Forgotten Reciprocity of Languages of the Colonizer and the Colonized:
Korean Language Study of Japanese Colonial Agents

By

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Abstract

The language policy of the Japanese Government General (JGG) can be illustrated by examining the *Provisions for Korean Education* which were promulgated three times and revised six times between 1911 and 1943. Reflecting the intensifying nature of Japanese colonial rule, these provisions were used to justify the dominance of Japanese in school curricula over that of Korean language curricula. After the period of ‘quantitative expansion of assimilation education’ (1910-1936) when the JGG emphasized spreading Japanese language, the JGG inaugurated the ‘Campaign for the Common Use of the National Language (i.e. Japanese)’ and aimed at increasing the penetration of Japanese until it permeated into every corner of Korean society. However, the result of the thirty-five long years of Japanese language policy was disappointing for the JGG officials: Koreans with Japanese language ability remained less than 20% in 1945.

Thus, for smoother and more effective control over the colony, the JGG found it necessary for its agents to know Korean. In particular, the outbreak of the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 triggered a more serious effort on the part of colonial agents to learn Korean. In 1921, the JGG announced *Provisions for Korean Language Encouragement* that inaugurated the comprehensive Korean language encouragement exam system, featuring high bonus income for the exam graduates. This JGG Korean language encouragement policy created a quiet enthusiasm among the JGG agents. The vast majority of those taking the exam and graduating came from the JGG police: i.e., from those who stood on the frontline of the Japanese colonial regime and most keenly felt the need to speak Korean in their everyday duties.

This secret enthusiasm to learn Korean language study was advocated and supported by Japanese and Korean intellectuals and linguists, who expressed their collaborative efforts in numerous language guides during the colonial period. While the earlier publications tended to be disorganized and on a smaller-scale, they became more comprehensive in the 1920’s, resulting in the creation of the monthly journal *Choosengo* in 1925.

The wide coverage of JGG Korean language training provided by *Choosengo* reveals the diverse strata among Korean language learners and instructors at the time. Throughout the period, JGG-led Korean language study projects and guides received the support and interest of many high-profile Korean and Japanese figures, as well as numerous Korean civilians who contributed to Korean language study by Japanese colonial agents.

This demonstrates that in reality, linguistic collaboration between Korean and Japanese was much more pervasive than it is generally believed today. This disproves the one-dimensional narrative that many South Korean linguists have concerning their colonial language activities.
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Introduction

Like it or not, Korea's journey toward 'modernization' was not a result of the direct contact with Europe, rather it was through Japanese imperialism. In every respect, of a 'modernized' perspective—economic infrastructure and Western social systems to ideology, for example, the Japanese understanding of a modern state, Korea saw 'modernization' through a Japanese prism.

Likewise, as soon as Korea became the direct object of Japanese imperial expansion during the late 19th century, the Korean language inevitably encountered and absorbed numerous features of the Japanese language. When one reviews the development of the Korean language in the 20th century, Japanese influence, both obvious and subtle, can be found at every turn, and at every linguistic level.

Driven by curiosity as a result of being both a native Japanese speaker and a Korean language learner, my inquiry into the Japanese elements in Korean first began with a realization of the massive amount of Japanese loanwords (i.e. Sino-Japanese words, phonologically loaned words, idioms, etc.), their habitats, and their continued use at all levels in modern Korean society. In the course of collecting information on these issues from South Korean linguists' works, I soon came to question the arguments of South Korean linguists who promote a prescriptive approach in reaction to the 'contamination' of Korean by Japanese elements in their language.

Japanese rule, despised by Koreans and perceived as brutal, ended in 1945. As a result of this, Korea's "Kugŏ" ('National Language' in Korean) seemed to have regained its freedom after a long dark age of suffering, symbolized by the release from prison of survivors of the Hankul Hakhoe Incident in 1942.1

In post-Liberation Korea, Koreans have asserted their national-identity in being 'anti-Japanese'. In fact, Korean academia as a whole continues to face the same problem, be it the field of history, linguistics, or economics. Concerning the colonial period, the majority of Korean researchers have put forward arguments based on this 'anti-Japanese’

1 The Han’gul Hakhoe (Korean Language Research Society 朝鮮語学会 in Japanese) is now known as the most prominent, most nationalist linguistic grouping of the colonial period. It is famous for the 'Han’gul Hakhoe Incident' in October, 1942, when thirteen members were imprisoned due to the JGG's accusation of 'anti-Japanese activities aiming
matrix. They take the beaten path following 'anti-Japanese' sentiment and conclude with a re-confirmation of this very 'anti-Japanese' stance. However, understanding this resentment itself is, I found, causing theoretical problems in some of the Korean grammarians’ prescriptions for purging foreign elements from their language. The overwhelming strength of the call to “purge Japanese remnants” that lies at the core of the series of language policy issues put forward by the ROK government as well as the South Korean linguists’ “National Language purification” theory tends to digress from the logical track of linguistic studies.

Likewise, the arguments and studies of the Japanese Government General (JGG)’s language policy put forward by Korean linguist-intellectuals are penetrated by this hostility against the JGG’s colonial regime. In general, “Wuli Mal Malsal Chongch’aek (Policy of Terminating Our Language),” “Kugō Sangyong Chŏngch’aek (National Language Enforcement Policy),” ‘our language was “trampled” and “infringed”’ are repeatedly emphasized in the arguments of Korean scholars. In fact, this tone is virtually ubiquitous.

Nonetheless, is it appropriate to oversimplify the Koreans’ experiences with Japanese and their language like this? Were the language contacts between the two solely one-dimensional as the Korean linguists insist? Did the Japanese penetrate Korea with Japanese Kokugo (national language) that effectively and completely terminate Korea’s own Kugō?

Regardless of the Koreans’ vociferous repugnance for the Japanese that seems to drive them to “purge Japan” from so many arenas of Korean society, it was a fact that every Korean individual was involved in the process of adopting the Japanese linguistic, cultural, and ideological elements found in vast areas of Korean society. Likewise, Korean grammarians and linguists also, knowingly or not, were influenced by numerous aspects of Japanese linguistic thought and language ideology, which lay at the foundation of modern Korean linguistic studies.

Put together, these aspects made the interaction between Korean and Japanese more multi-layered; thus, a monolithic narration of the colonial language experience prevents us from reaching a comprehensive understanding of the modern Korean language and of “Korean National Language Studies” (Kugō hak) in modern-day Korea. Without recognizing and disentangling the multi-layered structure that grew as a result of encounters at independence’. Two of them died in prison.
between Koreans and Japanese, and between the Korean and Japanese language and
Korean and Japanese language professionals, studies of linguistic studies under the rule of
the JGG would remain stagnant. Since language contact is a bi-directional phenomenon, it
is instructive to focus not only on Korean’s encounter and experience with Japanese from
the point of view of the 'colonized'—that is the Koreans’—but also on how Korean
language was viewed and treated by the ‘colonizer’—the Japanese.

To rise above the Koreans’ unilateral denunciation of the Koreans’ language
experiences under the Japanese colonial regime, this thesis aims to overturn the
conventional viewpoints in Korea-Japan colonial experiences, at least in the field of
language policy and linguistic studies during the colonial period. In approaching this goal, I
set out to shed light on the neglected loopholes of Korean language study that deeply
involved both the colonized and the colonizer.

Each chapter is an excavation of themes lurking in the corners of simple binomial
stratification of languages of the colonizer and the colonized. The total five chapters of this
thesis are all built around this consistent theme—loopholes and overlooked nooks and
crannies in the one-dimensional studies of the Korea-Japan colonial experience of each
other’s language, roughly ordered on a chronological basis.

In search of these ‘blindspots’—in the shadow of the ever-popular trope “merciless
Japanese (language policy); unfortunate Korean language”—and so as to unravel the
reality of Japanese colonial agents’ Korean language study during the colonial period, I
start my narration with a re-examination of the JGG language policy in its Korean colony.
Implementation of a series of JGG language policies were legalized through the Provisions
for Korean Education (Choosen Kyooiku Rei), announced three times with several
revisions by the Japanese Government-General. Through an examination of the contents
and changes of these Provisions, the gradual domination of Japanese language curriculum
contemplated by the JGG becomes evident.

As Japan accelerated its rally toward the 'Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere',
the JGG’s National Language (Japanese) policy expanded its reach beyond the educational
system. Chapter one also includes an examination of the notorious Japanese "Kokugo
(National language)" enforcement policy (Kokugo Jooyoo Seesaku 国語常用政策), an
indispensable element of the JGG’s language policy, especially in the last stage of Imperial
Japan’s wartime effort after 1939.

After thirty-five years of enforcing the JGG language policy, how much Japanese
language actually ‘invaded’ Korean and to what extent was Korean ‘trampled’? The JGG’s language policy, invariably depicted until now by Koreans with patriotic sentiment from a limited perspective as ‘thoroughly merciless’, however, still leaves questions to its ‘effectiveness’ unanswered. With the data available, chapter one will examine the results of the policies, which were in fact ‘unsatisfactory’ as far as the JGG was concerned.

Given this frustrating situation, the JGG attempted countermeasures. Chapter II will focus on the hidden reciprocity regarding the process of language learning, even though the motivation of JGG was driven neither by a humanistic sense of equality nor by pure academic curiosity about the Korean language. The Japanese colonial regime tried to hypnotize the masses in both countries with slogans such as “Naisen ittai” (Japan and Korea as an unified body) and “Nissendooso (日鮮同祖—Japan and Korea’s Shared Ancestry)”. Nonetheless, these slogans echoed in vain when the Japanese faced the actual degree of Japanese penetration into Korea and Korean that did not live up to the colonial government’s expectations.

As well as being irritated by the ineffectiveness caused by their own ignorance of the Korean language, the Japanese colonial government became more aware of the necessity for the Japanese living in the Korean colony to learn the Korean language in order to secure tighter control.

Undoubtedly, for the successful establishment of the colonial regime, communication with the colonized is an essential precondition. Indeed, imperial Japan ‘successfully’ seized Korea in practically every aspect of society. In particular, the area of ideology and thought control requires a high level of bilingual ability. Given the fact that the Japanese police were performing duties to censor every form of expression in Korean—newspapers, journals, talks, gatherings, etc.—there is no doubt that the Japanese police, at least some of them, were well-equipped with Korean language skills. Thus, it is understandable that the colonial government started encouraging Japanese officials to learn Korean, even while simultaneously continuing its long-range plans to exterminate the Korean language.

Several topics of inquiry arise immediately; how did the colonial government inaugurate the encouragement of the study of Korean and to what extent was it successful? Who were the actual advocates and what were the backgrounds of Koreans involved in teaching Korean to Japanese?

Research into this study of the Korean language of Japanese colonial agents,
however, has been remarkably scarce; in fact, the topic itself has never surfaced thus far. Driven by a vague feeling of discontent, I began my inquiry into the JGG’s concern for enhancing the Korean language skills of its Japanese employees and into the influence it had on Koreans or Japanese, if at all.

In search of the answers to these questions, chapter two will examine Japanese collective efforts at learning Korean, especially in the 1920’s in its Korean colony. Although the JGG had been advocating Korean language studies since the very beginning of its rule in 1910, more systematic, government-led Korean language study was triggered by the March 1st Independence Movement, a massive explosion of Koreans’ resentment toward Japanese rule that gave rise to sustained demonstrations in 1919. In other words, especially after ‘letting’ the March 1st Independence Movement break out in 1919, the JGG became more keen on knowing the language of those they were colonizing. Hence, chapter two pays special attention to the period after the JGG’s announcement of the “Choosengo Shoorei Kitei” (朝鮮語奨励規程 Provisions for Korean Language Encouragement) in 1921 as well as the “Choosengo Shoorei Shiken” (朝鮮語奨励試験 Korean Language Encouragement Exam), established later in the same year. One should be able to see the colonial government’s sincerity for Korean language studies in that they guaranteed special income bonuses for those who passed the exam. Since this “Choosengo Shoorei Shiken” (朝鮮語奨励試験 Korean Language Encouragement Exam) was the standard for the Korean language study of Japanese officials during the colonial period, I will also examine it in detail in chapter two.

The experiences of Japanese speakers with Korean language were concentrated among those Japanese authority figures who stood on the front line of Japan’s colonization enterprise. Of particular relevance in this case are the Japanese colonial police, who, by virtue of their day-to-day contacts with the Korean people, were required to learn Korean.

Given the government-induced enthusiasm for Korean language, some topics of inquiry arise: how did the people who passed the exam actually manage to learn Korean? Did any language institutes exist for policemen? Who was involved in teaching Korean to JGG agents, especially to policemen?

In tracing this new enthusiasm for ‘Learning Korean’ agitated by the colonial government, I will specifically examine Korea’s first linguistic journal, the monthly “Choosengo (朝鮮語 Korean Language)” in chapter three. It was published from 1925 to 1929 and is a primary source material. Using this unique record of the JGG Korean
language study of the 1920's, I will access actual sample voices of Japanese colonial agents and Koreans who were involved in the study of Korean. Through memoirs of earlier Japanese government exchange students and 'success stories' of exam passers, numerous private contacts between Japanese individuals and unknown Koreans during the course of their individual Korean language studies become visible. In addition, evidence of Choosengo's direct link with JGG authority figures—unexpectedly, the journal counted some of the highest authority figures amongst its readers—will be extracted from several articles in the journal. This helps us picture the context in which Korean was studied by Japanese since around the turn of the century, which helps us unravel the diverse strata in Korean and Japanese contacts in the field of language study.

Turning our gaze to the part of the leading figures of the Japanese' Korean language studies during the era of Japanese imperial expansion, chapter four focuses more on the producers and supporters of Korean language guides for the Japanese, as well as the development of these guides. I will sample small-scale, individual efforts at compiling language guides from the late nineteenth century to the 1910's. Also examined are the works of by far the largest and most prominent grouping of Korean and Japanese bilingual intellectuals in the 1920's, the editorial members of the journal Choosengo, Choosengo Kenkyuukai (朝鮮語研究会—Korean Language Studies Association). However, these Korean and Japanese individuals have been consigned to oblivion in modern intellectual and linguistic histories of Korea and Japan. A glimpse at some of the works on Korean linguistic studies by Korean and Japanese scholars and their backgrounds and motives for advocating Korean language study will help unravel the reality of Korean language study on the part of the JGG employees during the period concerned. In particular, I will pay special attention to the Choosengo editorial members, the Choosengo Kenkyuukai (Korean Language Research Association), which was led by a team of two key figures—the president, Yi Wanung 李完応 (a Korean) and the chairman, Itoo Kandoo伊藤韓堂 (a Japanese). As well as introducing the available information on all thirty members of Choosengo Kenkyuukai (nineteen of them were Koreans), I will attempt to explain the biographies of Yi Wanung and Itoo Kandoo and several other members in greater detail.

In the concluding chapter, I attempt to depict the final place and significance of Korean language study for the JGG. In particular, the contradiction and dilemma between the premise of JGG-led Korean language encouragement projects and the reality from Korean linguist Yi Wanung's viewpoint will be introduced. This paints a vivid picture of
the colonial paradigm lurking behind the quiet enthusiasm for 'Learning Korean', destined
to be mutilated within the JGG's ostensible advocacy of Japanese as the sole 'National
Language'. Ultimately, I will delve into why this area of Korean language study, with its
complicated context and multi-layered structure, involving so many individuals from both
the colonizers and the colonized, has been consigned to oblivion for so long.
Literature Review
1. The Japanese Government-General’s Language Policy in Korea, 1906-1945

After the Liberation in 1945, more active academic interaction between Korea and Japan occurred in a more positive atmosphere. This allowed the development of linguistic studies of the Korean and Japanese languages as the following figure speaks: From 1945 to 1993, as many as 2183 books, papers, dictionaries, textbooks, dissertations and articles on Korean language were published either in Japanese or Korean. Among them, according to Umeda Hiroyuki’s retrospective overview of Korean Language Studies in Japan after the Liberation, the field of grammar such as the detailed studies of verbs (the form and usage of suffix, voice, tense, aspect, mood etc.) and honorific case forms are the mainstream of the Korean linguistics studies in Japan. Overall, many fields of the Korean linguistics studies in Japan become subdivided and comprehensive as more researchers are getting involved in the study.

By far the most comprehensive description of the Japanese Government-General (the JGG)’s language policy in terms of quality and quantity is Morita Yoshio (1987)’s National Language and History Education in Korea (Kankoku ni okeru Kokugo/Kokushi Kyooiku). Morita (1910-) served in the Japanese embassy in Korea after graduating from the Keijoo Imperial University, and compiled all the available historical facts and data on the issue from the late Choson dynasty through to the post-colonial period. This body of work includes nearly three hundred pages of reprinted major documents including the JGG’s provisions related to ‘National Language’ and history education. Morita’s article ‘History of Japanese Language Education in Korea’ in Nihongo Kyooiku (Japanese Language Education), Vol.48 (Morita, Yoshio. 1982.10.), precedes this work and can be considered a brief summary of Morita’s later work.

Subsequently, Inaba Tsuguo (1986) briefly reviewed where Japanese language education has been located and how it was carried out in Korean society in his article ‘Kankoku ni okeru Nihongo Kyooikushi’ (The History of Japanese Language Education in Korea) in Nihongo Kyooiku (Japanese Language Education). This article delineates four periods:

Before 1905 (the period when Japanese was a foreign language);
1906~1910 (Compulsory Japanese language courses as Korea’s second language during the protectorate period);
1910–1945 (Japanese as *Kokugo*—National Language during the colonial period);

After 1961 (Japanese as a foreign language)

By integrating the linguistic situation with that of politics, Inaba’s article enables us to locate the changes in status of the Japanese language according to the political situation in Korea. Among Korean scholars’ works, Yi Sukja (1975)’s article ‘*Nihon Toochika Choosen ni okeru Choosengo Kyooiku*’ (Japanese Language Education under Japanese Control—in relation to the Provisions for Korean Education) in *Choosengakuhoo* (Korean Studies Journal) is also noteworthy. Yi employs announcements of the *Provisions for Korean Education* to divide the colonial period into three stages; the periods of the *First Provisions* (1911-22), the *Second Provisions* (1922-38) and the *Third Provisions* (1938-43). According to this periodization, she examines how the Korean and Japanese curriculum in elementary schools was changed each time the JGG revised the *Provisions for Korean Education*. Indeed, by contrasting the Japanese and Korean curriculums, Yi succeeds in giving evidence of the JGG’s plan to increase the hours for Japanese study until they gradually dominated Korean and purged it from the curriculum.

It is regrettable, however, that Yi, who argues that this “Japanese language education burden disturbed the modernization of Korean education”, ignores the question of precisely how the influence of Japanese education slowed Korean progress.

Another work by a Korean scholar is ‘*Nittee no Taikan Shinryaku to Gengo Seesaku*’ (Japanese Imperialism’s Invasion of Korea and its Language Policy) (in *Han* Vol.17 1973.5. pp. 81-102) by Kim Minsu. Kim roughly depicts the process of Japan’s colonization of Korea from the late 19th century until liberation in 1945 from a typically Korean point of view. Integrating Japan’s process of establishing its colonial regime in Korea and changes in the JGG’s language policy on Korean and Japanese both inside and outside of schools, Kim attempts to depict the JGG’s aim of spreading Japanese at the expense of Koreans’ access to their own language. In general, his argument points out that Japanese was significantly pervasive due to Japan’s plan to terminate the Korean language (朝鮮語抹殺計画). He concludes the article with this comment: ‘It was lucky that the Japanese occupation ended before the Korean language was destroyed’ because, according to Kim’s estimate, eighty percent of the Korean population would have understood Japanese if the occupation had lasted for ten more years. This argument is weak in that; 1. All of the data (i.e. the number of Koreans who understood Japanese, pp. 96-8) he
occasionally referred to was collected by the JGG, which may have intentionally inflated numbers in order to boast of the 'success' of the JGG's Japanese language policy. 2. Kim fails to question the level of Japanese ability of those who were unilaterally categorized as "understanding Japanese".

Against these arguments, *Korean Language Education in Korea under Japanese Control* by Ogiwara Hikozoo (1966 Tokyo; Yuuhoo Kyookai) denies that the Korean language curriculum was ever officially discontinued. While this is true, it is problematic that Ogiwara instantly links this with a denial of the JGG's oppression of the Korean language. Without considering the social context (i.e. other invisible pressures to ban Korean), his argument is too simple to be persuasive, and is readily labeled as an example of a former colonizer's argument with nationalist motives.

2. Japanese Efforts at Learning Korean

The JGG's treatment of the Korean language has been studied mainly in relation to descriptions of the JGG's Japanese language policy. For most scholars, 'Korean language education under the rule of the JGG' is defined solely with respect to Koreans in school settings. Inevitably, these studies are tinged with a predictable relativism— an increase of Japanese language support leads to a decrease in and suppression of Korean language support.

Against this trend, there did exist a paradoxical reciprocity between the Korean and Japanese languages. This loophole within the language contact and policies during the Japanese occupation is the most neglected theme— the Korean language learning of Japanese residents in the Korean colony. Turning our gaze to the situation of Europeans' experiences learning an African language, *Language and Colonial Power* (Fabian, 1980) is a comprehensive case study of the former Belgian Congo.¹ The third chapter, in particular, is concerned with language learning in the process of colonization, where Fabian depicts missionaries' colonial language training.

By contrast, research into this issue—colonial language training on the part of the

¹ But note that Japan's colonization of Korea is much more comparable to the historical relationship between England and Ireland or Germany and Poland, than it is to European colonization in Africa or Southeast Asia. (Cumings, p.486)
colonizer— which is the core theme of this thesis, is remarkably scarce in the case of the Japan ~ Korea relationship. The only research on the topic of Japanese residents' involvement in Korean language study during the colonial period of which I am aware is *Thoughts about the Korean Language* (Choosengo wo Kangaeru, 1980) by Kajii Wataru (1927-1988). In his search for the significance of the Korean language for Japanese people, Kajii examines how Korean was treated by the Japanese and how Japanese were involved in the language within their colonial paradigm in Korea. This theme is pursued from various angles, including the Korean language curriculum during the colonial period, the contents of Korean textbooks compiled by the JGG, and some Japanese intellectuals' (e.g. Abe Yoshishige, professor at Keijoo Imperial University) views on Koreans and their language. Regarding the material more directly related to the theme of my thesis, the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of *Thoughts about the Korean Language*, in particular, are concerned with the actual strategies and realities of the Korean language studies advocated by the JGG.

However, *Thoughts about the Korean Language* is a compilation of thirteen serialized articles Kajii had been writing in the seasonal journal *Sanzenri* (Three Thousand Ri). Because of this format, each chapter is isolated from the others, which unavoidably lends the work a discursive impression. In particular, despite frequent references to the journal *Choosengo* as one of his primary sources, the actual description he gives of the journal is less than one page in total. Given the fact that *Choosengo* was the only accurate record of the reality of JGG agents' Korean language studies, it is necessary to examine this journal in greater detail. Thus, chapter three of my thesis will focus on examining the contents of the journal, which reveal the deep involvement of Koreans in JGG agents' Korean language studies.

Equally important in unraveling the reality of Korean language study of the period are authors of Korean language guides. Again, however, while Kajii mentions this topic in his work along with a comprehensive list of Korean language guides published between the late 1890's and 1978, he does not elaborate on the Korean and Japanese authors of these Korean language guides. Since it helps us better understand the reality of Korean language study in the period concerned, I will examine some of these forgotten individuals who contributed to Japanese' learning of Korean, including those who belonged to *Choosengo*.

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2 Kajii has taught in a North Korean school in Japan, which is a rare place to work for most Japanese.
Kenkyuukai, the Korean and Japanese editorial members of the journal Choosengo.

3. General Inquiries about Japanese National Language and Ideology

Although the body of this thesis is concerned with a specific area of linguistic reciprocity between Japanese and Korean, recent studies of modern Japan’s language ideology in relation to its cultural identity do help us locate the thesis in a larger context. I will introduce four representative works on the topic, all of which were published in Japan in the nineties. The earliest among them is Chinese author Shi Gan (1993)’s work: *Shokuminchi Shiha* to Nihongo (Colonial Rule and Japanese—Language Policies in Taiwan, Manchukuo and Occupied Areas in the Continent). This work consists of two themes; 1. Case studies of imperial Japan’s language policy in some of its colonies 2. ‘Deification’ of the Japanese language. Whereas Shi does not elaborate on the JGG’s language policy in its Korean colony in the first section, his research into general characteristics of Japanese colonial language policy in the latter part is insightful, with its emphasis on the identity of Japanese language, race and nation-state.

Another work on the experience of the Japanese language in various colonies of Japan is: *Umi wo Watatta Nihongo—Shokuminchi no Kokugo no Jikan* (Japanese that crossed the sea—A Japanese class in a colony) by Kawamura Minato (1994). Chapter five (pp.131-148) in particular is concerned with the dilemma between Koreans’ previous ‘national language’ (Korean) and the newly legitimized ‘National Language’ (Kokugo—Japanese). Kawamura adds a realistic tone to the description of Koreans’ actual experiences of compulsory study of Kokugo (i.e. Japanese) in elementary schools, citing some Koreans’ diaries and poems.

Undoubtedly, one of the most prominent works on the formation of modern Japanese Kokugo ideology is: ‘Kokugo’ to in Shisoo (‘National Language’ Ideology) by a Korean scholar Yi Yeounsuk (1996). Tracking the development of the ideologies of Kokugo down to Ueda Kazutoshi (1867-1937), a European-influenced linguist known for his remark ‘Kokugo is the spiritual blood of the people’ (Kokugo wa kokumin no seeshinteki ketsueki), Yi reveals the reality of Kokugo ideology, which was created to

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3 Shi and Yi are from the department of sociology at Hitotsubashi University, where they both worked with Tanaka Katsuhiko, a leading socio-linguist.
support the identity of Meiji Japan. Furthermore, Yi describes the intellectual and political development that Kokugo ideology underwent, including disputes between the conservatives and the liberals over the issue of national language reform and its extensive utilization for later colonial language policy in the ‘Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere’. This comprehensive work succeeds in proving that modern Japan’s language ideology was intimately bound with politics, nation states and race, which invites us to a deeper investigation into the changes in Japanese Kokugo ideology after the collapse of Japanese imperialism.

This line of research was further pursued in: Shokuminchi no naka no 'Kokugogaku' ('National Language Studies' in a Colony) (1997). Starting with criticizing the limits and exclusiveness of Ikkoku Kokugogaku (national language study of one [particular] nation), the author, Yasuda Toshiaki (1968-), sets out to unravel how Japan defined Kokugo (i.e. Japanese) in its Korean colony. Toward this goal, Yasuda focuses on leading Japanese linguist Tokieda Motoki’s (1900-1967) view on languages and language policies during his sixteen years at Keijoo Imperial University (now Seoul National University), where Tokieda taught Kokugo Kokubungaku (National Language and Literature). Yasuda further describes the dilemma between the Kokugo (Japanese) supremacist language policy of the JGG and the other Kokugo (Kugo) for Koreans, which Tokieda attempted to justify by modifying his master Ueda’s definition of ‘Kokugo’ as ‘mother tongue’ and by recognizing the superiority of the ‘nation state’s language (kokkagoy).’ Despite Tokieda’s avoidance of referring to anything related to his Korean experiences throughout his life, Yasuda successfully unravels Tokieda’s view on Kokugo from his arguments about language policies, in which is expressed the fundamental contradiction of Japanese Kokugo ideology.
Chapter 1

1. The Japanese Colonial Government's Language Policy in Korea (1906-1945)

1. The Pre-Annexation Period (1906-1910)

1-1. In Preparation: Setting up the Educational Infrastructure

As early as 1906, when Korea became a protectorate of Japan, education in Korea came into Japanese hands with the establishment of the Japanese Residency General (朝鮮総監府 Choosen Sookanfu) in Seoul in February of that year. Peter Duus argues that prior to the annexation in 1910, the Japanese priority was on the physical transformation of Korea—building economic infrastructure such as roads, irrigation systems, docks, hospitals, bridges and banks—areas where the bulk of the ¥10 million loan from the Tokyo government was spent. (Duus, 1995. P.213) However small the remaining allocation was, the Resident General did not neglect the reform of the education system in Korea. With much fanfare, the Japanese Resident General (総監) Itoo Hirobumi (伊藤博文) promulgated "Model Education" (Mohan Kyooiku 模範教育), and the Japanese Residency General (朝鮮総監府) set out to restructure the Korean indigenous school system. It is clear that, the Korean Ministry of Education was already under Japanese control during this pre-annexation period.

