FROM PPĖSŬPPOL TO YAGU:
THE EVOLUTION OF BASEBALL AND ITS TERMINOLOGY IN KOREA

by

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B.A., The University of Minnesota, 2010
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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

The Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

(Asian Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(Vancouver)

August 2015

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Abstract

Baseball has shaped not only the English language, but also American society. From the early development of professional sport, to spearheading integration with Jackie Robinson’s first appearance, to even deploying “baseball ambassadors” in Japan as wartime spies, baseball has been at the forefront of societal change even as its popularity declined in the United States. Nonetheless, the sport’s global presence remains strong, presenting us with an opportunity to examine how baseball has shaped language and society outside North America.

Baseball has an extensive set of specialized terms. Whether these words are homonyms of other English terms, or idioms unique to the sport, each term is vital to the play of the game and must be accounted for when introducing baseball to a new country. There are various ways to contend with this problem: importing the terms wholesale as loanwords, or coining neologisms that correspond to each term.

Contemporary Korean baseball terminology is the still-evolving product of a historically contingent competition between two sets of vocabulary: the English and the Japanese. Having been first introduced by American missionaries and the YMCA, baseball was effectively “brought up” by the already baseball-loving Japanese who occupied Korea as colonizers shortly after baseball’s first appearance there in 1905. With no professional league of its own until 1982, Korean would remain under the strongest influence from Japan.

This thesis is an account of the evolution of baseball terminology in Korean. This process of change is intertwined with Japanese colonialism and the multilayered process of globalization, which shaped not only Korean baseball vocabulary but Korean language
identities writ large. While baseball has never been Korea’s favourite sport, it has often been seen as a form of non-violent resistance to Japanese oppression. Why is it then that a large amount of Korea’s baseball terminology to this day remains Japanese in origin? Even as Japan itself shifts toward using more English baseball terms in Japanese, Korea and Korean have seen fewer changes. The socio-political climate in which Korean baseball evolved has likewise influenced the changes in terminology, which will be analysed here using new data gathered from primary sources.
Preface
This thesis is original, unpublished work by the author, Natasha Rivera.
**Table of Contents**

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. ii
Preface .................................................................................................................................. iv
Table of Contents ..................................................................................................................... v
List of Tables ............................................................................................................................ vi
List of Figures ........................................................................................................................... vii
Note to the Reader ................................................................................................................... viii
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................................... ix
Dedication ............................................................................................................................... x
Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 1

**The Roots of Baseball in Korea** .......................................................................................... 3
  Baseball’s “Creation” and the Early Development of the Major Leagues .......................... 3
  Horace Wilson, Kōshien, and Pearl Harbor ...................................................................... 7
  Baseball for God, Baseball for the Emperor ...................................................................... 13
    Who was the father of Korean baseball? ....................................................................... 13
    Bringing the game to the colonies ................................................................................. 15
    Challenging the oppressors on the field ....................................................................... 18
    Professional baseball for Korea .................................................................................... 20

**The Legacy of Oppression in the World Baseball Classic: Vengeance at the Bat** .......... 22

**Japanese Colonial Policies** .............................................................................................. 26
  Physical Education: From “Lazy Subjects” to Imperial Soldiers ..................................... 26
  A Brief Review of Colonial Language Policies ............................................................... 28

**Baseball Terminology** ...................................................................................................... 31
  English Basics ...................................................................................................................... 31
  Japanese Terminology – Then and Now ......................................................................... 32
  Korean Baseball Terminology – A Linguistic Melting Pot ............................................ 36

**Data** .................................................................................................................................. 39
  Methodology ....................................................................................................................... 39
  Dictionary Evolution .......................................................................................................... 40
  Findings ............................................................................................................................... 42

**Further Analysis – The Future of International Baseball** ............................................... 51
  Is English Really Baseball’s Lingua Franca? .................................................................... 51
  The Korean Baseball Vernacular .................................................................................... 52

**Conclusion** ........................................................................................................................ 54

**Bibliography** .................................................................................................................... 57

**Appendices** ...................................................................................................................... 68
  Appendix A: List of English Terms Searched .................................................................. 68
  Appendix B: Baseball Terms Found in the 1937 *Dictionary of Foreign Words in Modern Korea* .............................................................. 70
List of Tables

Table 1: Changes made to previously English baseball terms during WWII.................. 34
Table 2: Some examples of changing terminology......................................................... 48
Table 3: Comparison of some differences found in modern English-Korean
dictionaries .................................................................................................................. 49
Table 4: Comparison of some terms found in modern English-Japanese and English-Korean dictionaries ........................................................................................................ 49
List of Figures

Figure 1: The number of terms found out of 150 searched in each dictionary ........ 42
Figure 2: The word origins of the terms found in the Korean dictionaries used....... 43
Figure 3: The word origins of the terms found in the English-Japanese dictionaries used................................................................. 44
Figure 4: Number of terms found by word origin in Korean dictionaries .................. 45
Figure 5: Number of terms found by word origin in English-Japanese dictionaries. 46
Note to the Reader
Throughout this thesis the McCune-Reischauer system of Korean romanization is used for proper nouns and titles. The Yale system is used for romanization of specific linguistic examples. For Japanese, the Hepburn romanization system is used throughout.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I have to thank my supervisor, Ross King, for putting up with my ever-changing whims over the past two years, and supporting me in doing research on what I love. I also received invaluable support from Casey Collins and Eunseon Kim, who helped me to narrow down my thought processes. Special thanks also must go to Blair Gaffney, for putting up with my incessant stream of thoughts each evening during the writing process, and my sister Sam Rivera for listening to my rants. Finally I want to thank my dad, Steve Rivera, my mom, Marilyn Cragg, and my stepdad, Jeff Cragg, without whose support I would not have made it this far.
For my father, who is the reason I’m a Twins fan,
but not the reason I’m a Brewers fan
**Introduction**

With every new sport comes a new vocabulary; a way of describing and referring to it that is all its own. In many ways this is especially true for baseball, a sport with so many rules and statistics that even a long-time fan might have trouble keeping up with all of them. The trouble begins, of course, when a sport like this, so thoroughly developed and unabashedly American, is brought to a new country. What should be done with all of the terminology? Is it better to translate, or transliterate? Or perhaps both?

In the years following the introduction of baseball to Japan, with its popularity soaring ever upward, this was indeed a challenge. For the most part, the early game in Japan remained in English. But with baseball quickly becoming almost more Japan’s national sport than America’s, the vocabulary followed suit in becoming more “Japanized” and diverse than it had been. The rules in both countries continued to evolve, and so did the terminology.

What then, of Korea? In most other countries where the game of baseball was introduced and eventually flourished, the same people who brought it shaped the sport. Whether it was the American-style baseball found in Latin America as a result of American cultural imperialism, or the Japanese-style game brought to Taiwan during colonial rule, the vestiges of Empire dictate the style of the game.

Korea, on the other hand, was in a unique position. An American missionary, Phillip L. Gillett, who was the first head of the Korean YMCA, first introduced baseball there. The thought prevailed that teaching modern western sport to the Korean youth could prepare them for a modern, westernized future. But the timing of this introduction would shape the future of the game. For it was introduced in 1905, the year that Korea
was made Japan’s protectorate, and a mere five years before full-on colonization. As Japan began to take charge of Korea’s education, so too was sport in Korea folded under Japan’s wing.

And so this American game was to be brought up by the already baseball-obsessed Japanese, with their particularities, and of course, their terminology. The attempts at language control and manipulation during the colonial period would spill over into the realm of baseball, and persist in a way different from many other subjects. The ever-changing nature of the game of baseball, and its position in society, would have an impact on the vocabulary used and provide an interesting study in language planning, language change, and the effects of fandom on language use.

This thesis is an account of the evolution of baseball terminology in Korean. This process of change is intertwined with Japanese colonialism and the multilayered process of globalization, which shaped not only Korean baseball vocabulary but Korean language identities themselves. While baseball has never been Korea’s favourite sport, from its early days to even the recent World Baseball Classic it has often been seen as a non-violent form of resistance to Japanese oppression. Why is it then—even when Korean language “purification” efforts have removed Japanese influence in other areas of the language—that a large amount of Korea’s baseball terminology to this day remains Japanese in origin? Even as Japan itself shifts toward using more English baseball terms, Korean has seen fewer changes. The socio-political climate in which Korean baseball evolved can be traced in the changes in terminology, which will be analysed here using new data gathered from primary sources.
The Roots of Baseball in Korea

Baseball’s “Creation” and the Early Development of the Major Leagues
Even among early baseball historians there is some controversy regarding the origins of the sport of baseball (Spalding 47). Although the “Doubleday myth” promoted by A.G. Spalding (Levine 113) in the early 20th century is decidedly just that – a myth – and although the Baseball Hall of Fame remains in Cooperstown, there is no doubt that Abner Doubleday had nothing to do with the creation and spread of baseball (Burns).

However, the actual origins of the sport remain unclear. There is some substance to the argument that it is simply a revised version of the British game of “Rounders”, or the eventual outcome of the country game of “Town Ball”, although purists might argue that whatever it may or may not have evolved from is irrelevant, and it was only with the formation of the New York Knickerbockers in 1845 that baseball truly began (Spalding 52).

Regardless of its true origins, the game gained popularity throughout the 19th century in the United States, being played by everyone from young children in east coast cities to soldiers on Civil War battlefields. It soon grew out of its roots as a sport for youngsters and amateurs, forming the National Association of Base Ball Clubs in 1858, giving the sport its first set of official rules (Spalding 70). By the 1870s baseball took its place as the first professional sport with the creation of the National League. The first club to go professional was the Cincinnati Red Stockings, who in 1869 determined that the only way for their talented players to improve and make a living was to ditch the amateur status of baseball (Spalding 135). Building on their marked success, other clubs would soon follow as opposition to the idea of professionalism waned.
From this time on the rules of baseball would be dictated by those at the professional level, in order to trickle down through the amateur clubs. The initial professional association proved to be as corrupt as the amateur association, and so dissolved in 1875, making way for the National League of Base Ball Clubs in 1876, which forms part of the major leagues to this day. The first president, William A. Hulbert, drafted the constitution that would serve as the league’s rules, and served until his death in 1882 (Spalding 216). Over the next 25 years, other associations would come together to try to compete with the National League’s dominance, but the National League, at least at the professional level, would control baseball in the late 19th century.

Corruption and an unwillingness to accommodate players would begin to alienate the National League at the end of the 19th century, paving the way for its only real rival to come into existence in 1900. To this day the American League, with a slightly different set of rules, is the National League’s counterpart, and the two make up what is now Major League Baseball, considered the pinnacle of organized baseball around the globe (Seymour 314).

The first modern World Series was played between the National League champion Pittsburgh Pirates and American League winners the Boston Red Sox in 1903, originally called the “World’s Championship Series” (J. D. Kelly 74). This would later be shortened to the “World’s Series” in 1912 and by 1918 be known by its modern name of simply the “World Series”. The irony of a championship calling itself a “world” series when only one country is involved has become more poignant in an era where international baseball is more prominent; however, it can certainly be facetiously argued that as the Toronto Blue Jays won the championship in 1992 and 1993, it technically is an
international championship, involving just two countries. However, despite prophetic declarations of a true world’s series in Japan, which will be discussed in the next section, baseball’s first commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis worked tirelessly to keep baseball a “purely American” sport (J. D. Kelly 20), and there has still been no sign of a truly international world championship.

