IN THE STORY OF CHUNHYANG

Bauman, borrowing Erving Goffman and Gregory Bateson's insights, remarks on
the notion of performance as a frame that can be considered as a "communicative
interaction that includes a range of explicit or implicit messages that carry instructions on
how to interpret the other message(s) being communicated" (Bauman 1977: 15). Bauman
provides a list of the instructional messages (keys) that include special codes, figurative
languages, parallelism, special paralinguistic features, special formulae, appeal to
tradition, and disclaimer of performance (Bauman 1977:16). This discussion, based on
my fieldwork, explores Bauman's keys of performance in Chaoxianzu folksong
performance (Bender 1996, 1998, 2001). The folksong examined in this paper is a
segment of "Chunhyangjeon" (The Story of Chunhyang) that was performed by Mr. Li.  

Mr. Li's performance was comprised of ritualistic acts that are viewed as
stereotypical among many (but not all) Chaoxianzu performers. These acts included
drinking wine prior to performance and smoking hand-rolled loose tobacco leaves
between songs or stories while chatting with his audience. When I visited him in February and April of 2001, on both occasions after greeting his guests, he had his wife brought out a small low table and a bottle of Chinese wine. He offered wine to all of his guests, then insisted on sharing a drink. This ritual was repeated throughout the interview. Mr. Li connected drinking wine with bringing out the excitement, "heung." While we were drinking, he talked about how performance was traditionally carried out. Mr. Li considered sharing wine with his audience as a symbol of mutual respect and unity. The audience was encouraged and even pressured to share drinks with him. He only offered the hand-rolled tobacco leaves to his male audience. Initially, Mr. Li smoked store-bought cigarettes given to him as a gift by his audience, but later changed to smoking hand-rolled cigarettes.

After each singing session, Mr. Li interacted with his audience by chatting on random issues and topics. During this interaction, someone from the audience was often asked to perform. The audience was also given opportunities to request a particular song or a story from Mr. Li. Sometimes a song or a story performed by an audience member functioned as a "cue" (Rubin 1995:161-167) to the performer, triggering the theme or topic of the next song or story. The audience-performer interaction on the one hand reminded the performer of some songs or stories in his repertoire, and on the other hand, the interaction influenced the thematic discourse of the performance. Mr. Li did not always perform the songs or stories requested by his audience. On a few occasions, Mr. Li began singing a requested song but decided to perform some other song that he felt more suitable, or more interesting.
Most of Mr. Li's performance of songs was accompanied by his explicit explanations on the "proper" manner for which these songs should be presented. He also commented on the special features of some songs and critiqued on how these songs are being presented on television today. In Mr. Li's case, both the disclaimer of performance and (re)claiming of authority acted as keys to performance. On the "Story of Chunhyang," Mr. Li commented,

""Chunhyangjeon", if I wanted to tell the whole story, should do about three critical episodes. From Yi going to that Kwanghwaru Hyojakgu place where he meets Chunhyang has already been presented, but all the other presentation are sham, falsified. Eh, the one I am starting is none other than after Chunhyang and Yi met, they spend night and day enjoying each other until the magistrate (young Yi's father) has to go back to Naeju which meant moving back to the capital."

Mr. Li, in his statement before the performance, acknowledged the existence of other representations of the story but claimed authority on its "proper" version. During a separate interview, he categorized "Chunhyangjeon" in the Pansori genre. He himself has never been taught to perform Pansori, but he was aware of the Pansori style. The disclaiming of performance seemed to be twofold in Mr. Li's case: disclaiming of other types of presentation of the "Story of Chunhyang" as proper versions, and disclaiming of his own competence to perform the story. After telling the part of "Chunhyangjeon" discussed in this paper, Mr. Li critiqued his own performance.

"Well, honestly, the stroll at the Kwanghwaru and the scene when Yi returns are already well known to everyone. I just told a simplified version. Now, I don't have a good memory and keep on forgetting.... I have a lot to tell but...."

Expanding on Barbara Babcock's ideas, metanarration in "Chunhyangjeon" can be divided into three categories (Babcock 1977:61-79): "pre-textual (preceding the text)," "inter-textual," and "post-textual." The pre-textual metanarration included Mr. Li's
comments on how a particular song or story should be rendered. In his case, pre-textual metanarration was disclaiming the other versions of "Chunhyangjeon." The inter-textual metanarration involved the performer's explanation on the terms used in the story that he felt might not be too clear to his audience. For example,

Narrator: Yi Mongryong was having a good time at Chunhyang's home, both being ipal ipal dong gap, ipal ipal dong gap in which means both of them are eighteen years old...

The inter-textual metanarration was spoken in the "voice" of the narrator. However, not every archaic term was explained to audience for clarification. As for the post-textual metanarration, this consisted of the singer's comment on his own performance, sometimes after he finished.

An interesting phenomenon observed in Mr. Li's performance of "Chunhyangjeon" was the shift of role from Mr. Li as a performer to Mr. Li as a narrator of the story. The shift transition is very swift and complicated. The pre-textual metanarration shows the shift from a performer commenting on other representations of "Chunhyangjeon", to Mr. Li as a narrator telling the story. From inter-textual to post-textual metanarration, Li then shifts back from a narrator of the story to Li the performer. The system of shifting register, or shifting roles becomes more complicated when the roles of different characters in the story are added to the formula (Bender 1999:181-96).

"Chunhyangjeon" is full of archaic terms and phrases that may act as one of the keys to performance. Some of the terms used in the story are still in use today but have different set of meanings. Terms such as doryeonnim and seobangnim that were used as an honorific title for young gentleman and an honorific title for one's husband respectively are now used for referring to one's husband's younger or older brother. The
terms such as satto (magistrate) and kisaeng (courtesan) are occupational terms no longer used today, however well understood in Korean communities. The overwhelming usage of archaic terms becomes more apparent as the story develops. The sung part at the end of the performed segment of the story is full of terms drawing from Korean tradition and history. For example, Chunhyang's reply after receiving a beating display terms and phrases that are not commonly used in modern Korean. The bolded terms below are some of the examples.

Du jjae mae reul ttak bu chi ni
Seo du I jja a roe ri da
I bi je reul a om nin de
**Bul gyeong i bu I nae ma eum**
I nae mat go I nae ju geo do
Yi doryeong eul mon it get so

(translation)
Being beaten twice
Tell you with the letter two
Knowing the sorrows
To serve one husband, keeping my virtue,
Even if I die now,
Cannot forget young master Yi

Se jjae mae reul ttak bu chi ni
Seok sam jja ro a roe ri da
**Sam saeng ga yak mae jeun eon yak**
**Sam chi hyeong mun jeong dae reul gal ji eon jeong**
Eo I ha yeo heo rak hal sun ga

Being beaten three times
Tell you with the letter three
Made the promise of three life time
Even if you give me the three punishments until the nighttime,
How can I allow this!

il gop mae reul chi go na ni
il gop chil ja ro a roe ri da
**chil geo ji ak a ni on de**
cil gae hyyeong beol waen il I o
chil ha neun jeo hyeong bang a
chil ttae ma da kkot jil ma so
chil bu hong ak (?) na jung neun da

Being beaten seven times
Tell you with the letter seven
It is not the seven crimes of women
How can I be punished by the seven punishments?
Officer who is beating me
Don't beat so harshly
unclear, I am dying!