In August of 1906, in the form of taking a 'suggestion' from a Japanese adviser, but without any power in the decision-making process, the Korean government announced the Provisions for Elementary Schools, High Schools, Normal Schools and Foreign Language Schools. Having legalized the existence of these schools, the Japanese Resident General

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1 Oligarch of Meiji Japan and architect of the Japanese protectorate over Korea, who was assassinated by the Korean patriot An Chunggun in 1909. (Palais, 1998. P.221)
2 After Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), Japanese advisers entered the Ministry of Palace Affairs, Military Affairs, Economics and Police. In addition, the Japanese government held the right to appoint a Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs for Korea.
3 These Provisions (Futsuu Gakkoo Rei, Kootoo Gakkoo Rei, Shihan Gakkoo Rei,
General started to build them. To start with, elementary schools and high schools were to be organized according to the chart below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Years of study</th>
<th>Admittance for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>Children from 8 to 12 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>3~4 years</td>
<td>Elementary school graduates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls High school</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Elementary school graduates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the time of the annexation in 1910, there were 173 public elementary schools built by the Japanese, with 20,194 students (among which 1,274 were female) in 589 classes. Considering the fact that there were 317 counties and 4,362 cities and townships at that time, there was only one school per 25 towns. Indeed, this was still far from the ultimate goal of increasing the literacy rate of Koreans according to the "One School Per Township (Ichimen Ikkoo 一面一校)" program, which was achieved only as late as 1937.

Nonetheless, it should be safe to say that during this pre-Annexation period, the Japanese Residency General made steady progress in paving the way for the Japanese Colonial Government’s organization (1910-1945) of the modern school system that would take shape in Korea after 1910.

1-2. Japanese Language (日語) Education in the pre-Annexation Period (1906-1910)

Concurrent with the announcement of the Provisions for schools, the Japanese Residency General established Japanese language studies as a compulsory subject in every school. In fact, it is not an overstatement to say that the Japanese Government-General (JGG)’s education policy in its Korean colony had Japanese language education at its core throughout the entire period. Evidence for this can be found in the emphasis on the Japanese language reflected in all curricula. In 1906, at the time of the Provisions’ announcement, the official Japanese language curriculum in Korean schools was

Gaikokugo Gakkoo Rei) was supplemented by the Provisions for Girls High Schools and Technical Schools (Kootoo Jogakkoo Rei and Jitsugyoo Gakkoo Rei) in 1908.
inaugurated as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Japanese (Hours per week)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>1st, 2nd yr.</td>
<td>6 / 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd, 4th yr.</td>
<td>6 / 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school (1~4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 / 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal school (1~3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 / 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical school</td>
<td></td>
<td>4~5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls high school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical / Agricultural school</td>
<td>1st yr.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd yr.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd yr.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business school</td>
<td>1st yr.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd yr.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd yr.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language school</td>
<td>1st yr.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Department</td>
<td>2nd yr.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd yr.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Japanese lessons, the schools employed the grammar-translation method, in which a Korean translation was given for every Japanese phrase and vice versa. Thus, it was necessary for native Japanese instructors to have Korean assistant teachers (通訳教員) help them with the translation.

The impact of these Provisions was reflected in the number of private Japanese language schools, which had started already in the 1890's, and the majority of which was

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4 The Japanese Residency General appointed a total of 90 native Japanese instructors for the elementary schools in 1906. (Morita, 1982, P.3)
5 There were also two hours of elective Japanese in the second and the third years in the other departments of the Foreign Language Schools (English, French, German and Chinese).
6 These assistant teachers were trained at the Hansong Normal School Intensive Training Department (漢城師範學校速成科).
not under Japanese authority at the time. As of 1906, there were more than thirty such private schools and the number of students enrolled to learn Japanese was increasing. As Japanese language education became more fully integrated into the public education system by the JGG, these schools gradually disappeared. Alternatively, the Hansong Foreign Language School (漢城外国语学校), which absorbed all foreign language schools in Seoul in 1909, functioned as a public foreign language institute.

Although the start of this Japanese plan seemed smooth enough, it inevitably confronted some Korean critics, who were offended by these provisions and were against imposing Japanese language education on first grade Korean schoolchildren. In reaction to these Korean ‘misunderstandings’ of Japanese language education, a Japanese secretary in the Ministry of Education (學務局書記官) Mitsuchi Chuuzoo (三土忠造) remarked on June 20th, 1908: “It is beneficial for Koreans to know Japanese in terms of the reality of Japan and Korea, business, trade, transportation and so on.” (Emphasis mine: Cited in Morita, 1982.7)

In relation to this remark, the Japanese Resident General claimed that Japanese language education during the four years of the pre-Annexation period was for practical purposes, and repeatedly mentioned as follows:

“(We will) focus on the practical use (of the Japanese language) and select daily, common issues in teaching Japanese---” *(The Rules for Implementing the Provisions for Normal Schools; 1906.8)*

“(We) intend to increase the students’ worldly wisdom” *(The Rules for Practicing the Provisions for High Schools, 1906.8).*

But the Japanese language was not the official National Language (Kokugo) yet, as can be seen from the way it is referred to in Japanese language textbooks such as “Nichigo Doku hon (A Reader of Japanese 日語読本)” 8 at this point. This fact allows us to call this period the ‘Nichigo’ (Japanese Language) Education period in contrast to the ‘Kokugo’ (National Language) Education period after the annexation in 1910. Put simply, Japanese language education during the pre-Annexation period can be characterized as “Education *through* the Japanese language”, with its emphasis on

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7 [ The History of Japanese Language Education in Korea. (Kankoku ni okeru Kokugo Kokushi Kyooiku) In; Nihongo Kyooiku Vol.48, p.4]
8 Volumes 1-4 were completed by February 1907, Volumes 5-8 by March 1908.
2. After Annexation (1910-1945)

2-1. Periodization of the JGG Japanese Language Education Policy

In general, it was after the Annexation in 1910 that Japanese language education became more thoroughly organized under the rule of the Japanese Government General (JGG). More specifically, the JGG’s announcement of the *Korean Education Provisions* (Choosen Kyooiku rei) in 1911 launched the thirty-five long years of government-led Japanese language education in the Korean colony.

Most scholars narrate the history of the Japanese colonial period in three stages, which coincide with changes of the Governor-generals:

1. 1910—1919: From Annexation to the March 1st Independence Movement
   [Governors-General Terauchi Masatake (1910.10-1916.10) and Hasegawa Yoshimichi (1916.10-1919.8)];

2. 1919—1937: ‘Cultural Rule’ — Relative toleration of Korean cultural and intellectual autonomy
   Post-March 1st Independence Movement [Governors- General Saitoo Makoto (1919.9-1931.7) and Ugaki Kazushige (1931.7-1936.8)];

3. 1937—1945: The terminal stage of the ‘Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’
   [Governor-general Minami Jirō (1936.8-1942.5)].

While Japanese language education was certainly influenced by these political changes, the *Provisions for Korean Education* (朝鮮教育令) seems more directly

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9 Palais (1998) argues that a powerful stimulus to Korean national consciousness was created especially in this first decade of harsh military control. However, what it did was split the Kroean people into nationalists and collaborators. “Since the Japanese stripped the yangban of their political power and left them only with control of their landed property, awards of paper titles of Japanease nobility, and the right to retain their Confucian beliefs and ritual practices, they succeeded in keeping them content and removing most of them from the nationalist movement.” (pp.221-222)
influential in discussing education in the period concerned. They were revised many times and had a considerable effect on varying the content of Japanese language education during the colonial period each time they were issued. Hence, it is important not to be confused by the changes in the political climate, but to take the revisions of the *Provisions* into consideration. Yi Sukja (1975), whose work shares the theme of this chapter, uses these *Provisions* as the primary source for her analysis of Japanese language education in colonial Korea. According to Yi, these Provisions were the origins of and the measuring sticks for colonial education, and each of them accurately reflects the political background of the time of the announcement. (*Chosen Gakuhoo.* 1975. P.98)

The announcements of the *Provisions* were carried out as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Rule</th>
<th>Promoted Slogan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The first <em>Provisions</em></td>
<td>Military Rule (Budan Seiji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first revision:</td>
<td>Adjust to the times and the standard of living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(時勢と民度に適応)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second <em>Provisions</em></td>
<td>Cultural Rule (Bunka Seiji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second revision:</td>
<td>Unity of Japan and Korea (一視同仁)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The third <em>Provisions</em></td>
<td>Militaristic Rule of Terror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The third revision:</td>
<td>Loyal citizens of Imperial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These three provisions reflect the political background of the time they were issued and each provision can be represented by a condensed slogan:

10 ‘One School per Three Townships’ was achieved in 1922.
In addition, we should consider the factors outside of the school setting that Yi Sukja’s study of the Provisions covers. It was especially in the later years of the colonial period that the JGG’s Japanese language education policy expanded into Korean society at large.

According to Morita Yoshio (1987), the author of a comprehensive work on “National (Korean before 1910 and Japanese after 1910) Language and History of Education in Korea”, the JGG’s Japanese language policy in Korea from 1910 to 1945 can be divided roughly into two periods: the annexation (1910) ~ the end of 1936 and until the liberation (1937 ~ 1945), depending on the characteristics of policy enforcement.

This division argues that during the first half of the colonial period, Japanese language education was carried out mainly in school settings. Morita characterizes this period as the “Diffusion of the National Language” (国語普及 Kokugo Fukyuu).

On the other hand, during the second half of the period, the JGG aimed at upgrading Japanese language policy by emphasizing the “Common Use of the National Language” (国語常用 Kokugo Jooyoo), not only in schools, but also in every sphere of Korean society.

Therefore, in examining thirty-five years of the JGG’s Japanese language policy, I will combine Morita Yoshio’s analysis with the school Provisions mentioned earlier as my methodology for this chapter.

3. The Period of the “Diffusion of the National Language”
(国語普及 Kokugo Fukyuu), 1910—1936

3-1. From Japanese (Nichigo) to Kokugo (National Language)

As soon as the JGG (朝鮮總督府 Chosen Sootokufu) began its rule on August 29, 1910, the Japanese language (日語 Nichigo) was officially transformed into Korea’s ‘National Language’ (Kokugo). The Korean language was now to be called ‘Choosengo 朝鮮語’ by the Japanese. A sub-editor of the JGG, Ootsuki Yoshihiro stated: “All of the
textbooks that were compiled by the Korean Government became inappropriate upon Annexation.” (Ootsuki, 1943)

Thus, the JGG announced the *Warnings and Corrections for Textbooks compiled by the former Ministry of Education* in October, 1910. In the sixth heading, it reads:

“By the notice of the former Ministry of Education, it is determined that the previous *Nichigo* (Japanese 日語) shall now be *Kokugo* (National Language 国語) and the previous *Kokugo* should be treated as ‘Choosengo’ (Korean). Consequently, names such as ‘Nichigo Dokuhon’ (日語読本) and ‘Kokugo Dokuhon’ (国語読本) need to be changed.”

At the same time, the JGG made steady progress toward a thorough restructuring of Korean education. By the end of 1910, the JGG completed the establishment of an editors’ bureau, a printing office and a unified orthography for Japanese syllabaries (*kana*) for new textbooks. With the appointment of leading Japanese linguists like Kanazawa Shoozaburoo, Ogura Shinpei and, Yamaguchi Kiichiroo, a scholar of Japanese pedagogy, to the Ministry of Education, the time was ripe for the announcement of the First *Provisions for Korean Education*, which will be discussed in the next section.

3-2. The First *Provisions for Korean Education* (Dai Ichiji Choosen Kyooiku rei)

第一次朝鮮教育令), 1911

In November of 1911, the JGG’s education for Koreans was launched with the implementation of the *Korean Education Provisions*. This premise is clearly stated in the second line of the *Provisions*;

“The main purpose of education is to foster loyal and good (忠良) citizens of Japan (國民).”

Among the provisions designed to turn Koreans into these loyal and good (忠良) citizens, Japanese language education was constantly at the top of the list, both in quality and

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11 Yamaguchi Kiichiroo (1872-1952), the inventor of the Direct Method in Japanese, was involved in Japanese language education in Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria.
quantity. This intention of the JGG can be found in the frequent references to ‘Kokugo’. For instance, the fifth line of the Provision reads:

“Compulsory education aims at the teaching of common knowledge and skills, the cultivation of characteristics as the citizens of Japan and the spread of the National Language.”

The third item of the seventh line of the Rules for Elementary Schools (Futsuu Gakkoo Kisoku 普通学校規則 October 20.1911. Cited in Morita Yoshio 1987, p. 279) reads:

“Kokugo (Japanese) is a manifestation of the spirit of citizens of Japan and it is indispensable for Koreans to acquire knowledge and skills. Hence, in every subject, we should expect them to acquire a thorough knowledge of and skills in Kokugo.”

According to the Rules for Elementary Schools, the quantity of Japanese language instruction was decided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>National Language (Japanese)</th>
<th>Korean (朝鮮語・漢文)</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40 (37.7%)</td>
<td>22 (20.2%)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the significant differences with the pre-Annexation period was that the Japanese now insisted on the direct method\(^{12}\) instead of the grammar-translation method. For example, according to the recollections of a certain Korean in Andong, North Kyongsang Province, a Korean janitor assisted in translation for the class in the first half of the first year. The children followed the Japanese teacher touring around the school, where they repeated and learned Japanese phrases such as “Kore wa sakura desu. (This is a cherry blossom.)” “Koko wa kyooshitsu desu. (It is a classroom here.)” “Are wa tsukue desu.

\(^{12}\) The Direct Method (immersion) consistently uses the target language throughout the lesson.
(That is a desk). Sometimes the JGG assigned Japanese teachers without any knowledge of the Korean language so that the direct method would be more strictly observed. (Kawamura, 1994. pp. 144-145)

3-3. The First Revision of the First Provisions for Korean Education: 1920

A year after the March 1st Independence Movement of 1919, the Provisions underwent its first revision. Conscious of the Koreans' exalted nationalistic mood, the JGG extended elementary school to six years and spared more hours for the Korean language in the first year. This might suggest that the Japanese were respecting the Korean language more, but in fact, these hours were gradually decreased and replaced by Japanese History, Geography or Physical Education in the fifth and sixth grades. Yi Sukja argues that despite the JGG's premise of 'cultural rule', this was in fact a more thorough colonial policy disguised with a discreet manner.

Indeed, considering the fact that these subjects were taught in Japanese, it would not be too wide of the mark to say that they could be added into the actual hours of Japanese language education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>National Language</th>
<th>Korean (朝鮮語・漢文)</th>
<th>Japanese History, Geography and Phys-Ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58 (33.7%)</td>
<td>34 (19.7%)</td>
<td>26 (15.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, being alert to the influence of sodang (書堂) and private schools, the

---

13 As of 1922, there was one elementary school per three towns. (Morita, 1982.)
14 This was linked to mental training as well.
15 Sodang are more diffused, Korean indigenous educational institutes. Although students in sodang were mainly taught how to read classical Chinese, the JGG was watching for private schools disguised as sodang. This did not mean, however, that sodang teachers
JGG did not yet rein them in. As a countermeasure for private schools—a hotbed of nationalists and Christians in the eyes of the JGG—the Provisions were announced in March of 1915. Through these Provisions, the curriculum in private schools was compelled to observe the rules in the Provisions for Korean Education (朝鮮教育令), which made National Language (Kokugo, i.e. Japanese) education and moral education (修身) compulsory in private schools as well.

The 'Sodang' was another potential threat to the JGG since sodang accommodated three times more students than public schools that were completely under the control of the JGG. As of 1918, there were 264,835 students in 24,294 sodang, as opposed to 87,379 students in 462 public schools. (Morita, 1982) To integrate sodang in its education policy, the JGG announced the necessity for sodang to teach the Japanese language in the 'Rules for Sodang (書堂規則)' on February 21, 1918. The second line of the rules reads: “...it is necessary that [we] gradually recommend and make them teach the National Language and Mathematics...” (Morita, 1987. p. 293)

3-4. The Second Provisions for Korean Education: 1922

Under the administration of the ‘cultural rule’ advocate Governor-general Saitoo Makoto, the second Provisions featured the removal of discrimination between Korean and Japanese students under the sacred premise of “Unity of Japan and Korea” (一視同仁Isshidoojin). Theoretically, the education system in Korea became identical with that of mainland Japan (Naichi 内地—inland). Instead of ‘Naichijin (內地人—inland people)’ and ‘Choosenjin (朝鮮人—Koreans)’ which has a tone of segregation, they coined new words; ‘common users of the National Language’ (Kokugo wo Jooyoo suru Mono—Japanese) and ‘non-common users of the National Language’ (Kokugo wo Jooyoo sezaru Mono—Koreans), respectively. Whereas the last Provisions were defined solely with respect to Koreans, this set of revisions referred both to Japanese and Koreans. The JGG observed this policy in that they allowed the co-education of Koreans and Japanese in higher education (business school and up).

Nevertheless, the JGG segregated elementary schools into two types: one for...
‘common users of the National Language’\textsuperscript{16} and one for ‘non-common users of the National Language’\textsuperscript{17}, contradicting their original premise. Shown below is the curriculum for the Korean students’ schools according to the second Provisions of 1922.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>National Language (Japanese)</th>
<th>Korean (朝鮮語)</th>
<th>Japanese History, Geography and Phys-Ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Hours</td>
<td>58 (37.6%)</td>
<td>34 (11.7%)</td>
<td>26 (17.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the increased emphasis on the Japanese language, classical Chinese (漢文) disappeared from the Korean language curriculum. Thus, the hours of Korean language were surpassed by the total hours of Japanese History, Geography and Physical Education.

Moreover, one has to keep in mind that the twelfth line of these Provisions opened the way for the establishment of a university in the colony. Legitimized by this law, Keijoo Imperial University (later renamed Seoul National University), the first university in Japan’s colony, was established in 1924.

### 3-5. The First Revision of the Second Provisions for Korean Education: 1929

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>National Language (Japanese)</th>
<th>Korean (朝鮮語)</th>
<th>Japanese History, Geography and Phys-Ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{16} Sohakkyo (小学校)

\textsuperscript{17} Pot’ong hakkyo (普通学校)
What is novel in the 1929 revision is that, as the hours devoted to the Korean language are reduced to almost 10%, a new subject—‘job-skills’—(職業) appears. Also, in June of 1929, the JGG announced the *Revisions of the Regulations for Sodang*. Through these revisions, sodangs became obliged to use the textbooks compiled by the JGG for National Language, Korean Language and Mathematics as well.

However, whether this increase of Japanese language in the curriculum had an immediate effect or not is questionable. After all, while there were 2,100 public elementary schools in Korea in 1934, only 20% of the estimated number of Korean children of school age actually attended public elementary schools.

Given this reality, the basic school (簡易学校) system was established upon the suggestion of Governor-General Ugaki. According to Ogiwara Hikozoo, who defended the JGG’s Korean language education policy, the JGG intended to provide children of Korean farmers with the same educational opportunities as Japanese children. (Ogiwara Hikozoo 1966. p.16) Whether this premise had any other intention or not, it was true that the JGG also required these basic schools to teach the National Language (i.e. Japanese) along with moral education.

### 3-6. Effects of the JGG’s National Language Policy during the Period of the “Spread of the National Language” (Kokugo Fukyuu 国語普及), 1911-1936

After a quarter century of implementing the JGG’s National Language policy in Korea, how effective did this policy turn out to be? For convenience’ sake, we can consult the JGG’s annual survey of the number of Koreans with Japanese language skills. Although its accuracy is perhaps questionable due to possible over-reporting by each local JGG branch, this survey still allows us to gain a general idea of Japanese language penetration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64 (35.5%)</td>
<td>20 (11.1%)</td>
<td>26 (18.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

18 Less than eighty students over ten years old were admitted for two years of study.
19 In 1921, the JGG reported that the surveyed ‘Koreans with Japanese language skills’ included those who had learned Japanese in the ‘successful’ National Language classes.
In spite of the constant increase in the hours devoted to Japanese language at schools, the percentage of Koreans with Japanese ability remains at less than 7% after twenty-five years of JGG efforts. I must hasten to add that there was a possibility that the JGG overstated the actual figures rather than underestimating them, since this survey was a collection of JGG provincial branches’ self-reports.

Thus these figures, which remain lower than one expects throughout the period, force us to consider the causes of the difficulties faced by the JGG in spreading Japanese. Possible factors behind the weak penetration of the Japanese language could include the following:

1. As of 1936, about 25% of Korean children of school age (6~12 years old) attended

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20 This decrease suggests a correction of overstatements. (Morita, 1987. P.129)
elementary schools. (Inaba, 1986. p.141)  
In terms of reading and writing, the majority of Koreans was still illiterate according to the following data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>J and K</th>
<th>J only</th>
<th>K only</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.79</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>15.44</td>
<td>77.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The JGG Korean National Survey Report 朝鮮總督府 朝鮮國勢調查報告 1935.3)

2. This percentage is calculated out of the entire population, including all age groups. If we exclude Korean children younger than ten years old, the percentage of Koreans with Japanese language skills increases to 9.9%.
3. However neglected, the Korean language was still a compulsory subject in schools.
4. In contrast to the forced assimilation policy during the latter period (1936-1945), the segregation of ‘common users of Japanese’ and ‘non-common users of Japanese’ itself implies that the JGG was allowing the existence of ‘non-common users of Japanese’.

In his summary of the period from the March 1

28

1st 1919 Independence Movement to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Inaba argues that it was a period of quantitative expansion of assimilation education (同化教育). Indeed, with campaigns such as the “One School Per Three Towns” Plan (三面一校計画 1918~22), the “One School Per Town” Plan (一面一校計画 1929~36) and the establishment of Basic Schools (簡易学校) in 1934, the JGG fully equipped its Korean colony with an educational infrastructure. At the same time, the figures above indicate that the JGG’s propagation of the Japanese language was not yet directly linked with the suppression of Korean language.

4. The Period of “Common Use of the National Language”
   (国語常用 Kokugo Jooyoo), 1936—1945

4-1. The Political Background
From the early 1930's onward, Japan accelerated the expansion of its empire into China. Accordingly, the importance of material and human resources from its Korean colony increased. In order to insure the participation of the Koreans as loyal and self-sacrificing members of the imperial family, the Japanese launched a systematic cultural assimilation program. After Ugaki’s resignation in 1936, the new Governor General, Minami Jiroo, former Minister of War and one of the leading generals of the Manchurian Incident (1931), intensified the ‘Imperial Subjectification’ (皇国臣民化 Kookoku Shinminka) of the Koreans. Notorious policies from this period included:

- The continuation of forced attendance of Korean students and government employees at Shinto ceremonies;\(^{21}\)
- The Pledge for Imperial Subjects (Kookoku Shinmin no Seeshi 皇帝臣民誓詞 1937);
- Creation of Japanese Names (Sooshi Kaimei 創氏改名 1939).\(^{22}\)

The JGG set Kokugo (Japanese language) penetration at the core of these ‘Imperial Subjectification’ (Kookoku Shinminka) policies.

Moreover, the ‘Provisions for Observing Korean Ideological Offenders’ (朝鮮思想犯保護観察令) of 1936 were tightened through the ‘Provisions for Detaining Korean Ideological Offenders’ (朝鮮思想犯予備拘禁令) in 1941.

Also noteworthy is that precisely in the year of the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the JGG’s “One School per Town” plan was completed, meaning that, in theory, the educational infrastructure was increased to maximize the reach of Japanese propaganda.

4-2. The Third Provisions for Korean Education, 1938

The third Provisions announced in March of 1938 was an official turning point in the JGG’s Korean language education policy, reflecting the intense state of emergency during wartime. The Korean language, which had at least been barely maintained, if only as an empty shell, was finally demoted to the status of an elective subject in 1938.

\(^{21}\) Governor-General Ugaki began this policy in 1935.

\(^{22}\) The JGG “graciously allowed” all Koreans to change their names to Japanese style surnames and given names. (Korea Old and New, p.318)
In the thirteenth and fourteenth headings of the *Provisions for Elementary Schools*, the JGG excluded Korean language from the list of the compulsory subjects and added,

"Besides the listed (compulsory) subjects, it is *allowed to add* Korean language. Korean language can become an elective subject."

Similar restrictions were applied to middle schools, vocational schools (実業学校) and girls’ high schools (高等女学校), except to normal schools (師範学校). However, this ‘optional’ Korean course was doomed to disappear from every school since, in cases when the Korean language course was actually to be added, the principal of the school had to obtain permission from the JGG.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>National Language (Unit: Hours)</th>
<th>Korean (朝鮮語)</th>
<th>Japanese History, Geography And Phys-Ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10 (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64 (33.1%)</td>
<td>16 (8.29%)</td>
<td>34 (17.54%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, it is true that, as Ogiwara (1966)\(^{23}\) claims, the Korean language was never legally banned. But in fact, given the unusual political climate, it was difficult for principals to challenge the JGG’s pressure to abandon Korean language courses. Thus, after 1938–39, Korean language lessons were gradually forced out of schools.

4-3. The First Revision of the *Third Provisions for Korean Education*, 1941

In the year of Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, the Korean language was finally

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\(^{23}\) One of the conservative Japanese scholars, who graduated from Tokyo University Law School in 1916. He was assigned various important positions at the JGG from 1916 to 1939.
purged from schools through the JGG's *Third Provisions for Korean Education*, announced on March 25th of 1941.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>National Language</th>
<th>Korean (朝鮮語)</th>
<th>Japanese History, Geography, And Phys-Ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55 (29.3%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>(25.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By this time, not only had the Japanese language secured its position as the one and only 'National Language' to be learned, but the use of Korean at school became grounds for punishment.

For example, a Korean woman from Chinju in Kyongsang Province, recollects that teachers made students watch each other:

Students were provided with thirty cards with the teacher's seal on each of them. Whenever they spoke Korean, the other child who heard it got a card from the Korean speaker. Eventually, the student with the most cards was praised.

(Kawamura 1994. p. 145)

The JGG advocated more devoted study of Japanese language for Koreans under slogans emphasizing the importance of the Japanese language such as "100,000,000 Citizens, One National Language!" (一億の民、国語は一つ), "Harmony Between Japan and Korea starts with the National Language!" (内鮮一体、先ず国語から) and "Onward to Greater East Asia through the National Language!" (国語で進め大東亜). Non-use of Japanese came to be considered an expression of anti-Japanese nationalism and was to be purged from every corner of school life. According to Morita (1987), not only did the use of Korean language cause suspension or expulsion from schools, but also physical punishment in frequent cases.

4-4. The Campaign for Comprehensive Common use of the National Language
Movement (国語常用全解運動 Kokugo Jooyoo Zenkai Undoo)

Spreading the Japanese language outside of educational institutions had been the JGG’s concern since the early days of its rule over Korea. According to the JGG’s announcement in January of 1921 concerning the encouragement of National Language Classes (国語講習会 Kokugo kooshuukai), these classes were allegedly already active at the time of the announcement. In these National Language Classes, which were free short courses (a few months) in Japanese language organized by voluntary local policemen, schoolteachers, companies, factories and individuals, Korean adults learned Japanese mostly at night after returning from work.