Despite the early US-centric views of the professional game, many championed the idea of bringing the American pastime, and by association American cultural imperialism, around the globe (Gems 31). Albert Spalding, who at the time was pitcher for the Boston professional club, organized the first tour abroad of American baseball clubs in 1874. 18 players from the Boston and Philadelphia teams travelled across the Atlantic to Great Britain, where they played a series of exhibition games while also competing in cricket matches with British clubs (Spalding 186). Although the American style of batting led to great success in these cricket matches, baseball would not catch on as hoped for in the British Isles, where the sport was seen as too wild for British sensibilities.

In 1888 Spalding would organize another world tour, this time as a ploy to spread American presence through the “democratic” game of baseball (Levine 99). The players selected for the tour consisted of Spalding’s own Chicago club, against a team of “all-stars” from across the national league, selected for their presentation and so-called clean habits – in order to give the world a good impression of the American game. This team of “baseball missionaries” set out west by train, playing exhibition games along the way in Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, and Utah. They would play several more games in California before setting off by steamship on their world tour, with stops in Hawaii, New
Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, Egypt, Italy, France, and Great Britain. Dignitaries ranging from Theodore Roosevelt to Mark Twain celebrated their homecoming. Although Spalding considered this tour a success, it was ultimately a money-losing venture and, apart from Hawaii and Australia, none of the stops on this tour would retain any great interest in the sport of baseball (Spalding 264; Burns).

American Imperialism did however mean that baseball soon spread through American possessions; the game quickly grew in popularity in Puerto Rico, was enjoyed in the Philippines, and before long was the most popular pastime in Cuba (Gems 83). Where the old world had rejected the fast-paced American game, the new world was all too keen on it (Spalding 378). Until it was overcome by ice hockey during the 20th century, baseball in Canada had also grown to immense popularity and was for a time considered its National Game – meaning that baseball then as the sport of “America” would have to include all of the continent, from North to South (Spalding 385).

In modern times the popularity of baseball in the United States has waned in comparison to that of American football, which would seem to have cause to claim for itself the title of National Pastime. However, baseball remains the most popular sport in much of the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. Perhaps the time has come for a re-evaluation of baseball’s role in the world, although that is not the purpose of this thesis. Regardless, while it certainly did not play out the way Spalding had imagined, baseball is without a doubt an international game, though as we will see in the following sections, not an exclusively American-influenced one.
Horace Wilson, Kōshien, and Pearl Harbor
As with the origins of baseball itself, there are conflicting stories as to who is the so-called ‘Father’ of Japanese baseball. While there is an argument for Isō Abe (安部 磯雄) to have been the one to bring the sport to Japan (Misselwitz), the most commonly accepted story is that baseball was introduced to the island nation by one Horace Wilson, a teacher at Kaisei Gakkō (開成学校, one of the predecessors of Tokyo University), in 1873 (Guttmann and Thompson 82).

With various British and American groups being represented in this era, it may not be surprising to note that shortly after its introduction baseball had some initial competition from cricket for popularity among the Japanese (Guttmann 76). However, cricket soon died out and baseball’s popularity quickly grew. It began first with amateur clubs, but it would not be until 1936 that a professional league was formed in Japan (Chiba 195). Early athletic clubs were established in port towns like Yokohama, where they could find a large number of Americans to compete against.

As early as 1878, American teams were coming to Japan to play exhibition baseball. The University of Wisconsin sent its team to play against Keiō University and other challengers that year (Obojski 3) and returned again in 1909 to face Keiō and Waseda Universities, a move which was seen to be significant for both the future of baseball and the future of diplomacy (Flanagan). Japanese teams were soon sent to the US for tours as well, the first being Waseda University in 1905 (Guttmann and Thompson 87). In the early 20th century few countries where baseball had been introduced saw such interest as had developed in Japan, and in an effort to match the
modern sensibilities they saw America as the model for, they took to America’s national pastime with keen interest (Spalding 395).

Given how popular accounts of Japan and the ‘Japanese national character’ allege that Japanese culture generally favors the group over the individual, it is perhaps somewhat surprising that baseball was in fact the first team sport to be introduced to the country (Reaves, *Taking in a Game* 75). The emphasis on playing and working together seemed to suit the Japanese temperament perfectly, and before long efforts were made to “Japanize” the game into something more suitable for Japanese players. Japanese-style baseball emphasized practice and repetition, whereas baseball in the United States seemed to focus on natural and individual talent, which would go on to become one of the most essential differences between the two styles of play (Ikei 14). This “Samurai” style of baseball was inspired by Inazo Nitobe’s *Bushido*, seen as a modern code of ethics for the Japanese (W. W. Kelly, “Samurai Baseball” 433). This was slightly ironic as Nitobe himself was a critic of baseball (Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat* 3). In fact, there was a good deal of controversy regarding the suitability of baseball and its potential for “evils,” especially among Japanese Christians like Nitobe who viewed it as a game of trickery (I. Abe 725). Since a good number of those Westerners who played baseball in Asia were Christian missionaries, one wonders what made this distinction for the Japanese in the early days of baseball in Japan, or when such associations came to be.

The initial hotbeds of baseball mania in Japan were universities and prefectural secondary schools (Guttmann and Thompson 83). Keiō and Waseda universities began holding a yearly tournament, and Asahi Shinbun began a sponsored high school tournament in 1915, while Mainichi Shinbun followed with its own tourney in 1923 (Jeon
The game had spread quickly, with little consistency around rules, as only translated copies of A.G. Spalding’s guide were used until the Japan Association of Umpires finally published its own set of rules in 1916 (Guttmann and Thompson 84). By the 1920s, baseball had firmly developed a stronghold in the Japanese Empire. Many on both sides of the Pacific saw baseball as being just as much Japan’s game as America’s, and with baseball as the ultimate means of diplomacy between the two countries, a real “World Series” could not be far behind (Crepeau 198; Guttmann and Thompson 89).

The Asahi tournament would later become colloquially known as the “Summer Kōshien”, after the stadium in which it has been held since 1924, and to this day remains Japan’s most popular annual sports tournament (Hashimoto 117). In the early days of baseball in Japan, before the creation of its own professional league, this tournament was the pinnacle of Japanese baseball (W. W. Kelly, “Samurai Baseball” 435). Teams from each prefecture, as well as teams from Manchuria, Taiwan, and Korea, would compete for the yearly crown (J. Yu, “Transforming Sedentary Subjects into Active Athletes” 58). Throughout its entire history, just four tournaments were missed, during the years 1942-1945, due to Japan’s policies during World War II, which will be discussed in detail below.

Large stadiums for baseball use were being built around the Empire by the 1920s and 1930s, and what better way to attract the type of talented and exhibition baseball that Japanese fans craved (Guttmann and Thompson 85; Howe 15). US college teams continued to tour the country, introducing baseball’s latest developments to the Japanese while also bringing back tales of the Japanese style of play. These tours, notably a 1924 outing by the University of Chicago nine, included stops in Korea where the players
dedicated a new ballpark in Seoul (Howe 15). The tours were not limited to college
teams, however – professional teams also embarked on “barnstorming tours” to ensure
the game’s growth.

Perhaps the most significant of these tours took place in 1934, when Babe Ruth,
fresh off his final season as a New York Yankee, led a team of his fellow players across
the Pacific to Japan. The tour was arranged by appealing to Ruth’s ego, for he was the
player that Japanese fans truly wanted to see (Burns). Throughout the tour, most of the
exhibition games were lopsided affairs, with the American team easily overcoming the
best that Japan had to offer. The one exception to this was a 1-0 game narrowly won by
the Americans after an impressive pitching performance by Eiji Sawamura, who struck
out Ruth and several of his teammates, including Lou Gehrig (J. D. Kelly 13). Sawamura
went on to have a short career in Japanese professional baseball, before losing his life in
service during the Pacific War. His impressive performance is still remembered, and the
NPB pitcher’s award is named in his honour.

An important, yet often overlooked part of that 1934 tour is the contribution of
catcher Moe Berg. Berg was an unusual, and last-minute, choice for a team composed of
baseball all-stars. He had a reputation as an unlikeable man, but an intellectual. His
aptitude with languages meant that between the steamship Empress of Japan’s departure
from Vancouver and its arrival in Tokyo, he had a basic working knowledge of both
conversational and written Japanese (Obojski 17). His status as an athlete-ambassador
allowed him freer reign than most foreigners had at that time, when tensions were
heightened and war was on the horizon. Berg was able to sneak into Saint Luke’s
hospital, one of the tallest buildings in Tokyo at that time, and record 23 seconds of
footage that would later be used when planning the bombings of Tokyo during the war (Dawidoff 95).

The ultimate outcome of this tour was of course to build up enthusiasm for professional baseball in Japan to the point that the Japanese professional league, Nippon Professional Baseball, was formed in 1936. This came a year after the first team of Japanese professionals, the Tokyo Giants, was formed (J. D. Kelly 14). This change in status did not lead to more international play anytime soon, as MLB commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis outlawed further play with Japanese teams, worried that losing to foreigners, or for that matter the Negro Leagues or teams of women, would dilute the “purity” of the game. This ban did not last long; after Landis’ death and the end of the Second World War, many changes came to baseball, including the reopening of relations with Japan (J. D. Kelly 101).

Ironically, this early baseball in Japan was in many ways more racially diverse than that in the United States at the time (W. W. Kelly, “Samurai Baseball” 432). Among its best players were the Russian Victor Starfin and several Taiwanese players from the colonies. Even later, though perhaps not as widely acknowledged as being “foreign”, was Sadaharu Oh, Japan’s home-run king, who was half Chinese (Oh 10). The NPB enjoyed a brief surge in popularity at this time, with nine professional teams by 1940, but within a few years, baseball’s standing in Japan reached an all-time low and the future of baseball found itself in peril (Whiting, The Chrysanthemum and the Bat 4).

Many Americans in the 1930s agreed that baseball was their greatest export to Japan, and most contemporary Japanese could hardly have argued the point (Gripentrog 258). The general consensus was that if Japan was capable of excelling at the American
game, then surely their future was guaranteed as an American-style democracy. It was for this reason that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor hit especially hard, bringing out the worst in racist feelings towards the Japanese, as well as leading some sports writers to declare it as a failure of baseball diplomacy; Japan could never have truly understood baseball and then gone on to do something so outrageous (Obermeyer 11). However sensationalized the headlines were, the truth was that America and baseball had long felt the build-up to war, and baseball played an important role in American propaganda (Crepeau 205).

In Japan too, baseball underwent a number of changes before being abolished completely. The Big Six universities in Tokyo replaced all English baseball terms, even those that had never had a Japanese translation, with Japanese terms (Yamamuro 168). By 1943 baseball was abolished completely, seen as a representation of the enemy; its abolition was part of a larger campaign to erase Western influence. This decision of course had ramifications throughout the Japanese Empire, and the effects on Korean baseball will be discussed in the next section.