Some of the terms are unclear in their meanings and in the manner in which they are used. These terms have historical and social roots that date back to the last dynasty of Korea (1392-1910). For example, the term bul kyeong i bu was a concept of serving only one husband practiced by women of the Joseon (Chaoxian) dynasty (1392-1910). Sam saeng ga yak means a promise that will be carried out through three lifetime and sam chi hyeong mun is a torture in which a criminal is beaten three times a day. The term jeong dae, which is translated as "nighttime," is from the dialect spoken in Gyeongnam Province from where Mr. Li originally came from. Chil geo ji ak is a set of seven crimes that can be committed by women which included the crime of not producing an heir. The "traditional referentiality" (Foley 1995) behind these terms is overwhelming and without an in-depth knowledge of history and tradition, the audience cannot process the traditional meaning of the song. It was difficult to tell whether all of Mr. Li's audience was competent in understand the meaning of these archaic words, however even without understanding the terms, the general meaning of the story was understood by the audience through other means.

Another important key to performance on a linguistic level are the verbal endings used by Mr. Li in "Chunhyangjeon." The honorific verbal endings used in the story are
very different from modern spoken Korean. The verbal endings and the tones of the language spoken by different characters in the story also show the social class distinction of the speaker and the listener. The following example is from a dialogue between Chunhyang and Yi.

Chunhyang: Ani, doryeonnim mu eot tta mu ne geu reo ke geok jeong eul ha go gye sim ni kka?

(Chunhyang: Ah, doryeonnim, why are you so worried?)

Yi: Eum, neo nuen mo reun da. Sa si reun a beon nim I Naeju ro deu geo ga sin da neun de, na il na beo teom meon jeo tteo na ra ha si neun gu na.

(Yi: hmm, you don't know. The truth is my father is going to Naeju and he is ordering me to leave for Naeju tomorrow before him.)

Chunhyang is speaking to Yi with a form of honorific language, whereas Yi's verbal structures show that he is speaking to someone of lower social status. The conversation between Yi and Chunhyang's mother show that although Chunhyang's mother is addressing Yi as someone of equal status or a relative, Yi does not use a form of honorific language to address Chunhyang's mother since Yi belongs to a higher social class. The linguistic features and the context in which these features exist set up a performance arena that provide the audience an interpretive frame based on a traditional system of referentiality.

Reinterpretive frame is also enhanced in "Chunhyangjeon" by the introduction of traditional values in the story. A brief example analyzed here is from Chunhyang's mother's inquiry on the issue of separation between Yi and her daughter.

Chunhyang's mother: My child, conceived after I served the former magistrate, was born with yangban's bone. I raised her virtuously giving up kisaeng's way of life, taking up reading as a daily routine. She doesn't have any fault in
housework, being able to read two hundred words, anywhere you look, cannot find a fault. What is this talk of separation?

In this passage, the mother evaluates her daughter's value through three categories. One is that she shares yangban's blood, which makes her daughter an upper class woman. The second quality is that Chunhyang is very capable in housework. The last quality is Chunhyang's literacy. The mother views the three qualities mentioned above as belonging to upper class women who are socially comparable with Yi and his status. She sees the same qualities in her daughter and does not understand the reason for separation. The traditional values shown here tie the performance arena to the traditional society where the story is taking place. Audience is provided with two performance arenas: the physical locus where the storytelling event is taking place, and the performance locus within the story. In Mr. Li's performance, the telling of "Chunhyangjeon" took place in his home but the story was taking place during the last dynasty of Korea.

The use of parallelism is considered a fundamental and universal phenomenon (Bauman 1977:19). Bauman in Story, Performance, and Event (1986) categorizes parallelism into five parallel structural types: phonological, prosodic, syntactic, semantic, and thematic categories. Multiple variations of parallelism are found in Mr. Li's version of the "Chunhyangjeon."

Chunhyang (sing):

heo, heo, the ten thousand matters in the world are beneficial
You were born, I was born
You grew up, I grew up
When we met
Made the promise of one hundred years of harmony
How can you leave now.
Chunhyang:

Seobangnim
To die, we should die together
To live, we should live together
If doryeonnim goes, I should also go
If doryeonnim doesn't go, I shouldn't go
Do as you wish

The sections presented above, both semantic and syntactic parallelisms are employed to emphasize the relationship between Chunhyang and Yi. The thematic parallelism is also employed in the voice of narrator explaining the mindset of each character as the story develops. After the news of the transfer of Yi's father to the capital reaches Chunhyang's home, each character's reaction is shown. The plot is constructed with the narrator describing the initial emotional reaction of characters as "stifled", "shocked", or "dumbfounded" and then followed by a dialogue (See Appendix A).

The climax of the story begins after the new magistrate comes to Namwon and request for Chunhyang. Chunhyang, refusing to serve the new magistrate, is beaten. Each time she receives a beating, she replies with a rhymed verse.

Narrator:

il ja ro ttak bu chi ni,
(Being beaten once),

Chunhyang (sing):

Han il ja ro a roe ri da.
il bu nong sa ha ja go,
il pyeon dan sim meo geun ma eum,
il nyeon-i da mot ga seo,
il geo in deul it jeot su rya.

How can one forget everything.
Tell you with the letter one.
Only to serve one husband,
Decided to keep one heart,
hasn't even reached one year,
How can one forget everything.

Narrator:

du jjae mae reul ttak bu chi ni,
(Being beaten twice),

Chunhyang (sing):

seo du i ja a roe ri da,
i bi je reul a om nin de,
Bul kyeong i bu i nae ma eum,
i nae mat go i nae ju geo do,
i doryeong eul mon it get so.

Tell you with the letter two.
Knowing this sorrow,
My heart, not serving two husbands,
even if I die from being beaten,
I will never forget young master Yi.

Chunhyang (sing):

Se jjae mae reul ttak bu chi ni
Seok sam jja ro a roe ri da
Sam saeng ga yak mae jeun eon yak
Sam chi hyeong mun-
jeong dae reul gal ji eon jeong
Eo I ha yeo heo rak hal sun ga

Being beaten three times
Tell you with the letter three
Made the promise of three life time
given three punishments-
until the nighttime
How can I allow this!

In this rhyme scheme, a rhyme is placed in the first letter of each line with some
exceptions. Phonologically, each line of each stanza begins (with exceptions) with a
number that represents how many times Chunhyang has been beaten and such numbering
sets up a "head-rhyme." Thematically, all ten stanzas reveal the unwillingness of Chunhyang to serve the new magistrate. Also, the first lines of each stanza form a parallel structure. These lines, initially were represented with the narrator's voice, however they were gradually incorporated into the voice of Chunhyang. These lines function as the keys to the beginning of each stanza.