However, it was during the period after 1936 under Governor General Minami Jiroo that the policy became more aggressive in imposing Japanese language while neglecting Korean language education even more. The JGG also imposed the following regulations to make the Japanese the only language used in the superior council of the colony.

1936.12 — A report says, Korean workers in the JGG Ministry of Education’s publication section agreed that “they will only use the National language (Kokugo-Japanese) in governmental offices and increase the use of Kokugo at home.”
1937.2.16 — An encouragement to use Japanese in assemblies at the provincial, prefectural and county levels was announced.\(^{24}\)
1937.3.17 — During work hours, employees must speak in Japanese as much as possible.

In addition, in the JGG’s announcement of May 20, 1937, along with encouraging the use of Kokugo (Japanese) outside school hours, the JGG urged the targeting of National Language Classes (Kokugo kooshuukai 国語講習会) at families of Korean schoolchildren and Korean government officials. Subsequently, in 1938, the JGG inaugurated a massive

\(^{24}\) As of 1937, 18 members out of 245 Korean members 民選議員 of provincial assembly 道会 were unable to express themselves in Japanese, whereas every prefectural assembly member 府会議員 understood Japanese. By this time, the provincial assembly 道会 was conducted only in Japanese with personal interpreters for the Korean members without Japanese skills. (Morita, 1987. P.124)

32
three-year plan to activate these National Language Classes, investing 70,000 yen, some of which went to the distribution of textbooks (Kokugo Kyoohon 国語教本) which were distributed free of charge throughout Korea.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Location</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Number of Textbooks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3,660</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>62,389</td>
<td>3220,000</td>
<td>2980,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Morita 1987. P.185)

After the outbreak of the Pacific War on December 8, 1941, the JGG became more seriously concerned about increasing Koreans’ Japanese language ability. The dramatic increase in 1943 shown above was perhaps triggered by the May 1942 announcement of the conscription system, which was to start in 1944. Before mixing Korean soldiers with Japanese troops, it was essential for the JGG to insure that every Korean soldier was fluent enough in Japanese so that no command would be misunderstood by Koreans and thus jeopardize Japan’s victory in the war. In preparation for the conscription in 1944, facilities such as a special training center for Korean youth (朝鮮青年特別練成所) for non-elementary school graduates (from November of 1942), and a training center for volunteer navy personnel (from 1943) were established. There, Korean youth were taught Japanese language along with physical training.25

In addition, to motivate Koreans to learn Japanese, the JGG used other devices, such as a chart of essential daily words, the ‘One Phrase a Day’ Campaign and a pin for common-users of Japanese. Of note is the ‘National Language Home’ (Kokugo no Ie) Campaign. In this campaign, the JGG recognized Korean families in which all members understood Japanese, rewarding them with a congratulatory banner to be placed on the household gate.

5. The Extent of Japanese Language Penetration into Korea, 1937-1945

Along with an overview of the JGG’s nearly forty years of language policy, it is instructive to attempt to clarify the eventual results thereof. The Japanese language started

25 During the one-year course in the special training center for Korean youth, 400 hours out of a total 600 hours were spent on study subjects. The goal was to attain a Japanese language ability of grade three or four level. (Morita 1987. P.125)
to spread on a relatively greater scale only as late as 1938 when the JGG’s strong advocacy began to show some effects. A glance at the dramatic increase in the percentage of Japanese-speaking Koreans provides a vivid picture of the JGG’s intensification of their exhaustive Japanese language policy under Governor General Minami Jiroo.

Koreans with Japanese language skills (1937 – 1943) (*Estimate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Koreans with a little comprehension of Japanese</th>
<th>Koreans with Japanese daily conversational skills</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1,201,048</td>
<td>1,196,350</td>
<td>2,578,121</td>
<td>7.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>1,326,269</td>
<td>1,391,538</td>
<td>2,717,807</td>
<td>12.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>1,491,120</td>
<td>1,577,912</td>
<td>3,069,032</td>
<td>13.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1,730,758</td>
<td>1,842,580</td>
<td>3,573,338</td>
<td>15.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>1,884,733</td>
<td>2,087,361</td>
<td>3,972,094</td>
<td>16.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>2,353,843</td>
<td>2,735,371</td>
<td>5,089,214</td>
<td>19.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5,722,448</td>
<td>22.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>27.00*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Japanese Colonial Government Annual Report 朝鮮總督府施政年報 (1921~41) and Situation of Korea 朝鮮事情 (1940~44)

The accelerated pace of increase in the 1940s coincides with the intensified ‘Campaign for the Common Use of Japanese’ after the outbreak of the Pacific War. Although the report ends in 1943, the estimated percentage for 1945 is realistic, considering the steady growth due especially to the special training for Korean youths (males) established in 1943 for military conscription. In the midst of this desperation, the JGG also announced the ‘Campaign for Comprehensive Common Use of the National Language to Accompany the Conscription System’ (徵兵制実施に伴う国語常用全解運動) in August of 1944, which might have added more effect in spreading Japanese throughout Korean society.

Nevertheless, one cannot deny that the actual degree of penetration of the Japanese language in Korea remains shrouded in mystery. This is mainly because the exact criteria of the survey are unknown. In particular, the reality of the ‘Koreans with slight comprehension of Japanese (稍々解し得る者)’, a majority of the total number of this survey until the end of the 1930’s—requires careful consideration. This vague criterion of ‘slight’ Japanese skills was not clear to a professor at the Keijoo Professional School of Law (京城法学専門
Okamoto Yoshitsugu. In his article *Problems of National Language Teaching* (1943), he assumes that ‘slight comprehension of Japanese’ means the ability to read *kana* (the two Japanese syllabaries) after one or two months’ attendance at the National Language Classes.\(^{26}\) In addition, as Inaba (1986) argues, although Han Kion (1970) says 37% of Koreans were able to understand Japanese as of July 1944 (Han Kion *History of Japanese Imperialism* p. 200), we should expect inaccuracy since this percentage includes those who were involved in the study of Japanese only through attendance at the National Language Classes for less than two weeks. (Inaba 1986 p.142)

Hence, returning to Okamoto’s argument, he insists that those who have ‘slight comprehension of Japanese’ should be excluded from the data from the viewpoint of the actual ‘diffusion of the National Language’. After this adjustment, he claims that the total number is reduced to approximately half. (i.e. 37% in 1944→ Less than 19%)

Moreover, casual estimates should be avoided since they may lead to false perceptions. According to Korean linguist Kim Minswu (1973), the data in 1943 (22%) are almost the same as for Taiwan; 22.7% in 1932, which coincides with the 38\(^{th}\) year of Japanese rule in Taiwan. Considering that 51% of the Taiwanese population had knowledge of Japanese in 1940 (the 46\(^{th}\) year under Japanese rule), he argues that if the same growth rate had continued, the percentage could potentially have reached 85% in 1945 (the fifty-first year of Japanese rule in Taiwan). Therefore, based on this estimate, he assumes that if the rule of Japanese imperialism over Korea had lasted for another ten years, the percentage of Koreans with Japanese language skills would have reached 80%. (Kim Minswu *Han Vol.2.No.5* p.97) This estimate is oversimplified in that it neglects numerous factors: the size and population of Korea, which are substantially greater than those of Taiwan, the greater amount of resistance to Japanese imperialism in Korea, and the fact that Korea possessed a stronger consciousness of its own national language as opposed to the multilingual and multi-dialectal situation in Taiwan.

Although Kim Minswu’s argument is mere conjecture, the JGG did have a realistic plan to diffuse Japanese to every Korean schoolchild. The JGG was to launch a compulsory elementary education system in 1946. With this law, the Korean children’s school attendance rates in 1942 (75% male and 33% female) were to be increased to 90% and 50%.

\(^{26}\) Another criterion on which reads: ‘Koreans with Japanese daily conversational skills’ probably meant the ability after six years of elementary Japanese language education. (Suzuki, 1943)
respectively. Okamoto (1943) wrote:

With the completion of the compulsory education system, every Korean child at school age would attend school, such that we can expect perfection in diffusing Japanese language into Korean young school children within ten years. (p.93)

But in reality, this JGG plan was never put into practice due to Japan’s defeat in the war in 1945. Although we may add 10% to the estimated percentage at the end of the JGG’s rule in 1945—27%—for excluding Korean children under ten, thus increasing the figure to 37%, we ought to consider that the JGG reports possibly overstated the actual numbers. As Okamoto has argued, if we intend to focus on the number of Koreans with practical Japanese skills, those with ‘slight comprehension of Japanese’ should be excluded. Hence, deducting approximately half of 37%, one can assume the actual penetration was less than 20% in 1945, which was perhaps not rewarding enough for the JGG after thirty-five years of enthusiastic Japanese language education.

Despite the fact that the estimated number of Korean graduates from the JGG’s compulsory education system should have reached at least several millions during the thirty-five years of colonial rule, the JGG’s irritation can still be found in the final stages of its rule. Kurashige Shuzoo, an Information Department head in the Korean Army, had to give an admonitory lecture to conscripted Korean youth and their families in either 1944 or 1945.27

“To become a soldier of the Japanese Empire, it is essential to comprehend Kokugo (Japanese). •••Indeed, it is impossible to become a soldier of the Empire without knowledge of Kokugo. You should not cease your efforts toward a full understanding of Japanese at any cost.” (Cited in Kajii, 1980. P.98)

To make matters worse, human resources for conscription (both for military and labor force to Japan) were supplied mainly from rural areas, where penetration of Japanese language was weaker.28 Miyata (1985) states that the Korean labor forces who were conscripted to Japan were ignorant of Japanese, which caused numerous communication problems. Upon

27 Although the exact date of this speech is unknown, it should be after the announcement of the conscription system in 1944.
28 According to Miyata, about 17% understood Japanese in rural areas while 40% did in Keijoo (now Seoul) area.
recognizing this situation, the Japanese government requested the JGG to "make Koreans learn Kokugo more." (Miyata, 1985. p.115)

Combined with the relatively low percentage of Japanese-speaking Koreans discussed earlier, these episodes imply that the Korean language had been persevering throughout the 36 years of JGG's colonial rule. In other words, for the JGG and its aspirations to complete control of every arena of Korean society, we can conclude that Korean remained a language of significance for representatives of the Japanese colonial regime—the JGG agents.
Chapter 2
Efforts of Japanese at Learning Korean

1. The Background
1-1. Interpretation of the Permeation of Japanese Language into Colonial Korea

Whether to interpret the extent of the permeation of Japanese language as either high or low is an arbitrary issue. There is inevitably a gap between the ‘victims’ (Koreans’) perception and that of the aggressor (Japan)— Koreans generally perceive that the permeation of Japanese language was more than the Japanese thought. Arguing against this view of Koreans, or suggesting that the Japanese language did not become deeply pervasive in Korea readily becomes an insult to Korean pride and sensitivity. In addition, one has to be conscious of the risk of receiving criticisms from anti-Japanese Koreans, who are skeptical of these comments, because according to this view, if the impact of Japanese language permeation is downplayed, then one is accused of ignoring Japan’s brutality in enforcing the JGG’s policies.

Remaining mindful of this potential danger, I hasten to clarify that this thesis agrees that none of the JGG’s policies can either be justified or beautified through inductive reasoning. That is to say, I have no intention of defending the JGG by claiming that it did not fully succeed in depriving Koreans of their language. However incomplete their implementation was, Japan’s policies were subordinated to its imperial intentions and the issue of national language policy was no exception.

Returning to the Korean interpretation of the results of the JGG’s Japanese language enforcement, many Koreans mention that the Korean language was completely ‘Chispalphi- (trampled)’ or ‘Yulin 跚跚 tangha- (downtrodden)’ by the JGG’s policy of National Language (Japanese) enforcement. To be sure, the JGG’s campaign for the exclusive use of Japanese in the final stages of its rule was thorough enough to give Koreans such an impression. Hence, the Korean interpretation of the situation is understandable.

Nonetheless, one should also keep in mind that the JGG was not entirely satisfied with the outcome of its language policy. As one can assume, the percentage of Koreans with Japanese language ability in 1945 (about 20% after adjustment) probably made the JGG feel insecure, since they urgently needed to mobilize Koreans for Japan’s wartime effort. Considering the JGG’s ultimate goal of restructuring the Korean mentality into that of loyal member of the Empire (Kookoku Shinmin 皇国臣民), it is safe to say the percentage remained relatively low throughout the colonial period in spite of the enthusiastic language policy applied by the Japanese. Inaba (1986) argues that the massive ‘Campaign for Common Use of the National Language’ (Kokugo Jooyoo Undoo) from the late 1930’s caused significant damage to the JGG.
due to its unrewarding results. (Inaba 1986. P.143)

1-2. JGG’s Motivation for Korean Language Studies

In contrast to this slow pace in the spread of Japanese language, there was no doubt that the JGG took over the reins of every necessary administrative body for the nation-state far more rapidly. In other words, before the Japanese language enforcement policy fully penetrated Korean society to enable the JGG to perform its duty in the ‘national language (Kokugo-Japanese)’, representatives of the JGG were somehow accomplishing their day-to-day contact with Koreans. Assuming that the JGG could not yet resort to the Japanese language alone, we should suspect a necessity for the JGG to attempt a different route—learning the Korean language—as part of its goal for effective and smooth exploitation of Korea.

2. The Situation in the Early Stages of Colonial Rule
(Before the March 1st Independence Movement, 1919)

2-1. The Reality of Communication between Koreans and Japanese at the Time of Annexation

At the time of the Annexation in 1910, only a few Japanese had a good command of the Korean language. Although no data are available, this assumption is reasonable, as Kajii (1980) argues that only a little more than one hundred students graduated from the Korean language department of the Tokyo Foreign Language School (東京外国語学校), the central foreign language training institute in Japan at the time.

At the same time, as we have seen in the previous chapter, a mere 0.61% of Koreans understood Japanese in 1913. Moreover, since this small number of Koreans with Japanese language skills was concentrated in cities (e.g. Seoul, Pusan), it is safe to assume that very few Koreans had knowledge of Japanese in rural areas.

The recollection of a JGG official interpreter, Fujinami Yoshinuki (藤波義貫), who resided in a Japanese settlement in Seoul at the turn of the century, allows us to imagine typical

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1 Fujinami lists five Japanese settlements in Seoul, including Jinkogae located between the JGG headquarters and a French church. According to him, Jinkogae was a very close community with 1,580 Japanese residents. In Inch’on, there were 3,950 Japanese residents. (Choosengo, Vol.2.)
communication between Korean and Japanese at the time. In these settlements, the tool of everyday communication between Japanese residents and their Korean maids or merchants was a kind of Korean-Japanese pidgin language. Fujinami characterized this pidgin (nicknamed ‘Jingogae mal’) as a ‘farcical blend of Korean and Japanese’ although it did fulfill simple domestic needs. Fujinami lets us see ‘the tip of an iceberg’ of this pidgin by listing some examples:

2 Chaali isso = Are you fine? (How are you?): K ‘chal—well’ + K ‘isso—be’
Nengamisan = Male: K ‘yonggam 合監’ (noun) + K ‘-i’ (diminutive) + Japanese title ‘-san’
Okkamisan = Female: Japanese ‘okamisan’—① someone’s wife ② female owner / boss
Naeili ili isso, wasso, chosso = Come tomorrow because you have work to do: K ‘naeil—tomorrow’ + K ‘il—work’ + K ‘i—topic marker particle’ + K ‘isso—exist’ + K ‘wasso—came’ + K ‘chosso—good enough’
Mokkan, haysso = Take a bath: K ‘mokkan—bath’ + K ‘haysso—did (semi-formal)’
Zubu, haysso = To lay down: K ‘nup’ + K ‘haysso—did (semi-formal)’
Pelihay = Throw away!: K ‘poli—throw away’ + K ‘hay—do!’
Tataku haysso = Beat up: J ‘tataku—to beat up’ + K ‘haysso—did (semi-formal)’
Cilali haysso = To be angry, to be drunk: K ‘cilal i—temper’ + K ‘haysso—did’
Chiibali haysso = (I am) in trouble: K ‘ceybal—please, hopefully’ + K ‘haysso—did’
Chiibali haysso, janaika = (You) put me in trouble: P ‘Chiibali haysso’ + J ‘janai—negative’ + J ‘ka—question marker’
Maendoli hayla = Make!: K ‘mandul—make’ + K ‘hayla—do!’ (informal)
Okamisan, niwatoli, maendoli hayla = Kill a hen and cook it!: P ‘okamisan—female’ +
Nengamisan, niwatoli, antaeyo = Rooster is no good. (Do not kill a rooster): P ‘nengamisan—male’ + J ‘niwatori—chicken’ + K ‘antae—no good’ + K suffix ‘-yo’ (semi-formal).
Moomi ga appade, chiibali hayssoyo = My sickness is troubling me: K ‘mom—body’ + K topic marker particle ‘i’ + J topic marker particle ‘ga’ + K ‘appuda—hurt’ + P ‘Chiibali haysso’
Yabure haysso, chiibali yo = Do not break (it): J ‘yabureru—to be torn apart’ + K ‘haysso—did’ + P: ‘chiibali yo—in trouble’
Kaman, kaman, chosso = Do it quietly and slowly: K ‘Kaman—quite’ + K ‘chosso—good’
Oso, kassoyo = Go quickly: K ‘oso—quickly’ + K ‘kasso—went’ + K suffix ‘yo’
Onala mal hayssoyo naze onalanka = Why didn’t you come when I told you to come: K ‘onala—

1925. P.49)
2 They are my interpretation of Katakana transcription of the pidgin. K = Korean; J = Japanese; P = pidgin.
come' + K ‘mal hayso—spoke’ + K particle ‘to’ + J ‘naze—why’ + K ‘on—come’ + J ‘nainoka—don’t you?’

Issoto opsoto chossoyo = Whether to have it or not does not matter: K ‘isso—there is/are’ + K particle ‘to’ + K ‘opsos—there is/are not’ + K particle ‘to’ + K suffix ‘yo’

Issoto opsoto hangaciyo = Whether someone is there or not does not make any difference: P ‘issoto opsosu’ + K ‘hangaji—like’ + K suffix ‘yo’

Sattan hangaci = Delicious: K ‘sat’ang 砂糖—sugar’ + K ‘hangaji—like’

Yadan, haesso = To be mad, To stand something up: K ‘yadan—scold’ + K ‘haesso—did’

Pul, yadan hale = Built a fire: K ‘pul—fire + K ‘yadan—scold’ + K ‘ha-do’ + J ‘le’)

Mul, cilali hay = Boil water: K ‘mul—water’ + ‘cilali i—temper’ + ‘hay—do’)

Shintanji, haesso = Dead (used for anything): J ‘Shindai—dead’ + nji + K ‘haesso—did’

Nalumata, nalumata, nolahali haesso de = (you are) doing nothing but playing day after day

Okamisan, yadan hala senka = I am afraid that I would be scolded by my wife (Japanese ‘Okamisan—female’ + Korean ‘yadan—scold’ + ‘ha-- do’ + Japanese ‘-yasenka—rhetorical question ending’)‘

Siton, mogola = Take shit! (Korean ‘ttung—shit’ + ‘mogola—eat!’ Fujinami assumed that, as Japanese were unable to pronounce ‘stong [ttong]’, it became ‘siton’.

(Choosengo, Vol. 2, p. 50)

Perhaps partly because of Japanese’ superiority complex vis a vis their ‘subordinates (Koreans)’, the Japanese in Japanese settlements developed no further communication skills than this primitive form of pidgin. According to Fujinami, he still heard Japanese speaking the pidgin after a few decades (1920-30). Also, a certain Japanese writer from the same turn-of-the-century period stated that it was necessary for Japanese to memorize ten very simple, survival Korean phrases to live in Keijoo (now Seoul). He continued: “Even after several years of living in Korea, many of the regular Japanese residents knew no more than these ten phrases.”


However, these Japanese were not the only representatives of Imperial Japan. The existence of what he refers to as ‘regular’ Japanese implies the presence of ‘non-regular’

\[\text{Number of Japanese residents in Korea excluding military personnel is shown below:}\]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Year} & 1876 & 1895 & 1910 & 1919 & 1931 & 1942 & 1944 \\
\hline
\text{Residents} & 54 & 12,303 & 171,543 & 346,619 & 514,666 & 752,823 & 712,583 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

According to 1944 survey, eighty-five percent of Japanese in Korea resided in cities such as Keijoo (now Seoul), Pusan and Ph’yongyang. Fifty-five percent were from Kyuushuu and Chuugoku (including Okayama –Yamaguchi Prefectures) areas. (Chong, 1992, p. 138)
Japanese. The ‘non-regulars’ were perhaps the JGG officials and they were differentiated, in this case, in terms of their advanced Korean language ability. In other words, the JGG officials’ Korean fluency was prominent in contrast to the poor language skills of the ‘regular’ Japanese residents in the colonial Korea.

2-2. Advocates of Korean Language Studies on the part of the JGG officials, 1910

As early as one month after Annexation (August 29th, 1910), the JGG made the first official announcement in support of bilingual (Korean and Japanese) government officials. With this announcement, which came into effect on October first of 1910, the JGG guaranteed monthly income bonuses for higher administrative officials (Hannin Bunkan 判任文官), policemen and male and female prison guards with the ability to interpret. These bonuses are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Special Bonus Income for Interpreting Officials</th>
<th>Administrative Officials</th>
<th>Policemen / Prison guard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Grade</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Grade</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Grade</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Grade</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps since the JGG’s priority was on practicality, race was not an issue for the JGG in these particular fields. Korean officials with interpreting skills could also benefit from this special bonus income. Noteworthy is that JGG offices which advocated bilingualism were the only place within the colonial paradigm where no segregation existed (at least in theory). In addition, considering that there must have been numerous positions in the JGG’s colonization enterprise, one can assume these two posts above were most closely tied with imperial authority and thus were highlighted for their urgent requirement for bilingual personnel.

2-3. The Encouragement for the Study of the National Language (Japanese) and the Korean Language, 1912

Subsequently, the JGG notified provincial governors of the Encouragement for the Study of the National Language (Japanese) and the Korean Language (Kokugo oyobi Choosengo Kenkyuuhoo Shoorei no Ken 国語及朝鮮語研究奨励の件) on April 10th, 1912. This notice ordered the governor of each province to insure that Japanese and Korean teachers in
Korean public schools (公立普通学校) studied Korean and Japanese, respectively. With respect to the alleged need for Japanese teachers to learn Korean, the reasoning was given as follows:

"It is needless to say that, in the guidance and overseeing (指導監督) of subordinates and the fostering of students' cognitive abilities, much dissatisfaction is caused by the Japanese teachers' ignorance of the Korean language (Choosengo). Further difficulties occur in communicating with parents or local prominent figures; that is to say, to commit to the good guidance and harmonization of people's feelings (民心の融和善導)."

For Korean teachers, the JGG claimed:

"Due to their neglect of their language studies, some of the Korean teachers' Japanese language abilities decreased as the more time had passed since their graduation from schools. In order to increase (Korean) students' National Language (Japanese) ability, insure that Korean teachers put sufficient effort into the study of Japanese as well as use Japanese in their instructions as much as possible."

(Cited in Morita, 1987. P.331)

The notice further stated that the JGG would start surveying the teachers' (both Korean and Japanese) level of understanding of both languages, as one of the criteria for 'consideration'.

Eleven days later, the JGG also sent this notice to principals of official schools (官立学校), expanding the contents also to include the Korean and Japanese teachers of those schools.

2-4. The Minister of Education's Encouragement of Korean Language Studies, 1915

However, judging from the JGG high officials' continuous attempts at encouraging teachers to study Korean language, the effect of this notice must have remained insignificant for the JGG. According to Kajii (1980), Sekiya Teizaburoo 関屋貞三郎, a Minister of Education gave the following speech at a Seminar for Japanese Teachers in Public schools (朝鮮公立普通学校内地人教員講習会) in May of 1915:

"Quite apart from the obvious necessity of Korean language, your ignorance of it could cause serious damage for you [Japanese teachers in Korean schools]. It is far from wise to neglect the necessity for learning the Korean language just because of today's rapid

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4 Although not stated specifically, language skills may have been considered for promotion.
5 A Korean language course was one of the subjects of this seminar.
diffusion of Kokugo [Japanese]."

As might be expected, Sekiya compares knowledge of the Korean language to a 'lethal weapon' (hijoo na buki 非常な武器) for working in Korea and praised Western missionaries for their devoted study of Korean language in the United States before coming to Korea. How the JGG could benefit from this 'lethal weapon'—Korean language skills—is reflected clearly in the following remarks made by Sekiya;

"Because of his ignorance of Korean language, the principal could not notice that [Korean] students were discussing the absurd plan for a school strike [which happened recently]. While we consider these things trifles, they could actually develop into serious matters that are tough to take care of. If the principal had been able to listen to (the Koreans’ discussion), such a plan could have been prevented. Thus, it is necessary to learn Korean."

(Cited in Kajii, 1980. P. 100)

The keyword of this speech, 'weapon', enables us to define the necessity of Korean language for Japanese at the time. In addition to the actual sword that teachers wore at school during the Military Rule Period (武断政治 Budan Seiji, 1910-1919) under the first Governor-general Terauchi, the Japanese needed an invisible detector—knowledge of Korean language— for the faintest signs of anti-Japanese acts.

2-5. Governor-general Terauchi's Encouragement of Korean Language Studies, 1916

The JGG's demand for its employees to be equipped with Korean language skills seems to have gradually increased in the late 1910's. However, the JGG's emphasis on the importance of Korean language studies did not necessarily function as a stimulus for Japanese officials to start learning Korean. (Kajii, 1980. P.102)

Faced with this frustrating situation, Governor-general Terauchi Masatake, the highest authority of the JGG, finally made a statement encouraging Korean language studies. Note his admonitory speech addressed to Japanese teachers at the seminar for Japanese teachers at public schools on May 31 of 1916:

"---- It is deplorable that quite a few Japanese teachers tend to neglect the study of

---

8 This was one of the signs of the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919. As of April 12th of 1919, 53 out of 284 students attended Posong Normal School and 65 out of 203 students at Central School (Chungang 中央学校). (Inoue, 1972)
the Korean language. In order to be dedicated to the guidance of students by having close contact with parents and effectively educating society, we should resort to the power of the Korean language. With respect to instructing young school children, we cannot expect perfect guidance if we depend solely on interpreters or students’ National Language (Japanese) skills. Thus, in this seminar, we dedicate the most hours to the study of the Korean language. I expect you to master and to make use of what you learn at this seminar in educating (Koreans).”

(Cited in Morita, 1987. P. 332)

Within this chastisement, the reality of the instruction at schools is revealed; the teachers were “depending solely on interpreters or students’ National Language (Japanese) skills” in the classroom. This fact implies that the JGG equipped Japanese teachers with hardly any Korean language skills prior to assignment to Korean schools. However, this ad-hoc complaint nonetheless contradicts the original JGG language policy we have seen in the previous chapter (i.e. promotion of Japanese). We should also remember that the JGG, with Yamaguchi Kiichiroo (1872-1952, the leading figure in Japanese Language pedagogy and an advocate of the Direct Method) in the Ministry of Education, insisted on the direct method in instruction.

Above all, the JGG’s increasing encouragement of Japanese teachers to learn Korean language also contradicted the decrease in hours of Korean language curriculum as examined in the previous chapter. Combining these inconsistencies and contradictions, we can conclude that the JGG did not succeed in giving Japanese teachers persuasive reasons for seriously devoting themselves to Korean language studies.

This situation in the education field, however, shows a vivid contrast to that of the JGG police department, which was far more directly responsible for securing the colonial regime. In other words, the significance of the JGG’s demand for Korean language study was in trying to equip each colonial agent with the functional language skills for control, a point which will become more evident later in this chapter.