During the American occupation after the war, baseball’s popularity saw a quick resurgence, and professional baseball resumed in 1946. There are many more milestones in Japanese baseball than can be recounted here, but the most significant points for this thesis are the contributions of foreign players in Japan, and Japanese players who went to America. Throughout the history of Japanese professional baseball, foreign players made significant contributions, to the point that in 1951 a three-foreigner per team limit was established by the NPB. This limit was decreased to two in 1963, and was eventually abolished in 1995 (Chiba 197). However, American players still came to Japan, generally
those who did not have the talent to break through into the Majors back in the USA or former professional players at the end of their careers. The barnstorming all-star tours also resumed, with well-known players travelling to Japan to compete against Japan’s best (Whiting, *You Gotta Have Wa* 329).

Masanori Murakami was the first Japanese player to play in MLB, playing several games for the San Francisco Giants in 1964. Unfortunately, contract disputes between his Japanese club and MLB commissioner Ford Frick meant that he could not continue his career in the United States, and his contribution is largely forgotten (Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat* 114). It was only thirty years later, in 1995, that Japanese players came to compete in the Major Leagues in earnest. Hideo Nomo, a pitcher for the Los Angeles Dodgers, was the first to break in, and in the decades since many of his countrymen have followed and have enjoyed successful careers in American baseball (Bjarkman 124).

**Baseball for God, Baseball for the Emperor**

**Who was the father of Korean baseball?**

While the beginnings of baseball in the United States and Japan certainly have their ambiguities, the identity of its founder in Korea is a little clearer. Every shred of evidence points to the head of the Korean YMCA in Seoul being responsible for baseball’s introduction to Korea in 1905. Such conflicting information as there is stems from various interpretations and spellings of the man’s name. Looking through English, Korean, and even Japanese sources, the founder of baseball in Korea is variously listed as one P.L. Gillet, or Gillette, or Gilbert, with no real consistency. The source that this thesis is most inclined to follow is the work of Davidann, who pulls the information directly from the YMCA archives, giving us the name of Phillip Loring Gillett (257).
The YMCA sent its first missionary to Korea in 1888, the Canadian James S. Gale. He found little ground for establishing a Korean branch at the time, and soon joined the American Northern Presbyterian Mission, so his work for the YMCA is largely forgotten (Clark 360). Other attempts by well-known missionaries such as Horace Underwood to establish a YMCA in Korea were thwarted by King Kojong, who viewed it as a political organization. Their request was finally granted in 1901, and the YMCA international committee sent Phillip Gillett in 1901 (Brown 505). The YMCA of Korea was formally organized in 1903, and Gillett served as its general secretary (D.-W. Kim 363). The initial goals of the organization were to bring men to God through modern education, which included physical fitness. The YMCA went on to play an important role in many movements in Korean society, and Gillett served as its general secretary until resigning over Japanese allegations of conspiracy by YMCA members (Davidann 271). Much like the inconsistency over his name, there are other accounts of his tenure that point to his being forced out by Japanese authorities.

Baseball was not the only modern sport introduced in Korea, and in fact, if not for the imminent colonization by Japan, might not have gained any traction at all (Reaves, Taking in a Game 116). The YMCA also introduced basketball and volleyball, and basketball proved to be more popular initially (De Ceuster 16). Even after colonization first began, baseball was not popular among the Koreans, who preferred soccer, as it required less specialized equipment. Instead it was through the Japanese population, the colonizers, that baseball thrived in the first decades after its introduction to Korea by an American (Ok, “The Political Significance of Sport” 666). However, the Japanese did not
interfere with the YMCA promotion of sport during this period, as they were a Western organization and not a Korean one.

The YMCA promotion of sport was not a phenomenon unique to Korea, and was in fact a hallmark of the so-called “Muscular Christianity” movement that gained traction in the 19th century. However, there was some dispute among YMCA leaders as to whether baseball was suitable for this purpose – some argued that it provided healthy recreation to both player and spectator, while others claimed that the fact that baseball had gone professional ruined it for the amateur-oriented ideals of the YMCA (Baker 259). Ultimately it was acceptable enough in Seoul, so that after the formation of the YMCA there in 1903 the ideals of not only the Christian religion but also physical education would be spread there in the coming decades (Koizumi 100). The early focus on community outreach by the Korean YMCA was classes in the English language, as well as vocational training (D.-W. Kim 364). This was in stark contrast to the traditional Confucian values in Korea that had shunned physical activity in favour of academic study alone.

**Bringing the game to the colonies**
If we break away from Korea a moment, we can compare the roots of baseball with those in another Japanese colony: Taiwan. While the Japanese colonizers were playing the sport there as early as 1898, baseball was not opened up to the native population until around 1918 (Lin and Lee 328). The approaches to baseball in the two colonies were certainly different, and if we were to conjecture as to the cause, the most likely response is that it depended on who was ultimately responsible for the introduction of baseball in each country. While Korea had American missions which aimed to bring the sport to all
of the people (for the various reasons discussed above), baseball in Taiwan was at its core and in its play wholly Japanese. It was not until after the March 1st movement in Korea that Japan was compelled to allow the native population of Taiwan to play baseball, and only then as part of their policy to “assimilate the barbarians, turning them into loyal Japanese subjects” (J. Yu, *Playing in Isolation* 15). Up until that point the Colonial Government’s argument was that promoting the play of baseball would lead to nationalistic and anti-government feelings (Lin and Lee 328). As we will see, the Japanese Colonial Governments of Taiwan and Korea took wholly different approaches.

Taiwan, like Korea, was a land heavily influenced by Confucian values, but also by the indigenous culture present there. After the treaty of Shimonoseki when Taiwan first became Japan’s colony, the native Chinese attitudes favoured traditional education and shunned athletic prowess. Japan’s early efforts included transforming Taiwanese education, promoting a more modern, Japanese teaching style, and actively promoting physical education (J. Yu, *Playing in Isolation* 12). As previously mentioned, this did not include baseball, which was instead reserved for the schools attended by the children of Japanese officials and colonists. However, as the policies changed and the schools for natives were afforded much the same treatment as those for the Japanese, many Taiwanese found their strength in baseball.

Eventually the teams of Taiwanese players would grow strong enough not only to compete in the high school tournament at Kōshien, but also to win several times in the 1930s. Several of these players went on to play in the Japanese professional leagues (J. Yu, “Transforming Sedentary Subjects into Active Athletes” 50). After 1945, baseball continued to be played in Taiwan, but the strength of teams shifted – it was in the late
1960s with the success of their Little League teams that Taiwanese baseball came into its own. The style and language of baseball in Taiwan remains Japanese, however; while in recent years some Taiwanese players have found success on the international stage, it is the sport itself that remains popular there and not any particular love for their own professional leagues (Morris 66; Bjarkman 128). It can certainly be argued that the Japanese approaches to colonial government in the two nations led to the differences in baseball interest in Taiwan and Korea today – whereas the Taiwanese were allowed and even encouraged to play baseball by the end of the colonial period, as we will see in the following sections suspicion was thrown on the motivations of Koreans who played the game.

Turning back to the situation in Korea, we see a slightly different attitude by the governing Japanese to allowing the natives to play. A 1914 edict by the Japanese government explicitly permitted baseball, with the hope that adapting such sports would make them more amenable to Japanese interests (Ok, “The Political Significance of Sport” 665). However, at this time baseball was still more popular among Korea’s Japanese population, who began organizing their own tournaments starting in 1916. The YMCA remained the main source of Korean play in this decade, and it was not until 1920 that Koreans held baseball tournaments of their own – however these were soon put down by Japanese interests, and Koreans were only allowed to participate in Japanese-run tournaments (B.-C. Kim 373).

Although not explicitly mentioned in Spalding’s 1911 account of baseball history, a photograph of the Seoul YMCA baseball team can be found among others in his chapter on baseball in the orient (398). Despite the racist overtones of Spalding’s writing,
he foresaw the growing popularity of baseball in Japan over the coming decades, and it is unclear whether Korea was simply lumped in because it was already part of the Japanese Empire at this point. By 1913 the YMCA team was one of seven established teams in Korea, and continued to organize exhibition games through the coming decade (B.-C. Kim 373).

By this time the American baseball that had been introduced had irrevocably become Japanese baseball. What had originally been called thakwu (打球) was now known as yakwu, the Korean reading of the Japanese characters for yakyū (野球), their word for baseball since 1895. This new term was initially brought back by Korean students returning from study in Tokyo, and would stick as the name of the sport from that point forward (Jeon and Kim 310). An apocryphal story in KBO player Bong Jung-keun’s memoir suggests that it might have been natural to call the sport rwukwu (塁球), a direct translation into Chinese characters of base and ball, but after Phillip Gillett introduced the sport to Koreans, an onlooker suggested yakwu since it had no Korean name (Bong and Choi 110). However, there is no evidence at all to support such a claim.

**Challenging the oppressors on the field**

While soccer remained the most commonly played sport among Koreans in the first decade of colonial rule, the chance to challenge their oppressors at their own beloved game would prove to increase baseball’s popularity (Reaves, “Straw Sandals and Strong Arms” 91). With Japanese control becoming ever-present in daily life, it was only natural that their favourite sport should become part of daily life in their Korean colony. As explained by Reaves:
Baseball may have been brought to Korea by a U.S. missionary, but it would be the passions and policies of Japanese soldiers, administrators, and educators that enabled the game to survive and prosper to the point where eventually it would become an integral ingredient of local culture. (Taking in a Game 116)

Soon even the common knowledge that baseball was an American sport was forgotten among the Japanese influence that nurtured baseball in Asia (Cho, “Major League Baseball as a Forged National Pastime” 535).

After the March 1st independence movement in 1919, some significant changes were made in baseball policy, which would affect not only baseball in Korea, but as previously mentioned, Taiwan as well. The Taiwanese would be allowed to play as it was seen as a way of turning them into loyal subjects; however new restrictions were introduced in Korea because the Korean game was perceived, and rightly so, as a means of stirring up nationalistic sentiment, as many of the groups involved in the movement, such as the YMCA, also participated in baseball (Morris). However, after the March 1st Independence Movement, baseball began to take on a new role; as a promoter of peace and harmony, since it was commonly accepted as a Japanese game by Koreans in this period (Reaves, Taking in a Game 119). The Chosŏn Amateur Athletic Association was set up in 1920 to take charge of planning games (Taking in a Game 121). The association went on to host tournaments of several sports, including baseball, throughout the 1920s (Si 159).

In the 1920s the major Korean newspapers began to cover sporting events, and beginning in 1928 into the 1930s the most popular radio broadcasts on KBC included baseball (Joo 40). The surging popularity of the sport offered a new way to both appease and challenge the oppressors. Before long new rules were established to prevent just such a thing; the Japanese determined that all athletic associations should be government-run
and soon the colonial government took charge of planning all tournaments, whether the participants were Korean or Japanese teams. Heightened government control was just the beginning, leading to a decline in baseball popularity in the 1930s (Ok, “Coercion for Asian Conquest” 340).

As in Japan itself, baseball in Korea was abolished during the Second World War. In fact, the abolishment of baseball in schools came even earlier in Korea, as the Japanese government changed their focus from turning Koreans into Imperial Subjects to making them into Imperial Soldiers. By 1938 all sports in Korea were made to honour Japan, and Japanese terminology was required. Team sports and ball games were completely eliminated by early 1942, with the focus of PE courses now to be entirely strength and military training (Ok, “Coercion for Asian Conquest” 344). Korean baseball would seem to have disappeared completely as a result of Japanese war efforts.