The most apparent and basic communicative means (Bauman 1977:16) of performance of "Chunhyangjeon" are the speaking registers of narration, dialogue, and singing. The shift from the narrator to one of the characters occurs rapidly. Mr. Li did not modify the shift (Bender 1999:181-96) between the characters with quotation marks such as "...said" and "...told" which are used by some other Chaoyianzú performers in the Yanbian area. Mr. Li's did not employ registers of voice between the characters, however the tone of Mr. Li's voice and the linguistic features (see above on verbal endings) he used shifted from one character to another. The stylistic shift occurs when the story shifts from "talking" to "singing". The singing part is done only through Chunhyang. The styles and tune types involved in the performance require an in-depth research, however a preliminary observation reveals a prosodic repetition in the sung part of the story.

In the middle of performing "Chunhyangjeon," Mr. Li noticed that the audience's interest was waning and decided to offer a simplified version of the story. He explicitly informed his audience that he was going to only tell the crucial plot of the story. The audience-performer interaction is very crucial in Chaoyianzú performance. The lack of interest of the audience on the performance may send an implicit message to the performer, influencing the performer to either change the performance genre (switching

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from a storytelling to a singing a song), or like Mr. Li, perform a simplified shorter version. In this sense, both the audience and the performer are exchanging implicit and explicit messages on how the performance should be interpreted and rendered.

Paralinguistic features such as clapping of Mr. Li's hand on his knee to add the sound effect of beating and swinging of arms to imitate the motion of beating are observed throughout the performance. Metaphorical language is also found as a key to performance. For example, the phrase "butterflies search for the prettiest flower..." represent Chunhyang's worry of Yi leaving her to go to the capital. Here, the butterflies are the symbols of men and the flower represent a woman. Chunhyang is worried that Yi may develop a relationship with someone who has better qualities and forget her.

The names of places also provide a key of performance. Naeju, Jangheung, Samcheon District, and Hanyang (capital) are some of the place names referred in the story. Jangheung is a place in Jolla Province and Hanyang is a traditional term referring to the capital.

The brief analysis of "Chunhyangjeon" by Mr. Li shows that various keys of performance are integrated into what appears to be a simple folksong when it is being performed. The communicative messages founded in the performance of "Chunhyangjeon" include:

a) ritualistic acts before and during performance
b) interaction between the performer and his audience
c) archaic terms and traditional place names
d) linguistic features: verbal endings
e) tradition bound performance arena
f) parallelism

g) shift in register

h) paralinguistic features

i) metaphoric language

This list is by no means complete. A more in-depth analysis is needed for an exhaustive list of keys in "Chunhyangjeon." Since this is a preliminary examination of Chaoxianzu performance, it is important not to generalize what is shown in this presentation as the standard. Some of the keys discussed above could be culture, community, or even performer specific. Some of the archaic terms used by Li, especially the singing part at the end, are unclear in their definitions, yet serve as keys to a traditional style story.

F. CONCLUSION

This thesis is a preliminary exploration of the relation between oral and oral-connected literature and ethnic identity among Korean Chinese known as Chaoxianzu. Although some of the translated stories and songs discussed in this thesis are based on written versions of oral material, they provide valuable insights into the Chaoxianzu identity and values expressed in their oral traditions. In addition to the written folk literature, the recorded performances discussed in this thesis reveal the complexity of shared tradition and history among Chaoxianzu. Performance, as Bauman states, is "a mode of communication, a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communication skill...which evaluates the act of expression on the part of the performer" (Bauman 1986:3).

"Interpretation and understanding" of oral traditions of other culture are "difficult and
even impossible" only because we do not share the cultural knowledge embedded in them (Siikala 1992:203). Approaching the oral literature from the performance aspect guided by the performance theory, I have introduced and examined the historical, social, and cultural contexts in which Chaoxianzu oral traditions exist.

Historically, the majority of Chaoxianzu who practice and carry out Chaoxianzu traditions were the immigrants from the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, and their descendents. Descendents of the early Chaoxianzu immigrants prior to the 19th century do not actively practice and share the same traditions as today's Chaoxianzu. 14 Due to the historical and cultural processes that shaped the lives of Chaoxianzu, Chaoxianzu folk literature, including the personal experience narratives, expresses the distinctive emotions, values, and history of Chaoxianzu as seen in the examples given in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

Chaoxianzu scholars and collectors already have established systematic ways of researching their oral traditions. Their approaches to folk literature are in constant transition, as many factors from both within and outside of China are constantly brought to bear on the situation. Based on their study of folk literary collections, Chaoxianzu scholars framed the themes such as nostalgia, water, "class struggle," and survival as being representative of their folk literature. They also view the "primitive and unrefined qualities" of their folk literature as the main difference between Chaoxianzu folk literature and that of the Korean peninsula.

Chaoxianzu are neither Joseonin nor Hangukin. They share many aspects of culture with Koreans, but they also have their own unique tradition and history. One medium for expressing the unique qualities of Chaoxianzu culture is their oral traditions.
Chaoxianzu communities are changing through the effects of modernization and globalization. The shift from agricultural to market-oriented communities has already begun in many areas of Yanbian. Storytelling events are becoming a rarity and are being replaced by card playing, satellite television, and karaoke bars. Mullen states although the active tradition-bearers are often the oldest people in the community, the younger generations, though aware of tradition, do not actively carry it on (1992: 2). Quoting Henry Glassie's phrase "generation after generation contains the last basket weaver and the last ballad singer" (Mullen 1992:2), Mullen states that the younger generations will replace and become tradition-bearer themselves when the time comes. I believe that the transition between tradition-bearers is already occurring in Chaoxianzu communities, and it is crucial to continue an in-depth examination of the dynamics of the Chaoxianzu tradition and their folk literature to see how the process of transmission of tradition plays out over time.

It is my hope that this thesis can contribute to the field of researching oral literature in China and also enhance academic awareness of Chaoxianzu culture and folk literature. Areas for future study of Chaoxianzu oral traditions include: a more extensive interviewing of performers to gain a better insight on the emic knowledge of their oral traditions; a comprehensive study of the history of Chaoxianzu in conjunction with study of other northeast Chinese minority history and culture; the modern social definition and status of Chaoxianzu folk literature to see the affects of social changes on folk literature; a comparative study in defining images of "self" and the images of "other" through an examination of both Chaoxianzu and other northeastern Chinese minority folk literatures; a study in the relationship between performers, their repertoire, and their gender to
explore the difference, if any, between female performers and their male counterpart; and finally a comprehensive re-examination of Chaoxianzu identity expressed in Chaoxianzu folk literature.
1. Professor Piao commented that the "Red Cross Story" does not belong to Chaoxianzu folk literary repertoire since the story doesn't have any Chaoxianzu values.

2. Mr. Jin used the Chinese term laoban in referring to the overseer of the temple.

3. Mr. Jin is making an analogy to a real person in order to explain and gain credibility of the child's intelligence in the story from his audience.

4. The onomatopoeia sounds are transcribed in Revised Korean Romanization to hold the linguistic values. The transcriptions of paralinguistic onomatopoeic sounds are italicized for clarity.

5. Yiya eohwa dungdung is a description of one's happiness, doesn't contain actual literal meaning. The phrase nae sarang means my love.

6. The Red Cross in this story is symbol of hospital.

7. Based on my interviews with performers on how they acquired stories and songs in their repertoire.


9. Also a part of the informal classes I had with Professor Piao Changmo.


11. Based on my interview with Mr. Li in February 2001. The percussion instruments Mr. Li was referring to are such as Janggo (hourglass drum) and Kkoenggwari (brass gong).