2-6. Plan for the Korean Proficiency Exam for Japanese Teachers (Naichijin Kyooin Choosengo Shiken 内地人教員朝鮮語試験), 1918

On June 28, 1918, frustrated by Japanese teachers’ low motivation for Korean language studies, the JGG sent a notice to provincial governors and principals of public schools. Again, the JGG emphasized how inconvenient it is not to know Korean;

“Ignorance of the Korean language prevents Japanese teachers from understanding students’ characteristics so as to educate them appropriately and to observe subordinate
teachers’ words and behavior that solidify the foundations of school education. Not only that, we are compelled to feel like we are ‘scratching an itch through our shoe (隔靴搔痒的感)’ in terms of thorough communication with students’ families for perfect education and in guiding the community toward successful enlightenment of (Korean) society.”


The JGG’s irritation is well represented in the proverb “scratching an itch through one’s shoe” (隔靴搔痒的感) in its description of the incompleteness of their education policy in Korea due to the ignorance of Korean language. The notice continues:

“Despite the fact that we have been frequently encouraging the devoted study of Korean language since the early days, it is greatly deplorable that we have not seen anybody with outstanding progress yet.”

Thus, out of impatience, the JGG announced its plans to conduct a Korean language exam for Japanese teachers (Naichijn Kyooin Choosengo Shiken 内地人教員朝鮮語試験) in order to evaluate the results of their Korean language studies. According to the attached rules and conditions, the exam consisted of two parts;

First exam: 1. Simple (近易) daily conversation;
2. Translation of simple colloquial Korean into Japanese and vice versa;
3. Dictation—simple colloquial sentences.

Second exam: (Only for those who passed the first exam)
1. Common (普通) daily conversation;
2. Translation of common colloquial Korean into Japanese and vice versa;
3. Composition and Dictation—common colloquial and literary sentences;
4. Reading—Common Korean sentences with Chinese characters (漢字諺文混交文) or Korean Ōnhae annotates of the Chinese classics (四書諺解).

This exam was to be held every December from January 1st, 1920. Behind this plan, one can find that the JGG considered Japanese schoolteachers with enough knowledge of Korean language potentially useful and sensitive detectors for disquieting acts and disturbing elements for the JGG regime. Although this admonitory speech uses less strong words than Sekiya’s of 1915, the reference to the schools’ mission— educating society— catches our attention. This implies that the JGG expected public schools to function as hubs of their assimilation policy.

Nevertheless, if this was their true intention, the JGG was too late. Before this exam

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7 Those who had taught Koreans for more than five years and were recommended by provincial governors as being fluent in Korean were exempted from taking the exam.
could ever be put into practice, the March 1st Independence Movement broke out in 1919, threatening Japanese colonial authority. Given this massive uprising, there was no time for the JGG to carry out the planned Korean language exam complacently. Perhaps because the JGG had to devote all its energy to suppressing the uprising throughout Korea, the plans for the Korean language exam for Japanese teachers (Naichijin Kyooin Choosengo Shiken 内地人教師朝鮮語試験) were suspended in midair and the JGG left no reports on the issue after announcing the plan in 1918.

3. The JGG’s Institutionalization of Korean Language Studies after 1919

Kajii (1980) states that, after the suppression of the March 1st Independence Movement, he heard a certain JGG high official lament;

“If the Japanese had known Korean language more, the uprising could have been prevented in advance” (Kajii, 1980. P.102).

This expression rests on the same idea evident in Sekiya’s admonitory speech of 1915, which blamed the incapability of preventing Korean students’ school strikes on the Japanese principals’ ignorance of the Korean language. Having barely suppressed the massive explosion of Koreans’ resentment toward Japanese colonial regime, perhaps this was the common bitterness of the JGG officials, realizing how disadvantageous and fearful it could be to be ignorant of Korean. In other words, to be ignorant of what Koreans’ intentions were.

As soon as three months after the March 1st Independence Movement, the Minister of Education, Sekiya, made a statement, whose purpose was apparently to allay Koreans’ wrath.

“By no means is the JGG enforcing the National Language (Japanese) only. Look at our Korean curriculum that includes even Classical Chinese according to the Korean tradition. For the chaotic Korean orthography which is inappropriate for study, we are having Japanese and Korean linguists study, organize and improve it for the compilation of Korean textbooks. Also, we make sure that Korean translation is given in some of the elementary textbooks, including those on Moral Education.”

Sekiya continues to emphasize the Japanese teachers’ efforts to learn Korean;

“We have already made an announcement to encourage Japanese teachers to learn Korean language and we are attempting a thorough (Korean language) education (for Japanese teachers). Eventually, our goal is to have every principal master Korean language. Otherwise, we believe that, it is impossible to expect the maximum effect of education.”
What the JGG faced, though, were the outraged Korean masses who would not be persuaded by a mere prod from one JGG official. Inevitably, the impact of the March 1st Independence Movement reached the Kokugo (National Language-Japanese) project outside of schools, something which the JGG was advocating as well. One should not overlook the following sentences in the report of the JGG Minister of Education,

“Ever since last year’s disturbance, National Language Classes have been very dull. Therefore, many of them are temporarily closed.” (The Reality of National Language Diffusion. Kokugo Fukyu no Jookyoo. January, 1921. Cited in Morita, 1987)

Ironically, while Koreans were on strike against the encouraged attendance of National Language (Japanese) classes, the JGG was planning to incorporate more systematic Korean language learning into their multi-faceted colonial projects, which motivated many JGG agents and created a secret enthusiasm for Korean language among them in the 1920’s.

3-1. The JGG’s Provisions for Korean Language Encouragement, 1921

After a decade of unfruitful attempts to encourage Korean language study among the JGG officials, the JGG finally organized the Provisions for Korean Language Encouragement (Choosengo Shoorei Kitei) and announced them on May 6th of 1921.

Prior to anything else, it is necessary to examine these provisions which were revised twice in 1924 and 1927, since Korean language learning by JGG representatives was centered around these provisions in every respect. In these provisions, the JGG guaranteed a bonus income for Japanese judges, those who were treated as judges, those who passed the Korean Language Encouragement Exam (Choosengo Shoorei Shiken) and those whose Korean language skills were recognized by the exam committee.

Listed below are the most important articles from the Provisions of Encouragement for Korean Language.

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8 I.e., the National Language Classes (Kokugo Kooshuukai) mentioned in chapter 1.
9 The official name was: Provisions for Korean Language Encouragement for Officials in the JGG or Branch Offices (朝鮮語奨励規程)
10 Excluded were interpreters and the benefactors of existing bonus income for interpreting Korean according to special rules.
Third: The Korean Language Encouragement Exam consists of three degrees (第一種試験, 第二種試験 and 第三種試験). The first (i.e. highest degree) and second degree exam takers must be in possession of certificates of passing the second and the third degree exams, respectively, and be recommended by a chairperson of the office (所属長官) to which one belongs. The third degree (i.e. lowest) exam needs a recommendation from a chairperson of each bureau (各官署の長).

Fourth: A chair of the Exam committee is appointed from the JGG high officials and the committee members are chosen from the JGG or related government offices and entrusted by the JGG.

Seventh: The first and the second degree exams are carried out annually in the JGG. When necessary, exams can be held in the provinces as designated by a chairperson of the exam committee. The third degree exam is carried out every year in the JGG and provinces except Kyonggi. When necessary, it can be held in designated counties and islands.

Eighth: Levels of the exams and subjects (examined in detail later)

Eleventh: The chairperson of the exam committee provides a certificate with the levels and degrees of exam passers and is obliged to officially announce them in the JGG official publication (朝鮮総督府官報).

The levels and degrees mentioned above break down as follows; both the first and second degrees (第一種, 第二種) consist of first and second levels (一等 and 二等) and the third degree (第三種 i.e. lowest) consists of the first, second, and third levels. (一等, 二等 and 三等)

Twelfth: From the date of accepting a certificate, those who receive a certificate will be provided with bonus income—for four years for the first level of first degree passers and two years for the rest—in conformity with the rules stated separately. When benefactors of this bonus income gain certificates for higher degrees and levels, bonus income for the concerned level or degree will be provided for two years from the acceptance date of the new certificate.

Thirteenth: In case of re-taking an exam or having one’s Korean language skills newly assessed, a new certificate shall not be issued unless it is higher than the previous degree or level.

Fourteenth: Chart of Bonus Income for Korean Language Encouragement

(Korean Language Encouragement Bonus income 朝鮮語奨励手当額定額表—Unit: Yen)
The value of these bonus incomes can be estimated from the salaries of police personnel. Although data for the 1920's are unavailable, the Metropolitan Police Department announced the salaries in 1933 as shown in the following chart;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Level (第一種)</th>
<th>Second Level (二等)</th>
<th>Third Level (三等)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Degree (第一種)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Degree (第二種)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Degree (第三種)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The Metropolitan Police Data, 1934)

Considering the gap from the first announcement of the Korean Language Encouragement Provision, policemen's salaries in the early 20's must have been less than these figures. According to the Japanese Imperial Almanac in 1921, 16,527,134 yen was paid out in total for 26,211 JGG employees' (Koyoo 履職) annual salaries, which comes to 46 yen per month on average. There was a tremendous gap between 'elite' government officials and standard employees before 1945. In 1938, while a twenty-five year old Tokyo university graduate government official earned 110 yen per month, a junior-high graduate government employee in the police department in Toyama, Japan, received only twenty-eight yen at the age of 28, after almost ten years in the position. Even an employee who was older than fifty could get no more than sixty yen per month. (Hosaka, 1998. P.80)

Given the modest amount of salary, there is no doubt that the Korean Language Encouragement bonus income had a significant incentive value as an income resource, especially for new policemen with starting salary (probably less than thirty yen in the 1920's). For instance, if a starting policeman received the thirty-yen bonus for passing the first level of the second-degree exam, his income would be doubled instantly, and guaranteed at that level for at least for two years. Thus, we can assume this bonus income system was one of the most attractive.

With the second (and last) revision of the Korean Language Encouragement Provisions in September of 1927, the fifty yen income bonus for the first degree (the hardest level) passers was reduced to thirty yen. (Choosengo Vol.40. ‘Sarangbang’ 1929.1) This is perhaps because the number of applicants for the first degree exam was insignificant to begin with. (i.e. 7/35 in 1925 and 9/47 passed in 1926). In other words, this cut may have been assigned to the first degree so that it would cause the least damage in attracting JGG agents to Korean language study.
features of the *Provisions for Korean Language Encouragement* and became a strong incentive for Korean language study on the part of Japanese policemen in Korea.

Secondly, the chairperson of the exam committee mentioned in the fourth article was Fujiwara Yoshizoo, and the committee probably included other JGG official interpreters. Here we should note the conspicuous absence of the leading Japanese linguist of Korean at the time, Ogura Shinpei—potentially the best candidate for a spot on the JGG Korean language exam committee as an expert both in Korean and Japanese. Such silence on the part of some Japanese intellectuals in politically linked fields is inviting and interesting, and serves a covert reference to our inquiry into the partial involvement of Japanese and Korean academism in the colonial enterprise and discourse.

At any rate, judging from article eight, the JGG intended to add prestige value to the exam passers by making the names of the passers public in the JGG official reports. This implies that the Japanese officials’ Korean language ability was a matter of importance for the JGG. At the same time, this strategy probably stirred up competition among the JGG officials who were entitled to the JGG’s Korean language encouragement project.

Moreover, from articles twelve and thirteen, it is clear that the rules were by no means lenient, since the bonus income was provided only for two years for most passers and for four years for those who passed the most advanced level. Thus, combined with the effect of article eight, the JGG guaranteed motivation for JGG employees to continue striving for higher degrees of proficiency.

Regarding the bonus income in article fourteen, Kajii (1980, p.143) argues that out of the total of 10,309 Japanese policemen, 753 (7.3%) were receiving the bonus income at the end of 1926. This percentage seems rather small considering that five years had passed since the announcement of the *Encouragement for the Korean Language*, which leads us to inquire in the next section into the actual difficulty level of the exam.

3-2. The Korean Language Encouragement Exam (*Choosengo Shoorei Shiken*), 1921

Compared to the contents of the planned Korean language exam for Japanese teachers (*Naichijin Kyooin Choosengo Shiken* 内地人教員朝鮮語試験) of 1918 mentioned earlier, the new Korean Language Encouragement Exam aimed at evaluating more comprehensive ability. To start with, article Eight of the *Provisions of Encouragement for Korean Language* explains

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12 Note that Ogura was appointed to compile the Korean language textbooks in the Ministry of Education in the 1910’s.
the contents of the two levels of exam as follows (Morita, 1987):

Exam Level A (甲種試験) —— No problem in interpreting Korean (Choosengo no Tsuyaku ni sashitsukae naki teido 朝鮮語の通訳に差支なき程度)

1. Reading Translating Korean (朝鮮語) into Japanese and vice versa
2. Translation Translating Korean sentences (Choosenbun 朝鮮文 mixed with Ōnmun 諛文13 or Korean-style Chinese sentences 朝鮮式漢文 and words 熟語) into Japanese (国文)
3. Dictation Ōnmun 諛文
4. Conversation Understanding of Korean or Japanese and speaking in Korean

Exam Level B (乙種試験) —— Able to understand common Korean language (Futsuu no Choosengo wo kaishiuru teido 普通の朝鮮語を解し得る程度)

1. Reading Translating Korean into Japanese and vice versa
2. Translation Translating Korean sentences (Choosenbun 朝鮮文 mixed with Ōnmun 諛文) into Japanese (Kokubun 国文) and translating Japanese (mixed with Kana) into Korean
3. Conversation Ōnmun 諛文
4. Conversation Understanding of Korean or Japanese

While these two levels A and B (Koo 甲 and Otsu 乙) were the original divisions of the 1918 exam, the new exam was subdivided into three degrees (第一種, 第二種 and 第三種) when the provisions were revised in August of 1924. In order to make things easier for current JGG employees and local officials, the new exam shifted its priority onto communicative skills from translation-oriented aspects of the earlier exam. (The JGG Annual Report. 1926 Vol.10 p.173)

Of note are the politically motivated questions included in the exams such as the following;

“What is the trend of Koreans’ thoughts (Shisoo keekoo 思想傾向)?”
“What kinds of Koreans’ social movements are there (社会運動)?”

(The Journal Choosengo, Vol.26)

These questions reveal the type of language that JGG expected its agents to master. In other words, first-hand knowledge of the thinking of the Korean masses would have been advantageous in passing the exam, a point which helps explain the prominence of JGG policemen in the exam to be examined later.

13 Literally, Ōnmun means ‘vulgar scripts’. Usage of the term Han ’gul is a relatively new practice.
Comparing the former level A/B divisions to Kajii (1980)'s three divisions, the first degree is equivalent to the 1918 exam level A (甲種試験), which was also defined as "No problem in interpreting Korean (Choosengo no tsuuyaku ni sashitsukae naki teido 朝鮮語の通訳に差支なき程度)". The contents are the same except that the third item ‘Dictation’ was replaced by ‘Composition’ of messages (Tsuushinbun 通信文) mixed with Ōnmun (諏文). The level of the second degree is defined as “No problem in expressing oneself in Korean (Choosengo wo motte jiko no ishi wo happyoosuru ni sashitsukae naki teido 朝鮮語を以て自己の意思を発表するに差支なき程度)” and it includes ‘dictation’ of Korean instead of the ‘composition’ in the exam for the first degree. The criterion for the third degree was defined as “able to understand common Korean language (Futsuu no Choosengo wo kaishiuru teido 普通の朝鮮語を解し得る程度)”, which is the same as that of level B (乙種試験). Instead of ‘reading’ and ‘translation’ in the first and the second degrees, the third degree included words and word clusters (tango 単語 and rengo 連語), which made the exam easier to pass.

On the whole, taking the exams was no easy task. For instance, the second degree, defined as "No problem in expressing oneself in Korean", required ninety minutes each for ‘reading’ and ‘translation’, and twenty minutes for ‘dictation’. Assuming thirty minutes were spent on ‘conversation’, the total length of the exam was no less than four hours.

In a photograph labeled “Scene of the first degree Korean Language Exam (December 4th of 1925)” taken in a conference room of the Japanese Governor-general headquarters, as many as five invigilators are watching thirty to forty people writing the exam. (The photo appears in; the Journal Choosengo Vol.3 1925.12)
3-3. Data – Number of Passers of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam

Then how many people were actually taking this government-run Korean language encouragement exam? What was the ratio of the passers to the total number of JGG officials working in the Korean colony at the time? In each volume of the JGG Annual Report (Choosen Sootokufu Shisei Nenpoo 朝鮮總督府施政年報), there were a few pages reporting the numbers of the exam takers and passers. Assembled below are data scattered throughout volumes 8 to 22;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Level A Passers</th>
<th>Level B Passers</th>
<th>Total Passers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>11 46 61</td>
<td>431 1505 1480</td>
<td>1604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>(no data)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Number of passers / number of exam takers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>First Degree</th>
<th>Second Degree</th>
<th>Third Degree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>7/35</td>
<td>84/193</td>
<td>291/1321</td>
<td>2356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>9/47</td>
<td>46/240</td>
<td>309/1329</td>
<td>2725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>5/52</td>
<td>29/113</td>
<td>145/1342</td>
<td>(1507)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>9/46</td>
<td>34/126</td>
<td>209/914</td>
<td>3878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>14/24</td>
<td>26/94</td>
<td>195/535</td>
<td>4206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>15/17</td>
<td>26/113</td>
<td>255/557</td>
<td>4502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of people who passed increased consistently for twenty years except for 1928.17 This success was achieved, the JGG claims, by the continuous encouragement of the JGG administrative office. Since 1921, the JGG had been sending JGG officials to each bureau to investigate the level of Korean language and encouraging reluctant offices to try harder. (The

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14 Subdivided exams seem to have started in 1923, although detailed data from 1924 are not available.
15 Each level was subdivided into the first, second and third degrees in the 1923 exam.
16 The subdivisions of the exam reverted to the original system (level A/B) in 1937. (JGG Annual Report Vol.20. p.197)
17 The total number of passers in 1928 is not stated in the Annual Report, perhaps because the JGG found the decrease unpleasant.
Thus, the range of Korean language study expanded. As the communication skills of each individual colonial agent increased and as Koreans acquired more Japanese ability, the necessity for the professional interpreters reduced, as shown below;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of JGG Interpreters (Tsuuyakusei 通訳生)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19-10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter 79 79 67 73 60 56 4 4 5 4 4 3 4 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The JGG Almanac, Choosen Sootokufu Tookei Nenkan 朝鮮総督府統計年鑑)

Next, to get an idea of the number of passers in relation to the number of people employed by the JGG, one can consider the following counts of JGG officials in Kajii (1980). In 1927, there were 10,574 administrative officials (Hanninkan 判任官), 18,142 intern administrative officials, and 13,925 employees (Koin 雇員); thus, the total number of JGG officials (Japanese only) was 42,641. Also, there were 10,129 Japanese policemen in total, subdivided into 41 superintendents (Keishi 警視), 333 police inspectors (Keibu 警部), 611 assistant inspectors (Keibuho 警部補), and 10,131 constables (Junsu 巡査). (Kajii p.128)

Although no data for 1928 are available, the sum total of JGG officials and policemen probably remained at more than 50,000. This makes the ratio of passers (2725 in 1928) to the total number of JGG officials relatively insignificant—5.5%. I must hasten to add, however, that this simple calculation can be misleading since there was a considerable gap between the number of passers from the JGG offices and from the police departments, an imbalance discussed below.

3-4. Dominance of Policemen among the Korean Language Exam Passers

Furthermore, to elaborate on the number of passers, it is necessary to itemize them according to their occupations. For instance, the chairperson of the exam committee, Fujiwara Yoshizoo, revealed and gave comments on the results of the second-degree exam that was held in six locations in Korea on November 24th and 25th of 1925. Initially, Fujiwara expressed his satisfaction with the high percentage of the passers (51%) as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applicants</th>
<th>First Level Passers</th>
<th>Second Level Passers</th>
<th>Total Passers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 Those who passed a state exam for higher administrative officials (Kootoo Bunkan Shiken 高等文官試験) were called Hanninkan.
These passers are itemized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Policemen</th>
<th>Employees in counties and islands</th>
<th>Court Employees</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Fujiwara praised the policemen for their effort, he lamented that few passers were from the main and provincial offices (本府道府), the patent bureau (専売局), the telecommunications bureau (通信局) and the railway bureau (鉄道局). Accordingly, he encouraged these offices to put more serious effort into learning Korean. (Journal Choosengo, 1925.12 Vol.2)

In addition, the number of passers of the third degree exam is shown below:

The number of passers of the third degree exam 第三種試験 (Started in 1925-1928)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Total Passers / Exam Takers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>261 / 1242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplemental</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30 / 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>311 / 1209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>267 / 1219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>148 / 1117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Kajii (1980), the exam passers in 1926 can be itemized as follows,

a) 13 First-Level passers: 6 constables (Junsa 巡査), 4 assistant inspectors (Keibuho 警部補), 2 officials (riin 吏員) and 1 teacher (Kundoo 訓導);

b) 83 Second-Level passers: 48 constables, 6 chief constables (Junsu Buchoo 巡査部長), 4 assistant inspectors, 12 teachers and 13 ‘others’;

c) 215 Third-Level passers: 146 constables, 12 chief constables, 10 assistant inspectors, 10 teachers and 37 ‘others’.

In total, police department personnel occupy 236 out of 311, which is 75.9% of the total passers.

Likewise, more than ninety percent of the exam passers in 1927 were personnel from police departments, as shown below:

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19 This supplemental exam was held in Namhae 南海 County, Jin and Ullung islands (珍島, 霧嶼) on February 18th of 1926. Three JGG officials were sent to these cites for supervision (with Korean invigilators) and to collect and bring the exams back to the exam committee in the Seoul headquarters (the Choosengo Vol.6. p.87).
a) 16 First-Level passers: 14 police personnel and 2 employees from offices in the counties or from the islands;
b) 80 Second-Level passers: 74 police personnel, 1 provincial official, one official from the category “counties and islands”, telecommunications 2, 1 patent office and one teacher;
c) 171 Third-Level passers: 148 police personnel, five from the telecommunication bureau, 18 ‘others’.

Thus, regardless of the JGG’s concern with the low motivation of JGG officials, policemen by far dominated the Korean Language Encouragement Exam. As might be expected, the number of policemen among the exam takers itself outnumbered the others in the first place. For instance, thirty out of thirty-eight supplemental exam takers in Namhae county (南海郡) were policemen (twenty-five constables and five assistant inspectors).

This fact narrows down our inquiry to a more specific question: what drove Japanese policemen to this serious Korean language study? How did policemen manage to learn Korean more effectively than the rest of the JGG officials?

3-5. Reasons for Policemen’s Success in the Korean Language Exam

Primarily, there were three obvious incentives for the policemen’s high motivation.

First of all, as a precondition for establishing the colonial regime, communication with the colonized—the Koreans—must have been pivotal. Possibly, there was not an urgent need for the JGG administrative officials to acquire Korean language skills, since they were privileged to watch the enacted scenes of colonization processes from high above, carrying out their sedentary duties surrounded by Japanese-speaking colleagues. When necessary, they could resort to interpreters, as they actually did in court, during the colonial period.

On the contrary, it was the more than 10,000 policemen who stood on the frontline of the Japanese colonial regime and most keenly felt the difficulty and inconvenience of not understanding the Korean language on countless occasions. The frustration of Japanese policeman due to their language handicap was expressed repeatedly in letters they sent to the Korean language studies journal ‘Choosengo’. These letters stated that it was ‘absolutely impossible to fulfill our duties (Shokumu no suikoo wa tootee fukanoo)’ without being able to speak Korean in everyday contact, which naturally triggered them to study the language—an issue of great importance for them in order to remain hired as colonial agents.
Second, there is no doubt that the Japanese colonial policemen were lured by the bait of the bonus income. This is understandable, since the salary of policemen (forty-six yen) was less than half of that of JGG higher administrative officials (Hanninkan 判任官 salary—ninety-four yen in 1920. (The Japanese Imperial Almanac, 1921) To reiterate, the bonuses of, for example, the first level of second degree (thirty yen) combined with a policeman's regular salary gave him a total of seventy-six yen, more comparable with the JGG higher officials' salary.

Third, in addition to the Korean Language Encouragement Exam we examined previously—the core standard of the JGG colonial agents' study of Korean—, more variety existed with regard to measuring policemen's language skills. According to Kajii (1980)'s citation, various exams were customized for specific posts in the police department, which, in some form or other, included Korean language skills. They were the following:

- Police Interpreter Exam (Keesatsukan Tsuuyaku Kenshoo Shiken 警察官通訳兼掌試験)
- Chief Constable Exam (Junsu Buchoo Shiken 巡査部長試験)
- Korean Exam for Policemen Stationed in China (Shina Zaikin Keesatsukan Shiken 支那在勤警察官試験)
- Language Exam for Inspectors (Keebu Gogaku Kooshi Shiken 警部語学考試試験)
- Language Exam for Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors (Keebu Keebuho Gogaku Kooshi 警部警部補語学考試)

Among these exams, each province was responsible for the Police Interpreter Exam, thus the contents differed depending on the province. Although the level was relatively lower in comparison to that of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam, the fact that the exam was provincial may imply that each province had advanced bilingual personnel who were capable of making and grading the exam.

While lack of information prevents us from describing the further details of the reality of these exams, it is safe to assume that these specifically divided exams gave the Japanese policemen more realistic motivation and a concrete sense of direction. This probably made it easier for them to focus their aims in language study.

In addition to these three explicit incentives stated above, there were in fact yet more reasons for the policemen's dominance in Korean language exam. For supporting the language

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20 This exam was divided into two sections and the contents differed; one for provincial assistant inspectors and the other for constables. (Kajii, 1980, p.140)

21 The exam consisted of Translations (Korean ↔ Japanese, forty minutes each) and
skills of these highly motivated individuals, the JGG exhaustively included the Korean language in the curricula of colonial police training. This fact shall explain why it was more advantageous for JGG policemen to study Korean from the start, in comparison to other JGG officials, including teachers, who did not have intense training institutes. Hence, the next section will focus on the reality of policemen’s Korean language study, explaining their successes in the Korean language exams.

4. The Korean Language and Japanese Policemen in Colonial Korea

4-1. Korean Language studies in Training Centers for Policemen

On the surface, it appears that only after the establishment of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam system did the JGG officials began systematic study of Korean. However, this was not the case for Japanese policemen. In other words, the policemen already had potentially more ability before the announcement in 1921. Simply put, the environment for policemen to study Korean was more organized, as facilities for training policemen and the supporting systems already existed to entitle every policeman to at least the basics of Korean. In fact, every Japanese policeman newly assigned to Korea had no other choice but to take at least three to four months of compulsory Korean language study at exclusive educational institutions for colonial policemen.

This compulsory Korean language study was included in police training curricula from early on. As early as September 14th of 1908, the JGG administrative office announced the Rules for the Police Training Center (Keesatsukan Renshuujo Kisoku 警察官練習所規則). Throughout the Japanese colonial regime (-1945), according to the regulations, newly assigned policeman sent from Naichi (内地—Japan) had to reside in a dorm and attend daily training sessions.

To be sure, among the six to seven subjects ‘freshman’ police studied, Korean language and culture (Kango Kanbun sonota Kankokujijoo 韓語韓文其の他韓国事情) was a designated compulsory subject. (Kajii, 1980) The length of study was at least three to eight months until 1919.  

Conversation. Actual exams are introduced in the journal Choosengo.