**Professional baseball for Korea**

Baseball emerged again after the war, at least in the newly formed Republic of Korea, thanks to the influence of the American troops stationed there (Reaves, *Taking in a Game* 124). In the following years up to the outbreak of the Korean War, baseball played an important role, although it did not directly involve Korean players. An amateur American team was invited to play several games in Japan, and this event was hyped up as the greatest baseball event in Asia in decades. This went on to provide a distraction to allow General MacArthur to launch his surprise invasion on the coast; he even went so far as to offer military transport for the team to ensure the game went on (Parr 112).

Korean baseball did manage to thrive to a certain degree despite political turmoil. The Republic of Korea was admitted into the International Baseball Association in 1954,
and in 1963 fielded an amateur team strong enough to defeat the Japanese at the Asian Amateur Championship. However, Korean players with strong talent lacked a native outlet for it, and some travelled to Japan to play. Korean players were treated poorly by the Japanese teams, and often adopted Japanese names in an effort to go “incognito.” However, it was the contribution of ethnic Koreans born in Japan that proved to be most significant for Japanese baseball in this period, despite the inherent discrimination they faced as “non-Japanese” (Nogawa 224). Masaichi Kaneda, Japan’s “strikeout king” famous for flaunting the Samurai baseball code, was ethnically Korean, as was Isao Harimoto, who threatened to return to Korea if he was not paid fairly for his talent (Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat* 86). It seemed the only ones willing to stand up to Japanese management were non-Japanese, and this of course gave Korean players a certain reputation in Japan (Fitts 128).

South Korea sent its first player to Nippon Professional Baseball (NPB), Paik In-chon, in 1962. This was a strategic move by President Park Chung-hee, who hoped to strengthen diplomatic ties with Japan (Hirai 80). Whether or not this move had any real success is debatable, but over the coming decades more players followed, and now not just the Zainichi Koreans, but Koreans from the peninsula came to play at what was then the summit of baseball in Asia.

It was not until 1982 – some 77 years after baseball’s introduction to Korea – that Korea finally got its own professional league (Jeon and Kim 316). However, the timing of this was a bit suspect; just as Korea was undergoing significant turmoil, seemingly out of nowhere the Korean Baseball Organization arrived to provide a distraction from politics (Reaves, *Taking in a Game* 125). Many saw this formation as a ploy by then-
President Chun Doo-Hwan to revive his own falling popularity, by appeasing the people with leisure activities. The formation of the league was modeled after the Japanese style, with large corporations sponsoring teams. However, the business model was more similar to the modern American Major Leagues, with free agents allowed to move from team to team. In any case, there is no way to regard it as a uniquely Korean style of baseball; it is Japanese baseball with a bit of American influence (Bjarkman 129).

Despite Korea finally offering a professional league for its players of the highest calibre, the level of competition could still not equal that of Japan, much less American Major League Baseball, and so many of Korea’s best players still went to the Japanese professional leagues to play, where they were offered a bigger challenge (B.-C. Kim 379). Essentially, in the early days of the KBO, talent still looked to Japan as the pinnacle of baseball, at least in Asia.

It was not long before Korea had finally produced the talent big enough to break into the MLB, with Chan Ho Park being signed by the Los Angeles Dodgers in 1994 and making his pitching debut in 1996 (Cho, “Broadcasting Major League Baseball” 245). Although Korean players have yet to make the same impression on the Major Leagues that Japanese players have, they continue to be signed and recruited, with several Korean players active in 2015. Whether or not this means that Korean baseball will shift from the Japanese style it has long since adopted to a more American or international style of baseball remains to be seen.

The Legacy of Oppression in the World Baseball Classic: Vengeance at the Bat

At its core, the World Baseball Classic, or WBC, is largely a tool to promote baseball, and American Major League Baseball, in particular, to different countries around the
The idea that baseball does not exist outside of the United States and its Major Leagues has been a pervasive one, and one that the WBC has sought to change (Bjarkman 124). While many would like to see it become the baseball equivalent of soccer’s World Cup, there is no disguising the fact that commercialism and scouting overseas talent for MLB was at the heart of its creation (Bjarkman 137). This may be one of the reasons that it has had trouble attracting many Major League stars to play for Team USA, which has not fared well in the three tournaments to date.

For other countries that participate in the tournament, the WBC does seem to have a bit of prestige, picking up where the Olympics have left off, since 2008 marked the last year baseball was part of the summer games. The first tournament was held in 2006, just before the Beijing Olympics, and while many teams took it very seriously, especially compared to the United States, it is doubtful that any teams truly took it to the level that Korea and Japan did.

As mentioned in the previous section, almost since the beginning of baseball’s introduction to Korea it was used as a way of challenging Japanese oppression. So it should come as no surprise that this chance to compete against Japan once again, and this time on a global stage, was taken full advantage of. The 2006 WBC proved an excellent chance for Koreans to politicize and propagate their anti-Japanese sentiments (J. W. Lee 234). Fans even took to holding signs expressing their opinions, largely anti-colonial slogans and messages about Dokdo Island (Joo 60). The South Korean news media only served to fuel this frenzy, and the focus was not on the tournament as a whole but specifically on the matches against Japan (Cho, “Major League Baseball as a Forged National Pastime” 541).
Nor was this politicization of baseball one sided on the part of the Koreans. Members of the Japanese team also expressed their desire to “put Korea in its place”, with even MLB star Ichiro Suzuki quoted in articles saying how definitively he hoped to crush the Korean team (J. W. Lee 240).

Despite Korea defeating Japan twice in the initial rounds, they lost an elimination game to them and Japan went on to win the tournament, while Korea was relegated to a disappointing 3rd place. Many Koreans still viewed this as a “moral victory”, since their record over Japan was in any case better (J. D. Kelly 143), and defeating Japan at any sport was always a point of national pride.

Korea did get its chance to demonstrate its emerging prowess on the world stage at the 2008 Beijing Olympics. After capturing a bronze medal at the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, this victory would finally show that Korean baseball was capable of competing with world-class teams like Cuba and the United States. Korea also went down with the dubious distinction of winning the last gold medal in Olympic baseball, as the sport was discontinued starting with the 2012 London games.

Much like the first World Baseball Classic, the tournament in 2009 was a place for the world’s talent to show off its baseball prowess, and for Korea it was no less of an opportunity to take on Japan, the defending champions. The two teams played each other five times during the tournament, with Japan winning three of those games, including the championship. While Korea finished in second place, higher than in the previous tournament, the humiliation of defeat remained, with Japan once again claiming the top spot.
Beginning with the third tournament, the timing was moved from every three years to every four years, and thus the most recent WBC tournament as of this writing was held in 2013. This proved to be the year that Asian baseball lost its dominance in the tournament, with Korea not even advancing from the group rounds after losing to Taiwan (called Chinese Taipei as in the Olympics) and the Netherlands, and Japan settling for third place after losing to Puerto Rico in the semi-finals, as the championship title went to the Dominican Republic. Latin American baseball seems to have emerged as the top competitor on the international scene. Interesting to note, as a result of watching the coverage of the 2013 tournament on Korean television, is just how quickly interest in Korea waned after Korea’s elimination, as it meant they did not have the chance to play against Japan. It would seem that the fervour is not for baseball itself, but for the chance to meet against their historical rivals, hopefully emerging with a victory.
Japanese Colonial Policies

Physical Education: From “Lazy Subjects” to Imperial Soldiers
From the very beginning of Japanese rule in Korea, the primary goal of Japanese colonial education policy was to create loyal subjects. This meant discouragement of higher education for Koreans and an emphasis on practical skills (H. Abe 176). As was typical of modern education in this period, this would also include an emphasis on physical education that had previously been limited to missionary schools. Contemporary accounts from Western observers praised this change, saying that physical education could provide the physical drive and activity that otherwise “lazy” Koreans lacked, and that team sports such as baseball would help raise their esprit de corps (Semple 268). Most outside observers praised Japan’s efforts, seeing parallels to the “White Man’s Burden” typical of colonialism, backhandedly elevating the Japanese to the position of the White Colonizer and making them equal to the Western powers (Conroy 331).

Korea’s earliest exposure to modern education, which included the heretofore unknown idea of physical education, began with the Protestant missionaries who set up schools in the late 19th century (Robinson, Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea 35). Although the primary objective of such schools was to spread Christianity, these missionaries believed that the best way to do so was through education. Translations of the Bible into Korean using the vernacular Korean script helped aid the spread of the native alphabet, and similarly Christian sports teams helped the diffusion of modern sport.

When Japan formally annexed Korea and took full control of its education, it modeled its colony on many of the same ideas. However, the primary focus was to make
Koreans loyal to the Emperor, so there were a number of differences between schools for Japanese students and those for Koreans. Additionally, the influence of missionary schools was scaled back, although Japan was careful not to antagonize its Western allies.

The introduction of sports education in the Japanese-run schools was another factor leading to the complete elimination of the traditional Korean education system, which had continued to exist alongside the mission schools (Tsurumi 293). However, the attempt to placate Koreans with sport as entertainment did not work as it had in Taiwan; Koreans still praised missionaries for introducing sports to them, whereas in Taiwan it had been entirely through Japanese intervention. In fact, any successes that Korean athletes enjoyed tended to have nationalistic and anti-Japanese sentiments close behind them (307).

Eventually these new reforms led not only to increases in military-style training for students, but also to the promotion of low-level manual labour skills over modern academic subjects (Oh and Kim 133). By preparing the Korean subjects with the skills for the vocations the Japanese expected them to have, the Japanese colonizers hoped to exert more control over Korean education and, ideally, ideology.

By the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, Japan’s policies were again reformed to emphasize the need for military training over team sports. Ball games were abolished in 1942, and physical education became a mandatory subject while Korean language was dropped entirely. The emphasis was on strength building activities, and sport was now completely militarized in order to support the Imperial Japanese war effort (Ok, “Coercion for Asian Conquest” 349). The team spirit and peaceful resistance that sports and baseball in particular had provided disappeared, re-emerging only after liberation.
A Brief Review of Colonial Language Policies

Despite Japanese efforts made to standardize the Korean language, including its spelling, from the beginning of annexation the goal was to make Japanese the national language of Korea (Rhee 54; Ku 14). Korean language sources were gradually being replaced by Japanese, extending Japanese Imperial influence through the media (Schmid 136). The Japanese language through the coming decades would become more pervasive, but the Korean language would not leave without a fight.

Early educational reforms began with a spirit of contempt for Koreans, with the primary goal being to create a Japanese-style system in Korea, emphasizing the Japanese language over Korean (McKenzie 186). While some questioned whether this attitude was conducive to the adoption of such reforms, others believed that any such attempt to teach Japanese to the Koreans would give them access to socialist and revolutionary writing (Caprio 84). Still, the policy went forward and language education was under control of the colonial government. Like most of the modernization efforts made by the Japanese colonizers during this period, language policies were motivated by what gains could be made for the Japanese (Duus 139).