12. Based on my interview.

13. "Chunhyangjeon" is a very popular folk story in Korean ethnic communities. Both Korean and Chaoxianzu scholars have already begun the research of the story. Most of the research is focused on determining the prototype of the story. Some scholars believe that the story was originally a classical novel that later adapted into repertoires of other genres such as Pansori, shaman gut (ritual), and folksong. Some believe that the story is non-fictional. The debate on the origin of the story is still taking place. The important point found in the debate between these scholars is that the story has a long history and it exists in many different genres.
14. Based on both Professor Jin Dongxun and Professor Piao Changmo informal lectures. Piaocun (Piao village) in Jilin Province is one of the good examples of the descendents of earlier immigrants who have been acculturated into other ethnic groups.
APPENDIX A

TRANSLATION OF THE "STORY OF CHUNHYANG" PERFORMANCE
The Story of Chunhyang, if [one] wanted to tell the whole story, would be about three critical episodes, going to that Kwanghuaru hyojakgu, meeting Chunhyang has already been presented, but all that presented are sham, falsified. Eh, the one I am starting is none other than the part where after Chunhyang and Youngster Yi meet. They spend night and day enjoying each other until the magistrate (Yi’s father) has to go back to Naeju which meant moving back to the capital.

Narrator: Yi Mongryong was having a good time at Chunhyang's home, both being eighteen years of age, ipal ipal dong gap means eighteen, they are both eighteen years old. Bangja comes in

Bangja: Doryeonnim, we have a problem.

Yi: what is the matter?

Bangja: It is just.... (Narrator: explanation of the situation) Tomorrow the honorable magistrate is going to Naeju but it looks like you are to go in before him.

Narrator: Yi felt his heart stop wen he heard the news. He was having such a good time with Chunhyang. Yi is unable to speak a word. Chunhyang listening to what is happening says

Chunhyang: Ah, doryeonnim, why are you so worried?

Yi: hmm, you don't know. The truth is my father is going to Naeju and he is ordering me to leave for Naeju tomorrow before him.

Chunhyang (sing):
Aiyu, doryeonnim
Well done, well done
Going to Naeju means he’ll become the Prime Minister
What is making you worry this much?

Narrator: listening to this, Yi is stifled.

Yi: It’s not that. Honestly, I couldn't ask my father so I asked my mother. (Mother said) How can a song of Yangban follow his parents and stay as Jolla Province's magistrate then take a daughter of Kisaeng back. Is this possible?

Narrator: Yi tells this to Chunhyang and she is shocked. Chunhyang (sing):

Heo heo, the ten thousand matters in the world are beneficial
You were born, I was born
You grew up, I grew up
When we met
Made the promise of one hundred years of harmony
How can you leave now?

I am unable to accompany doryeonnim. However, doryeonnim, you go first. I will later (sing) travel slowly (talk) and follow you. I won't be able to go near doryeonnim's home but lend me a small hut, I will serve you from there.

Narrator: Yi calmly thinking it over realized that is not possible either. Absolutely cannot take her with him. Unable to say 'how can I take you with me when my parents do not approve of us' just kept silent.

(So the matter is, there is much to say but don't need to say the unnecessary things)

Tomorrow, doryeonnim must leave first. That night, all night long, two of them holding, crying, too desperate to let go of the affections they feel toward each other, they played the games they once played together.

Next morning,

(unclear) it is the magistrate's order, doryeonnim must leave now.

Narrator: Chunhyang shocked, holding Yi's body,

Chunhyang (sing):

Seobangnim
To die, we should die together,
To live, we should live together.
If doryeonnim goes, I should go too,
If doryeonnim doesn't go, I shouldn't go either.
Do as you wish.

Narrator: fight like this for a while, fighting "go, can't go," in the room across, Chunhyang's mother is quietly listening to what is going on.

Chunhyang's mother (thinking): no matter how the world has changed, lovers' quarrels last only short while. How can a fight that started last night go on until now?

Narrator: Chunhyang's mother briskly walks toward where the fight is going on, eves drops under the door. It is not that!

Chunhyang's mother (thinking): Yi ya ya, ani, it is not worldly possible!

Narrator: swinging the door open,
Chunhyang's mother: Look here, Yi doryeong, when you promised to marry my daughter, you promised one hundred years of harmony, what did you mean? What is this talk of leaving? My child, conceived after I served the former magistrate, was born with Yangban's bone. I raised her virtuously giving up Kisaeng's way of life, taking up reading as a daily routine. She doesn't have any fault in housework. She is able to read two hundred words. Anywhere you look you can't find a fault, what is this talk of separation?

Narrator: Yi listening to her lament, yet too shocked to speak. What can be done?

Yi: Look here, Jangmo, it isn't what you think. This separation isn't forever. Once I go to the capital, I will definitely in the near future come back for Chunhyang. So, don't worry but keep this in mind.

Narrator: So they are finally parting. Chunhyang is weeping and quarreling with Yi. As she cries her cheeks are turning red and blue, she starts breathing heavily, her abdomen swells like a frog, her eyes get rounder, rubs two hands (gesture of begging), and stumps her feet. Chunhyang's mother is dumbfounded.

Chunhyang's mother: poor girl, the worldly matters are decided
Don't be so worry. He will not forget you. After he returns to the capital and once autumn arrives, he won't forget to take you.

Chunhyang (sing):
Ayigu, mother,
Who can know the worldly matters?
Butterflies go search for the pretty flowers
(unclear)
Not a bird, not a flower, not a butterfly
This body sitting alone
Is it today when the word comes?
Is it tomorrow when the letter comes?
This fate, what to be done?

Narrator: Chunhyang's mother doesn't know what to say. She is most famous among Jolla Province's kisaeng but feels helpless. Swallowing her own tears, consorts Chunhyang.

Chunhyang's mother: You, poor girl, you greedy one. You should yield. Doryeonnim is leaving. He can't tie you to his cloth tie to take you. You should wait and go up later. Find a small home near the capital and stay there to serve him.
Narrator: This time, receiving the order of the magistrate, Yi returns home and gets ready to go to the capital. Riding on a donkey, he stops at Chunhyang's home. Chunhyang knowing that the matter is out of her hands says

Chunhyang: So, Seobangnim, please take care of your health. Please pass the civil exam and do not forget me.

Yi: Yes, don't worry Chunhyang. Man's word is equal to one thousand gold pieces, no matter what our relationship is, I just can't disobey my parents. I will in the future come back for you.

Narrator: and they parted. After magistrate Yi went to Naeju, Byeon Hakdo is sent to be the new magistrate. As soon as Byeon Hakdo arrives, well aware of Chunhyang’s beauty, he wants to see her in person. Next day, calling in all his subjects,

Byeon Hakdo: Look here, how many kisaengs are in Namwon?

Clerk: Yes, there are about a couple hundred of them.

Byeon Hakdo: Hm, of course. Read me their names

Narrator: no matter how much you search the list of kisaeng names, Chunhyang's name is nowhere to be found. At the end

Byeon Hakdo: clerk, how come Chunhyang's name doesn't come up?