22 The other subjects included Rules for Duties, Basic Laws, Hygiene and First Aid, Physical Education, Sword Practice.

23 After three months of compulsory training for freshmen (Kyooshuusei 教習生), Renshuusei
Accompanying the dramatic increase of policemen mobilized for suppressing the massive anti-Japanese demonstration in 1919, as the table below demonstrates, these rules were intensified by the *Revision of the Police System* (Keisatsuseido Kaisee 警察制度改正) in August, 1919. It also changed the name of the center to the Police Training Academy (Keisatsukan Kooshuujo 警察官講習所).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Constables</th>
<th>Total Policemen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2053</td>
<td>3312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>3132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>7387</td>
<td>6935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>9452</td>
<td>7651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>11028</td>
<td>8160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>11028</td>
<td>2160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>10131</td>
<td>7057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>10296</td>
<td>7087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>10346</td>
<td>7137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(The JGG Almanac. Choosen Sootokufu Tookei Nenkan 朝鮮總督府統計年鑑)*

With this revision, the length of the study was extended and the course divisions became more specific. In addition, the maximum number of students at a time (fifty before the revision of rules in 1919) dramatically increased, perhaps in order to meet the pressing need to train the swarms of police sent from Japan one after another before letting them practice on the street. The new course curriculum divisions and sizes of the Police Training School (Keisatsukan Kooshuujo 警察官講習所) in Keijoo (now Seoul) were as follows:

1. Lecture Course (Kooshuuka 講習科):
   a) Regular Class (Honka 本科)--- Nine to twelve months. Approximately one hundred selected students who are currently in supervising positions or going to be in the future.
   b) Technical Class (Bekka 別科)--- Short course (not specified) for special skills (i.e. (練習生) were selected from the graduates (Kyooshuusei 教習生) and current constables to attend more advanced, five-month training courses.

24 It appears that there was a screening test called 'Korean Language Level Evaluation Exam for Entering the JGG Policemen Training Academy' (Sootokufu Keesatsukan Kooshuujo Nyuusho Shiken 総督府警察講習所入所試験) upon entering the academy.
detectives, gunmen, accountants). Number of students varies.

2. Training Course (Kyooshuuka 敎習科): Three to four months’ course for three to four hundred newly assigned policemen.

   In the Police Training Academy in Seoul, there were four professors under a principal, four assistant professors, two secretaries and several lecturers in charge of the training. In addition to this main institution which accommodated more than five hundred police personnel, a Constable Training Center (Junsa Kyooshuujo 巡査教習所) was present in each province. The training centers also assigned the obligatory Korean language in their curricula.

   Given that seven hours a day were spent on six subjects (Kajii 1980), probably at least six hours were spent on Korean language study per week. This amounts to seventy-two to ninety-two hours for the three-four months course, 192 hours for the eight months course and 288 hours for one-year course. Thus, we can say with certainty that these hours were sufficient to equip Japanese policemen with the elements of general understanding of the Korean language, if not making them Korean language professionals. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the Japanese colonial police were prepared with at least a general knowledge of Korean already during the days at the Police Training Academy or at a provincial Constable Training Center for their future tasks.

4-2. Continuous Korean Language Studies in Placement Sites

   Nonetheless, the completion of the curricula in the Police Training Academy (Keisatsukan Kooshuujo 警察官講習所) in Seoul or in a provincial Constable Training Center (Junsa Kyooshuujo 巡査教習所) was not the end of the compulsory Korean language study. Indeed, the trained colonial police naturally developed their Korean communication skills while they carried out their duties on the frontline of the Japanese colonial enterprise—the face-to-face questioning, arresting, imprisoning, and punishing of Koreans in the regions to which they were eventually assigned.

   In addition to this first-hand ‘street’ Korean ability the policemen must have picked up individually, collective efforts to master the language continued in the assigned police offices throughout Korea. Here we shall examine how Japanese colonial policemen actually preserved and enhanced their Korean language skills after graduating from the training centers.

   Designating the mastering of Korean as ‘the most important item’ for Japanese policemen, the JGG police department in Seoul employed the following policy;
“We make Japanese policemen carry Essential Handbook for Korean (Sengo Hikkei 鮮語必携) all the time and encourage self-study. Exclusively, we set aside hours for Korean language instruction and carry out exams regularly. The results of the exam are considered for promotion as well as providing the superior students with Interpreter Bonus (Tsuyaku Teate 通訳手当; one to twenty yen/month) or Korean Language Encouragement Bonus (朝鮮語奨励手当 five to fifty yen/month). Due to these maximum efforts, the success is significant. Currently 80% of the entire police force is able to converse with Korean commoners and has no major problems in performing everyday duties such as a house inspection (戸口調査).”

Equally important, Korean language study was carried out in various ways in local police offices spread throughout the Korean peninsula. A survey of Korean language study in police offices which was carried out by the Choosengo Kenkyuukai (朝鮮語研究会 Korean Language Research Association) in January of 1926 provides a vivid picture of the way they incorporated Korean language study in their everyday duties. This survey included the following three questions:

1. Requests or suggestions to improve the journal;
2. Names of passers of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam in your office;
3. The situation of Korean language study in your office (division of classes, number of students in each level, hours of instruction per week, ways of encouraging policemen to learn Korean, etc.)

To this survey that was sent probably to each police office, thirty-two police offices throughout Korea (From North Hamgyong province to South Kyongsang province) responded, and all of these responses were introduced in volumes four and five of the monthly journal which the Choosengo Kenkyuukai then published. In order to stay focused on the topic of this section, we will sample some of the responses to question three among the returned questionnaires below.

• Chinch’ŏn 真川, North Ch’ungch’ŏng province 忠北, Sŏng Nagyŏng 成 滋英;

    “Both level A (six students) and level B (four students) are studying Korean seven hours a week. In police stations (Chuzaisho 駐在所), we make Korean employees teach according to the study syllabus we send.”

25 There were 2,771 JGG police offices in 1921, showing a dramatic increase from the 1,759 locations in 1917. (Pak, 1985. P.124)
26 This association will be examined in great detail in the next chapter.
Kangwŏn Province 江原道, Hayashi Uichirō 林卯一郎, Chief Police Officer;

1. Based on the Choosenbun Choosengo Koogiroku, study the decided items of the day thoroughly every day.
2. Applying what we learn in (1), carry out dictation and conversation practice every day and evaluate each time.
3. Assign a five-minute presentation in Korean twice a week and evaluate it.
4. From twelve noon to 2:00 p.m. on Wednesdays and from 11:00 a.m. to noon on Saturdays, strictly forbid the use of Kokugo (i.e. Japanese) in the office. Those who violate this rule should pay a fine (five sen27 for duty-related talk, ten sen for private talk). Collected fines will be given to the three best students as a reward at the end of each month.”

Kangwŏn Province 江原道, Yaoka Tamejūro 矢岡為十郎;

“All ten students in level A have subscribed to journal Choosengo, and they show dramatic progress in their Korean ability these days. Also, (I make) the rest subscribe to Translation of Normal School Textbook. We spend thirty minutes on Korean language study before duty everyday, give them an exam twice a month, and announce the results in public to motivate them. Besides, we are encouraging them to work outside alone (Gaibu Tandoku Kinmu 外部単独勤務) to make them confront inconveniences and difficulties so that their motivation to study (Korean) will be automatically stimulated.”

P’ohang Police Office 浦項警察署, North Kyŏngsang Province 慶北

“Using a Korean textbook printed and provided by the provincial police bureau every month, we study (Korean) for more than two hours a week. In addition, we carry out a short (Korean) course every year. This year, it is a six months course for divided levels A and B, using the Textbook for Police (警察教科書) compiled by the Police Training Academy (警察官講習所). Policemen in police stations also follow the same procedure of learning and Korean constables are responsible for the instruction.”

Chinhae 真海, South Kyŏngsang Province 慶南, Yi T’aejin 李 泰辰;

“We have Level A (four) and level B (nine) classes, including five of them who are assigned to police stations. We are studying Korean every morning in the office, seven times a month in police stations. Occasionally, we give them exams including conversation and dictation in order to keep their memory fresh.”

Yeysan 礼山, South Ch’unch’ong Province 忠南, O Yongkun 吳栄根;

27 100 sen=1 yen
"There are four level A (those who are capable of basic interpreting) and twenty-four level B students, studying Korean thirty to sixty minutes before work everyday. For police stations (Chuzaisha 駐在所), we send the study syllabus for them to learn on their own, and give them an exam when they are summoned to the office."

- Inch’on Police Office 仁川警察署

"Level A and B classes study Korean for thirty minutes everyday except Sundays before work.....As homework, we assign translation of selected timely articles of Korean newspapers."

- Sin’gye Police Office 新済警察署, Hwanghae Province

"Total forty-two policemen at our office are divided into level A (fifteen), B (twenty) and C (seven). We spend more than four hours a week on Korean language study, using the journal Choosengo, which everyone is obliged to subscribe to. We also encourage the study at home, as we give them exams twice a month. According to their grades, we reward them as well as change their classes."

In general, it was a common practice to spend thirty to sixty minutes on Korean language study at the beginning of a day. Thus, in total, no less than two hours (up to seven hours) a week were spent on extra Korean language studies at police offices and stations in addition to their duties which also required the practice of Korean language. Moreover, they usually carried out at least one exam per month for evaluation and motivating student policemen.

Hence, the JGG policemen were entitled to take the Korean Language Encouragement Exam, other various promotion exams including Korean language evaluation (introduced in section 3-5) and the check-up Korean exam held in the police office one belonged to. With these constant goadings and evaluations, it is highly likely that many of the colonial police maintained and reinforced their Korean language skill at a practically useful level for their day-to-day duties. Thus, the dominance of policemen in the Korean language exam was achieved.

4-3. Overall trend of Korean Language Studies of Japanese Colonial Agents

From a retrospective point of view, the JGG’s explicit advocacy of Korean language study started out with encouraging Japanese teachers at Korean schools in the early 1910’s. Despite the JGG administrative officials’ continuous admonitory speeches, however, the Japanese teachers remained reluctant to learn Korean. With the 1919 March 1st Independence Movement disrupting the JGG’s plan for the Korean Proficiency Exam for Japanese Teachers in
1918, the Korean language study missed one of its last opportunities to establish itself exclusively among Japanese teachers.

Perhaps triggered by the threat of the March 1st Independence Movement, the JGG became determined to cover the colony with a more solid network of power and control. This resolution led to the development of a more systematic evaluation of the Korean language proficiency of JGG officials: thus, the JGG started the Korean language Encouragement Exam in 1921. Stimulated partly by the income bonus rewards for the passers, the colonial agents’ Korean language learning seems to have been invigorated in the 1920’s.

What became evident, as soon as the details of the passers was made public, was the absolute dominance of colonial police in the strata of the JGG officials’ Korean language learning. Although the JGG’s initial object for Korean language encouragement were the Japanese teachers at Korean public schools,

“Enthusiasm for learning (Korean) faded away before we knew it and the Seminars for Japanese Teachers at Public Schools they used to conduct also disappeared. Instead, policemen’s Korean language study became active.”

(The journal Choosengo 1926.7.Vol.10. p.1)

This situation is perhaps explained by the significant difference in training environment. Although the JGG did not goad the policemen explicitly, at least not as desperately as it did with the teachers, there was no doubt that implicit efforts to equip the policemen with language skills were thoroughly carried out. Ever since the preparation period for the colony before 1910, the JGG policemen had long been entitled to more intensive Korean language studies in exclusive police training centers, in contrast to the situation with other JGG officials. Hence, policemen had potentially been keen on the Korean language study throughout the period, which came to be visibly confirmed by the results of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam.

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28 This included a Korean language course for the Japanese teachers.
29 According to Choosengo, JGG provincial offices were to inaugurate Korean language exam for employees in finance department (金融組合) from February to March of 1928, separate from the existing JGG Korean Language Exam. (Choosengo Vol.31, 1928.4.) However, this plan was perhaps not put into practice since no report on it is left.
Chapter 3. Linguistic Collaboration between Korean and Japanese—The Journal Choosengo

1-1. Characteristics of Korean Language Studies of JGG Agents

As might be expected, the Korean language curricula in the Police Training Academy and Centers throughout the Korean colony must have recruited many bilingual Korean instructors. In other words, in support of the JGG’s success in equipping its agents with Korean language skills, the presence of bilingual Korean / Japanese intellectuals was a *sine qua non*. I intentionally postponed reference to this issue — Korean (and Japanese) individual instructors who were entitled in the Japanese colonial agents’ Korean language studies in the previous chapter. This is because examining specific dialogue samples of Korean / Japanese individuals involved in JGG colonial language training is so crucial that it deserves a chapter itself.

Thus, chapter three is built around this theme—the question of who these instructors ~ intellectuals were and how Koreans and Japanese were integrated in the symbiotic reciprocity between the language of the dominators (Japan) and the dominated (Korean). In order to disentangle this issue, we will examine a linguistic journal of the period, which illustrates the reality and context of individuals’ experiences of learning Korean at the time.

When we turn our gaze from the Korean peninsula to the other side of the globe, to the former Belgian Congo of around the same period (1880-1938), we find Belgian colonizers struggling to bridge the communication gap with the indigenous population of the Congo. A glance at an important work on Belgium’s language policies in the Congo, *Language and Colonial Power* by Johannes Fabian (1986), brings our concern—Japanese colonial agents’ Korean language studies—into sharper focus. To be sure, there are fundamental differences between the linguistic situations of the two colonies, which prevent us from making a simple comparison between the Japan ~ Korea and Belgium ~ Congo cases. Most obviously, Congo supported a multi-lingual situation in a tribal society, whereas Korea had a single national language in a highly homogeneous Korean society.

Remaining mindful of this difficulty, the Belgian experience still sheds light on the common necessity of developing the language skills of colonial agents.

Similar to the JGG Police Training Academy and Centers, the Belgians had a number of educational institutes specializing in colonial training. In contrast, however, the JGG colonial training institutes were located in Korea, while the Belgian training centers were based in

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30 There were thirteen course programs by six different institutions between 1895 and 1928. (Fabian, 1986)
Belgium. This implies that Belgian colonial agents were probably better prepared than JGG agents, at least before departing for their colonies.

Then who was in charge of these institutes and who was most actively involved in the training? Contrary to the Japanese colonial enterprise with its police force in the forefront, Fabian argues that it was above all the missionaries who stood on the frontline of Belgian communication with Africans. Consequently, Belgian missionaries were as important as consumers of language guides as they were as researchers (missionary linguists) who produced them (Fabian, 1986, p. 88). One can confirm this by referring to the names of instructors listed in Fabian’s work (p. 85), all of whom appear to be Europeans; in addition, Fabian states that they were mainly Belgian missionaries. In other words, language instructors in Belgian colonial training institutes were chosen from among the ‘colonizers’.

In contrast, Japanese colonial agents integrated personnel from the ‘dominated’ side into their Korean language acquisition. Generally speaking, instructors were mainly chosen from among their Korean police colleagues (i.e. assistant inspectors or constables). This should not be difficult to imagine, given the chart of the ‘number of policemen in colonial Korea’ shown in the previous chapter. Judging from the fact that a large percentage of JGG policemen were Korean, one can assume that sufficient Korean police personnel were available for language instruction for Japanese policemen.

While the self-identity of European colonialists as ‘evolue’ as opposed to ‘aborigines’ of Africa had a concrete impact on the field of language training in Belgium, the colonial boundary between Japanese and Koreans was in fact crossed in Korean language learning and instruction. The Japanese were taught Korean not by Japanese, but by the ‘colonized’ at training institutes, putting some Koreans in the position of ‘Sensei’ (‘teacher’: polite title, Dr.-). This area of language training was perhaps the only sphere within the power relations of the colonial paradigm where a co-operate partnership was found between Korean and Japanese linguists.

1-2. A Leading Group in Korean Language Instruction

An inquiry into the specific Korean instructors and linguist-intellectuals involved in the JGG Korean language encouragement program begins with an examination of a monthly journal from this period, Choosengo (Korean Language). As might have been noticed from numerous citations in the previous chapter, our detailed description of the reality of Korean language study by JGG officials is deeply, and almost solely, indebted to this journal. Despite its forgotten existence for most people, the journal Choosengo (Korean Language) is a fascinating and
accurate reflection of Japanese colonial personnel (and their Korean colleagues) who tackled Korean language study in the 1920’s. The fact that an accurate record of the colonial agents’ language study existed is in itself a sharp contrast to the Belgian case, where the information remains confusing and fragmentary. This indicates that the Korean language study by Japanese colonial trainees was not a subject to be ignored. Choosengo was also Korea’s first ever monthly linguistic journal that lasted for more than a year, which makes it all the more astonishing. These facts oblige us to examine the journal in detail in this chapter to begin with, and also leads us to unravel the backgrounds of the producers of this interesting journal in the next chapter.

2-1. The Beginnings of the Journal Choosengo

Due to their growing interest in Korean language studies, some serious learners of Korean in the early 1920’s came to be frustrated with the poor quality of available Korean language materials. In addition, the increasing number of Korean language encouragement exam takers required updated information on the exam. Thus, it is safe to say that these situations gave birth to Korea’s first linguistic journal, Choosengo (Korean Language). This monthly journal Choosengo was launched in 1925, four years after the announcement of the Korean Language Encouragement program and the inauguration of systematic Korean language exams accompanied by bonus income incentives. Choosengo ceased publication in 1929 and it is likely that during these four years, the seriousness of Korean language study among JGG officials mounted.

2-2. Facts about the Journal

This journal was published on the 10th day of each month, starting in October, 1925, and was distributed on a subscription basis. Putting priority on satisfying the readers’ academic interest in Korean (as the editorial committee claimed), the price was relatively inexpensive, as shown below:\(^3\)

\(^3\) The journal ‘*Hanjul*’ (1927-1932), published by the ‘Chosono Yonguhoe 朝鮮語研究會’ was 0.1 yen (ten sen) per copy, one yen for a one-year subscription. This amount is not too significant in relation to fifty yen, the estimated average salary of JGG policeman from the previous chapter.
The average number of pages of each issue was one hundred, ranging from sixty-five to just under one hundred forty. Each volume begins with a one-page preface in Japanese, which reflects and summarizes the latest trends in Korean language study by Japanese during the period. The body of the journal consists of serialized articles, along with other timely articles that appeared irregularly.

In order to get a rough idea of the nature of the journal, titles and authors of the regularly serialized articles are shown below:

- Korean Conversation: ‘Tour around Korea’ 朝鮮語会話 ‘朝鮮一周’
  By Itoo Kandoo (伊藤 韓堂), Choosengo Kenkyuukai Director (主幹)
- Advanced Korean Conversation 高等朝鮮語会話
  By Yi Wanung (李 完応), Choosengo Kenkyuukai Chair 会長
- Translation of Normal Elementary School Textbook 尋常小國語読本訳解
  By Choosengo Kenkyuukai Editorial Committee
- Adverbs in Chinese Characters 漢字成句集
  By Yi Yunhui (李 允熙), Teacher at Keijoo First High School
- How to Read Classical Chinese 漢文の読み方
  By Kim Wanjin (金 完真), JGG 総督府経学院司成
- Japanese Translation of Korean and Vice Versa 鮮文国訳と国文鮮訳
  By Ch’oe Pokhwa (崔 福華), Teacher at Keijoo Women’s School
- Translation and Understanding of Normal School Higher Grades’ Korean Textbook 普通學校高等科朝鮮語読本訳解
  By Choosengo Kenkyuukai Editorial Committee
- Comparison of Japanese and Korean Readings of Chinese Characters
  By Pak Chaesu (朴 在洙), Assistant Professor at the Police Academy (警察官教習所助教授)
- Writing Letters in Korean
  By Yun T’aedong (尹 泰東), Writer (文学者)
- Greeting and Lecturing in Korean 朝鮮語の挨拶と演説
  By Pak Sanghui (朴 尚僖), Maeil Sinbo 毎日申報 Writer
- Korean Folklore Customs Year Round 朝鮮風俗の一ヶ年
  By Yi Hyonsop (李 省燮), Instructor (講師) at the Choosengo Kenkyuukai
In addition to these regular features which shed light on Korean language study from various linguistic angles, the journal was the fastest medium to introduce the actual contents of the JGG Korean Language Encouragement Exam held the previous month, all of which was essential information for most readers. Within one month, the journal also informed readers of detailed results of the exam (i.e. names and titles of successful candidates, number of candidates from each province, etc.) with an overview commentary by Fujiwara Yoshizoo (藤原 喜蔵), a chief of the JGG Korean Language Exam Committee. As well as characterizing the journal as an accurate record of the JGG Korean language encouragement project, the swift flow of information from the JGG Language Exam Committee to Choosengo implies a direct connection between the journal and the JGG exam committee, since the JGG office was the only source of information about the facts and figures of the exam.

Unlike the other major Korean linguistic journal of the period, Han’gul, Choosengo consistently encouraged the active involvement of readers (members) so as to create a journal with diverse articles. The editorial committee wrote that the journal welcomed readers to contribute articles on the following topics, many of which actually appeared in several issues of Choosengo.

- Exotic customs of Korea
- Experiences making mistakes in Korean
- Experiences making mistakes in interpreting
- Dialect studies in rural areas
- Korean local legends
- Rare Korean family names
- Odd and/or funny stories from training seminars
- Realities of local training seminars
- Short travel narratives

Other irregular articles often included ‘Success Stories’ of various exam passers, dialect studies and reading charts for Chinese characters by different writers, some of which will be examined later.

In addition, a flavor of entertainment was added by articles like ‘Korean Crossword Puzzles’ and ‘How to Play Korean Chess’ in earlier issues. These articles disappeared in later

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32 Fujiwara later became a governor of South Phy’ong’an Province (1931.9.23-1935.2.20).
issues, as the number of pages started to decrease after the first year of publication.\textsuperscript{33}

At the end of each issue, there was a section called ‘sarangbang 舍郎房’, an editorial section up to two pages long where readers exchanged their opinions and made inquiries\textsuperscript{34} and comments on the journal.

On the whole, the journal not only covered various aspects of the language but also vast areas of Korean culture. Most likely due to the main editors Itoo Kandoo and Yi Wanung, it was well organized and planned in such a manner as to stimulate one’s intellectual curiosity about Korean language and culture.

Compared to the journal Han’gul published by Chosonõ Hakhoe, a journal in the same line from the same period, Choosengo was far more substantial in its diversity, and integrated voices of readers who were in the process of learning Korean with occasional articles of entertainment.

2-3. Readers

Practically every subscriber of the journal was entitled to be a ‘member’ of the Choosengo Kenkyuukai. Hence, the journal referred to its readers as ‘kaiin’ (members) and encouraged their active participation in the creation of the journal. At its peak, the number of readers (members) reached 1,800, but gradually decreased to 500-600 toward the end of publication in 1929.\textsuperscript{35} (Choosengo Vol.30. p.1. 1928.3)

As would be expected from the prominent enthusiasm of JGG policemen in Korean language study, according to what the Choosengo Kenkyuukai claimed, eighty percent of the readers were police personnel as of May, 1928.\textsuperscript{36} This should be a matter of course, judging from the fact that quite a few police offices made it a policy for police to subscribe to the journal Choosengo as well as using it as a textbook.\textsuperscript{37}

Among the rest of the readers, one can assume there were not many teachers, since the preface to volume 32 testified so and lamented the reluctance of school teachers to learning

\textsuperscript{33} The thinnest volume was about sixty-five pages long. (Vol. 31. 1928.4.)
\textsuperscript{34} Many of them were concerned with the Korean Language Encouragement Exam.
\textsuperscript{35} The reasons for this decrease will be examined in the next chapter.
\textsuperscript{36} It is likely that they were preparing for the Korean Language Encouragement Exam or Exams for Interpreters (Tsuuyaku Kenshoo Shiken 通訳兼掌試験) for promotion and/or bonus incomes.
\textsuperscript{37} The Choosengo Choosenbun Koogiroku (朝鮮文朝鮮語講義録), published by the same association (the Choosengo Kenkyuukai) was also used as a textbook.
Korean. It also stated that four years after the start of the journal, JGG employees at Railway Bureau (鉄道局職員) and Finance Union (金融組合職員) had finally started to become members. (Choosengo, vol. 32. 1928.5).

2-4. Korean Readers of Choosengo

To be sure, the majority of the police readers (eighty percent of the total readers) were Japanese. It is striking, however, that at least some of them were Korean policemen who were required to learn Japanese. Unfortunately, the preface mentioned above does not clarify exactly how many Koreans were included in this eighty percent of policemen readers. One is also able to observe this fact from some Korean readers’ contributions in the editorial section ‘sarangbang’. For example:

O Yonggun, probably an assistant detective in South Chu’ngch’ong Province, was keen on learning Japanese and wrote the following request to the publisher;

“I wish you could add Furigana (How to read Chinese characters in Japanese) for translated Kokugo (Japanese) for spreading Kokugo (Japanese) to Korean readers”.

(Choosengo, vol.4. p.58)

Also, there were Korean readers who responded to a request from the Choosengo editors to report inappropriate Korean sentences uttered by Japanese in public. For instance, a report in fluent Japanese from a Korean reader Yi Tong’il 李東一 was introduced with appreciation, and pointed out a ‘pathetic and farcical’ advertisement by the Murakami Photo Shop 村上写真館 in Keijoo (now Seoul);

“I decided to introduce all of the ad because it is too awkward to put up such an inappropriate ad in the center of Korean culture, Keijoo.” (Choosengo. 1926. Vol.8. pp.88-89)

Another reported mistake was the warning notes (注意書) on the back of admission tickets to a ‘Korean Exhibition 朝鮮博覧會’. A letter from Pak Yonghui 朴容喜 which

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38 The ad was an interesting barometer of contemporary Japanese merchants’ Korean language skills, which were much less than those of JGG officials. The ad was perhaps incomprehensible for most Koreans, since it was an enumeration of uncommon Sino-Japanese words with insertion of Korean particles and verb-endings (i.e. ‘安心 hago 写 hal 場’ 華麗 han 春 i 来 hayossumnida. 私 ui 店 do 皆様方 うし 御引立 うし 依 haya…)

39 Although the details of this exhibition were not explained, it was held on 25th of May, 1926 in
introduced the entire note with his corrections is found in the editorial section ‘Sarangbang’. Upon receiving Pak’s report, one of the Choosengo Kenkyuukai members visited the exhibition to find more mistakes. (Choosengo Vol. 9. P.75. 1926.6) Although it simply says ‘a certain reporter (一記者)’, the manner in which it points out the ‘unnaturalness’ in an advertisement flyer from the Keijoo (now Seoul) Fire Department makes us assume it was written by a Korean. This type of criticism was also given to things such as JGG announcement posters, dosage instructions for medicines, caution labels on paint cans — things that needed to be in Korean for practical purposes — and was reported to the journal.

It is fascinating to know that there were Koreans who consciously watched for Japanese’ misuses of their language and spared time to contribute their discoveries to the journal. As much as this helped the Korean language study of Japanese colonial agents, it must have stimulated Koreans to strive for the ‘correct’ usage of their language. It is possible to further state that this exposure to these malformed Korean utterances increased some Koreans’ consciousness of their own ‘Kugô (National Language—Korean)’, which is to be considered an early sign of formation of a Korean sense of national language.

Another piece of evidence is Koreans’ great interest in the heated discussion ‘Should translation be direct or indirect?’ conducted over several volumes of the journal. For example, seven out of eight opinion letters in volume 3 (1925) were from Koreans.

These facts imply the presence of quite a few Korean readers, who fulfilled their general curiosity toward their own language, the colonizers’ language (Japanese) and language studies in general as they willingly participated in enriching the contents of the journal.

2-5. Interests on the part of Political Figures in the Journal

In addition, it is noteworthy that the journal counted major Korean and Japanese political figures among its readers. One of the supporters of Choosengo was the pro-Japanese Korean politician, Yi Wanyong (李完用 1858-1926).40 According to Choosengo writer Yi Wanŭng, a Choosengo director, Yi Wanyong once sent an aide, Shin Kwanghŭi (申光熙), to the Choosengo editorial office and asked for the Koogioku.41 and the journal Choosengo on Seoul. The second pavilion where the ticket concerned was distributed was in front of Kwanghwamun, Seoul. (Choosengo Vol. 9. P.75. 1926.6)

40 Yi Wanyong is presently branded as one of the seven public enemies (Ch’il jok 七贼) for agreeing to the Protectorate Treaty in 1905 and for signing the Annexation Treaty in 1910.