An area where the Japanese government was able to maintain significant control and exercise restrictive language policies was the media. The Japanese colonial government heavily controlled both the print and broadcast media. When radio was first brought to Korea in 1927, the policy of the station was one hour of Korean language for every three hours of Japanese (Robinson, “Broadcasting in Korea” 362). Eventually an all-Korean station was added, with the goal of standardizing language and popular culture.
It soon faced strict censorship, and was taken completely off the air by 1944 ("Broadcasting in Korea” 359).

The official Japanese stance on newspapers was that without strict censorship, peace and order could not be maintained (Kim and Kim 58). Early newspapers of the colonial period, such as the Maeil Shinbo, were mouthpieces of the colonial government and subject to government control (Schmid 136). While these rules were relaxed slightly to allow Korean publications after the March 1st movement in 1919, any outward signs of anti-government writing met with swift censorship and punishment (Robinson, “Broadcasting in Korea” 360).

With the start of the second Sino-Japanese war, all pretense of cooperation was dropped. Japan needed Koreans to be absolutely loyal subjects and soldiers, and so in 1938 scaled up its Naisen Ittai policy, declaring Japan and Korea to be ‘one body’, and so removing Korean-language education entirely from schools (C. Yu 211). The Japanese-only policy enacted by the government at this time also eliminated the teaching of other foreign languages, including English, determining that enforced Japanese-only language use was the best way to ensure absolute loyalty (Kim-Rivera 266).

Initial backlash to this policy by Koreans manifested itself in the form of linguistic nationalism, with language purification a goal for those involved in the nationalist movements. An example of this would be the work of Kim Tubong, who with the goal of “upgrading” the capabilities of the Korean language, created over 500 Korean neologisms in the early 1930s to replace Sino-Korean terms in the sciences (Hŏ 209). This movement and the work of others continued to expand in influence after the end of the Colonial period. However, in literature during this period, the Korean language was
more often influenced by Japanese vocabulary and grammar (Chŏng 380). In any case, there have been no documented cases of sports vocabulary being affected by the linguistic nationalism and purification efforts in this era.

The Japanese fervour for complete eradication of the Korean language naturally lead to a sort of reversal after Liberation in 1945, when both of the newly-formed Koreas led efforts to purify the language of Japanese “contamination” (Schmid 257). Whereas the Korean vernacular language and script had earlier been placed at a serious disadvantage, they now emerged as powerful symbols of a truly Korean identity, and their use and promotion was placed at the center of language and education policies in both North and South Korea in the decades to come. One would have expected such changes in policy after the war to have an effect on what vocabulary was used in sports after liberation, but as we will see in the following chapters that was not necessarily the case.
Baseball Terminology

English Basics
Regardless of nation, regardless of language, regardless of sport, there is always a specialised set of vocabulary to be found which makes up the unique terminology thereof. This is not a static set of words by any means; as the sport evolves and the rules change, so does the terminology. Whether any neologisms make their way across languages is another story, but in any case the vocabulary will continue to grow and evolve.

There is doubtless a certain amount of vocabulary that is universal among many sports, and this will obviously take up a portion of the terminology (Aléong and Winer 123). These words might have virtually the same meaning – the infield in cricket roughly corresponds to that of baseball – or they might be something completely different. The word “strike” for instance – something a batter tries to avoid in baseball, but in bowling is the bowler’s primary goal. This can make things confusing when trying to find corresponding terms across languages.

So when compiling a list of terms related to a sport, it important to take factors like these into account. One has to take not only the terms themselves, but pay close attention to the contexts in which they are used. Even within a single sport, a word might have more than one meaning, depending on the part of speech. A bat and to bat are different, as is a field and to field. As such the contextual meaning is by far the most important and should be considered first in translation.

Although it is difficult to argue that baseball still qualifies as America’s “National Pastime”, the influence the sport has had on the English language is undeniable. Hundreds of metaphors, most still commonly used today, have entered the language
through their popular use in baseball (Palmatier and Ray). This process reached its peak in the early 20th century, when baseball was in its heyday and radio allowed it to reach larger audiences than ever before (Burns). Whether something is “right up your alley” or you want to “lay down some ground rules”, baseball is the source of many an idiom whose use has spread into the common language (Cudd 219).

Of course, the problem with an evolving game and evolving terminology is keeping up. New rules and custom changes gave us terminology like “designated hitter” and “night game”. Even more pressing, the way modern baseball is talked today about would be nearly incomprehensible to a fan a hundred years ago. Baseball has always been a game of statistics, but with modern innovations in technology there are constantly new statistics being tracked. A good example of this is OPS – this is a combination of “on base percentage” plus “slugging percentage”. Such a statistic is supposed to be useful in determining a player’s value, but can become confusing to a casual fan. Add to this the fact that those compiling lists of terminology pertinent to the sport are often not experts themselves, and thus sometimes confuse certain terms, and we see how difficult it is to get an accurate list of all words related to baseball (Aléong and Winer 125).

**Japanese Terminology – Then and Now**

Soon after baseball’s introduction, Japanese umpires might be heard yelling *sutoraiku*, *sēfu*, *auto*, or *purei bōru*. This was an American game, and it only followed that the language used was English. Of course, keeping basic terminology like this in the “traditional” English is not unique to Japanese; even the loanword-averse Francophones in Québec keep these same words because they are perceived as being ritual forms (Aléong and Winer 127). In Taiwan many supposedly “Japanese” loanwords in baseball
are actually transliterations of these English terms (Chung 13). Therefore, while these words are still found in ballparks all over the world today, when one gets into the detailed terminology found in baseball we begin to see a distinction.

In early ballgames in Japan, the language of baseball was generally still English. One reason for this may be that the Japanese teams were few in number and often played against teams of foreigners, and using the English terms as a common language was the easiest way to communicate.

But as the sport grew in popularity, it became increasingly “Japanized”. Before long the majority of words had been replaced by Japanese neologisms, typical of the many being coined during the Meiji and Taisho eras in all subjects (K. Kim 172; Frellesvig 448). Often these neologisms were direct translations of the original terms (Umegaki 339). The English words began to disappear, at least from official accounts and definitions, and what would come to be known as Samurai Bēsubōru began to emerge. However, there were some neologisms that did not survive past the turn of the 20th century, often because their original English form was easier even for the Japanese (Hirose 34). This was also what spurred the creation of many pseudo-English baseball terms in Japanese as well, in which the original term was changed slightly to make it easier to integrate into Japanese (Quackenbush 151).

While many loanwords in Japanese are related to baseball, whether or not they are used often depends on context. For most baseball positions, for instance, there exists both an English loanword and a Japanese-coined word. The English word is more likely to be used in conversation, whereas the Japanese term is seen more often in writing, presumably because it is shorter when written due to the use of kanji (Miura 120). These
categories of words make up what are “American” loanwords as opposed to “English”, as generally they would not be used in England (Yazaki 95).

Baseball survived only briefly during the Second World War, and its language had to be changed entirely to accommodate the anti-American sentiments of the time. The Big Six universities of Tokyo made a series of official terminology replacements, putting some words that had never had a Japanese translation into Japanese for the first time (Yamamuro 128).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>original</th>
<th>revised</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>original romanized</th>
<th>revised romanized</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ストライク</td>
<td>正球 (本球)</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>sutoraiku</td>
<td>shōkyū (honkyū)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ボール</td>
<td>悪球 (外球)</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>bōru</td>
<td>akkyū (gaikyū)</td>
</tr>
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<td>無為 (倒退)</td>
<td>out</td>
<td>auto</td>
<td>mui (tōtai)</td>
</tr>
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<td>安全 (占塁)</td>
<td>safe</td>
<td>sēfu</td>
<td>anzen (senrui)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ファウル</td>
<td>圏外 (外圏打)</td>
<td>foul</td>
<td>fauru</td>
<td>kengai (gaikenda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>フェア</td>
<td>正打 (本圏)</td>
<td>fair</td>
<td>fea</td>
<td>shōda (honken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ファウルチップ</td>
<td>擦打 (即捕外圏打)</td>
<td>foul tip</td>
<td>fauruchippu</td>
<td>satsuda (sokuhogaikenda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>スクイズ</td>
<td>走軽打 (求点走打)</td>
<td>squeeze play</td>
<td>sukuizu</td>
<td>sōkēda (kyūtensōda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ホームチーム</td>
<td>迎戦組 (本組、本団)</td>
<td>home team</td>
<td>hōmuchīmu</td>
<td>gēsenso (honso, hondan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ビジター</td>
<td>往戦組 (副組、副団)</td>
<td>visitor</td>
<td>bijitā</td>
<td>ōsenso (fukuso, fukudan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Changes made to previously English baseball terms during WWII

Most of these newly coined words did not last, and with the complete abolishment of baseball in 1943 soon disappeared from memory. The baseball language that emerged immediately following the war was once again heavily English, likely due to the
influence of Americans stationed in Japan who brought back the popularity of baseball as a sport of diplomacy.

Before long baseball regained a large number of English terms in Japan. Wally Yonamine, who was the first American to play professional baseball in Japan after the war, recalled that at first he was only able to communicate with his teammates through baseball lingo, something that many players thereafter would experience (Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat* 144). In fact, throughout the coming decades, American players had to rely on this strategy, as they were often given translators whose English skills were mediocre, and whose knowledge of baseball terms was sorely limited (Whiting, *You Gotta Have Wa* 124). The fact that most Japanese to this day recognize English as baseball’s lingua franca may be why English terms have returned to prominence, at least in everyday use (Matsuda 486).

The last point that may have had significant impact on the increased use of English in Japanese baseball is more recent globalization. There was of course increased interest in Major League Baseball when Hideo Nomo started play for the Dodgers in 1995, but it was with Ichiro Suzuki’s debut for the Seattle Mariners in 2001 that a fervor for American baseball again awakened in Japan. Nomo as a pitcher played only one or two games a week, but an outfielder like Suzuki could be expected to play every day, which meant more broadcasts and more exposure in Japan. Fans began to absorb the American style of play and therefore the American terminology, in order to match the sport they were now able to see on television. With the help of the internet, the global game was more connected and it seems inevitable that American terminology may grow to a more common language once again.
Korean Baseball Terminology – A Linguistic Melting Pot

Looking at Korean etymology as a whole, we can see a significant change in word origins shortly after the opening of Korea to the west. This should not be surprising to anyone, but perhaps the most significant factor here is that the new words by and large did not enter Korean directly through western languages, but by way of Japan and Japanese thanks largely to Korean students who studied there, and who hoped to lead the Korean people to an age of enlightenment (K. Kim 160). Even words that looked to be of European or American origin were shaped by the Japanese sound system through which they were imported.

This process only accelerated during the colonial period, at first as a means of assimilating the new concepts being introduced through the colonial government and then inevitably as a result of the Japanese colonial language policies discussed above. New loanwords were especially prominent in scientific and cultural fields; however, when new Sino-Korean terms entered the language through Japanese they were not identified as foreign words – likely due to Korea’s long history of borrowing such words from Literary Sinitic. These words may have resembled Chinese on the printed page, but were almost entirely made-in-Japan neologisms (K. Kim 166). It is no small wonder then that baseball terms were included among words that were imported this way.