Clerk: No, no sir. Chunhyang is not a kisaeng. She was born after her mother served magistrate Seong. She has Yangban's bone, so she doesn't practice kisaeng's life. She is not a kisaeng.

Byeon Hakdo: how dare you say so! Kisaeng's daughter is a kisaeng. Where is such nonsense!

Clerk: Not only that, the recent magistrate, magistrate Yi's son made a promise of one hundred years of harmony. They lived together until he left recently.

Byeon Hakdo: Ye, miserable man! Magistrate Yi went to Naeju to become the Prime Minister. You think Yangban's clan will take in a kisaeng's daughter as their daughter in law?
Young Yi only followed his father to Namwon, obtained a local girlfriend until he left. There is no concern for this. Go and bring her here!

Narrator: Patrolmen unable to refuse Byeon Hakdo's order went to call on Chunhyang. Chunhyang's mother begging with her hands and feet,
Chunhyang’s mother: No, this can't be. My Chunhyang, as you all know, doesn't practice kisaeng's way. Why is this....

Patrolman: But this is the magistrate's order. What can we do?

Narrator: Chunhyang’s mother serving the patrolmen and giving them money, sends them away. Upon return, the patrolmen tells the magistrate
Patrolman: Sir, Chunhyang is already been promised to the son of previous magistrate. She is unable to come.

Byeon Hakdo: you miserable men, at least by now, he could be the son of the Prime Minister. Do you think the Prime Minister's son will be with a daughter of kisaeng? Is the daughter in law of the Prime Minister? Who has heard of such nonsense! Hurry, go bring her!

Narrator: sending the patrolmen again, finally Chunhyang is brought in. When Chunhyang is being taken away, Chunhyang’s mother speaks calmly.

Chunhyang’s mother: Chunhyang, don't go. I will go instead. I will deal with him somehow.

Chunhyang: Mother, you are not young to handle this. He is calling for me not you. I should go not you.

Narrator: Chunhyang follows the patrolmen. The magistrate sitting up on his chair hears the call that Chunhyang is brought back.

Byeon Hakdo: Um, of course.

Narrator: Chunhyang is kneeling in front of the magistrate.

Byeon Hakdo: So, you are Chunhyang?

Chunhyang: Yes, I am Chunhyang.

Byeon Hakdo: So, how old are you?

Chunhyang: I am eighteen years old.

Byeon Hakdo: So, what is your occupation?

Chunhyang: I don't have one

Byeon Hakdo: Then, what do you do?
Chunhyang: Right now, I was given the promise of one hundred years of harmony by the son of the previous magistrate. I am in waiting.

Byeon Hakdo: Yeyi, miserable wench! You are waiting for him on that false promise? He just temporarily played with you and gone now. Who would believe someone like you!

Chunhyang: No, our promise will not be broken.

Narrator: it seems useless to disagree with the magistrate. A clerk sitting in front says Clerk (sangbang): Miserable girl, haven't you read the rules for refusing to obey the magistrate? It is punishable by public execution!

Chunhyang: Yes, I have read.

Clerk: Then why are you refusing to serve him?

Chunhyang: I guess my refusal is a refusal. However, magistrate, please listen. Raping a married woman who were given the promise of one hundred years of harmony is not a crime?

Narrator: The magistrate feels aghast.

Byeon Hakdo: Hu hu hu, look at that wench, look at that wench! I am raping you? How can this be possible? You sound as if I am forcefully....

Narrator: His topknot becomes undone from his anger.

Byeon Hakdo: Tie her to the beating table and beat her!

Narrator: He calls in officer of law and orders him. Officer grabbing Chunhyang by her hair, ties her to the beating table. After tying her down, he brings out arm full of finger thick beating sticks and spreads them around the beating table. Chunhyang's two arms and legs are tied down and she is about to be beaten. One of the patrolmen says

Patrolman: We all know your situation, but not much can be done. It is the magistrate's order. If we don't beat you, we will be beaten to death. Just bear couple of beatings.

Narrator: The officer taking a thick willow stick, swings it around. He beats her once, the branch breaks and the broken piece flies over to where the magistrate is sitting.

Byeon Hakdo: Beat her harshly

Narrator: Officer takes another stick.
Chunhyang: Magistrate listen to my words. Since one beating has occurred, listen to my words.

(sing)
Being beaten once
Tell you with the letter one
Only to serve one husband
Decided to keep one heart
Hasn't even reached one year
How can I forget everything!

Narrator: Officer beats her again

Chunhyang (sing):

Being beaten twice

Tell you with the letter two
Knowing the sorrows,
To serve one husband, keeping my virtue,
Even if I die now,
Cannot forget young master Yi.

Being beaten three times

Tell you with the letter three
Made the promise of three life time
Even if you give me the three punishments until the nighttime,
How can I allow this!

Being beaten four times

Tell you with the letter four,
Be with each other in death or life
(unclear)
Even if you rip me apart
It is not possible, it is not possible
Magistrate know this!

Being beaten five times

Tell you with the letter five
Rising smoke is endless
Promise made through five actions
(unclear) thinking of my love
How can I forget him!

Being beaten six times

Tell you with the letter six
Six times six is thirty-six
(unclear)
Three thousand time, six thousand times
Fate made with young souls
How can I forget!

Being beaten seven times

Tell you with the letter seven
It is not the seven crimes of women
How can I be punished by the seven punishments!
Officer who is beating me
Don't beat so harshly
(unclear) I am dying!

Being beaten eight times

Tell you with the letter eight
In the land of eight provinces
Met the best official
Chunhyang born with a good fate
What is the meaning of this!

Being beaten nine times

Tell you with the letter nine
Curves of liver and intestines
Tears flow and flow
Become the Daedong River
Jangheung boat at nine valley blue mountain
(unclear) go to the Hanyang castle
Tell my stories
Then, quickly go to Samcheon district
Let's see young master Yi

Narrator: after being beaten ten times, Chunhyang is about to faint.
Chunhyang: magistrate, listen. Even if I die nine times, it is not possible. Why don't you just kill me?

Narrator: Byeon Hakdo shocked

Byeon Hakdo: That wretched woman, that wretched woman. How can there be such evil wench in the world?

Narrator: Byeon Hakdo, overcome with anger but not knowing what else to do, orders his officer.

Byeon Hakdo: Put a cang on her neck and place her in jail!

Li Jiaoyong: Well, honestly the stroll at the Kwanghuaru and the scene when Yi returns are already well known to everyone. I just told a simplified version. Now, I don't have a good memory and keep on forgetting. I have a lot to tell but....
APPENDIX B

ROMANIZATION OF THE "STORY OF CHUNHYANG" PERFORMANCE
Mr. Li: Chunhyangjeondo kkeut geu jeun han se dae mok hae ya doe neun de, ge gang eul ru ho jak gu e ga se Chunhyang yeul man na yi reun geo heun da yeon chul e do na wat ji ma neun geu na wa do geu geo neun eong teo ri gu, geu geo jeon hyeo a ni gu, ga jang han geo gu, nae ga ji geum bu teo si jak ha neun geo neun da reun ge a ni ra Chunhyang ga i do ryeong i man na seo bam nat eob si jeul gi da ga sa tto ga Naeju ro deu reo ga neun ba ram e hal su eob ssi seo ul ro ga ge doe eott da.