41 Record of Lectures on Korean Literature and Language (Choosenbun Choosengo Koogioku koogioku

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September 2nd, 1925. Yi Wanung continued; “According to Shin Kwanghŭi, Sir Yi has a great interest in the Korean language recently and has various discussions [on the language] with visitors.”

(“From My Diary” in Choosengo Vol.1. p.89)

Another prominent reader was governor-general Saito Makoto, who was in office from 1919 to 1931. A copy of the payment slip for one year’s subscription fee (4.5 yen for twelve volumes) with Saito’s signature proudly occupies a page in Choosengo Vol. 8 (1926. 5). In addition, it is likely that Choosengo was closely connected also with government superintendent general (政務総監) Shimooka. Offering condolences upon Shimooka’s death on November 22, 1925, a large picture of him was printed on one page as well as a written memoir about Shimooka in both Korean and Japanese. In the memoir, Itoo wrote; “The superintendent general also paid attention to Korean language.” (Choosengo Vol.3, p. 10) These pieces of evidence indicate that the journal had direct links to Japanese imperial authority, and accounts for the editorial committee members’ inclination toward pro-Japanese connections. At the same time, these facts contribute to a revision of the myth that Japanese colonialists all despised their Korean subjects.

In sum, the majority of Choosengo readers were Korean and Japanese JGG policemen. Including JGG officials and public school teachers, almost all readers were agents of the Japanese colonial enterprise. It is important to note that the ranks of these agents ranged from the lowest (constables) to the highest (governor-general). This reflects the diversity of the Choosengo readers, and confirms the great significance of the Korean language for Japanese during the colonial period.

3. Dissecting Samples of Readers’ Individual Korean Language Studies in Choosengo

3-1. Experiences of JGG Official Interpreters

In fact, Korean language studies of JGG government officials were much more extensive than previously thought both in chronological and synchronic sense. Chronologically speaking, the forerunners of Japanese official language professionals were starting serious study of Korean in Korea already around the turn of the century. According to the memoirs of some of

42 Shimooka Tadaharu 下岡忠治 died while he was in the position of principal of Keijoo Imperial University (1924.7.4-1925.11.22).
these officials who were appointed by the Japanese government, they went to Korea without any previous knowledge of Korean and started their studies with private Korean instructors in various social contexts.

For example, in the article ‘When I Learned Korean’, Fujinami Yoshinuki 藤波義眞, a JGG official interpreter and a member of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam Committee, introduced his earlier days in Korea as a government exchange student in the 1890’s. To carry out his duty—mastering the language—Fujinami arranged a private tutor ‘Teacher Min 閔 先生’. Min Sensei, who used to be a Korean language teacher in a business school in Makwan 馬聞 and had a little knowledge of Japanese, visited Fujinami’s residence to teach him Korean everyday. Thinking it too arrogant to make a master come to a young student’s house, Fujinami recollected, he suggested that he would visit Min Sensei’s house instead, no matter how far it is. But Min Sensei replied with surprise; “I will be in big trouble if [Korean] people notice that a Japanese is coming to my house. My family might all be murdered. I am more than happy to visit you here everyday.”

Fujinami explained that this was understandable, because only Korean peasants (sangmin 常民) were coming openly to Japanese households, whereas upper class Koreans (yangban 世班) seldom did so. He stated; “Japanese were disliked and abhorred that much during those days.” (Choosengo Vol.2 p.50)

In contrast to Fujinami’s personal experience of learning Korean in secret from a Korean scholar, a semi-private Korean language institute (1896-1907) was run more openly. This was where Nakamura Kentaroo 中村健太郎 (a JGG official interpreter 朝鮮総督府嘱託) learned Korean. As one of the five exchange students, he studied Korean language and

43 Most JGG officials had no knowledge of Korean language before their assignments. For example, Fujinami (1925) wrote that he saw the Korean script “for the first time in his life” when he arrived in Seoul. (Choosengo Vol.2. p.50)

44 After Mr. Min, Fujinami stated that he had a ‘Pak Sensei’ who did not speak Japanese at all. (Choosengo Vol. 3. P.50)

45 Perhaps as maids or merchants.

46 This was named Rakutenkutsu (楽天窟). Kumamoto prefecture in Kyuushuu island was sending several students every year for Korean language study. According to Fujinami, many Japanese officials and civilians in important positions of the Japanese colonial enterprise during the period were trained in this academy. Fujinami also enrolled there later. (Choosengo Vol.2 p.50)

47 There were three ‘Taroo’s among the JGG official interpreters; Nakamura Kentaroo, 中村健太郎 Tanaka Tokutaroo 田中徳太郎 (also a member of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam committee) and Nishimura Shintaroo 西村真太郎. (Choosengo Vol.3 p.115)

48 This group included: Miyajima Toshio (King Yi’s interpreter), Tsuruta Kazuyoshi (Chair of the Choson Commercial Bank 朝鮮商銀), Sonoki Sueyoshi (Chief Director of Keijoo Finance 京城
culture in a Japanese students' dorm-school for several years at the turn of the century. The school was remote from Japanese settlements, so that the Japanese students were immersed in Korean and learned the language from a Korean teacher at the institute, Mr. Han Changhoe 韓章會. Han ‘Sensei’, who was a scholar without any knowledge of Japanese at all, “was so strict on our pronunciation that he would not dismiss us until we got it right.” Being completely ignorant of each other’s language, they had to “smile like mutes” at first, but within six months, the five students became able to manage daily conversation. (Choosengo Vol.1 p.88) According to Fujinami, who also became a student of this institute, the students practiced the language with children of the yangban class who thronged to meet the Japanese students out of curiosity. Nakamura recalled that the Japanese students were mainly associated with upper-class Koreans and often visited those Koreans, who greatly pampered the Japanese students with feasts or by taking them sightseeing.

Despite the fact that Nakamura and Fujinami were both in Seoul, a considerable difference of atmosphere between the two communities is clearly depicted. However, they shared friendly interactions with their Korean teachers. Perhaps supported by their good relationship with their teachers and local Koreans, these Japanese language professionals’ views on Koreans were not negative, at least in so far as can been discerned from their articles.

However diverse the atmosphere surrounding Japanese who learned Korean in various parts of Korea may have been, it is still possible to recognize the existence of private Korean tutors from the intellectual, upper class. Evidence for these tutors — instructors will be described further in the next section.

3-2. Success Stories of Korean Language Encouragement Exam Passers

—Interactions with Unknown Private Korean Tutors

Although the Korean Language Encouragement project itself (the exam system and bonus income) was sponsored by the JGG, to pass the exam at higher levels required extra individual effort. Some Korean language learners motivated themselves to advance their language skills using various aids, including hiring private Korean tutors or helpers. In this section, I will give examples of how these enterprising individuals studied Korean in order to achieve their goal of passing the first degree (the most difficult) exam.

府金庫) and another anonymous member who became a vice-consul, and later a writer for the Taishoo Daily News 大正日々 and the English newspaper Japan Times. (Choosengo Vol.1 p.87)
Jo Fujio, who may have been the principal at T'ongyong Public School in South Kyongsang Province, recalled his ‘ten years of Korean language self-study in the countryside’ as follows;

“Once I started learning Korean, I soon came to be interested in the language and this led me to read various materials. Although I finished all the textbooks of the normal schools and the JGG conversation and grammar book first, I realized that I could not comprehend Korean newspapers (Onmun Shinbun 諏訪新聞). Thus, I read the Tong-a ilbo everyday for two years, whether I understood it or not, and I made it a rule not to ask others. Later I became able to understand the gist. After two years, I started highlighting incomprehensible phrases, and these decreased in a year. Next, I invited an old Korean Sodang teacher who did not understand Kokugo [i.e. Japanese] at all [to my house] and learned Classical Chinese from him for several months. Other than that, I read anything available such as novels, poetry, academic papers, advertisements and announcements according to my rule ‘broadly even if it is shallow’.” (1926.3. Vol. 6. P.25)

Oonishi Manji, Chief Director of Financial Services 財務係主任 in T’ongyong, South Kyongsang Province, was extremely quick to learn Korean, which allowed him to pass the first degree of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam in a relatively short time as follows;

“Starting with Choosenbun Choosengo Koogitoku 朝鮮文朝鮮語講義錄 and the journal Choosengo by the Choosengo Kenkyuukai, I read all the Normal School Korean textbooks, Jibun Reading Books (時文讀本), JGG Korean Grammar and Conversation (朝鮮語法及會話) and several kinds of Korean newspapers and magazines. I read everything available, including Old Novels (旧小説) such as Ch’unhyangjŏn 春香伝, Shimch’ŏngjŏn 沈清伝, Choung-jŏn 趙雄伝, Samkh’waejŏng 三快亭 and so on. I read just about anything; New Novels (新小説) such as Mucyŏng 無情 and Ssang’ognu 雙玉淚 etc, a joke book Kkalkkal Usǐm (Laugh Out Loud), advertisements and sentences in flyers. In daily life, I made efforts to pay special attention to Koreans’ conversation in order to understand them without missing a single word. I did not hesitate to ask questions of teachers at public schools or of my Korean colleagues.”
(Vol. 6. pp.27-28)

To be sure, Japanese who consistently dedicated themselves to Korean language study to this extent must have been relatively few. The level of most learners remained lower than the second degree and these learners’ experiences of Korean language study was different from those of the first degree passers. Compared to the extra-dedicated study of first degree passers who used all-Korean materials such as literature and newspapers, the rest of the learners depended on

49 It is of note that Sodang teachers seemed to be in demand from Japanese at the time.
50 The majority of the learners were JGG police stationed throughout the entire Korean peninsula,
Choosengo Kenkyuukai publications, including the appendixes to Choosengo. However, they at least shared the fact that they also learned the language from Korean tutors. Indeed, the significant number of Japanese police with geographical dispersion (as proven by the records of the extensive provincial Korean language exam mentioned in the previous chapter) implies numerous contacts on the part of Japanese police with local Koreans with whom the Japanese police must have made use of their Korean language. Simply put, it is evident that Japanese’ Korean language study involved numerous Koreans, regardless of the level. When one focuses on individual Japanese who endeavored to absorb Korean language skills and their recollections of their Korean language study, it becomes apparent that many anonymous Koreans who did not necessarily have a direct link with JGG authority helped Japanese learn the language.

Most ‘success stories’ of JGG official interpreters and graduates of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam in Choosengo mention their private Korean tutors. In addition to the experiences of prominent bilingual JGG officials, perhaps the Japanese with the highest Korean language skills at the time, many Korean Language Encouragement Exam passers shared their experiences when requested to do so by Choosengo.

Oda Hisaichi, a chief manager of Yongbyŏn (寧邊) county and a holder of the first degree Korean Language Encouragement Exam, stated;

"I attended Korean language class (Kango Kooshuuikai 韓語講習会) for two years, where I learned the language from Hyŏn Hon 玄憲. Recently, I invited a Korean Sodang teacher to my house everyday for a year. One hour studying and practicing Korean language everyday. Considering this significant number of police, however, very few of them passed the first exam. Unexpectedly, many teachers at public schools, who were said to be reluctant in language study in general, were included in the small number of first exam passers. Thus, despite the indifference of the majority of the teachers, we can see that a few of them were keener on Korean language learning than the police.

INDEX KOREAN LANGUAGE GUIDE FOR POLICE (Keesatsukan Choosengo Kyoohan 警察官専用朝鮮語教範): Whereas the body of the journal consisted mainly of linguistic – cultural topics in general, this appendix of less than ten pages attached to each volume from volume 3 provided vivid evidence of the type of Korean language that JGG police needed. They were lists of Korean translations of phrases needed for house and store inspections, sanitation instructions, etc.

Perhaps around 1906-8. Oda stated that this Korean language class was in the Tooyoo Association Professional School (東洋協会専門学校) in Keijoo, whose chair was Ogita Etsuzo.

Hyon later became a school inspector (視学官) for the JGG. He contributed a preface to Genkoo Choosengohoo 現行朝鮮語法 (1926.12) by Chŏng Kuakh’ae 鄭国采, who was a descendent of Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾, one of King Sejong’s closest collaborators in the creation of the Korean script.
everyday, I read Korean aloud. Since it was very effective to learn in Sodang style, I intend to continue this Sodang style study with a Korean teacher.”

(Hayashi Zenjuuroo in the Hamgyong Provincial Office wrote;)

“With other [Japanese] colleagues, I learned Korean from a Korean person (senjin 鮮人)\(^{54}\) one hour everyday for five months. After that I studied alone with a private tutor, focusing on pronunciation and spelling.”

Moreover, voices of graduates of the second degree Korean Language Encouragement Exam (held in February of 1926) introduced in volume 17 give us more information about Koreans’ co-operation.

- Yamashita Tetsugoroo in Kongju, Ch’ungnam Province, wrote that, in addition to the study of Korean grammar with *Choosenbun Choosenko Koogiroku* (朝鮮文朝鮮語講義録) by the Choosenko Kenkyuukai, he learned Korean pronunciation from a Korean female teacher and was instructed in conversation by a Korean ‘intellectual’ (有識者). (Vol.17. 1927.2. p.60)
- Yamada Kaoru from the Tongdaemun Police Office stated that he attended a one-month night course in Korean at the Seoul YMCA (京城基督教青年会),\(^{55}\) where Korean folklore tales were used as learning materials. (Vol.17. 1927.2. p.59)
- Takasaki Kenji, from the Kumch’on Police Office in North Kyongsang Province, states that he learned pronunciation directly from a Korean (Senjin 鮮人). (Vol.17. p.61)
- Haraguchi Morinosuke stated that he learned the basics of Korean from a ‘Korean sensei’, who got him interested in the Korean language, although he could not find this Korean teacher anymore. (p.61) (1927.2. Choosenko Vol.17)


What these stories of Korean language study at different levels in Choosenko share is the existence of local Koreans who willingly taught the language in response to willing Japanese individuals. This confuses the picture of a ruthless colonizer and the resisting colonized who did

\(^{54}\) *Senjin* has a more derogatory tone than *Choosenjin*. The most derogatory term for ‘Koreans’ was *Yobo* during the colonial period. Among these terms, only *Choosenjin* is still used in today’s Japan.

\(^{55}\) It is also stated that the Seoul YMCA held three months night course from seven to 8:30 pm, five days a week (four times a year). A fee of 5.5 yen per term was charged. (Choosenko Vol.6.
not interact at the personal level. At the same time JGG police exploited and controlled Koreans in villages, they were learning the language from certain Korean individuals, or else exchanging languages with their Korean colleagues in police offices, calling them 'teachers'. Combining these local, private Korean tutors and Korean readers of the linguistic journal Choosengo who actively involved themselves in enriching the Korean linguistic research for the sake of Japanese' Korean language study, we can conclude that not a few of the Korean people were interacting with Japanese during the colonial period. While only higher authority figures are subject to attack as pro-Japanese collaborators, reports in Choosengo show us that in one sense, some local Korean civilians (who are invariably stereotyped by Koreans as the poor, exploited masses) 'co-operated' at the private level in the linguistic field. Likewise, the reality of this co-operation in the field of 'real' Korean linguistic research during the colonial period unravels unexpected links between Korean and Japanese intellectuals and their linguistic thought and ideologies. These sources and the origins of their ideological influences are the subject of the next chapter.
Chapter 4. Leading Figures in Japanese' Korean Language Studies during the Colonial Period

1. More Forgotten Individuals' Efforts in Spreading Korean Language Studies

There is no doubt that the Choosengo Kenkyuuukai, publisher of Choosengo, was by far the most prominent Korean language study research association, both in terms of quantity and quality of the members and the diversity of linguistic study throughout the colonial period. Nonetheless, there were other Japanese individuals who advocated Korean language study for Japanese and wrote Korean language guides for them in addition to the Choosengo Kenkyuuukai. Given the fact that the most prominent association — the Choosengo Kenkyuuukai — has been consigned to oblivion, it is a matter of course that nobody has paid any attention to more minor individuals and their efforts. Hence, in this section, I will shed light on some of these attempts, in a search for the motivations of those individuals who argued the necessity for Japanese to learn the language of the colonized—Korean, and in order to illuminate a previously under-studied area of collaboration between Japanese and Korean intellectuals in the field of Korean language learning.

1-1. Korean Language Guides in the Pre-Annexation Period

As outlined in chapter two, during the 1910’s, the JGG provided continuous verbal encouragement to JGG employees to study the Korean language, although the results seem to have been unsuccessful. While true enthusiasm was created only by the launch of the Korean Language Encouragement Exam system in 1921, there was also a collective effort on behalf of Korean language study before the 1920’s. In fact, according to Kajii (1980), ten of a total eighty-six Korean language guides for Japanese was co-authored between the turn of the century and 1919.1 Many of these Korean language guides, written both by Japanese and Korean authors, were on a much smaller scale than the journal Choosengo.

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1 Twenty-six Korean language guides for Japanese were published between 1920 and 1945. (Kajii, 1980. p.196) Thus, in total, 112 such guides were published between the late nineteenth century and Liberation in 1945.
Moreover, they tended to be disorganized, superficial, and hastily compiled conversational Korean language guides and most of the authors' biographies are shrouded in mystery. Nonetheless, one can still discern in these smaller-scaled language guides linguistic collaboration between Koreans and Japanese for the sake of Korean language studies by Japanese colonial agents.

1-2. Works from the Late Nineteenth Century

One of the earliest Korean language guides, *Shinsen Choosen Kaiwa* 新撰朝鮮会話 (162 pages) was published by a Korean in Tokyo in August, 1894. Interestingly, Hong Sokhyong, the mysterious author of this book, had an unexpected link with one of the leading Japanese intellectuals of the Meiji period, Tokutomi Sohoo 徳富蘇峰, who was not known as a Koreanist. According to Tokutomi's preface to Hong's work, Hong was a highly motivated individual, and he introduced Hong as follows:

"Upon the verge of the Tong-hak Uprising, one [Korean] youth visited me in my office, with a reference letter from Kikuchi Choofuu 柄池長風 in Keijoo (now Seoul). According to the letter, this youth named Hong Sokhyong had learned Japanese and came to Tokyo despite numerous difficulties, aspiring to study government (経世の学). [Kikuchi wrote that] he is particularly smart for a Korean and asked me [Tokutomi] to guide him well. Ever since then, we had been meeting.....Although I am unable to evaluate this Korean-Japanese conversation book due to my ignorance of the Korean language, judging from the author's ability and knowledge, I believe it must be

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2 1894-95: Sino-Japanese War. Attempts of early Korean nationalist movement was to break free of the suzerainty of the Ch'ing emperor. Ironically, it was Japan's victory over China that ended the tributary dependence on the Ch'ing dynasty, not any action by the Korean government itself. (Palais, 1998. P.220)

3 Tokutomi Sohoo (1863-1957): Journalist ~ historian born in Kumamoto prefecture. Editor-in-Chief of *Kokumin News* 国民新聞 (1890–1929). Adopted freedom, equality and democracy as his motto at first, which had a great influence on many youths and intellectuals. However, he gradually changed to an imperialist/nationalist around the time of the Sino-Japanese War. Known for his large-scale life work, History of Modern Japanese People 近代日本国民史 (164 volumes, 26,000,000 characters)

4 1894.2-1895.4: Led by intellectuals and farmers against foreign powers such as Japanese, French, and others who had begun to attack Korea and its weak feudalistic government. (Yu, 1997. p.77)
beneficial for practical purposes……for Japanese to learn Korean and for Koreans to learn Japanese.” (Hong, 1894. P.1-2)

In addition to the unexpected teacher-disciple relationship between this unknown Korean and famous Japanese intellectual, one can assume the intensifying political situation (the Tong-hak Uprising and the Sino-Japanese War) was a direct cause in creating the demand for a language guide like this. This is also implied in Tokutomi’s statement; “the publishing of the book is timely”. Furthermore, Tokutomi expected Hong to be more than just a propagator of language studies:

“Now that Korea is facing a period of great revolution, the fate of the country will be determined within the next ten years. In the future, you [i.e. Hong] should contribute to your mother country with your research, experience and knowledge gained in Japan.” (Hong, 1894. P.3-4)

Although it remains unknown if Hong actually lived up to Tokutomi’s expectations, one can recognize that his research in the field of linguistic study was expected to benefit the nation’s enlightenment.

Regarding the purposes of Korean language guides from this period, Choosengogaku Hitori Annai 朝鮮語学独案内 (December, 1894, 200 pages) stated these more explicitly. The author, Matsuoka Kaoru 松岡馨, wrote that his work was published for the convenience of; “1. military personnel leaving for Korea, and 2. trading merchants”, thus focusing on ‘practical vocabulary’. Despite his ‘limited knowledge’, Matsuoka argued that he compiled the book in haste, due to the ‘pressing need’ to learn the Korean language, by which he probably meant the necessity for Japanese to suppress the Tong-hak Uprising which was ongoing at the time of the publishing.

In addition, we can assume that the demand for these language guides on the part of Japanese involved in Korea increased due to changes in the political climate. While the Shinsen Choosen Kaiwa was published and distributed only in Tokyo, the Choosengogaku Hitori Annai, published four months later, and was distributed also in Osaka. This fact suggests an increasing demand for the Korean language guides among Japanese.

1-3. Works from the Pre-Annexation Period
One of the earliest examples of linguistic collaboration between Koreans and Japanese, the *Kango Taisee* 韓語大成 (596 pages), was published in August of 1905, the year that Korea became a protectorate of Japan. This textbook was “welcomed by beginners in Korean language study, with six editions published in just five years” (Kajii, 1980. P.194), reflecting the increasing demand on the part of Japanese to establish communication with its protectorate country. The author was a Japanese named Itoo Ikichi 伊藤伊吉 (pen-name: *HakutooSanjin* 白頭山人), whose unique background can be assembled as follows:

- From Hamamatsu, Shizuoka Prefecture
- Went to Hokkaidoo while he was young
- One of the first Japanese explorers in Siberia, going deep into the forests in the far north
- From the Amur River, entered the southern side of Mount Paektu (Changbaishan 長白山 in Chinese), where he studied indigenous customs (風土人俗) and researched languages in his spare time away from business.
- Wrote the *Shortcut to Russian-Japanese Conversation* (日露対話捷徑), probably around 1890
- Resided in Korea for more than ten years and was knowledgeable about Korean customs and language

In addition to the unusual background of the author, another outstanding feature of *Kango Taisee* was its various high-profile Korean and Japanese supporters, something which foreshadows the development of linguistic collaboration in the 1920’s. This is evidenced by long and pretentious covers, prefaces and prologues to the *Kango Taisee*. E.g.:

- Title Lettering (題字) by three Japanese (Enomoto Takeaki 楢本武揚, Yofuu Keesuke

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6 Among them, only the Koreans’ titles were revealed. This may have been because the book was published and distributed in Japan, where the readers were more familiar with these Japanese.
7 1836-1908: Politician in the late Edo period. 1858-: Professor at a Marine Training Academy. 1861-66: Studied in Holland and became a Marine General upon returning. 1869.5-1872.5: Imprisoned for escaping from Edo (now Tokyo) to establish a new regime in Hakodate, Hokkaido. 1874-: Ambassador to Russia. 1882: Assisted Itoo Hirobumi to sign a Tenshin Treaty (天津條約). Assigned to various Ministers. Enomoto was an ‘outstanding politician-intellectual’ with his broad knowledge and experiences. (Encyclopedia Japonica. Vol.3. p.170)
Although the number of volumes sold is unknown, one can assume that it was more widely spread compared to the previous language guides because in addition to Tokyo, the *Kango Taisee* was also sold in two other major cities in Japan, Osaka and Kyoto.

Just before annexation (August 29th, 1910), Takahashi Tooru 高橋亭 published his *Kango Bunten* 韓語文典 in June of 1910. Takahashi, who had been living in Korea since 1903 and had dedicated himself to establishing Hansong Public High School (官立漢城高等学校), “had acquired enough Korean ability to converse freely.” (Takahashi, 1909. p.3)

Unlike the authors of the language guides previously examined, who described their knowledge as ‘limited’ (sengaku 浅学), Takahashi confidently claimed his work to be a

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8 (1870-?) Pro-Japanese government official in the late Choson Dynasty. Together with the interpreter Ku Wanhui 具 完喜, branded as ‘traitor’ (Minjok Panyokja 民族反逆者), mainly for signing the Korea-Japan treaty (日韓議定書) in February of 1903. He visited Japan in the following month as an ambassador. Appointed a member of the House of Councilors (中枢院) in 1907. In 1910, he was appointed a member of the JGG House of Councilors (總督府中枢院) and received the title of count (伯爵) from the Japanese government. (Vol.18. P.259)

9 Cho Minhui (1859-?): Civilian official in the late Choson Dynasty. Successful career in the field of Foreign Affairs. Cho was appointed an ambassador to France in 1901, to the United States and to Japan in 1904. His title reached the highest — Chongilp’um (從一品) in August of 1909.

10 1842-1922: Educator ~ politician of Meiji Japan. 1863-: Professor of gunnery (砲術) at Training Academy (講武所). 1868-: Counselor of Shizuoka Prefecture, where he devoted himself to establish schools and farms. 1890-: A member of the House of Representatives. 1895: Established Azabu Junior High School and ran it until later years. Ebara was also a
systematic description of Korean grammar, pointing out that there had been no Korean linguist despite three thousand years of Korean history.\textsuperscript{11} He also lamented the fact that no Japanese had published a Korean grammar book despite the increasing contacts between Korea and Japan. Takahashi stated, however, that the \textit{Kango Bunten} was not completed by his efforts alone. He consulted "five or six Korean intellectuals, to complete the ideas and make the work public." (Takahashi, 1909. p.3) It is safe to assume that this co-operation between Koreans and Japanese on the body of the work—as compared to mere prefaces by Koreans and Japanese showing support in previous works—signaled a new trend as the quality of language guides advanced. This trend developed further after annexation, as will see in the next section.

2. A Forerunner of Korean Language Study Journals in the 1910's: \textit{Choosengo Koogiroku}

The quiet linguistic collaboration between Japanese and Korean in the field of Korean language guides for Japanese became more obvious after annexation. A symbolic example of this was the birth of a new monthly journal, \textit{Choosengo Koogiroku (Lectures on Korean. 1917-1918, average length 100 pages)}. This journal was published in Taegu\textsuperscript{12} for the purpose of "teaching Korean through a correspondence course, in order to make communication between Koreans and Japanese (Naisenjin 內鮮人) smoother and to enhance their friendship." (\textit{Choosengo Koogiroku} Vol.1, last page) It is not too wide of the

dedicated Christian since 1878. (Encyclopedia Japonica. Vol.3. p.171)
\textsuperscript{11} However, this was not entirely true. The Korean \textit{questione della lingua} surfaced after Korea had become a Japanese protectorate in 1905. Linguist-ideologues like Chu Sigyong (1876-1914), the founder of the Korean language movement, began to articulate a nationalist philosophy connecting native Korean language, native Korean script and independence. (King, 1997. p.110) Also, there was Yu Kiljun (1856-1914), an enlightenment-ideologue ~ politician who published \textit{Taehan Munjon (大韓文典)} in 1909.
\textsuperscript{12} A total of six volumes were published in the one year of its existence. It is interesting that this journal was published in Taegu, rather than in Keijoo (now Seoul), the center of colonial culture, where most publishers were concentrated. It is possible that the \textit{Choosengo Kenkyuukai} (editorial members of \textit{Choosengo, 1925-1929}) was aware of this journal and avoided the same title for their grammar book and named it \textit{Choosenbun Choosengo Koogiroku} (Lectures on Korean Literature and Language).
mark to say that Choosengo Koogiroku was similar to the later journal Choosengo of the Choosego Kenkyukai in several respects. For instance, just as Choosengo was concerned with information on the Korean Language Encouragement Exam for JGG agents, the Choosengo Koogiroku included sample questions and answers for the Exam for Regular Civilian Officer Interns (Futsuu Bunkan Minarai Shiken 普通文官見習試験) which was first held in September, 1911. This exam was a specific incentive for JGG officials, who became readers of the Choosengo Koogiroku. Hence, as well as being one of the early examples of linguistic collaboration between Koreans and Japanese, this journal was also an early sign of JGG Korean language study linked directly with promotion in the Japanese colonial hierarchy.