The new words that entered from Western languages, regardless of whether they passed through Japanese or not, were undeniably foreign. In this era the spelling system of Hangul had not yet settled into its modern form, meaning that many variations of these words might appear in daily use. Without the Chinese characters to identify them, and without a standardized orthography, these words may have been especially difficult to
comprehend. Yet among these foreign loan words was found no small number of baseball terms as well. It would seem that neither Koreans nor Japanese had quite decided whether to employ English or Japanese terms, at least by the end of the colonial period.

After liberation in 1945, there were many calls to “purify” the Korean language of its Japanese “contaminants”, without any real thought given to how to go about replacing the words that had not previously existed and yet were now found in daily usage. One of the primary foci of this movement was to move from the mixed script system to a Hangul-only policy (Park 176), which would have the effect of making certain Sino-Korean loanwords, including those baseball terms imported from Japan, less obvious in everyday writing. However, this idea of using a single, Korean, script went hand-in-hand with the elimination of Sino-Japanese imports.

As Korea split into North and South, the two countries took very different approaches to this problem, with North Korea taking a more consistent and hardline policy. In their zealous efforts to create a “pure” Korean language with a purely Korean writing system at the forefront, North Korea’s language policies eliminated most traces of foreign words, including many Sino-Korean words that had been imported from China and had been in use in Korean for hundreds of years (Baik 1992). The policies in the South, while backed by very vocal supporters, were by contrast zig-zag in nature and were never quite as extreme as in the north (CW Kim 169).

As with anything else, the baseball terminology used in Korea today evolved from its past usage. And while there exist Japanese terms, English terms, and a small number of Korean terms, the Korean baseball terminology itself is a hybrid all its own. From personal observations of baseball broadcasts, games, and newspaper articles in modern
Korea, it has been obvious that context matters a great deal to the use of the various terms, and that while the spoken vernacular heavily favours American English terminology, the Japanese terms seem to be more prominent in writing. However, a thorough study would require much more data than can be presented here.

In the next section we will see some of the data collected regarding word origins, and it is interesting to note the inconsistency in modern sources. Through two different dictionaries from the past two years, one electronic and one online, a wildly different result emerges as regards the number of English baseball terms used in Korean. Previously I postulated that differences in terminology might result from who is using the terms, in what context they are being used, whether the medium is written or spoken, and which baseball league the user was discussing (Rivera 43). As Korean vocabulary usage continues to evolve and change, ultimately it may be the same global force of the internet that distils much of modern language use, and that ultimately defines in what terminological register baseball gets discussed in Korea.
Data

Methodology

An initial list of words was gathered by searching through dictionaries of foreign loanwords\(^1\) for baseball-related terms, which were then reverse-searched in a selection of English-Japanese and English-Korean dictionaries from different eras. In cases where a term has other English meanings (e.g. *out*), the word was only entered if the definition was denoted by its use in baseball, represented by <野球> or <야구> in the dictionary.

In cases where more than one Japanese or Korean translation is given for an English term, the vocabulary was noted in the order listed.

After compiling an initial list of 593 terms, the list was narrowed down to 150 terms in order to give the clearest possible picture of changes over time. Priority was given to those found in the earliest Korean dictionary of foreign terms (*A dictionary of Foreign Words in Modern Korean*, published in 1937), and the remainder of terms was selected from those that appeared in the largest number of dictionaries.

There are of course many terms, even in English, that did not exist in this era. The game of baseball has changed over the years, and so concepts like “designated hitter,” “free agent,” and “on-base percentage” are not to be found in early dictionaries. As such this data focuses on terminology found in the early game, which is nonetheless ideal for a study on the evolution of terms.

Although dictionaries are not necessarily the most reliable source for colloquial language, they are used here for consistency in terms searched. It is believed that a survey

\(^1\) These are *oreae* *sajôn* in Korean and 外来語辞典 *gairaigo jiten* in Japanese.
of primary sources (such as newspaper articles) would be ideal for tracking change. In the past I have made a study of modern usage doing just that, as contemporary articles are easily obtained online (Rivera 26). However, older sources are not readily available in Korean, particularly in the Colonial period, and while some articles were devoted to the sport of baseball, it was not a common subject on which news articles were written, and certainly does not contain the copious amounts of vocabulary that modern accounts are known for. Additionally, the inconsistency of orthography and vocabulary in the colonial era would necessarily complicate the data-gathering process.

**Dictionary Evolution**
The following dictionaries were used as sources in this compilation of data:

- Han’guk üi kǔndae wa ijung ’ŏ sajŏn: yŏngin p’yŏn (For The New Dictionary of Foreign Words in Modern Korea) (1937)
- A New English-Korean Dictionary (1964)
- Kadokawa Gairaigo Jiten (1967)
- A Dictionary of Loanwords for Japanese Learners of English (1990a)
- Reibun de Yomu Katakanago No Jiten = The Dictionary of Loanwords (1990b)
- dic.naver.com (online resource) (2015)

Dictionaries were selected first based on comprehensiveness, then on date of publication. When possible, dictionaries by the same publisher were selected, particularly for the English-Japanese and English-Korean dictionaries, in order to have the most consistent list possible. The English-Japanese dictionaries selected were designed to reflect different eras of baseball in Japan: first during the early amateur era (1927), then wartime (1945), during the renewed “golden age” of the NPB (1960), and finally a modern comparison
As missionaries generally wrote the English-Korean dictionaries published prior to the end of the Colonial period, these were disregarded due to their lack of inclusion of sports terminology. In fact, of the colonial period English-Korean dictionaries that were examined, several did not even contain the word “sport”, and only one, Underwood’s 1925 English-Korean Dictionary, even had the word baseball. The earliest Korean dictionary used is the 1937 Dictionary of Foreign Words, which formed the basis of this survey. Further Korean dictionaries were selected to reflect changing times; 1964 when Korean baseball was strictly amateur, 1986 shortly after the formation of the KBO, and 2013 for a modern comparison. The Japanese loanword dictionaries selected were used to form a basis of English baseball terms that exist in Japan, and to compare whether these were found in Korean examples as well.

The primary difficulty in using dictionaries for this study has been the lack of comprehensive early dictionaries of the Korean language. While part of this problem is due to both Japanese language policies and the lack of a standardized Korean language as discussed above, another is that many of the earliest Korean dictionaries published by Koreans (as opposed to those compiled by Western missionaries) were simply translations of Japanese dictionaries, and so some Korean words might easily be missed. With this flaw in mind, the data presented here aims to show the major changes that have come about in the different eras represented herein.

One further complication that must be noted is that the 1937 Korean foreign word dictionary does not consider Japanese words to be foreign, so each term that was found is in fact English, or in rare cases Japanese pseudo-English. As such, whenever a definition

2 In this dictionary it was listed as “base-ball” and translated as “야구 野球” (yagu).
included even a single *hanja* term, this was noted alongside and considered to be a baseball term that was in use, although whether the English or Japanese term was more common cannot be determined from the layout of the dictionary.

**Findings**

![Number of Words Found by Dictionary](image)

Figure 1: The number of terms found out of 150 searched in each dictionary

After narrowing down the list to the 150 terms selected for this study, the occurrences of these words in each dictionary were noted. In none of the dictionaries were all 150 terms found, and on average each dictionary had two thirds of the listed terms, although by no means were the terms found to be consistent from dictionary to dictionary. While there may be many explanations for why some terms were found more often than others, the simplest conclusion might be that different editors identified different terms as being important for inclusion. As previously mentioned, this might be a result of non-experts in charge of identifying sports language. In the case of the Japanese *gairaigo* dictionaries, it
is a reflection of which terms have entered as Japanese loanwords at various times, and remained in use.

![Word origins by % of total terms](image)

**Figure 2:** The word origins of the terms found in the Korean dictionaries used.³

For each word that was found in the Korean dictionaries, it was noted from which language it originated. This was broken down into several categories; the primary being Japanese, English, and Korean words. A smaller number can be placed into subcategories: compounds of Japanese-English, Korean-Japanese, and Korean-English, as well as Japanese-coined pseudo-English terms. In many cases a word was found with multiple translations, which is why the percentages exceed a total of 100% – what this figure displays is out of the total number of terms found in a given dictionary, what percentage are of a given origin in at least one of its definitions. Because the 1937 dictionary is not an English-Korean dictionary, the data are skewed from the rest – all

³ For the purposes of this study “Japanese” refers to those words whose etymology is Sino-Japanese or pure Japanese, and “English” refers to terms whose etymology is English, regardless of whether they entered Korean by way of Japanese or not.
words found were English or pseudo-English, because Japanese words were not considered foreign. The numbers of Japanese terms displayed were cases where a Japanese word was given as a definition for the English term.

What this data shows us is that while use of Japanese terms has declined slightly over the years, such terms still make up the majority of terms found. However, apart from the early anomalous data, we see English rising from a small percentage of terms to more than half. It is unclear whether some of these words overlap with the Japanese terms, but the trend seems to point to a more anglicised baseball vernacular. As for the difference between the two most recent dictionaries being so stark, the most likely explanation for this is that the Naver dictionary, being an online resource, pulls its data from multiple sources, and is possibly more representative of the language that is colloquially used today. If this is to be believed, then it seems use of Japanese and English terms is about even at this point in time.

**Figure 3: The word origins of the terms found in the English-Japanese dictionaries used.**
Similarly, here the terms found in the English-Japanese dictionaries are broken down, albeit with a smaller number of categories, as Korean terms are obviously not present. Here a much clearer trend can be seen; the percentage of Japanese terms consistently declines as that of English terms increases.

![Figure 4: Number of terms found by word origin in Korean Dictionaries](image)

Here we have similar information as in Figure 2, with the number of terms for each source listed, focusing only on the “pure” language sources (no compounds or pseudo-English). Perhaps the most interesting thing to note here is that the Naver online dictionary, which as previously postulated is likely most representative of the current Korean baseball vernacular, contains no Korean terms. What this would seem to indicate is that while it is possible that there may be some desire to remove Japanese terms, the creation or preservation of Korean baseball terminology is not a priority for those who worry about language purity, although as this study is limited to English-Korean sources for consistency, it is possible some terms in “official” use may have been missed. Nonetheless, it would seem that increased global exposure increases the use of English.
Whereas baseball was once viewed in Korea as a Japanese game, it is now undoubtedly recognised as of American origin, and by extension as a sport with English terminology.