Narrator: Yi Mongryong eun Chunhyang jib e seo han cham jo eun se wol e, i pal i pal dong gap e, i pal i pal dong gap i ra neun geo neun yeol yeo deol sal, yeol yeo deol sal dong gap i ran ma ri da. Han cham jae mit ge no neun de, Bangja yeo seok i deu reo o di ma neun

Bangja: Doryeonnim, keun il nat so i da.

Yi: Mu seun keun il i nya?

Bangja: Eum, geu ge a ni ra, nae il satto kke seo nae i ri Naeju ro deul e ga sin da neun de doryeon nim i bu deok meon jeo ga syeo ya doel geo ga sseum ni da.

Narrator: I so ri deut kko na ni, Yi doryeong ga seum i.... Han cham Chunhyang gwa man na seo jae mi itt ge no neun de. A mu mal do mot ta go it sseu ni kka Chunhyang deut da ga mo te

Chunhyang: Ani, doryeonnim mu eot tta mu ne geu reo ke geok jeong eul ha go gye sim ni kka?

Yi: Eum, neo nuen mo reun da. Sa si reun a beon nim i Naeju ro deu geo ga sin da neun de, na il na beo teom meon jeo tteo na ra ha si neun gu na.

Chunhyang (sing):
Aigu, doryeon nim
Jal doe yeot so, jal doe yeot so
Nae jo ro deu reo ga sin da myeon jeong seung pan seo ga doel teo in de mu seun geok jeong i ma neu syeo seo geu geok jeong eul ha go gye si om ni kka?

Narrator: (Yi) doryeong deu reo bo ni ha hu gi ga ma kyeo seo

Yi: A ni da. Geu reon i ri a ni ra sa si reun nae ga eo je ba me a beon nim kke neun yeo jju ji mo ta go eo meon nim kke eo jjyeot ni ma neun
Yi's mother relayed by Yi: Se sang e yang ban ui ja sik-i eo di bu mo reul tta ra se so-i Jolla do sa tto ro it tta ga gi saeng tta reul de ri go gan da neun ma ri nya. Doe neun ma ri nya.

Narrator: I reon ma reul Chunhyang han te ha go na ni, Chunhyang-i gi ga cha seo,

Chunhyang (sing):
Heo heo, se sang man sa ga-a i ro eul jin de
Ni ga na go nae ga na go
Ni do keu go na do keu go
U ri du ri man nal jeok e
Baeng nyeon ga rak mae jeun eon nyak
Eo-i ha go gan dan ma ri o.

Na neun doryeonnim ga chi neun mot ga ji ma neun doryeonnim mon jeo ga si go na neun hu e haeng cha reul has seo (sing) cheon cheon~hi tta ra doryeonnim geun cheo en mot gal mang jeong jjo geu man cho mak sa ri ra do ha na eo deo ju myeon nae ga geo gi ga seo doryeonnim eul seom gi o ri da. Yi doryeong i ga ma an saeng gak ha ni geu geot to a ni yeot ta. De jeo hi de ri go gal su eom nuen i reo an.... Bu mo ga seung nak an ha neun de eo tteo ke neo reul de ri go gal su in neu nya ma reun mo te do so geun ta go, geu rae seo i byeol eul kkok ha neun de

Performer (Mr. Li): Hal mal i man chi ma neun sseul de eom neun mal eun pi ryo eop go,

Narrator: Nae il i myeon doryeonnim i mon jeo tteo na syeo ya han dam ni da. Geul nal bam, bam sae do rok du ri seo an go ul go nol deon geu hang wi, ja kku beom jil do hae bo go, mal no reum han bo go, byeol no reum da hae myeon seo, nol deon geu jeong ui reul it go gal ra ni kka gi ga ma kyeo seo.... A chi mi doe ja

Messenger: Satto bun bu i o ni doryeonnim ga si op so seo.

Narrator: Chunhyang gi ga ma kyeo Yi doryeong ui mom eul an go

Chunhyang: Seo bang nim, ju geo do ga chi juk go, sa ra do ga chi sal go, doryeonnim ga si myeon na do ga ya ha go, an ga si myeon na do an gal te ni kka ma eum de ro haop so seo.

Narrator: Han cham i reo ke ssa u neun de, gan da mot gan da ha go ssa u neun de, geon neo bang e seo Chunhyang mo ga ga man hi deu reul ra ni kka, jeo se sang e a mu ri i reo ke byeon cheo ni doe eo han deul sa rang ssa um i ral neun ge ha ru i teul i ji eo jae bam bu teo yeo tae kka ji sa rang ssa um eul han da ni. Chunhyang mo ga sal lang sal lang deu reo ga seo jang mi te ga seo deu reo bo ni geu reun ma ri a ni ra i ya a, a ni se sang e i reon i ri in na. Mun eul peol jjeok yeol go deu reo ga seo
Chunhyang's mother: Yeo bo Yi do ryeong, dang sin i u ri ttal ha go hon yak hal ttae baeng nyeon ga rak mae jeul ttae mu seun gung yak eul hae kkil rae i byoel i ran ma ri waen mal i o. Nae ja sik do jeon sa to ui su cheong eul deu reo yang ban ui ppyeo reul bi reo ta go nat da go go i gop ge gil reo seo deok su gong bang nol ro a kkyeo seo dok seol il sam go si saeng gu sil ma da ha go yeo tae kka ji gil reo nae eo se gan chil sam mot ha neun il i eop go mun jang eun i back i yo, a mu rae do heo mu ri eum neun de wae i byeol reul han dan ma rin ga.

Narrator: Yi doryeong i deu reo bo ni ha do gi ga ma kyeo seo ma ri na o ji an neun de eo tteo ke hae sseu myeon jo ken nya.

Yi: Geu reom yeo bo, Jang mo, geu reon ge a ni ra nae ga yeong i byeo ri a ni go nae ga seo ul e ga myeon kko ok a peu ro Chunhyang eul cha jya ol te ni kka yeom nyeo mal go geu jeo ge reo ke man al go it so.

Narrator: I reo go gal ra ji neun pan e Chunhyang eun ul go bul go a ong da ong ha neun de yeon ji gi ro bu reu rak peu reu rak, jeo go ro bol rok bol rok, bae ga gae go ri bae cheo reom bol rok bol rok na wat da ga, nun-i dong gul dong gul hae jyeot da ga, du son eul ssak ssak bil go, du ba reul dang dang gu reu myeon seo han cham tong gok eul chi go u neun de, Chunhyang mo gi ga ma kyeo

Chunhyang's mother: I nyeon-a, se sang man sa ga jeong han tteu si ni geok jeong mal go it kkeo ra. Seol ma doryeong nim-i neo reul i jeul son ga. Seo u re do ra ga myeon ga eul na ri doe myeon neo reul it ji an ko de ryeo gal yeo ni....