2-1. The Choosengo Kooshuukai 朝鮮語講習会

Readers (subscribers) of the Choosengo Koogiroku were automatically counted as members of the Choosengo Kooshuukai, which was directed by a Japanese named Kikukawa Keeun 菊川溪雲, just as Itoo Kandoo directed Choosengo. Writers for the journal were both Japanese and Korean ‘instructors’, a point which also paralleled Choosengo, although on a smaller scale, as shown below.

**Choosengo Kooshuukai Instructors**

Shin Sŏngnin 申錫麟, Councilor 参与官 from North Kyongsang Province
Hizatsuki Masukichi 滕付益吉, Interpreter Official (通訳官) at Taegu Supreme Court
Kwŏn Chungik 權重翼, Superintendent (警視) from the North Kyongsang Police Department
Yun P’il-o 尹弼五, Superintendent (警視) from the North Kyongsang Police Department

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13 The third exam was carried out in October of 1914. There were also Standard Civilian Official Exam (文官普通試験) and Exam for Higher Official Intern (判任官見習試験) which were held in September and December of 1912 for the first time, respectively. (Kikukawa, 1917)

14 This list of names was ordered according to the importance of their titles.
The titles of these instructors tell us that the authors of the journal were all JGG employees who were actually practicing their bilingual abilities at the time they were compiling the journal. Their backgrounds were reflected in the diversity and practicality of the contents of the journal Choosengo Koogiroku. Given the fact that more JGG officials were mobilized for Japan’s colonial enterprise under governor general Terauchi in the 1910’s, the demand for a language guide of this kind must have been increasing. This explains why the journal was welcomed as ‘the Gospel in the field of Korean language 鮮語界の大福音書’ that was “immediately available for practical purposes.”

2-2. Kikukawa Keeun 菊川渓雲

The chief of the Kooshuukai, Kikukawa Keeun, is as much a mystery as Itoo Kandoo, in that his biography remains unknown. At least we know that Kikukawa was a JGG employee in the Police Department. Given that all of the six members (Koreans and Japanese, three of each) were practicing JGG officers in Taegu, one can expect the journal to have a practical nature. For instance, because of the nature of Kikukawa’s police-related duties that were closely tied to maintaining general peace and order in Korea, Kikukawa’s expression of his motivation was more explicitly political compared to that of Yi Wanung, the director of Choosengo. In the preface to the first volume, Kikukawa reasoned the necessity for Korean language study and stated the frustrating reality of textbooks as follows:

15 Just like Kandoo, Keeun is an eccentric given name for a Japanese. Thus, it is possible that Keeun was a pen-name.
16 Kikukawa stated; “in the insanely busy life of working as a police officer, I came to contribute to this association……” (Choosengo Koogiroku, Vol.1. p.2)
17 In addition, Kikukawa lamented that many Japanese learners of Korean give up their studies too easily; “many discontinue study after one or two months, because some are discouraged by the difficulty of Korean pronunciation; some consider Korean (Sengo 鮮語) insignificant and some are bored with difficult memorization.” Ironically, this situation never dramatically improved, as will become clear in the next chapter.
...Especially, regarding 15,000,000 new brothers [i.e. Koreans], we cannot expect to guide them, become close to them and assimilate them as a new Yamato Race (Japanese) without understanding the [Korean] language. Although the premise of assimilation is to make Koreans learn Japanese, the reality does not allow us to hope for it in a short period of time. Koreans and Japanese should be knowledgeable of each other’s language, to make use of it for harmonization. Nonetheless, few [Korean] language guides published nowadays are suitable for Korean language learners, confusing learners by using kana for expressing pronunciation. Thus, to alleviate such impracticality and confusion, I am publishing this Koogiroku which is practical, simple and easy to use for self-teaching....

‘Despite many drop-outs in the six months correspondence course’, Kikukawa stated in the closing remarks in the last issue, Choosengo Koogiroku fulfilled its original goal ‘thanks to the instructors and the help of government officials’. At the same time, however, he admitted the incompleteness of the journal and the necessity for further research. This vision of Kikukawa was to be achieved by a different Korean linguistic journal on a much larger scale—Choosengo, which was published a decade later and was administered by a much larger grouping of motivated Koreans and Japanese.

3. Dissecting the Choosengo Kenkyuuukai 朝鮮語研究会—Yet Another ‘Korean Language Research Association’

The editorial committee of the journal Choosengo was called the ‘Choosengo Kenkyuuukai 朝鮮語研究会’ (Korean Language Research Association) and its office was located on Taihee street (太平通り), now Taep’yŏngno 2-ga (太平路二街), Seoul.

I hasten to add here that a careful distinction is necessary since there was another organization with the same name ‘Chosono Younguhoe 朝鮮語研究会’ at the time. This

19 Originally it was located at ‘Oogon-Cho 黃金町3丁目’ (Former Donghyon-dong) and was moved to Taep’yŏngno in May of 1926 when they expanded their business by establishing the Choosen Shisoo Tsuushinsa 朝鮮思想通信社 (Korean Thoughts News Reports).
association was launched by fifteen or sixteen Korean (Korean language) teachers on December 3rd of 1921. It is better known as the precursor of the Han’gül Hakhoe (Korean Language Research Society in Japanese) which is famous for the ‘Han’gül Hakhoe Incident’ of October, 1942 and is now known as the most prominent, most nationalist linguistic grouping of the colonial period.

The story of this more famous ‘Chosono Yonguhoe (later Han’gül Hakhoe) is one of the highlights in the history of colonized Korea’s struggle for independence and is often associated with the heroic acts of Korean nationalist-intellectuals. In particular, it is common practice for Korean linguists to claim that Korea’s first linguistic journal was ‘Han’gül’, started by this (other) ‘Chosonŏ Yŏnguhoe’. Nonetheless, as far as the starting date is concerned, this is not true. The journal ‘Han’gül’ started two years after the appearance of the journal ‘Choosengo’, in February of 1927.

3-1. The First Mystery of the Choosengo Kenkyuukai (Korean Language Research Association)

Printed on the first page of the first volume, the preface (Gendai 言題) outlines the motivation for launching the journal Choosengo:

“The status of the Korean language in our nation is now so significant that we cannot express its significance in one word. Indeed, it is a duty for us—Japanese in Korea—to clarify the roots and changes (of the Korean language), and to have a broad command of it, a notion which nobody would oppose.

Moreover, how pathetic it has been not to have a single journal on this topic! How can we expect the development and spread of the Korean language, even if one spends years researching a certain word, when there is no place to present the results or discuss it on paper?

20 Including: Yi Yunjae, Ch’oe Hyŏnbae (who also contributed articles to Choosengo), Yi Hŭistŏng, Chang Chiyŏng, Yi Sangch’un and Sin Myŏnggyun
21 Due to the JGG’s accusation of ‘anti-Japanese activities aiming at independence’, thirteen members were imprisoned and two of them died in prison. (Dong-A Encyclopedia, Vol.25)
22 ‘Han’gül’ temporarily suspended publication in October of 1928. After changing the name of the association to the ‘Han’gül Hakhoe’ in January of 1931, they resumed publishing the journal in May, 1932 until it was suspended again in October, 1942 by the Han’gül Hakhoe Incident.
We can no longer stand this loneliness. Let us publish something!

Itoo, why don’t you create something that is both inexpensive and interesting and enables us to learn Korean?

Thus this journal was born.

I wonder if we can come up with a journal that lives up to these goals...”

(Choosengo Vol.1. p.1)

This unsigned preface, written in perfect Japanese, begs a number of questions. Who wrote this preface in perfect Japanese, and who was the “Itoo kun”23 he mentioned? If this author was a Korean with good command of Japanese, how did he build a partner/friendship with a Japanese person ‘Mr. Itoo’? Or, was ‘Mr. Itoo’ really a Japanese, and not an early example of a Korean who had adopted a Japanese name?

3-2. The Editorial Members of Choosengo—The Choosengo Kenkyuuukai

While the Chosonŏ Hakhoe (later Han’gul Hakhoe) consisted of Korean scholars only, the Choosengo Kenkyuuukai included both Japanese and Korean members, which implies the linguistic collaboration between the two. We should also note that this latter association had more members than the more famous Chosonŏ Hakhoe. Thus, the backgrounds of the Choosengo Kenkyuuukai members were much more diverse, a fact which enabled the journal Choosengo to achieve a greater diversity in its articles. Although some names are redundant with the section in the previous chapter where I introduced the contents of the journal, this diversity is seen in the following list of Choosengo Kenkyuuukai members:

Members of the Choosengo Kenkyuuukai24 (alphabetical order)

23 The Japanese suffix “-Kun” is used when referring to a close friend of one’s own age or to a younger person.

24 Besides, there were numerous anonymous writers with apparent pen-names. I.e; 黒井恕堂 (Vol. 10—‘The Origin of Onmun’), 白岳山人 (Vol.6—‘Rare Korean Names’), ‘A writer’ (一記者) of Choosengo Kenkyuuukai, ‘A certain exam committee member (某試験委員)’, along with readers’ letters in editorials, Q and A sections, and in occasional special sections on ‘exam passers’ voices’.
• Cho Kanghűi (趙 岡熙): Chief of Daily Times (時代日報) politics section
• Chong Ch'angsoop (鄭 昌燮): [No information found]
• Ch'oe Pokhwa (崔 福華): Teacher at Keijoo Women's School (京城女子公普)
• Ch'oe Hyŏnbæ (崔 鉴培): Sessional at Yonhui Professional School (also a leading member of the other Korean language research association, Han'gul Hakhoe) (Vol.24, 28)
• Fujinami Yoshinuki (藤波 義貫): JGG official interpreter (朝鮮總督府通訳官)
• Fujiwara Yoshizoo (藤原 喜蔵): Chief of the Korean Language Exam Committee (朝鮮語試験委員長)
• Inaba Kunzan (稲葉 君山): JGG historian (修史官) (Vol.38)
• Inaba Suun (稲葉 栩雲): Toan (道安) Public School (Vol.38)
• Itoo Kandoo (伊藤 韓堂): Choosengo Kenkyukai Director (主幹)
• Nishimura Shintaroo (西村 真太郎): JGG official interpreter (朝鮮總督府通訳官)
• Kasai Yoshinaga (葛西 悦永): Principal at Wajun Doofuku Public School (和順和福公普)
• Kim Minsik (金 汝植): [No information found] (Vol.14)
• Kim Wanjin (金 完真): JGG Kyonghagwon26 Sasong (經学院司成)
• Kwŏn Tokgyu (權 惠奎)27: [No information found] (Vol. 22, 29)
• Ogura Shinpei (小倉進平): Professor at Keijoo Imperial University
• Pak Jaesu (朴 在洙): Assistant Professor at Police School
• Pak Sanghŭi (朴 尚僖): Maeil Sinbo (每日新聞) Writer
• Pak Sŏngbin (朴 勝彬): Lawyer / Linguist and later publisher of Chong'um (Vol.25)

25 Fujiwara later became governor of South P'yŏngan Province. He was in the position from 1931.9 to 1935.10. (History of 25 Years of Rule, JGG)
26 The Kyonghagwon is none other than the Songgyun'gwan Academy found today on the grounds of Songgyun'gwan University. The Japanese gave this name to the Choson dynasty Confucian academy, the Songgyun'gwan (成均館). They also ran a school there which focused on teaching Confucianism. This was all part of the Japanese strategy to claim that they and the Koreans shared certain values and beliefs, particularly those found in Confucianism. It also allowed them to portray themselves as defenders of East Asian tradition against such ‘evil people’ as the Communists who were fighting for Korean independence.
27 Han'gul Hakhoe member who had a similar name was Kwon Tokki (權 惠基).
According to Tanaka's recollection, he once held an official post under the Yi dynasty. (Chuutoo Choosengo Kooza Vol.2 p.1)

(1891-1968): Graduated from Hansong Normal School in 1913, where he learned Korean grammar from Chu Sigyŏng in 1912. Director of Korean Literature Research Association (朝鮮語文研究会) launched in 1921 with Kwon Tokgyu (權 惟奎), who was also a member of Choosengo Kenkyuukai. Yi Pyonggi came to be interested in Sijo (a kind of short lyric poem) since he started teaching in high schools and launched Sijo Association in 1926. Yi was arrested for the Han’gulHakhoe Incident in 1942. From 1946 to 1956, he taught at a few universities including the Seoul National University.

O Yunjŏk (1868-1935) studied at Keio University in Tokyo, Japan. After returning to Korea, he held various official government positions including ambassador to Japan (報聘大使 還行員) and consolate-general in 1904. O became chair of the Publication Bureau of the Ministry of Education and played an important role in establishing the National Script Research Institute (国文研究所). As a committee member of this same institute, he put his efforts into the ‘unification of the national language’. He shared some ideas with Chu Sigyong 周時経, early modern Korea’s most famous grammarian. In 1908, he became principal of National Hansong Normal School 官立漢城師範學校 and Hansong Girls High School 漢城高等女學校. As well as being a semi-member 副參議 of the House of Councilors 中枢院 and a member of the Korean History Compilation Committee 朝鮮史編纂委員, he became a lecturer at Keijoo Imperial University Law School (法文法科) in 1910. In 1927, he was appointed councilor (參與官) of Kyonggi Province.
Astonishingly, the *Choosengo Kenkyuukai* included a few renowned Japanese and Korean linguists. Despite the fact that the journal itself has been forgotten, we find among its members renowned Japanese and Korean linguists who are well remembered in modern day Korea and Japan—Ogura Shinpei (小倉進平)\(^{31}\), Pak Sŭngbin (朴 勝彬)\(^{32}\) and Ch’oe Hyŏnbae (崔 鉱培). The membership of Ch’oe in particular is unexpected because he is famous for his reputation as a nationalist-linguist ideologue—a profile that does not fit the pro-Japanese characteristics of *Choosengo*. It is true, though, that except for these linguists, little is known about most members. Although I am unable to elaborate the biographies of each unfamiliar individual of the *Choosengo Kenkyuukai*, I attempt to assemble some fragmentary information below so as to shed light on the backgrounds of several members as case studies, including the Japanese ‘Itoo Kandboxo 伊藤韓堂’ and Korean linguist Yi Wanŭng 李 完応—the two central figures who started and ran the *Choosengo Kenkyuukai*.

3-3. **Yi Wanŭng 李 完応 (1887-?)**

To begin with Yi Wanŭng, there are two references (Korean and Japanese). These are Kim Minsu’s description in the *Great Encyclopedia of Korean Race and Culture* 韓国民族文化大百科事典 and the ‘brief introduction of the authors’ at the end of a publication by the *Choosengo Kenkyuukai’s* branch, the *Choosen Shisoo Tsuushinsha* (Korean Thoughts Report 朝鮮思想通信社).\(^{33}\) (cited in Kajii, 1980)

After correlating these two sources and compensating for their contradictions, Yi Wanŭng’s

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\(^{31}\) Ogura contributed articles on Korean dialects in Volumes 16, 18, and 19.

\(^{32}\) Pak Sŭngbin (1880-1943): Studied law at Chuuoo University (中央大学) in Japan before 1910 and became a law officer (法官) after returning to Korea. He was principal of Posŏng Professional School (普成専門学校, now Koryo University) from 1925 to 1932; he lectured on Korean linguistics there and at Hyehwa Professional School (惠化専門学校, now Tongguk 外国 University). (Morita, 1987. P.360)

\(^{33}\) Yi and Itoo began this project in 1926 and supposedly started a daily report called “*Choosen Shisoo Tsuushin* (Korean Thoughts Report)”.

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career appears to have been as follows:

1887: Born in Seoul, to the Chŏnju (全州) Yi clan
1901: Graduated from public elementary school
1905: Graduated from public junior high school
1906-1910.8: Assigned as a teacher to the public junior high school he graduated from.
1910.9-: Hansŏng Foreign Language School teacher 漢城外国語学校
1911.8-1925: upon the announcement of the First Provisions for Korean Education (1911.8.23), became a Korean language teacher at Keijoo High School (Keijoo Koofu 京城高等普通学校).
1925-: designated head of Chooseno Kenkyuukai and started the journal Chooseno.
Wrote a Korean grammar in Japanese in Record of Lectures on Korean Literature and Language (Choosenbun Chooseno Koogiroku 朝鮮文朝鮮語講義録)
1926.4: published Pronunciation and Grammar of Korean through the Chooseno Kenkyuukai.
1929: published Korean Grammar for Junior High Curriculum (中等教科朝鮮語文典), which supplemented the Pronunciation and Grammar of Korean (1926) (authored in collaboration with the Chooseno Kenkyuukai.) This work was widely used as the first high school textbook of Korean officially permitted by the JGG. (Yi was forty-two years old at this point.)

In addition, according to the Choosen Shisoo Tsuushinsha (Korean Thoughts Report 朝鮮思想通信社—cited in Kajii, 1980), Yi became an official interpreter (Honyakukan 翻訳官) after graduating from high school in 1906 until 1910. Thus, one can assume that, as well as teaching at his public junior high school, Yi assisted the Japanese residency-general with his bilingual abilities during the four years of the pre-annexation period.

In the preface to Yi’s work of 1926 (probably his Pronunciation and Grammar of Korean), Kim Minsu argues, Yi wrote of his resolve to dedicate himself to the development of the Korean language and thus it would appear he was a leading figure in teaching Korean
to Japanese in Korea (Naichijn 内地人).

Indeed, Yi was teaching Korean to JGG officials earnestly. The principal of the Sinyang (新陽) Public School in Yesan (礼山), Ch'ungnam Province—Nagamine Tokuzoo—thanked Yi ‘Sensei’ profoundly for enabling him to pass the second level of the second degree. Nagamine claims himself as the eighth graduate of a training center for temporary teachers attached to Keijoo High School (京城高等普通学校付設临时教员养成所), where Yi Wanung was teaching Korean everyday. Assigned to a rural school without any Japanese speakers around him, Nagamine appreciated Yi Sensei for his Korean instruction, as Nagamine was favored by Korean parents for his Korean language ability. (Choosengo Vol.17. 1927.2. p.60)

Other articles in the special editorial sections of the journal Choosengo provide us with a vivid picture of the interaction between Yi and his Japanese students. Odaka Yootaroo, a customs officer in Úiju (義州) who passed the second degree Korean language exam in December of 1926, describes his Korean language classes as follows:

“In particular, it was greatly impressive to me that the atmosphere of the people was warm and friendly and the relationship between the teachers and pupils was affectionate.” (Choosengo Vol.17. 1927.2.10 p.64)

Likewise, Obara Kunio, who enrolled at a training center for temporary high school teachers in 1917, remembers Yi Wanung Sensei’s enthusiastic and skillful way of teaching Korean. Thanks to this, he found himself becoming interested in Korean before he even knew it and wrote: “I miss the old days in the training center very much.” (Choosengo Vol.17. p.65)

Despite the fact that Yi was thanked by quite a few Japanese for his Korean instruction, it is impossible to trace Yi’s life after 1929 (the year that the journal Choosengo ceased its publication) and Kim Minsu states that the details of Yi’s later years are completely unknown. This sudden disappearance of Yi puzzles us, since it is incomprehensible for various reasons: In his position as an enthusiastic Korean language instructor in the JGG Police Academy, Yi is unlikely to have been maltreated—one would expect that his position was at least better than most Koreans in terms of salary and prestige. Above all, Yi was a highly motivated individual, having inaugurated Choosengo with Itoo and been actively involved in the journal. The possible reasons for Yi’s disappearance shall be examined in greater detail in the next chapter, where I attempt to track the contradictions.
in JGG Korean language study.

3-4. **Itoo Kandoo** 伊藤韓堂

Although the year of Itoo’s birth is not known, one can assume that Itoo was born in the late 1890’s. Judging from the casual way Yi addresses him in the preface to the inaugural issue of the journal *Choosengo*, Itoo was probably the same age or a close contemporary of Yi Wanung (1887-?).

First, note that his given name ‘Kandoo 韓堂’ is unusual for a Japanese. In particular, the character for Kan ‘韓’ (meaning ‘Korea’ as in Kankoku 韓國) is hardly used in Japanese names, which, at first blush, makes one suspect he was one of the earliest pro-Japanese Koreans who created a new Japanese-style name. However, it seems reasonable to consider ‘Itoo Kandoo’ a Japanese who had good command of Korean for the following reasons.

On the last pages of the journal, it is printed that the editor / publisher of the journal *Choosengo* was Itoo Uzaburoo 伊藤卯三郎. Thus, ‘Itoo Kandoo’ may have been Itoo Uzaburoo’s penname.

The Korean linguist Yi Huisung 李熙昇 states,

“*A Japanese* person Itoo Kandoo established an identically named Choosengo Kenkyuukai (as a precursor of our Han’gul Hakhoe),\(^{34}\) taught Korean to Japanese and was publishing a monthly journal *Choosengo Kenkyuui*.\(^{35}\)

(Yi, 1977. P.71)\(^{36}\)

In addition, Itoo was described as a ‘Pusang’in (扶桑人, man from the east)—i.e.

\(^{34}\) Yi argues it was inconvenient to have two identically named associations in the same city (i.e. confusion of mail). To avoid this confusion, Yi and his colleagues decided to change their society’s name to the ‘Chosono Hakhoe’ (朝鮮語学会) on January 10\(^{th}\) of 1931. (Yi, 1977. P.71)

\(^{35}\) The title of the journal is a mistake for *Choosengo*.

\(^{36}\) I find the distance Yi maintains between him and Itoo odd because Yi was in fact contributing an article to another publication of *Choosengo Kenkyuukai, Chuutoo Choosengo Kooza* (中等朝鮮語講座) which was still directed by Itoo. (1931. Vol.3, pp.15-18)
Japanese— as opposed to ‘Kunt’omin (柵士民’ a man in the land of althea)—i.e. a Korean—by Ch’oe Yongnyon 崔永年 (1856-1935), a Korean scholar we will examine in detail later.

Maybe because Itoo carefully edited on purpose, I have been unable to locate any biographical data on Itoo Kandoo or Itoo Uzaburoo thus far. There is not a single line that enables us to trace his life or personality in all forty volumes of the journal except for two letters that were addressed to Itoo, which carve Itoo’s association into at least some vague relief.

One of these letters reveals that Itoo was involved with a pro-Japanese political figure, Yi Wanyong (李完用 1858-1926). Yi Wanyong, who is branded as one of the ‘seven public enemies’ (Ch’il jok 七賊) for agreeing to the Protectorate Treaty in 1905 and for signing the Annexation Treaty in 1910, sent a warning letter (警告文) to Itoo Uzaburoo in April, 1919. This letter was made public by Itoo in the journal Choosengo Vol.6 (1926.3) upon Yi’s death on February 12th, 1926. It appears to have been a warning to Japanese to guard themselves against anti-Japanese rioters, obviously participants in the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919. Unfortunately, the small print in the duplication does not allow us to follow the contents of the letter in greater detail. Nonetheless, the fact that an important pro-Japanese politician sent a personal letter to Itoo and that Itoo mourned Yi’s death enables us to imagine a deep, personal connection between the two.

Another clue can be found in an article by Ch’oe Yongnyon 崔永年. This article takes the form of a letter from Ch’oe to Itoo Kandoo and starts by explaining how he became associated with Itoo:

“What a quirk of fate it was, the distance of thousands of miles (between Japan and Korea) was bridged. We (Itoo and I) happened to work together in the Ōnmun section (諺文部) of the Choson News (朝鮮新聞社) for four to five years. We also worked together at the Maeil News (每日申報) for four to five years. For more than ten years in total, we kept company with each other just like genuine brothers.

Hence, at least we know that Itoo resided in Korea and worked as a journalist with Korean

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37 Pusangkuk (朴桑国) is an imaginary country in Chinese legends thought to exist in the eastern sea.
38 There are some references to Yi Wanung by Japanese policemen writing in the journal, too.
colleagues for a decade. In the next section, we will attempt to shed light on a part of Itoo’s connections by examining who this author ‘Ch’oe’ – a best friend of Itoo — was.

3-5. Ch’oe Yongnyon 催永年 (1856-1935) Pon’gwan: Kyongju

Although Ch’oe himself is not widely recognized as a major historical figure, Ch’oe is better known for his poetry collection *Haedongchukji* 海東竹枝 (explained below). Thus, references to him appear mainly in Kim Sangjin’s explanation of this work and in Chon Kwang’yong’s piece on Ch’oe’s son, Ch’oe Ch’ansik 催讃植, in the *Great Encyclopedia of Korean Race and Culture*. We can distill the following:

- Civilian exam passer (文臣), journalist (論人) and a calligrapher (書芸家) in the late Choson Dynasty, during the enlightenment period (Kaehwagi 開化期) of the country.
- Penname: Maehasanin 梅下山人.
- Established Sihung School (時興學校) in Kwangju in 1897.
  
  Author of *Haedongchukji* 海東竹枝 (1925)  
  - Father of Ch’oe Ch’ansik 催讃植, the author of the ‘new novel 新小說’ *Ch’uwolsaek 秋月色* (1912)
  - Organized the *Imperial News* (Cheguk Sinmun 帝国新聞)  

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39 Traditionally, Korean government officials (Munsin 文臣 and Musin 武臣) were civil service exam (Kwagŏ 科舉) passers.

40 A compilation of poems in Classical Chinese which was edited by Song Sun’lung 宋淳陵 and corrected by Kim Pyongch’ae 金柄采. There are 68 poems in Volume I, 111 in Volume II and 128 in Volume III. Preface (卷頭序文) by Yun Hŭiyŏng 尹喜永, Title lettering (題字) by Yun Manjo 尹万朝.

41 Ch’oe Ch’ansik (1881-1951): Penname *Haedongch’oin/Tongch’o* (海東樵人/東樵). He studied New Studies (Sinhakmun 新學問) at his father’s school (Sihŭng School 時興學校). Other representative works of his are; *An* (雅) ui *Song* (聲) (1914), *Kŭmgangmun* 金剛門 (1914), *Tohwawan* 桃花園 (1916), *Nŭngardo* 綾羅島 (1919) and *Ch’umong* 春夢 (1924). His works helped establish the foundations of the modern Korean ‘New Novel 新小説’. (Chon Kwang’yong, the *Great Encyclopedia of Korean Race and Culture*)

42 All-Korean (Han’gul) newspaper with many society-enlightening articles. Other major
Except for the fact that Ch’oe’s involvement in the *Imperial News* makes us suspect a possible connection with representatives of imperial Japanese authority, Kim Sangjin’s information suggests that Ch’oe was a high government official who was well versed in Classical Chinese and literature, and uninvolved in politics. However, besides being a literatus, Ch’oe in fact had another existence, missing from accounts of Kim Sangjin and Chon Kwang’yong on Ch’oe. A clue revealing this missing half of Ch’oe’s life is to be found in the journal *Choosengo*.