![Figure 5: Number of terms found by word origin in English-Japanese dictionaries](image)

Similarly, when looking through the English-Japanese dictionaries we see a similarly increased presence of English terms. Again, this is likely a result of increased exposure to the American game, as well as increasing Japanese globalisation. The spike in Japanese terms found in the 1960 dictionary likely corresponds with the re-emergence of professional baseball in Japan after the war, although the use of English terms increases consistently throughout. The main problem with assuming a consistent increase is that the earliest dictionary used would postdate the earliest changes from the initial English terminology to the Japanese neologisms that were introduced by the early 20th century.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>catcher</td>
<td>캔치, 捕手</td>
<td>포수</td>
<td>포수, 케처</td>
<td>포수, 케처</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaythchwe,</td>
<td>phoswu</td>
<td>phoswu, kheyche</td>
<td>phoswu, khayche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phoswu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change of</td>
<td>젠지· 오부· 폐스</td>
<td>완구, 구석변화</td>
<td>체인지업</td>
<td>체인지업, 변화구</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pace/changeup</td>
<td>cheynci opwu</td>
<td>kwusekpyenhwa</td>
<td>cheyinciep</td>
<td>pyenhwakwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phēyswu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grounder</td>
<td>코드문더—, 閒球</td>
<td>땅 보울</td>
<td>땅볼</td>
<td>땅볼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground ball</td>
<td>kkulawuntē,</td>
<td>ttang pool</td>
<td>ttangpol</td>
<td>ttangpol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hankwu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit by pitch</td>
<td>데드, 死球</td>
<td>데드보울, 사구</td>
<td>데드볼</td>
<td>사구(死球), 데드볼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tteytu, sakwu</td>
<td>teytupool, sakwu</td>
<td>teytupol</td>
<td>sakwu, teytupol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home plate</td>
<td>홈· 빼스· 홈· 플레트, 本壘</td>
<td>호울베이스, 뼈루</td>
<td>본루</td>
<td>본루, 홈 플레이트</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hom ppēysu,</td>
<td>ponlw</td>
<td>ponlw</td>
<td>ponlw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hom phwullēythu, ponlw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ponlw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incurve</td>
<td>인커브·, 委曲球</td>
<td>인커브아브, 내곡구</td>
<td>인커브</td>
<td>인커브</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inkhēpu,</td>
<td>inkheepu,</td>
<td>inkhepu</td>
<td>inkhepu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naykokkwu</td>
<td>naykokkwwu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outcurve</td>
<td>아웃 콘브, 外曲球</td>
<td>아웃커브아브, 일본구</td>
<td>아웃커브</td>
<td>아웃커브</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awuth khēpu,</td>
<td>awuskhepu</td>
<td>awuskhepu</td>
<td>awuskhepu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oykokkwu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside corner</td>
<td>아웃· コー 너,</td>
<td>아웃코오너, 외각</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>외각</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awuth khōne</td>
<td>awuthukhoone, oykak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oykokkwwu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitch</td>
<td>피이취, 挎取, 投球</td>
<td>던지다, 투구</td>
<td>투구</td>
<td>투구</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phīchwi,</td>
<td>tencita, thwukwu</td>
<td>thwukwu</td>
<td>thwukwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phithchwi,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The above table shows us some interesting examples of how various Korean terms have changed over the years. In many of the early examples, we can see the Japanese-style punctuation and spelling conventions that would have been standard at the time when English words were transliterated from *katakana* to *hangul*. Even in the 1960 dictionary the English loanwords retain a distinctly Japanese style of pronunciation, before finally settling into their modern forms. Also interesting are the terms that changed from an English form to settle into a Japanese one, or in the case of the word “grounder,” a hybrid Korean-English term.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>assist</strong></td>
<td>보살(補殺)</td>
<td>어시스트</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>posal</em></td>
<td><em>esisuthu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>backstop</strong></td>
<td>뒷그물</td>
<td>백네트</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>twiskumwul</em></td>
<td><em>paykneythu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>double steal</strong></td>
<td>이중 도루 (二重盗塁)</td>
<td>더블 스틸, 이중 도루 (二重盗塁)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>icwung tolwu</em></td>
<td><em>tebul suthil, icwung tolwu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>outside corner</strong></td>
<td>외각 (外角)</td>
<td>아웃코너, 외각(外角)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>oykak</em></td>
<td><em>awuskhone, oykak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pitcher</strong></td>
<td>투수 (投手)</td>
<td>투수 (投手), 피처</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>thwuswu</em></td>
<td><em>thwuswu, phiche</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>shortstop</strong></td>
<td>유격수 (遊撃手)</td>
<td>유격수 (遊撃手), 쇼트스톱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>yukyekswu</em></td>
<td><em>yukyekswu, syothusuthop</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>strikeout</strong></td>
<td>삼진 (三振)</td>
<td>삼진 (三振), 스탠라이크 아웃</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When looking at a selection of words found in the two most recent English-Korean dictionaries, we can see a few noticeable differences. In all of these terms, the traditional dictionary has only a Japanese version (or in one case Korean), whereas the online dictionary has an English term, and possibly both Japanese and English. There are several possible explanations for this. First is that traditional dictionaries tend to be much slower to accept change in the vernacular, and so would keep the older, “official” term. Another possibility is that because the online dictionary pulls its data from multiple sources, it is more likely to find any variances that exist in the language used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>three base hit</strong></td>
<td>3 루타 (3 塁打)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samlwutha</strong></td>
<td>suli peyisu hithu, samlwutha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Comparison of some differences found in modern English-Korean dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>batting</td>
<td>バッティング, 打撃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>battingu, dageki</td>
<td>타격 (打撃)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>double steal</td>
<td>ダブルスチール</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daburusuchīru</td>
<td>이중 도루 (二重盗塁)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infield fly</td>
<td>インフィールドフライ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infrudofurai</td>
<td>내야 플라이 (内野</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>플라이)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>シングルヒット</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shinguruhitto</td>
<td>단타 (単打)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild pitch</td>
<td>ワイルドピッチ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wairudopicchi</td>
<td>폭투 (暴投)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Comparison of some terms found in modern English-Japanese and English-Korean dictionaries

This particular selection of words shows some of the interesting differences between modern Japanese and Korean baseball vernacular. When looking at the Japanese
dictionary, we notice that each of these terms has an English origin, with only one providing a Japanese alternative. Compare this to the Korean, where each word is either Japanese or a Japanese-English compound. This clearly reflects the trends noted in Figure 5.

Far more data was gathered than can be reasonably noted here. From the various trends and differences found throughout, it would seem that baseball previously had a far more anglicised vocabulary, but that the same language policies that affected the Korean language in general also suppressed the use of English and even baseball itself during the Second World War. As a result, a spike in Japanese-origin terms was seen, followed by the steady regrowth of English terms ever since.
Further Analysis – The Future of International Baseball

Is English Really Baseball’s Lingua Franca?
American Football has long since surpassed baseball as the most popular sport in the United States, at least at the professional level. In no other anglophone country is it the most popular, and only in Canada and Australia does it have any traction at all. So instead we must look to the countries where baseball remains the most popular sport – that is, Japan, Taiwan, and a score of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Since even in these countries Major League Baseball is considered the pinnacle of the sport, it is a short jump to conclude that therefore the language of baseball is indeed American English. As Kelly argues: “Baseball has many local vernaculars of a single dominant language, and that is the particular language of US baseball” (“Is Baseball a Global Sport?” 190).

Outside of the Major Leagues, however, there is far more evidence that points to baseball’s future as an international sport. While many Americans believe that MLB is the end all and be all of the sport, the success of international teams with few major league players during the WBC would seem to suggest otherwise (Bjarkman 124). Despite the fact that only three tournaments have been played with only two champions, Japan and the Dominican Republic, the evidence thus far tells us that it is only in the minds of those in baseball’s top ranks that it remains a purely American sport (J. D. Kelly 144). In this case, should the language of baseball be Japanese, or perhaps Spanish? However, it does not take much digging in either language, and we have given the
evidence on Japanese above, to find that the root of baseball language is still English, regardless of where it is played and who excels at it.

In Korea, baseball only seems to see surges in popularity when one of its stars enters the Major Leagues. The most recent examples of this are Ryu Hyun-Jin, a pitcher for the Los Angeles Dodgers, and Kang Jung-ho, an infielder for the Pittsburgh Pirates. Many fans will tune in to broadcasts of these games, and all the while attendance at KBO games remains relatively dismal (Kim and Yoo 50). As discussed earlier, the WBC also provides a brief spark of interest in the game, but mostly as a chance to compete against Japan.

**The Korean Baseball Vernacular**
While it is easy to state that since the second half of the 20th century Korean baseball terminology has become increasingly anglicised, it might well also be argued that after its introduction and during the colonial period there existed more English baseball terms in Korean than have survived today. The problem with making such a claim is that any available data would reflect only that such words existed, and not whether they were used in daily conversation or in baseball matches in that era. As such, while we can note the existence of the English loanwords, we can only be sure that the compiler of that 1937 dictionary of foreign words, Yi Chong-gük, deemed them important enough to include in his work (Hwang et al.), although these were all taken from primary sources indicating they had been used at least once in a Korean publication⁴. In the preface to this dictionary,

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⁴ At the time of the dictionary’s publication, Yi was working as an English teacher, and compiled the dictionary in response to frequent complaints by the public of the large deluge of foreign, particularly English, words being used in modern Korean with little or no explanation. Every word included in this dictionary was taken from contemporary sources, which included examples from not only newspapers
Yi himself notes that not all of these words could be expected to remain in the Korean language permanently, but are part of the transitory nature of such a large influx of loans.

In any case the data found makes it clear that the single most important influence on Korean baseball language has been Japanese. Even in the early English-derived terms, the evidence of the Japanese phonetic system lingers, and in some cases it remains in these terms today. Japanese style orthography and vowel changes are apparent in the earliest dictionary, and in some cases these pronunciations have persisted past the colonial period. While globalization and increased exposure to other forms of baseball have undoubtedly affected which words continue to be used, it is interesting to consider what Korean baseball and its terminology might have become if it had been introduced in a different time period, with someone other than the Japanese to nurture its growth.

In modern Korea soccer exceeds baseball in popularity, and that seems unlikely to change. The same vestiges of colonialism that led many Koreans to view baseball as a Japanese game undoubtedly put a damper on its continued growth. The professional league in Korea continues to improve, and baseball at the international level will surely continue to be a popular source of interest. However, it seems unlikely that a uniquely Korean style of baseball and baseball language will ever emerge from under the shadow of Japan and the United States.

and magazines, but also literature and academic research. Much of the inspiration for this was also taken from the Japanese モダン語 modango, or modern neologism dictionaries that appeared in large numbers in the mid-1920s. The examples included were not standardized, but reflected actual usage, as well as Japanese-influenced orthography and phonetics, indicating that in most cases these words did not enter Korean directly but instead by way of Japanese. Most of these words Yi saw as filling necessary gaps in the Korean language, specifically when it came to modern terminology. In contrast to the linguistic nationalism and language purification movements that were the common narrative in Korea at that time, he argued that it was better to naturalise and digest these foreign terms into Korean rather than reject them. (Hwang et al., SH Kim 268)
Conclusion
As a linguistic influence, baseball is indeed the champion among sports. From its earliest days in the United States it has produced innumerable idioms which are still in common use today, although their origin may be obscured to the everyday observer (Palmatier and Ray). Likewise, it has had a profound impact in shaping language wherever the sport has become popular, and left an indelible impression on languages like Spanish and Japanese.

When it comes to the Korean language, doubtless the vocabulary system, if not the grammatical system, will long bear the traces of outside influence over the past 1000 years (K. Kim). Whether it be the Sino-Korean compounds descended from the Chinese classics, the Japanese words imported during the Enlightenment and colonial periods, or the English words entering en masse as new technology develops, a Korean language devoid of these would be a mere skeletal frame of the rich language it is. Regardless of their original source, these loanwords are now an irrevocable part of the Korean language.