Chunhyang (sing):
Aigu, eo meo ni
Se sang man sa reul nu ga al go,
Na neun na bi neun
Jo eun kko cheul tta reu neun beo bi yo!
(unclear)
Sae a ni go kkot a ni go na bi a ni go
I mom eun dok su gong bang hol ro an ja,
O neul i myeon so sik ol kka
Nae i ri myeon gi byeol ol kka
I pal ja reul eoif ha o i!

Narrator: Chunhyang mo ha do gi ga ma kyeo, Jollado ui su baeng myeong jung e il deung myeong gi Chunhyang mo in de, hal su eom neun nun mul cham go Chunhyang i reul dal nae neun de

Chunhyang's mother: Ya, i nyeon a, yok sim ma neun nyeon a, ni ga jom cha emu ryeo mu na. Doryeonnim i ga neun de ok go reum e da kkok cha go ga ji do mot hal geo go, ni ga cham da ga cheon cheon hi cha ryeong eul hae seo ge seo ul geun cheo e ji bi na ha na han kan ja ba seo isseu myeon doe ji an neu nya
Narrator: I ttae sa tto ui yeong eul bat kko Yi doryeong eun hal sa eop i ji beu ro do ra ga seo ja gi chae rim eul da ha go na gwi reul ta go Chunhyang ji be deul ryeot get da. Chunhyang i el go bul go a mu ri u reo do sseul tte eom neun il, ge rae seo

Chunhyang: Seo bang nim bu di mom jo sim ha go, bu di ga seo gwa geo ha syeo seo i mon nan cheo beul it ji ma ob so seo.

Yi: O nya, Chunhyang a, geok jeong ha ji ma ra ra. Nam ha il eon i jung cheon in de u ri ga a mu ri ge reo haet deon deul bu no eo gil su in na. Nae ga ga seo kkok a pu ro reo reul man nal te ni....

Narrator: Geu ri go gal ra jyeo seo geu hu e i sa tto ga Nae ju ro deu reo gan hu e Byeon Hakdo ga da si go eu re sa tto ro deu reo wa seo, Byeon Hakdo ga geu go eul e do chak ha ja mal ja, so mun neul deu reon ni ra, i go eul e il deung gi saeng tta ri Chunhyang i ran yeo ja ga it da neun so mun eul det go wan neun de i yeo ja reul kkok de ryeo da ga han beon bwa ya get da ha neun ge, i teun nal bu teo mo deun gwan ha reul bul reo seo,

Byeon: Yeo bwa ra, o neul gi saeng sin go reul hae bo a ra. Namwon ui gi saeng i dae che myeot myeong i na doe neu nya.

Clerk: Ye, han jeo geo do myeot baeng myeong i doe om ni da.

Byeon: Eum, ge reo ket ji. Geu rae nan nat chi geu i reum eul han beon il geo bo a ra.

Narrator: A mu ri i reum eul bo a do Chunhyang i ran ireum eun na o ji an neun dan ma ya. Ma ji mak e

Byeon: Yeo bwa ra gong bang, geu wae Chunhyang i ran ireum eun um neun nya?

Clerk: A, a ni ol ssi da. Geu Chunhyang eun wol nae gi saeng i a ni ob go go gwan sa tto seong sa tto ui ge e mi ga su cheong deu reo na om neun de yangban ui ppyeo reul ta go na wat da hae seo gi saeng gu sil ma da ha go dok su gong bang hol ro an ja seo gi peun bam e deok su man il sam go it ssa o ni gi saeng i a ni om ni da.

Byeon: Yei i nom deu ra, gi saeng ui tta ri myeon gi saeng i ji, ge reon ma ri, ge reon ma ri it deo ran ma ri nya.

Clerk: Tto, geu geot ppua ma ni a ni ra, sin sa tto i sa tto ye, i sa tto ui Yi doryeong i baeng nyeon ga ya geul mat go du ri juk ja sal ja ha go sal da ga gan neun de, i, eo jji ha o ri kka?

Byeon: Ye i nom! i sa tto neun Naeju ro deu reo ga ji geum jeong seung eu ro deu reo ga si go, nae i yang ban ui ga mun e seo geu gi saeng ui tal yeon eul myeo neu ri ro sam eul geot ga teu nya? Geu rae do Yi doryeong i a beo ji reul tta ra Namwon eu ro wat da ga ha
gang jak cheop hae ya na na ri bo nae da ga gan geo si ji geu ge mu seun sseul de ga in neun ma ri nya. Sok hi ga bul reo wa ra!

Narrator: Myeong eul nae ri ni na jol deu ri hal su eob ssi ga seo Chunhyang eul bu reu ra ga ni, Chunhyang ae mi ga so ni ya ba ri ya bil myeon seo

Chunhyang's mother: A ni ol si da. U ri Chunhyang i dang sin ne deul do al da si pi gi saeng no reun il ha ji an neun dae wae i reo ke....

Patrolman: Geu reo na sa tto myeong in de eo tteo ha o il kka?

Narrator:Sul dae jeop ha go don nyang i na dae jeop ha go sil han geu reut ssi si reo seo geun geun i ol ryeo seo bo nat da. Ga seo sa tto e ge


Byeon: Yei, ssang nom deul ga teun nom deul, ji geun myeo neu ri ga doel geo ga ta nu ga geu reon so ril det go wan neu nya. Sok hi ga seo doe ryeo o reo ra.

Narrator: Na jo reul da si bo nae seo hal su eob si Chunhyang eul kkeul ryeo da ga kkeul ryeo wat jyo. Chunhyang i kkeul ryeo ol tae, eo meo ni ga ga man hi,

Chunhyang's mother: Chunhyang a, ni ga ga ji ma ra. Nae ga ga ma. Geu no meul nae ga eo jjae deun nan jang eul chi geo na hal te ni kka....

Chunhyang: Eo meo ni, eo meo ni neun i jen yeon se do ma neu si go geu reon de, i reon de nal bu reu neun de nae ga ga ya ji eo meo ni ga ga sil sseul tte it sseum ni kka?

Narrator: Sa tto ga jeom jan i an ja seo Chunhyang dae ryeong i om ni da, ha ni kka,

Byeon: Eum, geu reo chi

Narrator: Geu a pe kkeu reo an ja,

Byeon: Geu rae, neo ga i reum Chunhyang i nya?

Chunhyang: Ye, Chunhyang i ol si da.

Byeon: Geu rae, neo neun ji geum na i myeot sal i ni?

Chunhyang: Ye, sip pal se i ol ssi da.

Byeon: Eo, hae do jo ku na. Geu rae, neo ji geum ha neun ji geop i mwo ji?
Chunhyang: Ji geop i a mu do eop so i da.

Byeon: Geu reum mwol ha go it ji?

Chunhyang: Ye, ji geum seo ul ga sin gu sa tto ui doryeonnim gwa baeng nyeon ga ya geul mat kko, ji geum ji be seo hol ro saeng hwal.

Byeon: Ye-o, ssang nyeon a, geu ma reul go ji deut go geu Yi doryeong eul gi da ri eu nya. Geu nom i jam si neo reul hoe rong ha d aga ol ra gan sa ram in de, neo ga teun gye ji beul eo tteo kke mit go it dan ma ri nya.