In a short response attached to Ch’oe’s ‘admirably well-versed’ letter, Itoo introduced Ch’oe as follows,

“As a director (総務) of the Ilchinhoe—進会 (Advancement Society)," [Umeshita Sensei 梅下先生] supported Yi Yonggwu 李容九 and participated actively in annexation behind the scenes. Later, he devoted himself not to misguide the fate of the Korean masses by wielding his pen as chair and Editor-in-Chief (社長兼主筆) of the ‘People’s Newspaper 国民新聞’ and as Editor-in-Chief (主筆) of the ‘Korean Newspaper 朝鮮文朝鮮新聞’. The name Maeha Ch’oe Yongnyon (梅下催永年) must not be forgotten for those who pursue Korean modern history.”

Apparently, the *Choosengo Kenkyuuukai* director Itoo Kandoo included this Classical Chinese expert, Ch’oe, among the core members of the journal. Ch’oe states:

“My senior (Itoo) established the Korean Language Research Association last year and included me….” (*Choosengo* Vol. 1. p.114)

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newspapers during the pre-annexation period were; *Imperial Palace News* 皇城新聞, *Great Korea Daily* 大韓每日申報 (later 每日申報) and *Manse News* 万歳報. They were affiliated with the Korean nationalist movement linked with the save-and-enlighten the country movement (救国啓蒙運動), and were occasionally suppressed by the Japanese. (Chong, 1993. p.108-9)

43 The Ilchinhoe 一進会 (1904-10) was allied with the Chinbo-hoe (Association of Progress 進歩会, a pro-Japanese force of the Tonghak-Faction 東学党), and was led by Yi Yonggwu 李容九.
According to Itoo's plan, Ch'oe was supposed to contribute to the journal in the field of 'History of Korean Literature (朝鮮文章史)' although this never happened due to Ch’oe's health problems. To at least show his support for the journal, however, Ch’oe in his sick bed wrote a few pages to Itoo in the inaugural issue of Choosengo, thus allowing us to locate Ch’oe's standpoint to some extent.

After explaining how he became closely acquainted with Itoo as colleague journalists, Ch’oe deplored the ineffectiveness of Japan's biggest concern — assimilation policy. He claimed the cause of the ineffectiveness to be miscommunication between Koreans and Japanese speakers. According to Ch’oe, a collision of resentments (憎悪心奮突) and continuous antipathy (反感情緒至) between the two were due to language barriers (言語不通). Thus, Ch’oe argued in his letter that there was a necessity to learn Korean, particularly for: 1. Policemen, 2. Teachers, 3. Businessmen, 4. Higher/standard government officials and 5. workers — and advocated the establishment of a Korean language school for Japanese.

Hence, Ch’oe subsequently stated that his respected senior (i.e. Itoo)'s establishment of the Korean Language Studies Association was "fortunate and a blessing for the sake of assimilation".

The reason Ch’oe congratulated the launching of the journal is well represented in the following statement;

".........Traditionally, there had been no linguistic studies in Korea. I had always been considering this a great shame......Thus, I anticipate Choosengo will have long-lasting efficacious effects (瞌々長遠 han 勢果 ui 効果)". (Choosengo Vol.1. p.115)

Indeed, the journal Choosengo that concerns us in this thesis was academic enough

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44 Choosengo started in 1925, ten years before Ch’oe died in 1935.
45 In addition, it is evident that Itoo was one of the first Japanese to see Ch’oe’s work Haedongchukji, as Ch’oe attached it to the letter to Itoo immediately after the work was completed, asking for Itoo’s favorable comments. (Choosengo, p.116)
46 We are unable to see the entire letter since it was censored as follows: “...[Itoo and I were] just like genuine brothers, we never forgot [each other]. Alas, why in the world (272 characters deleted).” (p.114) Itoo explained he censored this part because “it was inapppropriate to show to others”. (p.116)
47 Ch’oe described that they were slandering each other as ‘spaga (Japanese: baka—stupid)’, ‘yobo (derogatory term for ‘Koreans’)’ and ‘waenom (Jap)’. (Choosengo Vol.1. p.114)
to be called a genuine ‘linguistic’ journal. The Choosengo Kenkyuukai declares its goal as “research on and spread of Korean texts and language”. It is safe to assume that Ch’oe expected the journal Choosengo to be a breakthrough in Korean linguistic studies, and that he hoped thereby to overcome Korea’s inferiority complex in the linguistic field. It is imaginable that Ch’oe thought, “why not welcome the journal Choosengo, which is an expression of Japanese’ interest in Korean language and culture, cultivate linguistic studies in Korea, and provide a solution for the miscommunication between the two”.

Such an ambition was perhaps common among the Korean members of the journal, which drove quite a few Korean intellectuals (including those who were believed to be nationalists) to co-operate with the journal Choosengo as members of the Choosengo Kenkyuukai. However, such a motive on the part of Koreans was destined to face a contradiction later as the JGG’s true intentions about its employees’ Korean language studies became more obvious.

3-6. Pak Sanghui (朴 尚僖), Yun T’aedong (尹 泰東) and Yuk Toch’on (陸 漏川)

The exact identity of many of the Korean members of the Choosengo Kenkyuukai seems to be consigned to oblivion. Their deep involvement with Japanese language and people, however, is deserving of more attention. In order to elaborate on the question of who these Koreans were, I will sample three Korean individuals in this section.

Pak Sanghui was a writer for the pro-Japanese newspaper Maeil Sinbo (毎日申報) and an interpreter. His ability as a Korean/Japanese interpreter was recognized as one of the most advanced bilingual personnel of the time. In a Choosengo article titled ‘Responses to the Questionnaire—the Best Interpreter’, Pak Sanghui was called a ‘genius interpreter’ both by Japanese and Koreans (Choosengo Vol.1, p.58). It was in part this advanced Japanese ability that allowed Pak later to become a special

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48 The JGG allowed only pro-Japanese newspapers and journals such as the Keijoo Daily 京城日報, the Maeil Shinbo 毎日申報 and the Korea Press 朝鮮公論. (Chŏng, 1993. P.114)
49 However, there was no evidence that Pak was employed by the JGG.
50 A Japanese employee in the Ministry of Education 文部省嘱託, Hosoi Kei 細井聰, Pak Yonggil 朴栄吉 (Governor of Kangwon Province <1924.12-1926.8> and Hamgyŏng Province <1926.8-1927.5>) and Sŏk Chinhyang 石真衡 (Governor of Chŏlla Province)
news reporter in Tokyo when the *Choosengo Kenkyuukai* expanded its enterprise into *Korean Thoughts Report* (Choose Shisoo Tsuushin 朝鮮思想通信).\(^{51}\)

Another lesser-known Korean member of the *Choosengo Kenkyuukai* was Yun T'aedong 尹泰東. Yun did not seem to be successful as a writer (文學者) and was only an assistant instructor (助手) at Keijoo Imperial University. But, unexpectedly, he had a connection with the leading Japanese linguist, Tokieda Motoki 時枝誠記 (1900-1967). Tokieda, who taught “Kokugo Kokubungaku (國語國文學 National language and Literature)” at the university from 1927 in the National Language and Literature Department (Hoobungakubu Kokugo Kokubun Gakka 法文學部國語國文科科) at Keijoo Imperial University (1927-1943) in Seoul,\(^{52}\) wrote:

“[Before leaving for Korea] I visited the residence of Mr. Yun T'aedong, who was from the Korean peninsula and was my high school senior.\(^{53}\) [From him,] I learned the reading and writing of *Onmun* (Korean scripts) and Korean culture. Then I left Tokyo…….”\(^{54}\)


Although it is not clear when Yun went to Japan, it is safe to assume that Yun stayed in Japan until he finished secondary education there, where Yun absorbed the atmosphere of Japanese academia and became connected with Japanese intellectuals. After returning to Korea around 1925, he became involved in the journal *Choosengo*. This is further evidence of the close relationship between *Choosengo Kenkyuukai* members and Japanese higher

\(^{51}\) They created another company named ‘*Choose Shisoo Tsuushinsha* 朝鮮思想通信社’ for this new business.

\(^{52}\) Associate Professor, 1927-1932. Professor, 1933-1942. One should not overlook the importance of this lone imperial university in Japan’s Korean colony. Despite its grandiosesounding premise—“Educating Korea for Koreans’ sake”—it was fully administered by Japanese intellectuals and bureaucrats.

\(^{53}\) The Sixth High School 甲第高等学校 in Tokyo.

\(^{54}\) This statement is fascinating since in his works Tokieda hardly ever referred to Korea, the Korean language or anything Korean; since his sixteen years of research life in Korea was “after all tightly connected with language problems [and JGG’s language policies] in Korea, …thus, I could not help withdrawing and confining myself in the ivory tower” (Tokieda, 1947. Cited in Yasuda, 1997. P.44) Also in the studies of Tokieda, his stay in Seoul for as long as fourteen years is hardly elaborated on neither by Japanese or Koreans, while his theory of Japanese grammar is repeatedly studied.
authority/academic figures. Considering the close relationship between Yun and Tokieda, it seems likely that Tokieda would have been aware of the journal *Choosengo* while in Seoul, at Keijoo Imperial University.

In addition, considering the Japanese affiliation of many Korean authors of *Choosengo*—the journal itself was created by Japanese and Koreans—it is possible that some articles in *Choosengo* were the product of co-operation between Koreans and Japanese. For example, Yuk Toch’ŏn (陸 濤川), who focused on the indigenous aspects of Korean folklore as related to the Korean language, contributed articles on the dialect of Namwŏn 南原, North Cholla Province. Yuk apparently consulted Japanese colleagues for his translation. For his article on indigenous Korean lullabies, Yuk thanked his ‘best friend, Yamada Morifusa’, who passed the first level, second degree (第二種一等) Korean Language Encouragement Exam. (Vol.7.p.95) Yuk also stated that a certain research article was examined by Mr. Andoo (安藤先生).55

4. Linguistic Collaboration in Japanese’ Korean Language Study

In sum, there had been Japanese and Korean individuals who expressed their collaborative efforts in the form of Korean language guides since the turn of the century. While the earlier publications tended to be disorganized, superficial and on a much smaller scale, they became more comprehensive and systematic as the quality of the books advanced in the 1920’s. This is seen especially in the appearance of the monthly linguistic journal *Choosengo* of the *Choosengo Kenkyūkai*, the largest Korean language research association of the colonial period, which included Korean and Japanese members. Throughout the period, however, these Korean language study guides and projects received the support and interest of high-profile figures—Korean and Japanese intellectuals, JGG officials and politicians. In addition, there were numerous unknown Koreans who participated in and contributed to Japanese colonial agents’ Korean language studies. The statuses and classes of these Koreans varied widely from renowned linguist, higher JGG officials and teachers, whom Japanese learners referred to as Sensei (Mr.-), to local Koreans

55 This was perhaps Andoo Kesaichi (安藤袈裟一), chief police officer of Kyonggi province. Andoo was one of the censors for the *Korean Textbook Exclusively for Policemen* 警察官専用朝鮮語教範 attached to some volumes of *Choosengo*, including volume 5.
~ senjin (derogatory term for ‘Korean’). Hence, we can conclude that the reality of linguistic collaboration between Korean and Japanese was much more pervasive than it is believed today, disproving the established myth of ‘Ch’ililp’a’ (親日派 collaborators) consisting only of high-profile Koreans who ‘sold out’ the country at the expense of the Korean ‘masses’.
Chapter 5. Conclusions – Impasse of the Korean Language Study Paradox

1-1. Yi Wanũng’s Ideals and Disappointments

With its effective system of evaluation and rewards, there seems little doubt that the JGG was successful in creating a quiet Korean language learning boom, however small-scale it may have been. As we have seen, one of the great contributors was Yi Wanung, the director of the journal Choosengo examined in chapter three.

However, this leading Korean figure in the Korean language learning project for Japanese colonial agents seems to have begun to raise questions and criticize some aspects of the project. While he struggled to find a fundamental justification or rationale for the JGG-led Korean language study toward the end of his career, Yi appears to have become frustrated mainly with the following three aspects: the reluctance of JGG agents, the low level of their Korean language ability and the JGG’s Korean language policy.

1-2. The Reality of Reluctant and Dismissive Learners

In fact, probably because the majority of exam takers was taking just the third degree exam throughout the period, (and this also means the third degree exam had the highest failure rate—1,197 out of 1342 failed in 1928) concerns seem to have been mainly focused on this group.

For instance, Choosengo stated that it was common to come across JGG policemen who were fluent Korean speakers yet failures in the exam, while some passers were by no means decent speakers. In order to encourage these fluent speakers whose ability was higher than the third degree but who just happened to be poor in reading and writing ‘Onmun’ (lit. ‘vulgar script’), Choosengo argued the necessity for establishing a new fourth degree exam under the third degree, providing some bonus income for fourth degree passers. (Choosengo Vol.6. p.1. 1926.3) Another suggestion was from Hirose Shiroo, a constable in North Ch’ungch’ong Province, who argued that they should let more people pass the third degree, even if they had to reduce the bonus income. (Choosengo Vol.31.
This seems to have been a concern of Yi Wanung’s too, since he repeated this argument in a later issue. In 1927 (seven years after the start of the exam), in the preface to Choosengo Vol.27, he stated that as the number of exam takers increased, the exam inevitably became harder and the passing rate decreased. This easily discouraged quite a few Korean learners, driving them to give up further efforts for Korean language study. He cited one of the failures’ remarks as follows;

“I am no worse than the others in terms of speaking because I can carry out my duties properly. But just because I haven’t memorized the Korean script perfectly, I fail no matter how many times I take the exam. So I will just quit.”

Given this situation, Choosengo again claimed the necessity for the establishment of a new lower degree exam in order to give benefits to those who failed the third level of the third degree (i.e. the lowest degree, 三種三等). The reasoning behind the article is of note here;

“The JGG should create a new level that is lower than the third level of the third degree, in order to guide beginners as much as possible and encourage [Korean language study] ‘widely and shallowly’. We need to make them believe that they will [at least] derive some benefit if they sincerely study Korean anyway.”

(Emphasis mine, Choosengo Vol.27. p.1. 1927.12)

Here we should recall the arguments in chapter two that continuous encouraging announcements by JGG higher officials did not have a dramatic effect in motivating Japanese colonial agents. It was only after the JGG guaranteed the material ~ financial aspects of the benefits that they finally started taking Korean language study more seriously. In other words, it required a considerable amount of time, money and effort on the part of the JGG to interest its employees in Korean language study in the first place. Despite all these efforts, it was stated in this Choosengo issue that these reluctant Korean language (script) learners at the beginners’ level readily gave up their studies.

The second revision of the JGG Korean Language Encouragement Exam was apparently a counter-measure to this situation, as the Choosengo editor wrote: “The policy of the revision was to pass as many people with lower ability as possible.” (Choosengo Vol.39. p.1. 1928.12) The apparent JGG-led enthusiasm for Korean language study,
therefore, was so fragile that the author appears to have been afraid to see the movement disappear so easily.  

1-3. Yi Wanung’s Criticism of the JGG Korean Language Policy

The more serious Yi Wanung became about improving Korean language study, the more his concerns came to have a criticizing tone, and the more they were eventually directed at the JGG. One of the early signs of this is found in the following preface to Choosengo, titled ‘Understand Korea, Understand Koreans’;

“What is the true purpose for us to learn Korean? To pass the exam? No. To get income bonuses? No. For salary raises or promotions? No, no……Aren’t our pains and efforts (労苦) too noble to count these as our only goals? Our goal is to study the reality of Korea and Koreans and to set foot on the untrodden ground where those who do not understand Korean are unable to go, making use of our knowledge of Korean. Fluent Korean with little knowledge of the ‘Koreans’ Korea (朝鮮人の朝鮮)’ is ‘very immature Korean’. Moreover, mere knowledge of the language without any understanding of the Korean psyche (朝鮮人の心境) would be useful only for superficial translation. We should not be evaluated like this. As well as learning the language, we must study Korea and the Korean race (朝鮮及朝鮮民族) as much as possible.”

(Choosengo Vol.26. p.1. 1927.11)

This reality of JGG Korean language study, so unsatisfactory in Yi Wanung’s eyes, is further described in another preface titled ‘Be More Patient in your Korean Language Studies’:

“In general, Japanese in Korea are not very enthusiastic about studying Korean. It is more appropriate to say they hardly have any enthusiasm at all. Despite the encouragement provisions and despite being aware of the necessity to study Korean, there seem to be few people who are willing to study [Korean], especially among government officials. In addition, scarcely any of those who have attempted some

56 Although each preface to Choosengo was unsigned, it is probable that they were written by Yi Wanung, the director of Choosengo.
57 Indeed, he participated in publishing Korea and the Korean race (朝鮮及朝鮮民族) in August of 1927. Two out of twenty-eight papers and one whole chapter of one paper of the book were censored. (Kajii, 1977. p.65)
study are motivated to reach a more advanced level.

Ever since the Korean Language Encouragement Exam was revised in 1925, there were only two hundred second degree (intermediate) compared to 1,000 third degree (the easiest) passers. Despite this fact, second degree candidates this year numbered only 113. This example indicates how little motivation they have for Korean language study.

Is it OK for Japanese government officials in Korea to find themselves in a situation like this? I am very concerned with the future. Thus, I insist that Japanese in Korea, especially those who work for the government, should be more patient in language study." (Choosengo Vol.39, p.1. 1928.12)

Yi continuously expressed his concerns on issues relating to Japanese’ Korean language studies in the prefaces to Choosengo, perhaps the only available medium of its kind. Yi’s dedication to the issue is obvious from his wide range of concerns and suggestions. Yi suggested the followings: 1. the necessity for a general assembly of head Korean instructors from each police office (Vol.5.); 2. The necessity for standardizing the exams for interpreters (Vol.7. 1926.4); 3. The necessity for standardizing the level of the planned Korean language exam for finance association employees; (Vol.31. 1928.4) and 4. deciding on common textbooks for Korean language teaching.

However, there is no evidence that any of these suggestions and arguments of Yi were put into practice. Finally, Yi expressed his frustration with the JGG Korean language policy in his paper ‘Why Does the JGG Ministry of Education Ignore the Korean Language?’:

"[Despite the joyous spread of the school system throughout Korea,) there is one mystery for me…. Why in the world does the JGG make light of Korean language, which is a compulsory subject and one of the most important subjects for Koreans?’ (Korean Thoughts Report Choosen Shisoo Tsuushin 朝鮮思想通信 1927.8, cited in Sanzenri pp.63-4)

Yi’s perplexity originated in the contradiction between the fact that Korean was maintained in the curriculum but the JGG made no effort to organize Korean classes. This confusion

58 Twenty-nine of them passed in 1928.
59 Yi was frustrated with the following aspects: 1. Teachers of every subject except for Korean were holding national annual meetings and seminars where they shared their research results and methods for conducting classes, and planned standardization of their subjects. 2. The JGG simply employed Korean native speakers as Korean teachers, without
was perhaps also supported by his experiences with JGG agents who learned Korean language from him with enthusiasm in training centers, which were sponsored by the JGG itself.

2. The Contradiction of Japanese Colonial Agents’ Korean Language Learning

Nonetheless, the significance of the Korean language for the JGG was after all irreconcilable with that of what Yi (and most likely the other Korean linguistic collaborators) assumed. In fact, Yi was missing the fundamental contradiction inherent in the JGG’s Korean language encouragement under the guise of the ‘noble cause’ of Naisen Ittai (内鮮一体 Unified Body of Japan and Korea) from the very beginning.

Simultaneously with the launching of the Korean Language Encouragement system in 1921, the JGG colonial language policy plan was in fact being proposed as follows: “Due to the greatly intimate relationship between the Kokugo (i.e. Japanese) and the [Japanese, including assimilated Korean] race, a profound significance lies in making the colonized abandon their own language and have closer contacts with the language of the colonizer.” (Yi Yeounsuk, 1996. P.242)⁶⁰ We should recall here that the JGG eventually planned to replace Korean with Kokugo (i.e. Japanese), as seen in chapter one, and that the JGG was steadily approaching this goal through the gradual dominance of Japanese over Korean in school curricula.

In such a context, it was impossible for the JGG’s support for Korean language study to be genuine. In addition to the fact that the Korean language studies of most JGG agents hovered at around beginners’ level, as Yi Wanung lamented, the JGG in fact had no intention to encourage permanent, high-level study in the first place. Note the phrase “for any screening or consideration of qualifications. 3. The contents and sentences in the textbooks for Korean classes were terribly incomplete. (Kajii, 1977. p.64)

the time being” (Toobun no Uchi) inserted in the first item of the JGG’s *Provisions for Encouraging Korean Language* (1921) which guaranteed the bonus income for bilingual personnel. The JGG Korean language ‘encouragement’ project was wrought with an inherent contradiction. On the one hand, the project was launched with the hope of equipping the JGG agents with Korean for smoother rule of Korea, and on the other hand, also had as final goal the assimilation of Koreans into Japanese culture, wherein the Korean language would itself become obsolete. In short, the real goal was, in the end, the successful replacement of the national language of Korea (i.e. Korean) with Japanese Kokugo (i.e. national language). This is in vivid contrast to the resolution of Japanese and Korean Choosengo staff who wrote: “[this journal] will be published forever.”

Consequently, the JGG could not allow the Korean language to be overly ‘encouraged’ to the extent that it threatened the existence of Kokugo (i.e. Japanese). When Korean language learning grew into a quiet boom due to the JGG’s continuous ‘encouragement’ and made some JGG personnel enthusiastic in pursuing their Korean language studies, the JGG revealed its true attitude toward Korean language encouragement. Upon the enthusiasm of some Japanese teachers at Korean schools, the JGG considered that this “digressed from the ‘proper path’ that complied with the JGG’s original intentions.” Thus, the JGG adjusted its own ‘encouragement’ as follows:

> “Such situations would run counter to the purport of Korean language encouragement (Sengo Shoorei 鮮語奨励) for the sake of encouraging Japanese (Kokugo Shoorei 国語奨励) and affect the rule of Korea considerably. Thus, the JGG warned not to misunderstand the purport [of Korean language encouragement]”.

(Abe Kaoru. *Dissecting the Rule of Korea*, 1927. p.97)

As this episode reveals, for the JGG, Korean language (Sengo) had to be ‘encouraged’ for the convenience of spreading Japanese (Kokugo Shoorei 国語奨励), and to be discouraged from actually prospering. This paradoxical Korean language policy

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61 The following episode illustrates the enthusiasm: “Because of the monthly bonus income (five to fifty yen) system for Korean language exam passers, the number of teachers at materially disadvantaged elementary and normal schools who study Korean language in order to pass the exam and benefit from the bonus income has increased greatly these days. Teachers do not use Kokugo (Japanese) at all, and speak Korean even during instructions; a certain (Japanese) principal at a normal school is so enthusiastic that he gives his admonitory speeches in Korean, neglecting to teach Kokogo (Japanese).” (Abe, 1927. p.97)
readily explains the demise of the quiet enthusiasm for the Korean language study in the 1920’s symbolized by Yi Wanung’s disappearance from the scene. Whether it was a voluntary resignation or not, controlled ‘encouragement’ by the JGG did not leave space for an individual like Yi, who came to criticize the JGG rather than remaining a faithful Korean language instructor in the JGG Police Academy.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, as the data in chapter two shows, the Korean Language Encouragement Exam was conducted smoothly with a steady increase in examinees and passers from the time the exam system was established in 1921. With the subsequent birth of the journal Choosengo specializing in Korean linguistics and culture in 1925, there appears to have been a certain degree of enthusiasm on the part of Japanese colonial agents to learn and study Korean, in contrast to the rest of the Japanese residents in Korea, whose Korean abilities remained at a level of pidgin.

A closer examination of sample dialogues in Choosengo in chapter three revealed that many Koreans from various walks of life were actually involved in the JGG agents’ language learning. However contradictory it is to imagine within the standard paradigm of the colonizer and the colonized, it was true that there were numerous private interactions between Korean ‘Sensei’ and Japanese students.

Nonetheless, this quiet enthusiasm was not sustained after Japan’s wartime effort gained momentum in the 1930’s, the period of more forceful assimilation (mid 1930’s - 1945). Most damaging was that the journal Choosengo ceased its publication in 1929, which meant a loss of the fruits of Korean and Japanese linguists and intellectuals’ linguistic collaboration.

Equally important, the demise of Choosengo coincided with the sudden disappearance of Yi Wanung, the leading Korean language instructor and advocate for JGG agents, in 1929. Although the Choosengo Kenkyuukai attempted to revive itself in 1931

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62 The Choosengo Kenkyuukai started a new journal, Chuutoo Choosengo Kooza Intermediate Korean Course 中等朝鮮語講座. This journal was published “in order to advance the Korean language skills of those who had passed the third degree (the lowest level) to the next level”. Yi Wanung’s position as a partner of Itoo Kandoo was replaced by
without Yi and on a much smaller scale, they never resumed the vitality they once enjoyed. Accordingly, the Korean Language Encouragement Exam, too, lost its vitality and the detailed annual reports on the exam results in the JGG Almanac ceased in 1933.

In the general context of absolute dominance and manipulation by the Japanese, and the JGG's ostensible policy of spreading Japanese language into every arena of Korean society, the efforts of the colonizer (Japanese) to master the language of the colonized (Korean) still seem incongruous. Inevitably, these seemingly incongruous Korean language study projects eventually required rationalizations to persuade those Koreans and Japanese who were involved. However, arguments in favor of Korean language study by the JGG were inconsistent, due to the "internal antinomy between the ideology of colonial assimilation policy and the theory of language policy" (Shi, 1993. p.43) This inconsistency and unreasonableness of the JGG colonial language policy were well represented in the phrase "Korean language encouragement for the sake of National Language (Japanese) encouragement (Kokugo Shoorei no tame no Sengo Shoorei)". Yi Wanung's withdrawal from the Choosengo Kenkyuukai was perhaps a silent expression of protest against this contradiction, an episode which partly explains the decline of the enthusiasm for the language study at the end of the 1920's. However limited by this fixed norm, there is no doubt that through the collaborative efforts of Koreans and Japanese, Korean linguistic study and language pedagogy made significant progress during the colonial period, especially in the 1920's.

The findings of this thesis immediately bring us a new, endless chain of questions to be further investigated. First of all, for a more comprehensive understanding of the development of modern Korean linguistic studies, we should rise higher than limiting the object of study to certain nationalist linguists-ideologues and their works. Now that this thesis has found forgotten Korean contributors to and supporters of Korean language study, the biographies of these individuals and their studies should be researched in greater detail. Considering that some of these less-known individuals had unexpected links with well-recognized Korean and Japanese figures, it is possible that this new angle of study will eventually shed light on hidden corners of renowned Korean linguists' lives.

Equally important is to delve into the question of why this area of collaborative efforts had long been consigned to oblivion in the history of Korean linguistic study itself. On the part of post-liberation Korean academia, it is mostly explained by the overwhelming
strength of nationalistic sentiment, which is intimately bound with anti-Japanese sentiment. For instance, “the entire community of historians has been mobilized to prove Korean capacity for development and progress” (Palais, 1998, P.225) Likewise, the development of Korean linguistic studies as narrated by Korean scholars excludes the ‘unwanted’ elements—anything tinged with pro-Japanese activities—from its descriptions. Considering this thorough penetration of ‘anti-Japanese’ sentiment in intellectual and cultural life in South Korea, it is understandable that the contributions of the JGG-sponsored Korean language study and the Korean ‘collaborators’ has also been excluded from the scene. Challenging this willful erasure and burying of facts will break new ground in Korean academia, including the developing field of Korean linguistic study during the colonial period.

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63 One of the major Japanese critics, Nosaka Akiyuki points out:

“Why can’t Korea rise above ‘Anti-Japanese nation building’ by now? At the risk of being extremely rude, I suggest that the ruling class agitates this ‘anti-Japan’ and that the people find their identity in it because there is no alternative centripetal ideology beside ‘anti-Japanese’ even though this hostility among the Korean society is perhaps not very strong now.” [Shuukan Bunshun Vol.39 No.40 1997.10.23 Bungei Shunjuu]
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