What does this mean for the Korean baseball vernacular? It would seem highly unlikely that Korean baseball vocabulary would start using Korean words, even where lexical equivalents exist in native Korean. After 110 years, the sport is already firmly entrenched as is in Korean culture, and those who enjoy it on the peninsula do not see any reason to Koreanize its terminology further. Granted, the customs surrounding play in the KBO or any stadium in Korea may differ from those in Japan or the United States, but the game itself remains essentially the same. As such, why bother changing the words to describe it?
And yet those words have not remained static. A fluctuation from English at introduction, to Japanese through adolescence, and trending back to English in the game’s maturity all lead one to wonder just how far these changes may go. However, when the situation is compared to a similar one in Japan, it makes it seem more likely that baseball terminology in both languages is trending to English as a result of globalization and cultural homogenization that results from increased use of the internet as a base for sports fans (Cho, “Major League Baseball as a Forged National Pastime”) and growing exposure to international baseball with the WBC (J. D. Kelly), as well as the increase in Asian players breaking into Major League Baseball (Y. H. Lee).

What we can see from the data found in this thesis is that while Korea may be slower to shift its baseball terminology use than Japan, the trend is still moving towards an increasingly English-based vernacular. The most likely contributing factor to this difference is the earlier exposure to professional baseball in Japan, as well as the influences of American players in Japan and Japanese players in the United States, both of which began before Korea had a professional league. The historical strength of Japanese baseball would seem to give us the opposite impression, that the Japanese game should be independent enough to avoid excessive outside influence, but the fact remains that Major League Baseball remains the top league in the world, and therefore the base upon which all other forms of baseball model themselves. Whether this be through gameplay or language, the result is an increasingly Americanized game even as international play grows stronger.

Throughout its history, the Korean language has grown and changed through outside influence. Whether the gradual trend back to English baseball terminology is
considered progression or regression is open for interpretation, but undoubtedly the changing perceptions of the sport of baseball itself throughout its 110-year history in Korea are the cause of the changing use of baseball terminology.
Bibliography


Open WorldCat. Web. 16 June 2015.


Chūkō Shinsho 2062.


# Appendices

## Appendix A: List of English Terms Searched

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American league</td>
<td>coach</td>
<td>hot ball</td>
<td>in shoot</td>
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<tr>
<td>assist</td>
<td>corner ball</td>
<td>in curve</td>
<td>incurve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at bat</td>
<td>curve</td>
<td>dead ball, hit by pitch</td>
<td>indoor baseball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>backstop</td>
<td>double header</td>
<td>double steal</td>
<td>infield hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag, base</td>
<td>double play</td>
<td>double steal</td>
<td>infield, diamond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balk</td>
<td>earned run</td>
<td>easy batter</td>
<td>inning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base hit, bagger</td>
<td>error</td>
<td>extra inning game</td>
<td>irregular bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base on balls, walk</td>
<td>extra innings</td>
<td>fair ball</td>
<td>knock out game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(base) runner</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>fastball, straightball</td>
<td>leadoff batter/hitter/man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(base) sliding</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>fielder</td>
<td>left field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base stealing</td>
<td>fielding</td>
<td>infield</td>
<td>left fielder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baseball</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>infielder</td>
<td>left on base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(baseball) bat</td>
<td>first base</td>
<td>infielder</td>
<td>line drive, liner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baseball fan</td>
<td>first baseman</td>
<td>infielder</td>
<td>long hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baseball game/match</td>
<td>fly ball</td>
<td>long hitter</td>
<td>major league, big league</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baseball team, nine</td>
<td>foul ball</td>
<td>major league, big league</td>
<td>mitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baseline</td>
<td>foul hit</td>
<td>mound</td>
<td>mound man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baseman, bagger</td>
<td>foul tip</td>
<td>national league</td>
<td>net ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bases loaded, bases full</td>
<td>glove</td>
<td>no down</td>
<td>no error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batter, batsman, hitter</td>
<td>grand slam</td>
<td>no error</td>
<td>no game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batting order</td>
<td>grounder/ground ball</td>
<td>no hitter</td>
<td>no run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batting, hitting</td>
<td>hard hit</td>
<td>no run</td>
<td>out curve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bench coach</td>
<td>hit, safe hit</td>
<td>out, put out, down</td>
<td>out, put out, down</td>
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<tr>
<td>bench warmer</td>
<td>home run</td>
<td>outside corner</td>
<td>outside corner</td>
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<tr>
<td>blocked ball</td>
<td>home run hit</td>
<td>outfield</td>
<td>outside corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunt</td>
<td>home, home base, home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunt and run</td>
<td>plate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bunt fly</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bunt hit</td>
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<tr>
<td>catcher</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>centre field</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>centre fielder</td>
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<tr>
<td>change of pace, changeup</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>clean hit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Term</td>
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<tr>
<td>outfielder</td>
<td>safe in</td>
<td>Texas leaguer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>overrun</td>
<td>scratch hit</td>
<td>third base, hot corner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passed ball</td>
<td>second (base), keystone</td>
<td>three base hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinch batter/pinch hitter</td>
<td>short, shortstop</td>
<td>three strikes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinch runner</td>
<td>shutout</td>
<td>timely hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitch</td>
<td>sidearm throw</td>
<td>total bases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitcher</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>touch out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitcher’s mound</td>
<td>slide</td>
<td>triple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitching staff</td>
<td>slow ball</td>
<td>triple crown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play ball</td>
<td>slow curve</td>
<td>triple play</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pop fly</td>
<td>slugger</td>
<td>two base hit, double</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular batting</td>
<td>southpaw</td>
<td>underhand throw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regulation ball</td>
<td>spitball</td>
<td>wild pitch</td>
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<tr>
<td>regulation game</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>world series</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right field</td>
<td>strike-out</td>
<td>you are out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right fielder</td>
<td>struck out</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>substitute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Baseball Terms Found in the 1937 Dictionary of Foreign Words in Modern Korea

Please note: As this dictionary was written before Hangul and the Korean language were standardized into their modern forms, it contains several examples of letters no longer in use as well as Japanese style orthography, i.e. elongated vowels using “ー” and breaks between English loanwords using “・”. All examples here are transcribed according to the Yale system.

FB (first base)
TB (total bases)
고취 kochwi (coach)
 lucr 우도 kkulawuntē (grounder)
낙 아웃 낮 nkhw awuth kkkeyim (knockout game)
내수 냥 농구 naysyunayl liku (national league)
넷트 롱 neyththu ppol
노 일 채임 nô kkeyim (no game)
노 일 다운, 노 일 단 nô tawun, nô tan (no outs)
노 일 렌 nô len (no runs)
노 일 에라 nô eyla (no errors)
노 일 헤트 nô hithu (no hit)
따불 헤더, 따불 헤어 헤히터 ttepul hey

5 Entries which reflect a distinctly Japanese vocalization are highlighted in red, and are the only examples that can be traced with certainty to have entered Korean through Japanese.

6 Because Korean had not yet settled into a standardized version of Hangul, there are some characters here which are no longer in use, many of which have been used to represent English sounds which do not exist in Korean. These include  # (θ [th]), ʌ (v), and ʌ (f).
ppathon, ppaythhu, pathu, ppþysuppol
ppaythhu ([baseball] bat)

볼팅(딩) ppayththuyng(thing) (batting)

볼트, 펀트 ppentu, ppenthu (bunt)

볼트 · 엥 · 린 ppenthu ayn len (bunt and run)

볼트 · 플라이 ppenthu phwullai (bunt fly)

볼트 · 히트 ppenthu hithu (bunt hit)

볼트 · 라인 ppþysu lain (base line)

볼트 · 스틸(명) ppþysu suthil(ing) (base stealing)

볼트 · 슬라이딩, 슬라이딩 ppþysu sullait(ing), sullaiting ([base] sliding)

볼트 · 힌트 ppþysu hiththu (base hit)

볼트 · 맨 ppþysumayn (baseman)

볼트 · ppþysuppol (baseball)

볼트 · 메치 ppþysuppol maychwi (baseball game)

볼트 · 팀 ppþysuppol thim (baseball team)

볼트 · 펜 ppþysuppol fayn (baseball fan)

볼(一)스 ppe(þ)ysu (base)

볼치 · 웨어 ppeynchwi weme (bench warmer)

볼치 · 코치(코(一)치) ppeynchwi khochwi (kho(ô)chi) (bench coach)

볼록(루로크) · 볼 ppwullok (ppwulokhu) ppol (blocked ball)

세이프 · 인 seyiphu in (safe in, safe at home)

실, 쑥 syoth, syoll (shortstop)

스크램치 · 힌트 sukhalathchwi (hithu) (scratch hit)

스트라익 · 아울 suthulaikh awuth (strike out)

스트라익, 스트라익 suthulaikh, suthulaikh h (strike)
오버런 opelen (overrun)
와일드・피취 waitu phichwi (wild pitch)
월드・써리(一)쓰 weltu ssili(i)ssu (World Series)
유・알・아을 yu al awuth (you’re out)
이－지・펄터 ici ppayththe (easy batter)
이레글라・빠운드 ilekyylla ppawuntu (irregular bound)
인・슈－트 in syuthu (inshoot)
인또어・뻬스뽈 inttoe ppeysuppol (indoor baseball)
인커－브 inkhépu (incurve)
인필드 inphiltu (infield)
인필드・하 tu hith (infield hit)
인필드, 따이아먼드, 따이아몬드 inphiltu, tta iamentu, ttaiamontu (infield/diamond)
첸지・오부・팰스 cheynci opu phéysu (change of pace)
캠춰 khaythchwe (catcher)
커－孵 khévu (curve)
코－너・뽀 khóne ppol (corner ball)
클런・希尔 thu hith (clean hit)
타임리・힐 thu hith (timely hit)
타치・아웃 thu awuth (touch out)
택사스・리－거 theykhhsasu (like) (Texas leaguer)
트리풀 thuliphwul (triple)
트리풀・플레이 thulipwul phwulleyi (triple play)
파스・뽀 phasu ppol (passed ball)
팬・판 phayn, phan (fan)
포어・뽀(쓰) phoe ppol(ssu) (walk/base on balls ["four balls"]) 플레이에・뽀 phwulleyi ppol (play ball)
SqlCommand・아웃 phwuth awuth (put out)
피－취・𥖄 למצ phichwi, phithchwi (pitch) 피－취・런너 phinchwi lenne (pinch runner)
핀치・붐 phinchwi ppaythe (pinch hitter)
뿔OrElse치・플레(이트) phitchehwe phwulley (pitcher's plate)
뿔형・스administrator phitchehwing suthayph (pitching staff)
하－드・希尔 thu hith (hard hit)
홈・런 hom len (home run)
홈・런・希尔 thu hith (home run hit)
홈・떼－스, 홈・플레－트 hom ppeysu, hom phullétyhu (home plate)
홈・뽀 through ppol (hot ball)
希尔, 셰이프(蒂)・希尔 thith thu, seyiphu (three base hit)
ᅋ－러－・ترو－쓰・希尔 ᄇ Lilly ppeysu hith (three strikes)
ᅋ－러－・스트라익 ᄇ Lilly suthulaikh (three strikes)
ᅋ－wealth·뽀 foulu ppol (foul ball)
ᅋ－wealth・希尔 foulu hith (foul hit)
ᅋ－(一)스트 foulu suthu (first)
ᅋ－wealth・뽀 foulu ppeysu (bases loaded)
ᅋ－wealth・ค์ foulu ppol (fly ball)
필터 filte (fielder)
필드 filtu (field)
필딩 filting (fielding)