Chunhyang: A ni ol si da, u ri neun bun myeong hi baeng nyeon ga yak eu ro mae eun, byeon chi mot hal geom ni da.

Narrator: Sa tto a pe seo ja kku hang geo hae bwa ya sseul de eop go geu a pe an ja tteon na ro ri....

Clerk: I nyeon a deut geo ra,

Narrator: Sang bang i mal ha gi reul

Clerk (sang bang): I nyeon geo yeok gwan jang ha neun nyeon eun dae jung tong pan e mo geul baen da neun I reon yet geul do mon il geo bwat neu nya?

Chunhyang: Ye, so in do il kkin il geo bwat so i da.

Clerk: Geu reon de wae gwan jang nim i su cheong eul deul ra neun de wae geo yeok ha neu nya?

Chunhyang: Ye, je geo yeok do geo yeok il te ni wa, sa tto nim deu reo bo si o. baeng nyeon ga yak mae jeun yu bu nyeo, yu bu in eul gan eum ha neun geot do joe a nim ni kka?

Narrator: Sa tto ha do gi ga ma kyeo

Byeon: (pu pu pu) Jeo nyeon bwa ra, jeo nyeon bwa ra, nae ga neo reul gan eum ha da ni, se sang e eo di i reon i ri.... Gang je ro nae ga neo reul ji geum ha ja neun ge ra, ne ma reul deut ja ni.

Narrator: Sang tu ga pu reo ji do rok an jat da ga an jeol bu jeol mot ha go in neun de

Byeon: Jeo nyeon, jeo nyeon, hyeong teul e da da ra mae go jom ho doe ge cheo ra!

Narrator: Hyeong bang eul bul reo bun bu ha ni, hyeong bang eun meo ri che reul hwi eo ja ba hyeong teul e da gat da dae chung a pe d a chek gat da da ra mae da da ra mae
not ko, son ga rak man han i reon beo deul che reul ha na reul dam ssuk a na da ga geu a pe da jju-uk gat da phol chyeo no ko, keun nom eul gol ra hwi cheong hwi cheong ha ni kka, Chunhyang eun ne da ri ne pa reul da a, du da ri du pa reul hyeong teul e da da ra teu ni kkom jjak do mot ha go mae man ma ja ya ji. Geu rae seo, geu rae do geu go eul e geu yek jol deul do

**Patrolman:** U ri ga al go it neun ji ra, a ga ssi, hal su eup so i da. Sa tton nim myeong i si ra ha neun de u ri ga mae reul an chi myeo neun u ri ga ma ja juk neun de myeot mae man cham eu si op so.

**Narrator:** Hyeong bang i guk da ran beo deul ga ji reul ha na deul go hwi cheong hwi cheong ha myeong seo, nal ryeo seo han eon pak chi ni, jeol ban i jjuk hu reu reu reu ha go dae cheong a pe, sa tton an jeun sang a pe ga seo, pu reu reu reu ppu ryeo jeo seo nae ri ne.

**Byeon:** O, geu nyeon ho doe ge chyeo ra!

**Narrator:** Tto ha na ji eo seo tto han beon chi ra ni kka

**Chunhyang:** Sa tto je mal jom deu reu si o. I je han mae reul chi yeot sao ni nae mal jom deu reo bop si da.

**Chunhyang** (sing):
Il ja ro ttak bu chi ni
Han il ja ro a roe ri da
Il bu nong sa ha ja go
Il pyeon dan sim meo geun ma eum
Il nyeon i da mot ga seo
Il geo in deul i joet su rya

**Narrator:** tto hyeong bang nom i han mae reul tak chi ni

**Chunhyang** (sing):
Du jjae mae reul ttak bu chi ni
Seo du i jja a roe ri da
I bi je reul a om nin de
Bul kyeong i bu i nae ma eum
I nae mat go i nae ju geo do
Yi doryeong eul mon it get so

Se jjae mae reul ttak bu chi ni
Seok sam jja ro a roe ri da
Sam saeng ga yak mae jeun eon yak
Sam chi hyeong mun jeong dae reul gal ji eon jeong
Eo I ha yeo heo rak hal sun ga

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Ne jjae mae reul chi go na ni
Neok sa jja ro a roe ri da
Sa saeng dong geo ha ja ha go
(unclear) mae jeot neu nya
Sa ji reul jjin neun de do
Ga mang eop go eo rim eop sao ni
Sa tto nim bal ki so seo!

Da seot mae reul tak chi go na ni
Da seot jja ro a roe ri da
O reun yeon gi kkeu chi ji an ko
O haeng eu ro mae jeun eon yak
O hae bul man u ri nang gun
On jeon hi saeng gak na ni
Eo i ha yeo i jeul son ga

Yeo seot mae reul chi go na ni
Yeo seot yuk ja ro a roe ri da
Yung yuk eun san sip yuk eu ro
(unclear)
San cheon ma di yuk cheon ma di
Eo rin sa ryeong mae jeun in yeon
Eo-i ha myeon i jeul son ga

Il gop mae reul chi go na ni
Il gop chil ja ro a roe ri da
Chil geo ji ak a ni on de
Chil gae hyeong beol waen il i o
Chil ha neun jeo hyeong bang a
Chil ttae ma da kgot jil ma so
Chil bu hong ak na jung neun da

Yeo deoi mae reul chi go na ni
Yeo deol pal ja ro a roe ri da
Pal dae wa pal do gang byeok su hyang jung e
Il deung myeong gwan man nat gu na
Pal ja jo eun Chunhyang i ga
I gyeong i waen mal in go

A hop mae ro chi go na ni
A hop gu ja ro a roe ri da
Gu gok gan jang gu bul gu bul
I ne nun mul heul reo heul reo
Dae dong gang i doe eot sseu ni

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Gu gok cheong san jang heung bae ya
Gyeong jang san mu reo ta go
Hanyang seong eul eol reun ga seo
Gu cheong tteul e deu reo seo seo
Gu gu in jeong ju dal ha go
Sam cheon don eul eol ren ga seo
Yi doryeong eul man na bo ja

Narrator: Yeol mae reul chi go na ni, Chunhyang i kka mu reo chyeo, a mureon sang gak i eom neun de

Chunhyang: Sa tto deu reu si o. sip sang gu sa hal ji ra do eo rim eop go ga mang ebop seu ni, i mom eul ju gi op so seo.

Narrator: Byeon Hakdo gi-ga ma kyeo seo

Byeon: Jeo nyeon, jeo nyeon, se sang e jeo reon ak han nyeon i it na

Narrator: Pu pu ha myeon seo an jeol bu jeol reul ha myeon seo

Byeon: Jeo nyeon eul ok e da gat da keun ka reul sswi wo ok e ga du geo ra!

Performer (Mr. Li): Geu rae yo ge sa si reun kwang hua ru yu ram do geu reot ko, wa seo tto man na neun jang myeon do, i geon se sang e da deu reo nan il in de, nae ga gan dan ha ge i reon yae gi man ha go, i jen gi eok nyeok i da mo ja ra go ja kku man i jojyeo seo, a jik do man i man tan mal ya, geu rae seo....
# GLOSSARY

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Hwanghaedo
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Ilbonnom
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Jungguk
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BIBLIOGRAPHY


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